The Spanish Civil War in Shostakovich's Musical Imagination: New Critical and Analytical Perspectives on *Salute to Spain* (1936) and *Spanish Songs Op. 100* (1956)

Santiago Guerra Fernández

2593920

MA Thesis Musicology

Utrecht University

First Reader/Supervisor: Dr. Michiel Kamp

Second Reader: Dr. Rutger Helmers

2024

ABSTRACT

The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) marked a crucial period in Soviet-Spanish relations, with the Soviet Union providing substantial support to the Spanish Republic. Shostakovich's music for the theater piece *Salute to Spain,* created in this solidarity with the Second Spanish Republic serves as a musical expression of Soviet diplomacy with the Republic, aligning with the era's propagandistic and ideological demands. This early work is analyzed in relation to the repressive atmosphere of Stalin's Great Purge, which significantly influenced Soviet cultural production. In contrast, Shostakovich's *Spanish Songs Op. 100,* composed in 1956, represents a significant shift. This later work is inspired by the musical heritage of Spanish Republican exiles, the group known as the "Niños de Rusia" who were evacuated to the Soviet Union as children during the Civil War. Their influence on Shostakovich's composition reflects a shift from earlier propagandistic portrayals to a more intimate and reflective engagement with Spanish themes, focusing on the personal dimensions of nostalgia and exile.

The study also explores Shostakovich's use of Andalusian aesthetics and Orientalist motifs, linking these to nineteenth-century Russian musical traditions. This historical perspective reveals how Shostakovich's engagement with Spanish themes fits within a broader tradition of Russian art music and highlights the interplay between cultural exchange and political ideology. By examining these compositions, the research illuminates how music can both mirror and critique the shifting political and cultural dynamics between these two countries. It underscores the role of artistic expressions in reflecting and shaping ideological currents, providing a nuanced understanding of the intersection between music, politics, and cultural identity during this transformative period.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Michiel Kamp, my thesis supervisor, for his invaluable feedback, support, and insight throughout this research project. My gratitude is also extended to Dr. Rutger Helmers for agreeing to be the second reader of this thesis.

Special thanks to Galina Kopytova, whose prior research on Shostakovich's *Salute to Spain* was a significant resource. I am deeply appreciative of her generosity in providing access to her publications and facilitating information to help me locate additional materials for this research. I would also like to express my gratitude to the staff of the Museum of Theater and Music in Saint Petersburg for their assistance. Their support was also crucial in accessing the necessary resources.

Many thanks to Dr. Rebekah Ahrendt, Dr. Ruxandra Marinescu, and Dr. Sebastian Wedler for providing me with many fascinating classes over the past two years, as well as offering priceless advice and guidance throughout the process.

Vull expressar el meu agraïment a la meva professora de piano, Alba Ventura, per les seves lliçons i la seva meravellosa ensenyança. La seva dedicació i el seu ensenyament han estat fonamentals en el meu desenvolupament musical, i sempre li estaré agraït. També voldria agrair a la Dr. Aurèlia Pesarrodona per les seves interessants classes d'història de la música i la seva ajuda donant els meus primers passos en aquest món de la musicologia.

Estou moi agradecido á miña familia polo seu amor incondicional e o seu apoio constante, sendo sempre para min unha grandísima referencia. Tamén quero expresar a miña gratitude ao mellor profesor de historia, Javier Novoa, por despertar en min a paixón pola disciplina e por ensinarme a pensar de xeito crítico. Un recoñecemento especial e agradecemento á miña querida mentora Cecilia Blanco, quen non só asentou as bases do meu amor pola música clásica, senón que tamén comparte comigo unha profunda admiración pola música dos compositores rusos e específicamente de Dimitri Shostakovich.

También querría agradecer a mis queridos amigos Damián y María por los momentos inolvidables que hemos compartido. Desde nuestras emocionantes partidas de juegos de mesa hasta nuestras conversaciones incesantes, su compañía ha sido una distracción esencial y un gran apoyo que me ha ayudado a mantenerme a flote durante todo el proceso de este trabajo.

I am deeply grateful to my girlfriend, Alina. Her unwavering support throughout the process of writing this thesis, including her help with translating materials and her emotional encouragement, has been truly invaluable. Your belief in me, your kindness, and your endless, loving patience have been crucial. *Ты мой свет в самые тёмные дни, и каждый день вдохновляешь меня становиться лучше.*

I would also like to extend my heartfelt thanks to my good friends and classmates, with whom I have shared many moments over the past year while navigating this challenging project together. Joana, whose homemade meals and time spent together have saved me from many predicaments throughout the year. Maria, for always making me laugh with her internet knowledge and making me feel so welcomed in the Netherlands, along with her family. Davide, for our long and niche conversations about etymology, your generosity and your boundless curiosity; Without the three of you, this would not have been possible.

Contents

Introduction: Cultural Crossroads. Spain and Russia at the Threshold of East and West....................1
1.1 Transcontinental Powers, Spain and Russia's Parallelisms in European History......................1
1.2 A Spain to the “East” of Russia: Orientalism, Eurasianism, and Russian Imperial Ideology…4
2.1 Overview of the thesis topic and specific focus..6
2.2 Research questions...7
2.3 Forthcoming Chapter Overview..7
2.4 Personal Motivation...8
2.5 Methodology..9
Chapter 1: Echoes of Andalusia: Glinka, Glazunov, and Rimsky-Korsakov’s Enchantment with Spanish Music...11
1.1 The Andalucism Trend and Pushkin's *Tzigany*: Tracing the Circularity of Cultural Representation...11
1.2 The Enduring Influence of Andalusia...13
2.1 Glinka's Journey to Spain: a Pioneer of Spanish Music in Russia..14
2.2 The Aragonese Jota: a Moorish or Italian Invention?...16
3.1 Glazunov and the Introduction of Andalusian Folklore..19
3.2 "El paño" in Glazunov's Spanish Serenade...21
4.1 Rimsky-Korsakov’s *Spanish Capriccio*: Northern Bagpipes and Asturian Dances................23
4.2 The Alborada and Variations in the *Spanish Capriccio*: Forced Orientalism?........................26
Chapter 2: Shostakovich's *Salute to Spain!* (1936) and the USSR involvement in the Spanish Civil War...34
1. The Impact of the Great Terror and Stalin's Purges on Soviet Music.......................................35
2.1 Social Realism in Music: A New Aesthetic Current...40
2.2 The Concept of Musical Imagery...41
3.1 Shostakovich's *Salute to Spain*: Music for an Antifascist Play in International Solidarity.….42
3.2 Background: The Breakout of Civil War in 1936 Spain...44
3.3 Soviet Involvement in the War...46
4.1 An International Response to Crisis...48
4.2 Aleksandr Afinogenov and the Urgency for Pro-Republican Theater.....................................48
4.3 Inner Tensions in the Leftist Front: Anarchism versus Communism.....................................51
4.5 The Play’s Role in the Soviet Propaganda Apparatus...53
5. The Music for *Salute to Spain*: A Paradigmatic Example of Socialist Realist Music...............55
5.1 Fanfares...56
5.2 Song of Rosita...59
5.3 Excerpt: Song of Rosita (Instrumental)..65
5.4 Foreshadowing the Fifth Symphony: the Funeral (Mourning) March...................................66
5.4 Final march. Epilogue and Military Speech..71
6. Exploring the Naxos Recording of 'Salute to Spain': Insights and Considerations...................74
7. Final thoughts...77
Chapter 3: “Los Niños de Rusia”, Shostakovich and the *Spanish Songs* Op. 100.............................79
1.1 Background: the Spanish Exile in the Soviet Union...79
1.2 The Children Houses in the Soviet Union..82
1.3 The Second World War and the Second Exile...85
2.1 Francoist Spain's Diplomatic Fallout with the Soviet Union..89
2.2 Shift in Repatriation Policies: A New Paradigm..91
3. Shostakovich’s Connection with the Spanish Children: The Spanish Songs Op. 100..............92
4.1 From Socialist Realism to Critical Realism...95
4.2 Liberalization in the Soviet Union: the end of Stalinist Terror...96

5. Exploring the Spanish Songs Op.100: Andalusian Influences, Exoticism, and Diverse Spanish Regional Folklore....98
5.1 “Proshchay, Grenada!” (Farewell, Granada)/Granadina....99
5.2 “Zvezdochki”(Little Stars)/Mozuca....104
5. 3 “Pervaya vstrecha” (First Meeting)/En Samir de los Caños....109
5. 4. “Khorovod” (Round-dance)/Ronda....113
5.5."Chernookaya"(Dark-Eyed Girl)/Eres Alta y Delgada....118
5.6 “Son” (Dream)/Soñé....126
6. Final Thoughts....133
Thesis Conclusion....134
Bibliography and recordings....137

Introduction: Cultural Crossroads. Spain and Russia at the Threshold of East and West

"When someone speaks about the bordering cultures between East and West, that is to say, when someone refers to the culture of the Near East, the Balkans, the Iberian Peninsula, the Caucasus, or, of course, Russia, they usually do so while observing some peculiarities. For example, it seems unlikely that the expression 'Europe and us,' typical on Russian or Spanish lips, could be formulated by a French, a German, or a Czech".

Vsévolod Vagno, *Spain and Russia: Two Frontier Cultures.*[1]

1.1 Transcontinental Powers, Spain and Russia's Parallelisms in European History

In the complex weave of European history, both Spain and Russia stand out as fascinating outliers that challenge conventional notions of identity and territorial boundaries. Despite their geographic separation and linguistic distance, these two nations share a remarkable parallelism rooted in their peripheral status as the geographic frontiers of Europe. Their histories are marked by struggles against foreign invaders that have profoundly shaped their statehood and quest for cultural expression. Both countries have grappled with numerous territorial occupations by external forces and with engagement with peoples considered outside the traditional Western European framework.

To begin with, the terms "East" and "West" are relative and multi-meaning terms subject to various conventions. Cultural historian Piotr M. Bitsili noted that the West has its own "East" and "West" – referring to Roman-Germanic Europe and Byzantium – and that this contrast corresponds in the Far East to the relationship between China and the steppe world of Central Asia, understood as a center versus periphery dichotomy.[2] In the Far East, the "eastern" and "western" roles interchange: China, geographically considered "Eastern" in relation to Mongolia, turns out to be "Western" in cultural terms.[3]

In his seminal work Orientalism, Edward Said defines the Orient as a construct created by Western scholars, artists, and thinkers.[4] It serves to portray an exotic, enigmatic, and often idealized realm characterized by its "otherness" in contrast to the dominant powers. Consequently, while the term

1 Vsévolod Bagno, "España y Rusia: dos culturas de frontera", *Nueva Revista*, August 26, 1999.
2 Piotr Mikhailovich Bitsili, "Vostok» i «Zapad» v istorii Starogo Sveta" *Izbrannye trudy po filologii* (Selected Works on Philology, 1996).
3 Bagno, "España y Rusia".
4 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (United States: Pantheon Books, 1978).

has a geographical basis, its use often tends to be more of an expression of power dynamics, focusing on the dynamics of periphery versus center. As expressed by Shehla Burney in her analysis of the work:

> The Orient was created or, rather as I call it "orientalized" by a hegemonic process that robbed it of its true identity, voice, and indigenous culture. This imagined reality was substituted with pictures, perceptions, and perspectives derived from what I like to call the "Western gaze' or a hegemonic Eurocentric perspective. This Western gaze, not unlike the deadly "male gaze" in feminist theory, subjectifies and objectifies all that it sees in its own image, through its own colored lenses, and from its own position of power.[5]

Applied to the Spanish and Russian case presented here, this discussion sheds light on the fluidity of cultural identities and the dynamic nature of geographical perceptions. Despite their different geographical locations and historical backgrounds, both Spain and Russia share the experience of being places located at the crossroads of civilizations. A famous phrase, often (and falsely) attributed to Alexander Dumas, encapsulates Spain's positioning between the civilized and the "barbaric": "Africa begins at the Pyrenees".[6] Jean-Frédéric Schaub recounts a similar statement by Stendhal: "If the Spaniard were Muslim, he would be a complete African".[7]

The official Spanish historical discourse is deeply intertwined with the Reconquista, a centuries-long campaign aimed at "reclaiming" territories from Arab-Berber rule in Al-Andalus.[8] Beginning in the 8th century with the Umayyad Caliphate conquest of the Iberian Peninsula, the Reconquista was characterized by intermittent warfare and shifting alliances between Christian kingdoms and Muslim rulers. Over the centuries, this struggle for control of the region shaped Spanish identity and culture, leaving a lasting impact on the social, political, and religious landscape of the Iberian Peninsula, with a rich mosaic of Muslim, Christians and Jewish communities coexisting in the same

---

5 Shehla Burney, "Chapter One: Orientalism: The Making of the Other." *Counterpoints* 417 (2012): 23–39, accessed January 1, 2022, http://www.jstor.org/stable/42981698.

6 Néstor Luján, *Cuento de cuentos: origen y aventura de ciertas palabras y frases proverbiales*, vol. 1 (Folio, 1993), 14-15.

7 Juan Eloy Gelabert, "Imperiofobia: luces, sombras y claroscuros," *Revista de Libros*, accessed September 23, 2018, https://web.archive.org/web/20200311060311/https://www.revistadelibros.com/articulo_imprimible.php?art=5392&t=articulos

8 This is a very complex issue in Spanish historiography, but some authors like Antonio Maravall suggest that the "Reconquista" narrative is a nationalist invention of the Nineteenth Century. There is no direct evidence to suggest that the Medieval Christian Kingdoms of León, Castilla, Aragón and Navarre were in any case successors of the Visigothic monarchs overthrown by the Umayyad Caliphate, therefore making the term "Reconquering" problematic. See José Antonio Maravall Casesnoves "Chapter 6" In *El concepto de España en la Edad Media* (Madrid, Spain: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2013).

territories. The modern state of Spain was shaped by the union of different kingdoms, such as Castille and Aragon that unified against an external enemy, culminating in the conquest of Granada of 1492 by the Catholic Monarchs.[9]

Similarly, Russian history bears the mark of encounters with the Mongol-Tatar Golden Horde, which dominated Eastern Europe in the medieval era. The Horde's invasion in the 13th century subjected Rus principalities to Mongol rule, leading to tributary obligations. The Battle of Kulikovo in 1380 eventually led to progressive freedom from the Mongol lords, enabling eastward expansion.[10] Ivan the Terrible's conquests, like Kazan in 1552 and Astrakhan in 1556 marked Russia's consolidation and the decline of Tatar-Mongol influence, solidifying Moscow's dominance.[11] This interplay between Slavic expansionism and the decline of Turkic power reveals the Eurasian character of Russian history.

It is a common mistake to view the Mongol-Tatar invaders as conquering Russia as a single state; rather, the state formed in response to resist the invasion. Peter the Great formally ended Russia's tribute payments to the Khans, highlighting the complex dynamics of the invasion's impact on Russian state formation[12]. At its territorial peak at the end of the nineteenth century, the Russian Empire encompassed the largest territory in the world.[13] This vast land was home to diverse ethnic groups, including many who were not ethnolinguistically Indo-European, such as Ugro-Finnic, Mongol, and Turkic clans. Furthermore, Russian elites were often intermarried with Asian peoples, with figures like Peter the Great, with his Tatar ancestry, exemplifying this.[14]

As music scholar Cristina Aguilar notes, the development of Russian and Spanish nationalism can be traced to the birth of the idea of Europe and its periphery.[15] The coexistence of Islam and Christianity in both the Iberian Peninsula and Russia underscores their role as pivotal hinges

9 Francisco J. Beltrán Tapia, Alfonso Díez-Minguela, Julio Martínez-Galarraga, and Daniel A. Tirado Fabregat. "A brief history of the Reconquista (718-1492 AD): Conquest, repopulation and land distribution" *Documentos de Trabajo de la Sociedad de Estudios de Historia Agraria* 2004, Sociedad de Estudios de Historia Agraria, pp. 1-3.

10 Mauricio Borrero, *Russia: A Reference Guide from the Renaissance to the Present* (Infobase Publishing, 2009), 208.

11 Davies, Brian L. "Muscovy's Conquest of Kazan."Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History 15, no. 4 (2014): 873-883. https://doi.org/10.1353/kri.2014.0050.

12 Gueórgui Manáev, "La invasión de los mongoles fue la razón por la que Rusia acabó formándose" *Russia Beyond*, November 22, 2022, https://es.rbth.com/historia/90293-invasion-mongoles-razon-rusia-acabo-formandose.

13 Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Russian Empire," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, March 11, 2024, https://www.britannica.com/place/Russian-Empire.

14 Alexander Stanjofski, "The Great Westernizer: How Peter the Great Earned His Name." *The Collector,* April 4, 2021. https://www.thecollector.com/the-great-westernizer-how-peter-the-great-earned-his-name/.

15 Cristina Aguilar Hernández, "Conceptos de lo español en la música rusa: De Glinka a Manuel de Falla" (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2017), page 13.

between East and West. In Spain, centuries of interaction between Muslim, Christian, and Jewish communities contributed to a rich cultural exchange that resulted in the development of distinctive art, architecture, and literature halfway between Europe and the Maghreb region. Similarly, in Russia, the encounter with Islamic and Mongol civilizations influenced the formation of a distinctly Eurasian Russian culture.

Despite the geographical and linguistic chasm that separates Madrid from St. Petersburg, a metaphorical bridge emerged between Russia and Spain, fostering a rich exchange of artistic and musical ideas. This cultural dialogue, which had begun centuries earlier, reached its peak amidst the turmoil of the Napoleonic Wars, further solidifying the bond between these seemingly disparate nations. Writers such as Pushkin expressed their admiration of the Spanish people resistance against Napoleonic imperialism.[16] During Tsar Alexander I's reign, both countries strengthening their ties due to shared hostility towards France, signing in 1812 the Treaty of Velikiye Luki, where the Russian emperor acknowledged the legitimacy of the General Courts in Cádiz and their constitution.[17]

1.2 A Spain to the "East" of Russia: Orientalism, Eurasianism, and Russian Imperial Ideology

Widespread romanticization of Spanish culture found fertile ground among a wide range European artists, sparking a profound interest in unraveling its musical characteristics. While composers within Parisian circles, such as Georges Bizet, often utilized Spain's imagery for its exotic allure, in the case of Russian composers they approached the subject with a distinct perspective. Orientalism transcended mere entertainment or cosmopolitanism; instead, it mirrored a logic of territorial expansion and dominance over what John Mackinder termed as "the Heartland", the geographical center of Eurasia.[18] For instance, Russian literature scholar Susan Layton has emphasized the

16 Pushkin's engagement with Spanish themes in his works extends beyond mere admiration for historical events, and it is evident in several of his writings. For instance, Pushkin's exploration of characters like Don Juan in "The Stone Guest" showcases his understanding of Spanish literary archetypes and his ability to reinterpret them within a Russian context. See "The Stone Guest." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, September 13, 2019, accessed April 20, 2024, https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Stone-Guest-play-by-Pushkin; Cristina Aguilar Hernández, "Conceptos de lo español en la música rusa", page 83.

17 It is worth mentioning that this cooperation waned after the Congress of Verona in 1822, as Russia, along with Prussia and France, supported sending troops to Spain to help restore absolutism under Ferdinand VII, ending the liberal Trienio. Alexander I also suppressed reformists in Russia. Russia later closed its embassy in Spain from 1833 to 1856 due to its refusal to recognize Isabel II as the legitimate ruler. See Manuel de la Cámara Hermoso, "Las relaciones entre España y la Federación Rusa" *Anuario internacional CIDOB*, no. 1 (2010): p. 451.

18 John Mackinder Halford "The Geographical Pivot of History", *The Geographical Journal* 23, no. 4 (April 1904): 421–424.

connection between intellectual appropriation of the Caucasus region folklore throughout the nineteenth century, particularly by prominent figures like Pushkin, and important conquests towards the East.[19] Spain's unique role as a reference point for the development of a new Oriental aesthetic trend in Russia reflects its position as a neutral exotic entity—non-bordering, and therefore neither threatening nor threatened. This served as a versatile tool, allowing Russia to attribute exotic characteristics that aligned with ongoing confrontations: initially, the allure of the Caucasus was likened to that of Spain. However, as time progressed, the Islamic world emerged as one of the most significant border threats, leading to its association with the Spanish Al-Andalus past.[20] This shifting association underscores Russia's complex relationship with its neighbours and the development of an imperial ideology that affected artistic production, tracing its roots in territorial disputes.

To contextualize these concepts, I will draw upon insights from the field of international relations. In the realm of geopolitics, Russia is often classified as a telurocracy. According to Aleksandr Dugin, this is a form of civilization or governmental structure characterized by the advancement of territorial expansion and continual infiltration into inland areas.[21] Unlike thalassocracies, which sought to impose their dominance through maritime power (an example would be the British Empire), Russia's expansion eastward was influenced by its Eurasian identity and the legacy of Golden Horde. Following this theory Russian empire did not merely emerge as a European power but as a civilization straddling between Europe and Asia, with a “historical destiny” separate from the West. This perspective acknowledged the complex interplay between Russian and Asian cultures, highlighting the fusion of Eastern and Western influences within the Russian ethnos.[22]

---

19 Susan Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire: Conquest of the Caucasus from Pushkin to Tolstoy* (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

20 Aguilar, "Conceptos de lo español en la música rusa”, p. 24.

21 Note: I delve into these concepts within the context of nineteenth-century Russian music, specifically examining the conjuncture of orientalism and imperialism. This analysis considers the aesthetic implications of these ideological currents. However, it's crucial to acknowledge that these theories have historically been used to justify colonialism in Eastern Europe; I do not subscribe to them. See Aleksandr S. Barsenkov et al."The Russian Nation’s Historical Destiny in the Twentieth Century: (The Russian Question in Nationality Policy)" *Russian Studies in History* 37, no. 2 (1998): 13–24, doi:10.2753/RSH1061-1983370213; Rénéo Lukic and Michael Brint, eds., *Culture, Politics, and Nationalism in the Age of Globalization* (Ashgate, 2001), 103.

22 Russia's historical identity as the “heir” to the Byzantine Empire, symbolized by Moscow being dubbed the Third Rome, underscores its intricate position as a bridge between East and West. The Principality of Moscow, rising amidst the dominance of the Golden Horde, underwent a process of cultural amalgamation influenced by Mongol rule and interactions with Turkic peoples. This fusion is evident linguistically, with numerous Russian words of Turkic origin reflecting cultural practices and administrative systems. See Transparent Language "Russian Words of Turkic Origin", accessed January 31, 2024, https://blogs.transparent.com/russian/russian-words-of-turkic-origin/

Russian composers pursuit of exoticism or Oriental elements could be understood within a larger cultural and political ideology aimed at legitimizing the existence of the Russian Empire. This endeavor is closely linked with the objectives of the Mighty Five, a group of composers including Balakirev, Borodin, Cui, Mussorgsky, and Rimsky-Korsakov, who sought to establish a distinctive Russian musical tradition outside the European dominated canon, represented by the Moscow Conservatory. This ideological divide is evident in the dispute between Balakirev and Rubinstein: Balakirev advocated for Russian nationalism in music, incorporating folk melodies and themes to emphasize a uniquely Russian musical identity.[23] Rubinstein on the other hand, while also supporting Russian music, favored a more cosmopolitan and European approach, drawing inspiration from Western classical traditions.

Works like Rimsky-Korsakov's *Scheherazade* exemplify the geopolitical ambition of seeking Orientalist themes to validate this Eurasian identity. This occurred during a period marked by escalating rivalry between the Russian Empire and the British Empire in their "Great Game" contest for dominance over Central Asia and the Caucasus.[24] Taking all these aspects into account, it appears that the deliberate decision to explore the Spanish theme in nineteenth-century Russia was not simply a matter of curiosity, but rather a complex tool intertwined within a system of beliefs that supported cultural and political expansionism in Asia.

2.1 Overview of the thesis topic and specific focus

The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) significantly deepened these transcultural connections between Spain and the Russia. During this period of intense ideological conflict, the Soviet Union emerged as a crucial supporter of the Spanish Republic, enhancing existing cultural exchanges and expanding upon earlier imperialistic and Orientalist trends. This research examines how Dmitri Shostakovich's compositions, notably *Salute to Spain* and *Spanish Songs Op. 100*, shed light on the complexities of Spanish-Soviet relations during and after the Spanish Civil War. Through a detailed analysis of these works, the study seeks to reveal how Shostakovich's music mirrors the evolving dynamics between Spain and the Soviet Union amid a period marked by intense ideological conflict and political upheaval. The research investigates how these compositions reflect the socio-political

23 Francis Maes, trans. Arnold J. Pomerans and Erica Pomerans. *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2002), page 39.

24 Peter Hopkirk, *The Great Game: The Struggle for Empire in Central Asia*. (Kodansha International, 1992) p. 564.

contexts and ideological shifts in the two decades spanning from 1936 to 1956, including the cultural impact of Spanish political refugee children who found asylum in the Soviet Union.

Additionally, the study explores Shostakovich's engagement with Spanish themes, particularly through the Andalusian aesthetic and Orientalist motifs, and traces these influences back to 19th-century Russian music. Understanding this historical backdrop is crucial for grasping how Spanish themes and Andalusianism developed within Russian art music over the century. By situating Shostakovich's work within this broader tradition, the research illustrates how these compositions both embody and critique Soviet cultural policies and perceptions of Spanish identity, reflecting the enduring influence of 19th-century Tsarist musical trends. This approach offers a nuanced perspective on how artistic expressions are shaped by and, in turn, shape the political and cultural currents of their time.

2.2 Research questions

1)How do Dmitri Shostakovich's compositions, particularly *Salute to Spain* and *Spanish Songs Op. 100*, illuminate the complexities of Spanish-Soviet diplomatic relations during the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath? Taking into account the socio-political contexts, ideological shifts, and the influence of Spanish political refugees, how do these works reflect the evolving dynamics between Spain and the Soviet Union?

2)Additionally, how do Shostakovich's compositions engage with the Andalusian question of aesthetics and Orientalism, and what do they reveal about Soviet cultural policies and perceptions of Spanish identity during this period?

2.3 Forthcoming Chapter Overview

As I embark on this exploration, the journey begins by delving into the early representations of Spanish culture in Russian music. This foundational chapter takes the reader through the 19th and early 20th centuries, where composers such as Glinka and Rimsky-Korsakov painted Spain through an exotic and mythic lens. Their works offer a fascinating glimpse into how Spanish themes were perceived and transformed within the Russian musical tradition, reflecting broader Western attitudes of the time. Transitioning to the heart of the study, the thesis turns to Shostakovich's *Salute to Spain*,

a composition deeply rooted in the political fervor of the Spanish Civil War. This chapter uncovers how this work, created during a period of intense Soviet engagement with Spain, serves as both a manifestation of Soviet propaganda and a personal statement of solidarity with the Spanish Republic. By examining Shostakovich's motivations and the political undercurrents of the time, the reader can gain insight into how music can be shaped by and reflect political ideologies. In the final chapters, the focus shifts to *Spanish Songs Op. 100*, composed two decades later. Here, I explore how the return of Spanish refugees to the Soviet Union influenced Shostakovich's work. These refugees, carrying with them their musical heritage, left an indelible mark on the composer's creations. This chapter illuminates the ways in which these personal and political shifts informed Shostakovich's music, offering a poignant reflection on exile, memory, and cultural continuity. Through these three chapters, the thesis aims to weave together a complex narrative of cultural exchange and political resonance, uncovering how Shostakovich's music navigates the intricate relationship between Spain and the Soviet Union across two critical periods in history.

2.4 Personal Motivation

My interest in this topic is deeply rooted in my personal background and experiences. Growing up in Spain, I was acutely aware of the lasting impacts of the Civil War in my country. Despite being born nearly sixty years after the conflict ended, I have lived in a country where the democratic foundations disrupted by Franco's dictatorship still cast a long shadow. The ongoing struggle to preserve democratic precedents and honor the memory of conflict victims reveals how unresolved historical grievances continue to permeate political discourse, particularly among left-wing and nationalist factions.

From an early age, I was captivated by Dmitri Shostakovich's music and Russian classical traditions. This passion was nurtured through my piano studies at the Conservatoire in Vigo and later at the Conservatori del Liceu in Barcelona, where I was influenced by the Russian School of Piano performance. My immersion in Russian music and literature during these formative years inspired me to delve into Slavic cultural trends, leading me to study Russian language and culture in depth. This dual interest in the history of the Spanish Civil War and Soviet historical contexts naturally guided me to focus my research on the intersection of these areas. By examining how Shostakovich's compositions, such as *Salute to Spain* and *Spanish Songs Op. 100*, reflect the complex relationship between Spain and the Soviet Union in the early twentieth century, I am able

to merge my academic pursuits with my personal passions. My background in classical music equips me with the tools to analyze these works in depth, while my linguistic and academic knowledge have driven me to explore their broader socio-political and cultural implications. Ultimately, this research allows me to delve into the influence of historical conflicts on cultural expressions, offering a nuanced perspective on how art can both shape and be shaped by political and cultural currents. It is a synthesis of my lifelong passions, my academic journey, and my quest to understand the historical forces that continue to influence modern day Spain and Russia.

2.5 Methodology

This study investigates Dmitri Shostakovich's compositions through an interdisciplinary approach that integrates musicological analysis with historical and biographical essays, as well as geopolitical theories. The research adopts a qualitative, exploratory design, combining textual and comparative analysis to address the study's research questions. This approach is suited to uncovering the complex relationships between Shostakovich's works and their historical and political contexts. The literature review encompasses a diverse range of sources, including studies on Shostakovich's life and music, analyses of Spanish themes in Russian compositions, nineteenth-century songbooks, and writings on geopolitics and Orientalism. This broad spectrum of literature forms a foundation for understanding the historical and political contexts pertinent to Shostakovich's music.[25] Of all of these writings I would like to highlight the name of Galina Kopytova, who has previously investigated Shostakovich's music for *Salute to Spain* and has kindly helped me to carry out this research by letting me freely access her publications on the topic, as well as facilitating information for finding extra material.[26]

Primary sources central to this study are Shostakovich's published scores and manuscripts, specifically those found in the *Collected Works*.[27] Additional primary materials include manuscripts and documents accessed from the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI) in Moscow

25 Examples of this include Laurel Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life* (Cary: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1999); Cristina Aguilar Hernández, "Conceptos de lo español en la música rusa: De Glinka a Manuel de Falla" (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2017); Richard Taruskin, "Was Shostakovich a Martyr? Or Is That Just Fiction?" *The New York Times*, August 26, 2016. Note: Due to the large number of sources used, I am compelled to generalize on the topic and name only a few, as I would not be able to cite all the sources individually. However, all sources are properly cited in the relevant chapters and in the bibliography.

26 Galina Kopytova, "Shostakovich's Music for Salute, Spain! Discoveries and Perspectives," *Journal of War & Culture Studies* 14, no. 4 (2021): 479–92, https://doi.org/10.1080/17526272.2021.1950965.

27 Dmitri Shostakovich, *Collected Works,* vols. 27 and 28 (Moscow: Muzika, 1986).

and the Museum of Theater and Music in Saint Petersburg.[28] The data collection process involved detailed examination and cataloging of these manuscripts and unpublished materials. The musicological analysis focuses on thematic content, structural elements, and stylistic features of Shostakovich's works. These sources were analyzed to gain insights into Shostakovich's compositional methods and thematic concerns, as well as unveiling the origin behind the sources used for the *Spanish Songs Op. 100.*

Comparative analysis is employed to draw connections between the writings on Shostakovich's compositions and writings of other composers (such as Rimsky-Korsakov), influenced by historical contexts.[29] This approach helps to contextualize Shostakovich's music within broader musical and historical frameworks. The chosen methodology is justified by its ability to integrate musicological, historical, and political analyses, providing a comprehensive understanding of Shostakovich's work and its broader implications. Nevertheless, I acknowledge several limitations, such as potential gaps in primary source materials and the inherent subjectivity in the musical analysis, as well as in my personal interpretations on the field of geopolitics. These limitations are addressed through thorough cross-referencing and careful consideration of sources. Ethical considerations are also included ensuring accurate representation of primary sources and respecting intellectual property, making fair use of the works citated.

28 Dmitri Shostakovich, "Spanish Songs," Op. 100, RGALI, f. 2048, op. 2, units hr. 28, Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, Moscow, Russia.
29 For instance: Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, *My Musical Life* (New York: Knopf, 1923).

Chapter 1: Echoes of Andalusia: Glinka, Glazunov, and Rimsky-Korsakov's Enchantment with Spanish Music

1.1 The Andalucism Trend and Pushkin's *Tzigany*: Tracing the Circularity of Cultural Representation

When it comes to the imaginary of the Andalusian topic in the 19th century, few works were as influential as George Bizet's opera *Carmen* in disseminating certain Spanish stereotypes throughout Europe, particularly those rooted in Southern and Gypsy culture.[30] The story of Carmen is set in Seville around 1820 and revolves around a beautiful and fiery-tempered Gypsy woman. Carmen, unrestrained in her love, seduces the inexperienced soldier Don José. Their relationship leads Don José to reject his previous love, rebel against his superiors, and ultimately join a group of smugglers as a deserter. Eventually, when Carmen transfers her affection to the bullfighter Escamillo, jealousy drives Don José to murder her.[31]

This portrayal of the low-class lifestyle in Spain as immoral, anarchical and short-tempered perpetuated certain stereotypes prevalent at the time, portraying Andalusia as a place of passion, danger, and lawlessness. These portrayals, while captivating and dramatic, also contributed to the perpetuation of a mythical southern land, reinforcing existing misconceptions and biases held by audiences throughout Europe, including Russia, which was not indifferent to this work. Despite a mixed reception of Carmen's first performance on the Russian stage in 1878 in Saint Petersburg, it quickly became an essential component of the country's operatic repertoire.[32] Following the Revolution, Carmen's popularity went beyond theatrical boundaries, influencing the creation of new perfumes and incorporating the Toreador's tune into the 'March of the Working-Peasants Army'. Concurrently, developments in theater were aligning opera with the preferences of proletarian audiences. Considered to embody the ideological principles of realism, 'narodnost' (closeness to the 'people'), and, through selective interpretation, optimism, Carmen set a standard for emerging Soviet opera.[33]

30 David A. Lowe, "Pushkin and 'Carmen'," *19th-Century Music* 20, no. 1 (Summer, 1996): 72.
31 Georges Bizet, *Carmen*, libretto by Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy (Opéra-Comique, 1875).
32 Michelle Assay, Abstract from "Russian Carmens and 'Carmenism': From Imperial Import to Ideological Benchmark," in *Carmen Abroad: Bizet's Opera on the Global Stage*, ed. Richard Langham Smith and Clair Rowden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 263–283.
33 Encyclopaedia Britannica, Editors of Encyclopaedia, "narodnost," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, September 1, 1999, accessed June 23, 2024, https://www.britannica.com/topic/narodnost.

Scholars such as William Edward Brown and Elizabeta Martianova have suggested that *Carmen,* which itself is an adaptation from Prosper Mérimée's novella of the same name itself exhibits striking similarities to Aleksandr Pushkin's narrative poem *The Gypsies* (in Russian: *Tzigany*).[34] Prosper Merimée's fascination with Russian literature, coupled with his exposure to Russian intellectual circles in Paris, suggests a cross-pollination of ideas that culminated in the creation of the novel. The key question revolves around when and how the French author could have been introduced to *The Gypsies*. It is certain that Prosper Merimée did not begin studying Russian until 1847, and his translation of *The Gypsies* was published in 1852, indicating that his exposure to Pushkin's original poem occurred after he wrote *Carmen* in 1844.[35] The available evidence suggests that Prosper Merimée was aware of Pushkin's existence, had some interest in him, and had access to information about *The Gypsies*, possibly through French translations, by the time he wrote his tale of Gypsy life. Thus, the opera could have emerged as a product of cultural exchange, blending elements of Spanish and Besarabian Romani elements to create a narrative that transcended geographical boundaries. Novelist Vladimir Nabokov identified some textual parallels between Pushkin's *The Gypsies* and Bizet's libretto for *Carmen* that suggest a direct influence on the opera's lyrical content.[36] Several passages in the opera mirror sentiments expressed in Pushkin's poem, despite lacking parallels in Prosper Mérimée's original work. These textual correspondences suggest a conscious borrowing from Pushkin's themes and imagery by George Bizet's librettists, expanding the scope of Pushkin's influence on operatic history. In a fascinating circularity of influence, Russian composers draw inspiration from French operatic interpretations of Spanish themes, which themselves seem to be rooted (or at least inspired) in Russian literary motives. Pushkin's portrayal of Gypsy life in the limits of the Russian Empire (modern day Moldova) indirectly influenced many of the Spanish stereotypes that would prevail.[37]

---

34 See William Edward Brown, *A History of Russian Literature of the Romantic Period*, vol. III (Ann Arbor, 1986), p. 238 and Elizaveta Martianova, *Ob otrazhenii russko-frantsuzskikh kul'turnykh sviazei vo frantsuzskom yazyke i literature XIX veka* (Kharkiv, 1960), p. 52.

35 Lowe, "Pushkin and 'Carmen'", 73.

36 Aleksandr Pushkin, *Eugene Onegin*, trans. with comm. Vladimir Nabokov, vol. III (rev. edn. Princeton, N.J., 1975), 156.

37 A good example of this exaggerated tropes can be seen in Tchaikovsky's Swan Lake. In parallel with Bizet's Carmen, which presents a romanticized and exaggerated vision of Spanish culture. In his magnum opus act III of Swan Lake Tchaikovsky showcases a mesmerizing array of national dances performed by the eligible maidens at Prince Siegfried's ball, including a Hungarian Czardas, a Neapolitan dance, a Polish mazurka, and a Spanish dance. Among these, the Spanish Dance stands out with a vibrant and exotic flair. The setting of the Spanish Dance was crafted by Marius Petipa, the renowned choreographer who played a pivotal role in shaping the ballet's choreography. Petipa's choreography for the Spanish Dance incorporates exotic costumes and wielding props such as fans and castañuelas (castanets), creating a captivating spectacle for the audience.

1.2 The Enduring Influence of Andalusia

As the nearest Other within the Occidental world, Spain emerged as a prominent subject for exoticization in nineteenth-century Europe. Various factors contributed to Spain's perception as an 'Other' to the rest of Europe: its cultural isolation following the decline from the Golden Age in the eighteenth century, its staunchly Catholic society, and resistance to modernization. Paradoxically, alongside this perception, Spain was also viewed as a hedonistic realm, characterized by indulgence in carnal desires and passions, with bullfighting and flamenco dancing reinforcing these stereotypes. Many of these perceptions were formed based on secondhand accounts, as writers often relied on earlier descriptions without personal experience of the country.[38]This vision of Spain, with its emphasis on the exotic and sensual aspects of Andalusian culture, became deeply ingrained in the construction of "Spanishness" in Europe.

In "Meditations on Quixote" Ortega y Gasset poses a thought-provoking question: "How many trees make a jungle? How many houses make a city? (…) Jungle and city are two things essentially profound, and depth is fatally condemned to become surface if it wants to manifest itself".[39] This inquiry sheds light on the difficulties of defining cultural identity, emphasizing the challenge of capturing diversity's richness without resorting to superficiality. While striving for cohesion, the risk of flattening complex cultural realities seems to constitute an inescapable element of nationalisms. Roland Barthes contributes to this discussion by examining the essence of myths: instead of negating various realities, myths distort them while still acknowledging their presence.[40] In other words, myths simplify or reinterpret complex realities, but they don't completely erase them. This insight suggests that in the process of constructing cultural narratives, there's a tendency to simplify or distort complex truths, but these truths still persist beneath the surface of the myths.

These ideas resonate profoundly in the context of nineteenth-century Spanish music, where the mythic portrayal of Andalusian exoticism often overshadowed other aspects of the Spanish musical landscape (see figure 1). Despite the pervasive influence of Andalusian culture in shaping external perceptions of Spain, the country's musical heritage is far from monolithic and it presents an array of different regional traditions. While these other regional traditions persist beneath the surface, they are often interpreted through the lens of this Andalusian orientalism. This distortion is

38 Natalie Olivia Maeda, "On the Outskirts of Europe: Mikhail Glinka and his Spanish Overtures," *Spring* 6 (2018): 1-2.

39 José Ortega y Gasset, *Meditaciones del Quijote.* 3ª edición. (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1976): page 20.

40 Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1972), 120.

particularly evident in regions like Asturias, where minimal historical contact with the Arab and Moorish world challenges the conflation of Asturian culture with Andalusian imagery. To illustrate this point, in the upcoming sections I will delve into specific examples of Russian composers who drew inspiration from folkloric genres and melodies originating from three distinct Spanish regions: Aragon, Andalusia, and Asturias. Through these examples I aim to offer a nuanced exploration into the multifaceted nature of the Spanish music, moving beyond simplistic portrayals.

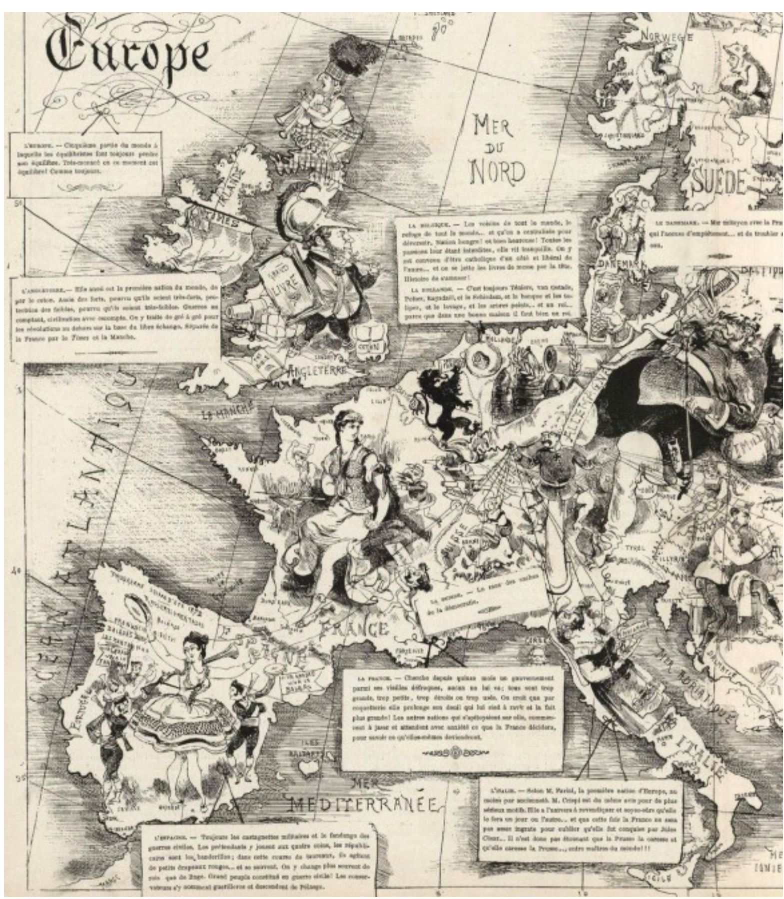

Figure 1: Illustration from La Vie parisienne (July 6, 1872) “"Always the military castanets and the fandango of civil wars”. [41]

2.1 Glinka's Journey to Spain: a Pioneer of Spanish Music in Russia

Against the backdrop and amidst the fervor of European nationalism and revolution in the post-Napoleonic era, some Russian composers, seeking to infuse their music with a uniquely local flavor, turned their gaze westward to Spain. The most notable figure in this exchange was Mikhail Glinka, who embarked on a journey to across the Pyrenees between 1845 and 1847 driven by a genuine

41 Illustration appeared in the program brochure for *VIERNES TEMÁTICOS Clichés musicales: visiones de España, La visión rusa,*" Ana Guijarro and Mariana Gurkova, piano, Elena Torres, presenter, accessed March 31, 2024, https://cdndigital.march.es/fedora/objects/fjm-pub:4491/datastreams/OBJ/content?p=2022-01-05T11:15:37.747Z, p. 14.

fascination with Spanish culture and a quest for new folkloric material.[42] Glinka's journey from 1845 to 1847 marked the first instance of a European composer deliberately seeking to utilize Spanish folklore for his artistic compositions. Just prior to departing from Paris, Glinka expressed his determination to enhance his musical repertoire with symphonic pieces titled "fantaisies pittoresques". He expressed how the uniqueness of Spain's indigenous melodies would greatly assist him.[43] Before his arrival in Spain, Glinka had already been acquainted with leading figures in European orchestration such as Héctor Berlioz and Felicien David. His primary fascination lay in the genre of orchestral fantasy, envisioning compositions that could resonate with both connoisseurs and the general public by incorporating popular melodies.[44]

Glinka's interest in Spanish music predates his physical visit to the country. He began studying the Spanish language in the 1830s and composed several pieces with Hispanic inspiration, such as "Ya estoy aquí Inesilla" and the bolero "Oh, mi doncella maravillosa", however, it was his direct experience in Spain that deeply influenced his compositions and ignited a lasting connection between Russian and Spanish musical traditions.[45] Traveling extensively across Spain, from Valladolid to Madrid, Granada, and Sevilla, Glinka embraced the local culture with enthusiasm. He attended concerts, engaged with local musicians, and absorbed the vibrant atmosphere of Spanish life. In his memoirs, he fondly recalls the influence of Andalusian folklore in his compositions, emphasizing the North African undertones of this music. For Glinka, the music of Andalusia seems to represent the "true essence" of Spanish popular music, embracing the non-European aspects of it that make it original and exotic for the Western audiences:

> The national music in the Spanish provinces that were conquered by the Moors, is the main focus of my studies which entail great difficulties. The Spanish and foreign teachers who live in Spain understand nothing of this, and when, sometimes, they interpret the national melodies, they spoil them by adding a European character, without considering that the majority are Arab melodies. To achieve my objectives, I turn to muleteers, artisans, and simple folk to lend an ear, with great attention, to their melodies. The melodic turns, the distribution of words, and the ornaments are so

42 José Manuel Gil de Gálvez, "El Legado Español de Glinka," *Melómano Digital* , November 25, 2022, https://www.melomanodigital.com/el-legado-espanol-de-glinka/.
43 Rafael Lamas, "Full Access On Music and Nation: The Colonized Consciousness of Spanish Musical Nationalism," *Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies* 7 (2003): 76.
44 Aguilar Hernández, "Conceptos de lo español en la música rusa", page 237.
45 Gil de Gálvez, "El Legado Español de Glinka".

> original that until now I have not been able to fully grasp all the melodies heard. I am talking here about the purebred Spanish folk music.[46]

During his early months in Spain, Valladolid served as a vibrant source of inspiration for the composer. He cherished the lively gatherings at his home, where neighbors and friends would gather to sing, dance, and engage in lively conversation. The music of Félix Castilla, skillfully played on the guitar, particularly captivated him, especially the Aragonese jota, which left an indelible mark on his memory. This spirited atmosphere fueled Glinka's creativity, inspiring him to compose his renowned Spanish Overtures, the first of which, a dazzling Caprice inspired by the jota, vividly captures the essence of these joyful gatherings.[47]

2.2 The Aragonese Jota: a Moorish or Italian Invention?

The jota is probably the most widespread genre of traditional music in Spain, indicating centuries of shared cultivation. It is a ternary rhythm with binary grouping and a quick pace, diversifying in different regions by incorporating unique elements, typically featuring an octosyllabic quatrain.[48] Despite recent attention to popular manifestations, the jota's music has been less studied compared to other folkloric expressions, like flamenco. The etymology of the word "jota" has been debated, with the most accepted origin being "sotar" from Latin "saltare" (to dance). Some relate it to the Arabic "xatha" (dance). The current form appeared in a manuscript from the late 16th to early 17th century and was documented again in 1705 and throughout the 18th century. As for its musical origins, theories suggest Greek, Celtic, or Gothic dances, with significant discourse on its Moorish roots.[49] There's a somewhat fanciful belief about the origin of the jota, suggesting it was introduced to Aragon by an Arab expelled from Valencia named Aben Jot, who was considered its "inventor." This particular example of popular false etymology is reflected in popular verses mentioning him taking refuge in Calatayud in the 12th century:

La jota nació en Valencia
y de allí vino a Aragón;
Calatayud fue su cuna,
a la orilla del Jalón.[50]

46 Álvarez Cañibano, A. *Los papeles españoles de Glinka 1845-1847. 150 aniversario del viaje de Mikhail Glinka a España.* (Madrid: Consejería de Educación y Cultura de la Comunidad de Madrid; Centro de Documentación Musical, 1996).
47 Aguilar Hernández, "Conceptos de lo español en la música rusa”, page 237.
48 Javier Barreiro Bordonaba, “Orígenes e historia” *Biografía de la jota aragonesa* (Zaragoza: Mira Editores, 2013).
49 Barreiro Bordonaba, “Orígenes e historia”.
50 Josep Crivillé i Bargalló, *Historia de la música española*, vol. 7 (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2007), p. 210.

The attribution of Arab origins to the jota within Aragon's Moorish-inhabited valleys, has been a subject of debate among scholars. As discussed previously, these debates reflect a broader tendency in nineteenth-century Spanish music to view everything through the Andalusian lense, often eclipsing other possible explanations. Studies by Tomás Bretón in 1890, conducted during the writing of the zarzuela *La Dolores*, highlighted significant differences with Islamic music, particularly in its prevalent major mode. For him, the origin would be Italian, as the jota technically resembles the music of the Carnival of Venice. Federico Olmeda and Felipe Pedrell also viewed the Aragonese jota as a recent creation, especially when compared to those cultivated in other parts of the Iberian Peninsula. While the Moorish hypothesis warrants scrutiny it should not be wholly dismissed, especially considering its possible connection to the fandango according to Martínez Torner.[51]

Figure 2: Glinka/Balakirev Jota Aragonesa (piano arrangement).[52]

51 Javier Barreiro, "Orígenes de la jota aragonesa," *Javier Barreiro Blogspot*, https://javierbarreiro.wordpress.com/2016/12/16/origenes-de-la-jota-aragonesa/ (accessed March 28, 2024).

52 Mily Balakirev, "Jota Aragonesa" (Moscow: Muzgiz, n.d.), Plate M. 23708 Г, accessed March 24, 2024, https://imslp.org/wiki/File:IMSLP12320-Glinka-Balakirev_(1862)_Jota_Aragonesa.pdf.

Musically, the jota is known for its rhythmic structure, combining two periods into one meter, often articulated in a 6/8 time signature. This genre, as depicted in Glinka's composition (see figure 2), embodies several musical characteristics that distinctly identify it. Its melodic contours are characterized by leaps, trills, and embellishments typical of Spanish folk music, giving it a unique and recognizable sound. This melodic richness is complemented by a rhythmic structure that is lively and syncopated, often featuring irregular accents and cross-rhythms that contribute to its energetic and dance-like quality.[53] Harmonically, it tends to follow a straightforward progression, with alternating tonic and dominant chords providing a stable foundation for the melody. This simplicity allows the melodic elements to shine.

A violin initiates the melody characterized by its irregularity when it comes to rhythm and coplas, The allusion of the Spanish guitar was inevitable, and for evoking its timbre, Glinka opted for plucked strings combined with the harp (see figures 3 and 4). This incorporation of plucked strings accompanying this solo violin added another element associated with Spanish popular music. The early work foreshadows the significant contribution Glinka would make to the realm of Spanish-infused compositions, ultimately shaping the Albenizian archetype of guitar imitation that would characterize Spanish music for years to come.[54]

Figures 3 and 4: Harp and plucked strings.[55]

53 Aguilar Hernández, "Conceptos de lo español en la música rusa”, page 238.
54 Aguilar Hernández, "Conceptos de lo español en la música rusa”, page 238.
55 Lyudmila Shestakova, ed., "Jota Aragonesa" (Mainz: Schott, n.d.), Plate 15900, accessed March 24, 2024, https://imslp.org/wiki/File:IMSLP394578-PMLP29833-Glinka_-_Jota_Aragonesa.pdf.

3.1 Glazunov and the Introduction of Andalusian Folklore

One of the most prominent Russian composers to follow in the footsteps of Glinka's Spanish inspiration was Aleksander Glazunov. In the summer of 1884, accompanied by Mitrofán Beliáyev, a notable figure in Russian intellectual circles, Glazunov embarked on a journey across the Pyrenees. The pair had been visiting composer Franz Liszt in Weimar, and a week in Germany they decided to embark on a journey across the Pyrennees to discover the rich folkloric material of Spain.[56]

Correspondence between Stasov and Balakirev proves that Glazunov’s trip was probably encouraged to go to Spain by his colleagues, surely with the aim of expanding his musical vocabulary.[57] Perhaps the intention was for Glazunov to compose a new anthem to Spanish folklore, so closely associated with Russian nationalism since Glinka's journey. The importance of the materials gathered in his lost notebook is evident not just in immediate compositions like the Spanish Serenade, but also in later ballets such as Raymonda, which had a substantial influence in encapsuling the lyrical beauty and rhythmic vitality of Spanish dances.[58]

Their first stop in Spain was made in the rose-filled Barcelona. Settling everything with their passports, passing by ancient Zaragoza with its majestic cathedral visible in the distance from the train window, the travelers arrived in Madrid, which disappointed Glazunov with its European appearance, expecting to see in it, as in the heart of Spain, all of Andalusia in miniature. The almost complete absence of greenery and the terrible heat only intensified the unfavorable impression for him. In the Spanish capital of Madrid, the travelers stopped, inspecting the University, the art gallery, and other attractions. They traveled from here to "the most wondrous," according to Sasha, the Escorial and to Toledo, a medieval city, part Moorish, part Spanish, surrounded on all sides by high walls. Sasha was struck by the somber grandeur of this Arab stronghold. In Madrid, he and Beliayev attended a bullfight. Mitrofan Petrovich didn't like what he saw, describing the event as disgusting and barbaric.[59]

Finding Madrid too European in character, they continued southward to Seville, where Glazunov expressed a keen interest in experiencing Spanish folk music. Victor Beliáyev recounted how they

56 V.M. Belyayev, *Aleksandr Konstantinovich Glazunov: Materialy k yego biografii* (Petrograd, 1922), Vol. 1, Part 1, pp. 76.
57 Vladimir Vasilievich Stasov, *Pisma k deyatelyam russkoy kultury (*Izd-vo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1962), p. 80.
58 Aguilar Hernández, "Conceptos de lo español en la música rusa”, page 320.
59 V.M. Belyayev, *Aleksandr Konstantinovich Glazunov:* pp. 78.

immersed themselves in the local culture, attending an evening of Spanish songs and Gypsy dances in the suburb of Triana, Sevilla. Glazunov diligently transcribed melodies, including the Malagueña and Flamenco Seguidillas, inspired by the captivating performances they witnessed.[60] In Seville, the travelers had no other money left but Russian, which they couldn't exchange. Because of this unexpected difficulty, they had to first go to Cadiz, where there was a Russian consul who helped them, and then to Gibraltar, where they made a miraculous crossing by sea in the evening on a sailboat from Algeciras.

Having crossed the strait of Gibraltar, in Tangier Glazunov experienced the prevalence of café chantants in the city, where "Arab music" could be heard. In his letter to Stasov he discusses one of these experiences:

> In addition to Spain, from Gibraltar we passed through Tangier. At first glance, it produces contradictory impressions: European houses with Spanish and French characteristics, and alongside them, Arab ones. [...] I went to a café chantant where they served me a very strong coffee, which I was already getting used to, and Arab music. Two musicians played instruments similar to the violin, the third mastered the tambourine. They sang music that wasn't bad, all about love, and meanwhile made some strange gestures to express their passion. I can't remember note by note, but what I do recall is the character of the music. It was different from Spanish music, which is calmer and more varied in rhythm. In Seville, I listened to a lot of Spanish music, which I even transcribed.[61]

Judging by Glazunov's tone, he didn't particularly enjoy the excesses of Arab music, nor the crowded streets, favoring the serenity of Spanish music. This reflection on Spain's role as a bridge between the familiar and the exotic resonates with Edward Said's exploration of Islam in the Iberian Peninsula. Said's analysis, presented in the second Spanish edition of *Orientalism.* delves into the intricate relationship between Spain and Islam, which diverges from the type of orientalist imaginary found in places such as France, Britain, and the United States.[62] The author highlights how Islam has been deeply intertwined with Spanish culture for centuries, rather than being perceived solely as an external influence. While Spain and particularly Andalusia is often portrayed by other European powers as an "oriental" space integrated into its national identity, this Muslim

60 V.M. Belyayev, *Aleksandr Konstantinovich Glazunov:* pp. 79.

61 Alexander Glazunov, letter to Vladimir Stasov, July 25/13, 1884, Malaga, as cited in V.M. Belyayev, *Aleksandr Konstantinovich Glazunov: Materialy k yego biografii* (Petrograd, 1922), Vol. 1, Part 1, pp. 80-81.

62 Edward Said, "Prólogo a la nueva edición española," in *Orientalismo* (Barcelona: DeBolsillo, 2008), 9–10.

Morocco represents Spain's own "Oriental periphery". Glazunov's journey exemplifies this complexity, as his observations in Tangier and reflections on Spanish culture highlight Spain's dual role as a borderland. This dual perspective resonates with Russia's own nuanced relationship with the East, as I will further explore later in the chapter.

3.2 "El paño" in Glazunov's Spanish Serenade

Following his travels to Spain, in 1888, Glazunov composed the *Spanish Serenade* for piano and cello. By immersing himself in the intimate ambiance of Beliayev's Friday chamber compositions, Glazunov sought to encapsulate their collective Spanish experiences, in a musical summary of this journey.[63] The content of the Serenade aligns with the materials he could have gathered on the peninsula. Among the two main melodies in the piece, one is recognizable - the familiar *Paño moruno*, according to Antonio Escribano, one of the sources that could have originally been heard in café cantantes.[64] Glazunov's desire for affiliation with Glinka is evident through letters, so the melody, although significantly altered from its original version, is laden with meaning.

Figure 5: Glazunov’s *Spanish Serenade* for cello and piano, Theme A (bars 1-8).[65]

The piece is structured around a main melody (A) that, along with the "paño" melody (B), forms an ABA structure (see figure 5). Glazunov's use of embellishment is in line with the aesthetic canons

63 Aguilar Hernández, "Conceptos de lo español en la música rusa”, page 325.

64 Aguilar Hernández, "Conceptos de lo español en la música rusa”, page 326.

65 M.P. Belaieff, ed., *Serenade Espagnole, Op. 20 No. 2 for Cello and Piano* (Leipzig: M.P. Belaieff, n.d. [1890]), plate 211, 255, 256, https://imslp.org/wiki/File:IMSLP25374-PMLP56387-Glazunov_Serenande_Espagnole_Op20No2_Cello_Piano.pdf.

of Andalusian popular music.[66] Favoring the cello for which it is written—likely for an amateur interpreter—the piece minimizes melodic leaps, allowing for expressive arcs, replacing the typical jumps characterizing the more well-known melody.[67]

Figure 6: *El Paño Moruno* (Theme B) in the Spanish Serenade (bars 50-60).[68]

In addition to the previous points, in the melody of "El Paño Moruno" several characteristics associated with Andalusian music are evident. The everpresent Phrygian mode and the Andalusian cadence, which comprises a iv–III–II–I progression are notable (Figure 6, bars 22-23). Furthermore, during "El Paño Moruno" (B part), the piano accompaniment once again evokes the sound of a guitar, with staccato passages plus the arpeggios mimicking strumming.

66 Andalusian music is characterized by an exuberant and lush ornamentation style.
67 Aguilar Hernández, "Conceptos de lo español en la música rusa”, page 326.
68 M.P. Belaieff, ed., *Serenade Espagnole, Op. 20 No. 2.*

El Paño is also one of the pieces Falla introduced in his *Seven Popular Songs*. It is virtually confirmed by historiography that Falla used songbooks, particularly *Ecos de España* by Inzenga, in composing his songs. Falla's piano accompaniment for the piece, not found in *Ecos de España*,"though hinted at in "Flores de España" by Isidoro Hernández, is a subject of debate. As seen in Glazunov's composition, which contains a reference to this material, Falla may have heard a very similar version, as Glazunov did, which may have persisted in *café cantantes* since 1884.[69]

Glazunov's journey not only influenced his own compositions but also left a mark on other composers, including Rimsky-Korsakov, whose Spanish Capriccio demonstrates a shared interest in Spanish themes. Although the exact extent of Glazunov's influence on Korsakov is uncertain, both works utilize melodies from Inzenga's songbooks, hinting at a potential connection. In the subsequent discussion, I will delve into Korsakov's work and explore the intriguing source of its folkloric melodies, originating from the Northwestern region.

4.1 Rimsky-Korsakov's *Spanish Capriccio*: Northern Bagpipes and Asturian Dances.

The *Spanish Capriccio Op. 34*, is an orchestral work composed in 1887 by Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, drawing upon Spanish melodies. Originally titled in Russian as 'Каприччио на испанские темы' (Kaprichchio na ispánskiye temy), the composition was probably inspired by music the composer encountered during his travels.[70] Between 1862 and 1865, the Tikhvin-born composer extensively traveled the world as an officer in the Russian navy, where he discovered much of the music that would later influence his work.

During the summer of 1887 Rimsky-Korsakov was deeply immersed in his work on Borodin's opera *Prince Igor*, drawing more from the success of his earlier Fantasy on Russian Themes (1886) than from any direct Spanish influence when it comes to orchestration and timbrical effects.[71] The *Spanish Capriccio* found its place within the vibrant atmosphere of the Russian Symphony Concerts, which were initiated by Rimsky-Korsakov himself and Mitrofan Belayev.[72] These

69 Aguilar Hernández, "Conceptos de lo español en la música rusa", page 327.
70 Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, *My Musical Life* (New York: Knopf, 1923), 281.
71 Jonathan Del Mar, "Rimsky-Korsakov: Capriccio Espagnol, Op.34." Chapter. In *Orchestral Masterpieces under the Microscope*, 390–93. Boydell & Brewer, 2023.
72 Enrique de Burgos, "Rimsky Korsakov's Spanish Capriccio (Origin of the work)," in *Les soirées de l'orchestre* (Wordpress), accessed April 25, 2024, https://enriquedeburgos.wordpress.com/

concerts provided a platform for young Russian composers to present their orchestral works alongside established pieces from previous generations. Initially conceived as a follow-up to his successful violin and orchestra piece, Rimsky-Korsakov initially outlined the entirety of the Capriccio before redirecting his efforts towards an orchestral composition.

The piece is often praised for its orchestration, particularly its use of percussion and specialized techniques like asking string players to imitate guitars. Nevertheless, Rimsky-Korsakov felt this focus on orchestration overshadowed other aspects of the composition. In his autobiography, he argued that the brilliance of the *Capriccio* lays not just in its orchestration but in its intricate composition for the orchestra. He emphasized the careful selection of melodies, the dynamic changes, and the rhythmic interplay as essential elements. In his autobiography, he wrote:

> The opinion formed by both critics and the public, that the *Capriccio* is a magnificently orchestrated piece— is wrong. The *Capriccio* is a brilliant composition for the orchestra. The change of timbres, the felicitous choice of melodic designs and figuration patterns, exactly suiting each kind of instrument, brief virtuoso cadenzas for instruments solo, the rhythm of the percussion instruments, etc., constitute here the very essence of the composition and not its garb or orchestration. The Spanish themes, of dance character, furnished me with rich material for putting in use multiform orchestral effects.[73]

Regarding the origin of this piece, there are various hypothesies. One of the possible explanations relies from his history of travelling as an officer in the Russian Navy. The inspiration for the work thus would have stemmed from the music he encountered, in part, during his travels. Between 1862 and 1865, the composer had traveled extensively around the world due to his position as an officer on board of the ship Almaz (meaning “Diamond” in Russian)", and in one of these journeys the ship made a stop in the harbour of Cadiz.[74] But this theory does not fully explain how the composer got in touch with the Asturian melodies present in this piece. Cadiz and Asturias are geographically separated by more than 900 km, and the lack of popularity of Asturian music outside of its geographical borders at the time make it highly unlikely that the composer got acquainted with this material in the southern Mediterranean city.

73 Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, *My Musical Life* (New York: Knopf, 1923), 246.
74 Rimsky-Korsakov, *My Musical Life,* 281.

According to Aguilar Hernández, Rimsky-Korsakov utilized themes from Inzenga's *Ecos de España* published in 1874, to orchestrate his work.[75] Inzenga's collection of themes was the result of extensive direct exploration across Spanish regions, complemented by references to historical sources and advice from prominent experts of the time, such as Francisco A. Barbieri and Felipe Pedrell.[76] This does not fully explain why the materials present in this composition differ so much from what one would normally would expect of “Spanish” music, especially at a time where Glinka and Glazunov dominated in the Russian circles with the “Moorish” Andalucist aesthetic trend.

Some legends surrounding the origin of Rimsky-Korsakov's Spanish Capriccio are quite intriguing. One of these tales revolves around a purported connection between Rimsky-Korsakov and the city of Ferrol. It is a controversial tale, with a lack of clear evidence. According to this almost legendary narration, Rimsky-Korsakov's inspiration for the piece stemmed from a romantic encounter with a woman from Ferrol or Galicia. This narrative was explored in the *Revista General de Marina* by Manuel Maestro, writing under the pseudonym "Ero Cabo," along with José María Blanco Núñez and Fernando de Arnáiz Núñez. Fernando de Arnáiz, relying on oral family traditions, provides an account of the alleged visit, supported by some alleged testimonies from his wife's ancestors.[77] In September 1880, the Russian imperial yacht "Livadia," carrying the Grand Duke and Admiral Constantine, purportedly arrived in Ferrol due to damages sustained during a storm at sea in Brest, France. It is claimed that Rimsky-Korsakov was also aboard the yacht. During the three-month repair period, according to Arnáiz's account, interactions occurred between locals and the distinguished visitors. Anecdotes suggest that the Grand Duke gifted Arnáiz's wife's great-grandfather a splendid gold pocket watch adorned with precious gems. Arnáiz recounts his mother-in-law's tales of an opulent salon aboard the yacht, filled with magnificent pianos. Furthermore, it is suggested that Rimsky-Korsakov indulged in local festivities, dancing with Ferrol women, possibly falling in love and composing his renowned Capriccio in homage to his romantic encounter.[78]

There is yet another tale that shares some intriguing parallels with the previous story of Rimsky-Korsakov's time in Ferrol and adds to the possibility that the story contains at least some element of truth. According to Milo Mariño, journalist in *La Nueva España*, there exists a chance that the

---

75 José Inzenga, “Asturias” in *Ecos de España. Tomo primero: colección de cantos y bailes populares* (Barcelona: Andrés Vidal y Roger, 1874), pp 9-16.

76 Aguilar Hernández, "Conceptos de lo español en la música rusa”, page 329.

77 Germán Castro Tomé, "De Ferrol para el Mundo: Acotaciones de un ferrolés," *De Ferrol para el Mundo*, December 2016, accessed February 23, 2024, https://deferrolparaelmundo.blogspot.com/2016/12/estuvo-rimsky-korsakov-en-ferrol-en.html.

78 Castro Tomé, "De Ferrol para el Mundo”.

Russian composer made a direct visit to Asturias.[79] This narrative emphasizes three key aspects: Rimsky-Korsakov's friendship with José María Bernaldo de Quirós, the Spanish Ambassador in Saint Petersburg of Asturian descent; the incorporation of Asturian melodies into his Capriccio; and his purported journey to the town of La Felguera. Allegedly, he forged a close bond with José María Bernaldo de Quirós during grand diplomatic occasions. Following an incident during a leisure voyage aboard the Livadia yacht in 1880, Korsakov found himself stranded in Ferrol (coinciding with the earlier account). Upon learning of this, Quirós purportedly extended an invitation for him to explore Asturias. Their time together in Castropol was characterized by leisurely boat excursions and exploration, leading to a decision to acquaint Korsakov with the Asturian composer Anselmo González del Valle in Oviedo, who allegedly shared Inzenga's *Songbook* with the composer (see figure 7).[80] His association with the region sparked speculation regarding the genesis of this composition. It is worth noting that in the local village of Riañu, there is an abandoned house commonly referred to by villagers as "the house of Rimsky" adding some verisimilitude to this connection.[81] The absence of explicit written sources renders this hypothesis yet to be fully substantiated.

4.2 The Alborada and Variations in the *Spanish Capriccio*: Forced Orientalism?

The Capriccio espagnol consists of five movements, four of which are based on the Asturian melodies recovered from Inzenga. Contrast is a leading factor in the composition, reminiscent in some ways of Mussorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition* (1874). It alternates between fast and slow tempos, or in other words, between dance-like forms and cantabile sections. These juxtapositions were essential in creating this particular suite concept.[82] Only the fourth movement "Scena e canto gitano" draws from Andalusian traditions. The first and third movements feature an alborada for bagpipe, symbolizing the optimism of daybreak after a wedding night, while the second movement prominently showcases the "Danza Prima" traditionally sung around the San Juan bonfires in Asturias *Válgame el señor San Pedro*.[83]

---

79 Milio Mariño, "Tuvieron nel Paraísu: Rimsy Korsakov na Felguera." *Manzorga* (blog), June 26, 2022. https://manzorga.blogspot.com/2022/06/tuvieron-nel-paraisu-rimsy-korsakov-na.html.

80 José Inzenga, *Ecos de España. Tomo primero: colección de cantos y bailes populares.*

81 Milio Mariño, "Tuvieron nel Paraísu".

82 Aguilar Hernández, "Conceptos de lo español en la música rusa", page 331.

83 Avello, Ramón. "Capricho Asturiano." *El Comercio*, June 1, 2008, *https://www.elcomercio.es/gijon/20080601/opinion/capricho-asturiano-20080601.html?ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.elcomercio.es%2Fgijon%2F20080601%2Fopinion%2Fcapricho-asturiano-20080601.html*

10

ALBORADA

(ASTURIAS)

Allegro

TAMBOR

PIANO.

(GAITA)

Figure 7: Inzenga’s Alborada[84]

According to Olga Camafeita, the alborada is a type of instrumental music rooted in folk tradition, typically performed by bagpiper groups who play from house to house at dawn during village festivals.[85] Typical alboradas are instrumental pieces, without any vocal accompaniment, predominantly featuring the bagpipe as the main instrument. Traditionally played by bagpipers at the break of day during patron saint festivals, they traverse the community from one house to another, signaling the start of the day's festivities. This musical genre is akin to other parade music forms, such as marches, and is very rooted in the traditions of the old Northwest, in those territories that conformed the Galician-Asturian Kingdom. In the late 19th century, during the Renaissance of Galician culture, many classical composers drew inspiration from these folk tunes for their works. As a result, several alboradas, including the Alborada de Verín, the Alborada de Poio and Pascual Veiga's Alborada Galega—one of the most symbolically significant Galician pieces—became widely recognized.[86]

84 José Inzenga, “Asturias” in *Ecos de España.*, p. 9.
85 Olga Camafeita, "Alborada," in *A música popular en Galicia* (Rinoceronte Editora, 2010).
86 Consello da Cultura Galega, "Colección de lousas," accessed March 31, 2024, https://consellodacultura.gal/fondos_documentais/coleccion-de-lousas/.

The importance of Rimsky-Korsakov's Spanish Capriccio extends beyond its originality in orchestration to encompass its departure from conventional stereotypes surrounding Spanish music. Most of the melodies utilized in the composition belong to the mentioned Asturian folklore, originating from northern Spain rather than Andalusia. These musical traditions share closer affinities with other Atlantic European nations, such as Scotland, than with the orientalistic, Arab-influenced South. One distinctive element of Asturian music is its profound connection to Celtic influences, stemming from the historical presence of Celtic tribes that settled in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula centuries ago. This divergence challenges the prevailing portrayal of Spain as a southern land, exclusively defined by the Andalusian world.

Rimsky's incorporation of Asturian melodies reveals a different dimension of Spanish music—one of bagpipe tunes, summer solstice dances and lively mountain rhythms. As transmitted by the philosophy of his *Treaty on Orchestration*, Korsakov aimed for a timbral combination of all the instruments to create a new effect.[87] Just like the school of Berlioz and Glinka, Rimsky-Korsakov tried to make the most of each instrument individually. In this case, the violins in "Alborada" (see figure 8) are a clear allusion to the instrument for which the work transcribed by Inzenga was intended: the bagpipe.

Figure 8: Bars 1-4 of the Spanish Capriccio: Strings.[88]

The orchestration alone did not solely determine the overall musical character. Harmony also played a significant role, although Rimsky-Korsakov mostly adhered to the harmonizations proposed by Inzenga, (which were heavily criticized by Felip Pedrell, father of Spanish musicology).[89] However, there were notable exceptions to this adherence, particularly when connecting the "purity" of the

87 Nikolay Rimsky-Korsakov, Nikolay. *Principles of Orchestration.* Translated by Edward Agate. (Berlin: Editions Russes de Musique, 1922).

88 Nikolay Rimsky-Korsakov,"Spanish Capriccio, Op.34." First edition. (Leipzig: C.G. Röder, 1887). Plate 97. Reprinted, New York: E.F. Kalmus, n.d. (1933–70). Catalog A1915. Public Domain. Includes color scan of chromolithograph title-page by A. Antipoff. Pages 3-6 missing. Accessed March 30, 2024. https://vmirror.imslp.org/files/imglnks/usimg/9/90/IMSLP32506-PMLP06266-Rimsky-Op34FSbel.pdf

89 Celsa Alonso González, “Felip Pedrell y la canción culta con acompañamiento en la España decimonónica: la difícil convivencia de lo popular y lo culto." *Recerca musicològica, no. 11 (1991)*: 305-328.

folkloric themes with emerging orientalist ideas. Consequently, by adopting a Phrygian melodic profile—something easily incorporated by Inzenga as a regular semicadence—Rimsky-Korsakov introduced Phrygian cadences using the Neapolitan sixth (see figure 9). This approach transformed the melody's origin, regardless of its Asturian roots, to align with the traditional associations of what constitutes the “southern” sound.[90]

Figure 9: Napolitan Cadence in the Variations, page 13 first two bars.[91]

In classical music theory, the Neapolitan chord consists of a major chord formed on the flattened second scale degree, or the supertonic. Within Schenkerian analysis, it's labeled as a Phrygian II, particularly when appearing in minor scales, as it corresponds to the notes of the Phrygian mode.[92] While some representations may use "N" to denote this chord, others prefer " ♭II" to clarify its relationship to the supertonic. As explained before, the Phrygian mode is very evocative of Andalusian musical traditions. The chord is named Napolitan due to its associations with the school of Scarlatti, Pergolesi and other masters of Italian 18th century opera.[93] This adherence to southern sounds and themes is evident in the use of the Neapolitan chord in classical harmony. A more modern illustration of these musical associations can be found in Nino Rota’s 1975 soundtrack for Godfather II, specifically in the "Inmigrant Theme" (see figure 10) where the Neapolitan chord contributes to the evocation of a "southern" ambiance:

90 Aguilar Hernández, "Conceptos de lo español en la música rusa”, page 332.

91 Nikolay Rimsky-Korsakov,"Spanish Capriccio, Op.34." page 13.

92 Oswald Jonas, *Introduction to the Theory of Heinrich Schenker* (1934: *Das Wesen des musikalischen Kunstwerks: Eine Einführung in Die Lehre Heinrich Schenkers*), trans. John Rothgeb (New York: Longman, 1982), p. 29, note 29.

93 William Drabkin, "Neapolitan Sixth Chord," *Grove Music Online*, 8th ed., Oxford University Press, 2001.

Figure 10: Inmigrant's Theme in Godfather II arranged by Philip Kereven (bar 9).[94]

Another instance of this "imposed" Andalusian identity can be seen in the cover art of one of the initial musical editions of the piece (see figure 11). Various elements, like what appears to be an olive tree, a traditional southern hat with a rose one could see at the Feria de Abril in Sevilla, or the Spanish Guitar, symbolize a uniform, and oversimplified perception of Spanish folklore, which starkly contrasts with the distinct cultural landscape of Asturias, aligning more closely with those traditions of the so called Celtic Nations, such as the French Bretagne region or Cornwall and Wales (see figure 12).

94 Philip Kereven, arranger, "Inmigrant's Theme," in *Godfather II*, composed by Nino Rota, Paramount Film soundtrack, published by MusicNotes, accessed May 1, 2024, https://www.musicnotes.com/sheetmusic/mtd.asp?ppn=MN0095532.

Figure 11: Cover art for the music score of the Spanish Capriccio.[95]

95 Rimsky-Korsakov, Nikolay. "Spanish Capriccio, Op.34." First edition. (Leipzig: C.G. Röder, 1887).

Figure 12: A typical ensemble of Asturian bagpipers, with their traditional clothing.[96]

5. Conclusion

In the works of nineteenth century Russian composers, exploration of Spanish themes transcended mere artistic curiosity; it was deeply intertwined with complex geopolitical ambitions and cultural ideologies. The deliberate incorporation of Spanish elements into Russian music and culture was not only a reflection of a quest for artistic inspiration but also served as a strategic tool in the broader context of Russia's imperial ambitions. This strategic adoption of Spanish themes was not without its consequences, since this construction of "Spanishness" often led to the exoticization and oversimplification of the Iberian traditions, particularly overshadowed by those of Andalusia. This emphasis on Andalusian exoticism overshadowed the diverse musical heritage of Spain, contributing to distorted representations in the broader European context.

96 "Encuentro de Gaiteros" Fiestas de San Roque en Llanes, August 16, 2022, https://san-roque.com/16-08-2022-encuentro-de-gaiteros/.

This sterotyped image of Spain continued to resonate in the works of later composers, most notably in the music of Dmitri Shostakovich that I will discuss in the following chapters. Shostakovich's compositions, such as "Salute to Spain" and his Spanish Songs Op. 100, exemplify the enduring influence of the Andalusian theme, both in the overall setting and the musical expression. By delving into the context surrounding the emergence of this Spanish myth, we can better understand the motivations behind Shostakovich's musical exploration and its connection with the cultural policies of the USSR of the 1930s and 1950s.

Chapter 2: Shostakovich's *Salute to Spain!* (1936) and the USSR involvement in the Spanish Civil War

In this chapter, I analyze the theatrical production of *Salute to Spain!* by A. Afinogenov (see figure 13), staged in Leningrad in 1936 with music composed by Shostakovich. Afinogenov's play, inspired by the Spanish people's resistance against fascism, was initially celebrated but later removed due to ideological reasons amidst Afinogenov's persecution. Similarly, Shostakovich's musical score faced a complex fate, eventually resurfacing in the 1960s alongside renewed interest in political events in Spain. The collaboration between Afinogenov and Shostakovich, despite the challenges they faced individually, sheds light on a significant period in Soviet cultural history, linked with the propaganda and politics of the Soviet Union in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939).

Figure 13: Cover for the booklet of *Salute to Spain!* Heroic drama in 9 scenes by A. Afinogenov.[97]

97 Galina V. Kopytova, “Shostakovich’s Music for the Play ‘Salute, Spain!’: Finds and Search Prospects,” *Muzykal’naya akademiya* [Music Academy], no. 2 (2023).

1. The Impact of the Great Terror and Stalin's Purges on Soviet Music

It is 1936 in the Soviet Union, a time when whispers carry weight and shadows stretch long under the watchful eye of Joseph Stalin, the nation's supreme leader. In these tumultuous days, the air is thick with apprehension as Stalin's purges loom ominously like dark storm clouds gathering on the distant horizon. These trials, orchestrated by Stalin himself, are not mere acts of political housekeeping, but sweeping campaigns of terror aimed at quelling dissent and consolidate his iron grip on power.

The Great Terror, a term popularized by historian Robert Conquest in his 1968 book, describes a systematic and brutal effort by Stalin to tighten his control and eradicate any potential opposition.[98] According to Conquest, Stalin's revolution during the purges had a profound impact, surpassing even the Bolshevik Revolution in its transformative effect on the Soviet Union.[99] The author emphasizes that while the groundwork for such drastic changes existed within Soviet society and the Communist Party, it was Stalin's personal ambition and actions that drove the radical transformation.[100]

Other authors, such as J. Arch Getty challenge the dominant narrative about Stalin's role in the purges.[101] Getty argues that Western scholars have been fixated on Stalin's cult of personality, neglecting the political and institutional context in which the purges unfolded.[102] Rather than attributing everything to Stalin's personal whims, Getty calls for a more nuanced understanding that takes into account the broader political dynamics at play. A similar sentiment is echoed by Alec Nove in *The Stalin Phenomenon* where he highlights the top-down nature of the purges.[103] Nove acknowledges the existence of rivalries and conflicts within the Soviet apparatus but emphasizes Stalin's decisive role in initiating and overseeing the purges.[104] He points to documentary evidence, such as Stalin's telegram demanding the appointment of Yezhov to replace Yagoda, as indicative of Stalin's direct involvement in the process.

98 Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror: Stalin's Purge of the Thirties* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1968).
99 Conquest, *The Great Terror, 69.*
100 Conquest, *The Great Terror, 70.*
101 John Arch Getty, *The Origins of the Great Purges* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
102 Getty, *The Origins of the Great Purges,* p. 205.
103 Alec Nove, *The Stalin Phenomenon* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1993).
104 Nove, *The Stalin Phenomenon,* p. 32.

In an essay on the economic dimensions of the purges, Roberta Manning posits a link between the economic crisis of the 1930s and the intensification of the purges.[105] Manning argues that economic hardships created a fertile ground for scapegoating and contributed to Stalin's motivation to purge perceived internal threats.[106] This perspective underscores the complex interplay of political and economic factors that occurred during this period of time. Similarly, Robert Service highlights Stalin's use of terror as a tool for political control and social engineering, framing the purges as part of a broader project of state-building, aimed to secure the state's total grip on society (and therefore Stalin's personal will).[107]

During this period, Dmitri Shostakovich, a towering figure in twentieth century classical music, occupied a prominent position in Soviet cultural establishment. Renowned for his innovative compositions and stirring symphonies, Shostakovich's music captivated audiences at home and abroad, earning him widespread acclaim and recognition. However, in the midst of his growing fame and artistic success, Shostakovich faced a pivotal moment that would forever change the course of his career. In January 28, 1936, the Soviet newspaper Pravda published a scathing article entitled "Muddle Instead of Music" (see figure 13) which denounced Shostakovich's opera *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District* in no uncertain terms.[108] Although unsigned, the article condemned Shostakovich's opera in the strongest terms, sending shockwaves through the Soviet Union. Describing Lady Macbeth as coarse, primitive, and vulgar, it characterizes the opera as a cacophony of nervous, convulsive and spasmodic music, portraying it as a wilderness of musical chaos.[109] As for the composer himself, it acknowledges Shostakovich's talent but accuses him of deliberately distorting the music and laments the absence of a simple and accessible musical language to all. The editorial warns that such complexity is a threat to Soviet music, making it susceptible to dissident distortion, formalism, and "petty-bourgeois innovation". It condemns Lady Macbeth's success abroad as evidence of its anti-Soviet nature, catering to the perverted tastes of the bourgeoisie. Shostakovich is presented as a charicature of a composer who lacked class consciousness, portrayed as an introspective artist who ignored the demands of Soviet culture and the tastes of his audience. With unmistakable disdain, the editorial laments the sacrifice of the power of "good music" to an

105 Robert Manning, "The Soviet Economic Crisis of 1936-40 and the Great Purges," in John Arch Getty and Roberta Thompson Manning (eds), *Stalinist Terror: New Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
106 R. Manning, "The Soviet Economic Crisis of 1936-40" pp. 140-141.
107 Robert Service, *A History of Twentieth-Century Russia* (London: Allen Lane, 1997), pp. 210-211.
108 Brian Moynahan, *Leningrad: Siege and Symphony* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2013), 32.
109 "Muddle Instead of Music," *Pravda*, January 28, 1936, English translation, in *Arnold Schalks Archive*, available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20110127123117/http://www.arnoldschalks.nl/tlte1sub1.html (accessed April 2, 2024).

attempt to achieve originality through cheap clowning, and warns of possible “dire consequences”.[110]

СУМБУР ВМЕСТО МУЗЫКИ

Об опере «Леди Макбет Мценского уезда»

Вместе с общим культурным ростом в нашей стране выросла и потребность в хорошей музыке. Никогда и нигде композиторы не имели перед собой такой благодарной аудитории. Народные массы ждут хороших песен, но также и хороших инструментальных произведений, хороших опер.

Некоторые театры как новинку, как достижение преподносят новой, выросшей культурно советской публике оперу Шостаковича «Леди Макбет Мценского уезда». Услужливая музыкальная критика превозносит до небес оперу, создает ей громкую славу. Молодой композитор вместо деловой и серьезной критики, которая могла бы помочь ему в дальнейшей работе, выслушивает только восторженные комплименты.

Слушателя с первой же минуты ошарашивает в опере нарочито нестройный, сумбурный поток звуков. Обрывки мелодии, зачатки музыкальной фразы тонут, вырываются, снова исчезают в грохоте, скрежете и визге. Следить за этой «музыкой» трудно, запомнить ее невозможно.

Так в течение почти всей оперы. На сцене пение заменено криком. Если компо-

тому же принципу отрицания оперы, по какому левацкое искусство вообще отрицает в театре простоту, реализм, понятность образа, естественное звучание слова. Это — перенесение в оперу, в музыку наиболее отрицательных черт «мейерхольдовщины» в умноженном виде. Это левацкий сумбур вместо естественой, человеческой музыки. Способность хорошей музыки захватывать массы приносится в жертву мелкобуржуазным формалистическим потугам, претензиям создать оригинальность приемами дешевого оригинальничанья. Это игра в заумные вещи, которая может кончиться очень плохо.

Опасность такого направления в советской музыке ясна. Левацкое уродство в опере растет из того же источника, что и левацкое уродство в живописи, в поэзии, в педагогике, в науке. Мелкобуржуазное «новаторство» ведет к отрыву от подлинного искусства, от подлинной науки, от подлинной литературы.

Автору «Леди Макбет Мценского уезда»

хается, чтобы как можно натуральнее изобразить любовные сцены. И «любовь» размазана во всей опере в самой вульгарной форме. Купеческая двуспальная кровать занимает центральное место в оформлении. На ней разрешаются все «проблемы». В таком же грубо-натуралистическом стиле показана смерть от отравления, сечение почти на самой сцене.

Композитор, видимо, не поставил перед собой задачи прислушаться к тому, чего ждет, чего ищет в музыке советская аудитория. Он словно нарочно зашифровал свою музыку, перепутал все звучания в ней так, чтобы дошла его музыка только до потерявших здоровый вкус эстетов-формалистов. Он прошел мимо требований советской культуры изгнать грубость и дикость из всех углов советского быта. Это воспевание купеческой похотливости некоторые критики называют сатирой. Ни о какой сатире здесь и речи не может быть. Всеми средствами и музыкальной и драматической выразительности автор старается привлечь симпатии публики к грубым и вульгарным стремлениям и поступкам купчихи Катерины Измайловой.

«Леди Макбет» имеет успех у буржуаз-

Figure 14: “Muddle Instead of Music” article in *Pravda*.[111]

The authorship of "Muddle Instead of Music" remains uncertain, as it was common practice for articles reflecting the official party line to be published anonymously. Scholars such as Richard Taruskin have suggested several possible authors, including figures such as Andrei Zhdanov, who served as the Communist Party manager in Leningrad at the time and later held a prominent cultural position under Stalin's regime; David Zaslavsky, a senior writer for Pravda; Boris Reznikov, another member of the Pravda editorial staff; and Platon Kerzhentsev, a playwright, journalist, and party official.[112] Although there were rumors suggesting that Stalin was the author of the article, this claim appears unlikely. Nevertheless, given Stalin's attendance at the January 1936 opera performance and his reported dissatisfaction, it is reasonable to infer that he either endorsed or tacitly approved of the article.[113]

110 "Muddle Instead of Music," *Pravda*, January 28, 1936.
111 Idem.
112 Richard Taruskin, "Was Shostakovich a Martyr? Or Is That Just Fiction?" *The New York Times*, August 26, 2016.
113 Brian Moynahan, *Leningrad*, 32.

This tumultuous period surrounding the Pravda editorial "Muddle Instead of Music" in January 1936 profoundly affected Dmitri Shostakovich's life and creative development.[114] As the controversy unfolded, Shostakovich found himself at the center of a cultural storm, grappling with the repercussions of the condemnation of his opera "Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District" as "formalist" and its subsequent denunciation by Soviet authorities. Shostakovich's musical career was flourishing in 1936, with performances of his works and engagements throughout the Soviet Union, but this public denunciation marked a dramatic turning point. Suddenly, his artistic integrity and ideological orientation were called into question, placing him in a precarious position within the Soviet cultural industry.

What began as an attack on Shostakovich escalated into a broader discussion criticizing formalism in the arts, revealing that Shostakovich was merely the first target in a broader campaign. According to Mikkonen *Pravda* reported meetings organized by the Composers' Union following its public condemnation of Shostakovich, even though these discussions hardly dominated the newspaper's coverage.[115] Nevertheless, composers were aware of the potential political ramifications. In Moscow, Dmitry Kabalevsky, the head of the creative department of the Composers' Union, called a meeting on January 31 to admit that they had failed to adequately supervise the work of composers. The committee's official publication, *Sovetskoye iskusstvo* (Soviet Art), confirmed the lack of self-criticism within the Composers' Union. In response, several general meetings of composers were held in Leningrad and Moscow in the spring, and many composers engaged in extensive discussions outside of these formal gatherings.[116]

Against this backdrop of re-evaluation, the All-Union Committee for Artistic Affairs was created, which later evolved into the USSR Ministry of Culture.[117] It was no mere coincidence that the Comittee was conceived on January 17, 1936, the very day Stalin attended Dzerzhinsky's opera *Tikhi Don* (Quiet Flows the Don). The opera, praised by Stalin for its patriotic themes, depicting the life of the Don Cossacks amidst historical upheavals and appealing, folkloric music won Dzerzhinsky a Stalin Prize.[118] Recognizing its propaganda value, the work was proclaimed a model

114 Laurel Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life* (Cary: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1999), pp. 87-88.

115 Simo Mikkonen, "'Muddle Instead of Music' in 1936: Cataclysm of Musical Administration," in *Shostakovich Studies 2*, ed. Paul Fairclough (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 233.

116 Mikkonen, 'Muddle Instead of Music', 234.

117 Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life,* pp. 89.

118 Rita McAllister, ed., Stanley Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), 20 vols., s.v. "Dzerzhinsky, Ivan [Ivanovich]," 5:797.

of socialist realism in music. This marked a crucial shift toward more centralized oversight of artistic expression. Tasked with ensuring that the country's artists adhered to the socialist principles of Soviet realism, this committee represented an attempt to tighten control over the arts, including music. Platon Kerzhentsev, who headed the committee, underscored the broad impact of Pravda's editorials, which sought to influence not only music but all areas of the arts in the direction of Soviet realism.[119] In a public address to Dmitri Shostakovich, he advised the young composer to draw inspiration from peasant songs and emulate Rimsky-Korsakov's method of incorporating folklore from all different regions of the Soviet Union, exploring its diverse cultural landscape.

> It would not be a bad idea or Shostakovich to take a page from the book of Rimsky-Korsakov. Contact with the abundance of the folk musical heritage had a beneficial effect on his whole work. Only Shostakovich should not restrict himself to the songs of the Russian people as Rimsky-Korsakov did but should travel around the whole Soviet Union and become acquainted with the rich mine of musical folklore of the peoples of the Soviet Union.[120]

Kerzhentsev's instructions to Dmitri Shostakovich resonate with the policy of "korenizatsiya" implemented by the Soviet Union in the 1920s.[121] This policy, stemming from the word "koren" (meaning "root" in Russian), aimed to "empower" indigenous peoples by integrating them into the administrative apparatus of the state, granting them positions in local government and the bureaucracy, and promoting the use of vernacular languages alongside Russian. Kerzhentsev's ideas respond to the imperialist dynamics of the Soviet Union of the 1930s, making cultural diversity a supposed banner of the Eurasian melting pot, but always from a Russocentric point of view reminiscent of the old ways of tsarism. As Mark Mazower highlights, the apparent federal organization of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics during its inception in the early 1920s obscured a growing trend towards centralization.[122] This neocolonial relationship reflected the traditional imperialist dynamic in which a dominant power exploits and subjugates subordinate territories for its own benefit. Under the guise of communism, the Soviet regime imposed a unified state under the leadership of Russia under the principles of socialism. As discussed before in the introductory chapter, this form of expansion towards the Orient is framed around the discourse of these territories as Russia’s natural and vital spaces for imperial expansion.[123]

119 Laurel Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life,* pp. 89.
120 Idem.
121 Alfons Cucó i Giner, *El despertar de las naciones: La ruptura de la Unión.* (Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 1999), 273.
122 Mark Mazower, Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century (New York: A.A. Knopf: Distributed by Random House, 1999), 51.
123 See section 1.2 of the Introduction, pages 4-6.

2.1 Social Realism in Music: A New Aesthetic Current

During the Stalinist period, the cultural landscape of the Soviet Union underwent a profound transformation, culminating in the establishment of socialist realism as the preeminent artistic style. Emerging as the officially endorsed approach to literature and art from 1932 to the mid-1980s, socialist realism served as the primary yardstick for evaluating creative works throughout this era.[124] This new paradigm, serving as the official artistic and literary doctrine, meticulously moulded creative expression to align with the ideological objectives of the Communist Party. Rooted in Marxist principles, the concept of realism, as articulated by Engels and exemplified by the works of Balzac and Tolstoy, laid the foundation for subsequent developments.[125] Bolshevik figure Anatoly Lunacharsky further expanded this framework with terms like "proletarian realism" and "social realism," drawing inspiration from writers such as Maxim Gorky. However, it was under Stalin's regime that the term "socialist realism" was officially coined in 1932, signalling a concerted effort to unify writers under a broad literary doctrine aimed at reflecting the realities of building socialism in a single country.

Central to the definition of the socialist-realist aesthetic in music were three guiding principles: partiynost' (party-mindedness), ideynost' (ideological soundness), and narodnost' (accessibility).[126] Partiynost' emphasized the role of music in promoting the Communist Party's agenda, with composers tasked with creating works as cultural ambassadors for socialism, inspiring collectivism, solidarity, and devotion to the Party. Ideynost' demanded that music convey ideologically sound messages, celebrating the achievements of socialism while depicting the struggles of the working class, shaping public consciousness, and fostering loyalty to the state. Narodnost' emphasized accessibility, urging composers to adopt styles that resonated with ordinary people, eschewing complexity in favor of melodies, harmonies, and rhythms that could be easily understood and appreciated by a broad audience, thus mobilizing Soviet society socially and politically.

---

124 Editors of Encyclopaedia *Britannica*, "Socialist Realism," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, March 22, 2024, https://www.britannica.com/art/Socialist-Realism.

125 Marina Frolova-Walker, "How Can Music Be Socialist Realist?" Lecture presented at Gresham College, November 18, 2021. Transcript available at: *Gresham College*, https://www.gresham.ac.uk/watch-now/socialist-realist, p.1.

126 Neil Cornwell, "Through the Clouds of Soviet Literature," *The Crane Bag* 7, no. 1 (1983): 18, accessed April 15, 2024, http://www.jstor.org/stable/30060542.

2.2 The Concept of Musical Imagery

The influence of socialist realism permeated various artistic spheres, including music, under the guidance of influential figures such as Boleslaw Przybyszewski, whose contributions were instrumental in shaping its application.[127] In the midst of the formative years of socialist realism, Przybyszewski's 1933 theses provided composers with concrete guidelines that steered them away from abstract musings and toward pragmatic considerations.[128] Recognizing the inherent limitations of music in depicting reality compared to other art forms, Przybyszewski introduces the concept of the "musical imagery" as the primary vehicle for conveying socialist themes.

Further developed by music critic Boris V. Asafiev, this concept of can be closely related to the Renaissance practice of madrigalisms or "musical painting" and it refers to the way music can represent or evoke aspects of the real world and human experience.[129] Asafiev distinguished two separate aspects: "intonazia" and "musical imagery".[130] Intonazia refers to the basic unit of musical expression with extra-musical connotations, analogous to how a word functions in language. This could be any sound or musical phrase that carries specific meaning or emotional content, and it can be derived from real-life sounds, such as the cry of a child or the sound of the wind, or from cultural elements like folk songs or traditional melodies. Musical imagery on the other hand refers to the overall representation of these "intonazias" within a musical work. It involves organizing various "intonazias" into a coherent structure that evokes certain images, emotions, or ideas. The "musical image" is therefore the resultant expression that conveys a broader narrative or emotional journey through the combination of these musical elements. To illustrate this, a good example can be found in Shostakovich's *Symphony no. 7 "Leningrad",* in which the musical image represents the heroism and struggle of the Soviet people during the German siege of the city. The symphony features several of these "intonazias", with the opening theme resembling a stylized fanfare characterized by prominent fourths and fifths and a clear, rhythmic structure (see figure 14). Additionally, a positive martial "intonazia" includes a marcato tattoo and a recurring dominant-to-tonic pull played by trumpets, kettledrums, and string basses.

---

127 Frolova-Walker, "How Can Music Be Socialist Realist?" p.2.

128 Boleslav Pshibyshevskiy, "K voprosu o sotsialisticheskom realizme v muzyke: neskol'ko tezisov." *Sovetskoye iskusstvo*, May 26, 1933, p. 2.

129 Madrigalisms are techniques used in vocal music, particularly in madrigals, where the music closely follows and illustrates the text, often mimicking natural sounds or depicting specific words and emotions through musical means. See OnMusic Dictionary, "Madrigalism" accessed June 24, 2024, https://dictionary.onmusic.org/terms/2062-madrigalism.

130 Malcolm H. Brown, "The Soviet Russian Concepts of 'Intonazia' and 'Musical Imagery,'" *The Musical Quarterly* 60, no. 4 (1974): 559–62, http://www.jstor.org/stable/741764.

Figure 15: Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony reduction, bars 1-5.[131]

Soviet composers were compelled to engage with these guidelines in order to promote broader socialist narratives, focusing on overarching concepts such as proletariat struggle, collectivism and the heroic deeds of the working class. In this way, they could infuse their works with the essence of socialist ideals and foster a collective understanding and appreciation of the communist vision. Przybyszewski championed folk and folk-based music as inherently realist, urging composers to tap into the vast cultural reservoir of the Soviet Union (as in Kherzentsev's instructions to Shostakovich).[132] This embrace of diversity not only enriched the sonic landscape, but also instilled a sense of national pride and identity, as composers drew inspiration from the diverse folklore of the nation's "hundred nationalities" confident in the official endorsement of their creative endeavors. The message was clear: beneath the facade of promoting a multicultural mosaic lays a continuation of Russian imperial practices, aimed at strengthening the authority of the Communist Party while simultaneously debilitating separatist nationalism and dissidence across all republics.[133]

3.1 Shostakovich's *Salute to Spain*: Music for an Antifascist Play in International Solidarity

After the Pravda article scandal, Shostakovich faced immense pressure from the authorities to redeem himself through production of new works that aligned with these new aesthetic guidelines, enduring profound fears of prosecution.[134] During this period of rehabilitation, one of the works he penciled was the music for a theater piece about the Spanish Civil War, which had erupted just a few months earlier in July, 1936. During the fall of that same year, amid the political fervor surrounding the conflict in Spain, Shostakovich found himself immersed in this creative endeavor:

131 Brown, "The Soviet Russian Concepts of 'Intonazia', p. 562.
132 Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life,* pp. 89.
133 Again, see parallelism with section 1.2 of the Introduction, pages 4-6.
134 Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life*, p. 95.

providing the soundtrack for a production by Aleksandr Afinogenov, a renowned Russian playwriter of the time. The urgency of the moment propelled the piece onto the stage of the Pushkin Theater (today called Alexandrinsky Theater) in Leningrad on November 23, just one month after its inception (see figure 15). Notably, three other productions of the play were staged, underscoring its importance in the political atmosphere of the time. Shostakovich's decision to participate in *Salute to Spain!* was not without hesitation, considering what happened to him after his public denunciation. Nevertheless, he lent his talents to the production, albeit reluctantly. What emerged from this collaboration was music that was markedly different from his previous compositions, characterized by its simplicity, warmth, and unpretentiousness. Infused with some stylized Spanish-inspired elements, Shostakovich's music for "Salute, Spain!" stood in stark contrast to the avant-garde complexities of his infamous opera "Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District".

Figure 15: Poster for the premiere of *Salute to Spain,* State Academic Theater of Drama, November 1936.[135]

3.2 Background: The Breakout of Civil War in 1936 Spain

During the months leading up to July 1936, Spain was deeply divided politically, with tensions simmering beneath the surface.[136] Since the establishment of the Second Spanish Republic in 1931, the country had grappled with significant challenges, including separatist nationalisms, economic disparities, and a multitude of political ideologies.[137] Spain's political landscape was characterized by these deep divisions between ideological factions. Traditional conservative factions, comprising landowners, the Catholic Church, and the military, clashed with emerging leftist movements advocating for agrarian reform and workers' rights.[138] This volatile situation was further aggravated by the global economic downturn of the Great Depression.[139] In the fateful summer of 1936, the

135 "November 23. Opening of the Acting Studio at the Leningrad Bolshoi Drama Theater", Kino-Teatr.ru, accessed June 24, 2024, https://www.kino-teatr.ru/teatr/history/11-23/569/.

136 Alejandro de Quesada, *The Spanish Civil War 1936–39 (1) Nationalist Forces*, illustrated by Stephen Walsh, Men-at-Arms 495 (Series editor Martin Windrow; Osprey Publishing, May 20, 2014), 4-6.

137 Gérard Brey, "Las causas de la guerra civil española de 1936-1939" [The Origins of the Spanish Civil War 1936-1939]. *Revista Cambios y Permanencias* 7 (2016): 67-84.

138 Brey, "Las causas de la guerra civil española", p. 79.

139 Brey, "Las causas de la guerra civil española", p. 69.

class struggle escalated into a full-fledged class war. Right-wing and far-right factions coalesced behind the military coup plotters, while reformists, socialists, anarchists, anarcho-syndicalists, communists, pro-Trotskyists, and regionalists/nationalists found themselves opposing them, albeit deeply divided among themselves.[140]

The establishment of the Second Spanish Republic in 1931 aimed to usher in a new era of democracy and modernization, but it also sparked fierce opposition from conservative and reactionary forces, including the military, the Catholic Church, and monarchist factions.[141] These divisions were further exacerbated by regional nationalist movements, particularly in Catalonia and the Basque Country, which sought greater autonomy and self-determination.[142] The inability of political leaders to forge consensus and compromise ultimately paved the way for the outbreak of civil war, as competing factions resorted to violence to advance their agendas and protect their interests.

The conflict symbolized the broader clash between fascism and democracy that persisted throughout the Interwar Period and served as a fateful prelude of the following years, with international powers closely monitoring its developments. The Spanish war involved European actors, such as Germany, Italy, France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and Portugal, either actively or passively. This led some historians to characterize it as a "dress rehearsal" for the Second World War. Notably, Nazi Germany showcased the use of aviation to target civilian populations for the first time during this conflict.[143] However, fundamentally, this conflict was a civil war among Spaniards. The war was not incited by foreign intervention but rather by a coup d'état orchestrated by reactionary generals and officers against the government resulting from the democratic legislative elections of February 1936 and, ultimately, against the republican form of government established in April 1931.[144]

140 Gérard Brey, "Las causas de la guerra civil española", p. 83.
141 Rafael Zaragoza Pelayo,"Las causas de la Guerra Civil española desde la perspectiva actual: aproximación a los diversos enfoques históricos." *Historia Actual Online* 14 (2007): 167-169.
142 Gérard Brey, "Las causas de la guerra civil española", p. 71-73.
143 A reference to the bombing of the Basque town of Gernika. More information in Irene Hernández Velasco, "Por qué el bombardeo a Gernika es considerado el primer ensayo de guerra total de la historia," BBC Mundo, April 26, 2017, https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-39633923; Gérard Brey, "Las causas de la guerra civil española de 1936-1939", p. 68.
144 Gérard Brey, "Las causas de la guerra civil española", p. 68.

3.3 Soviet Involvement in the War

Acknowledging the significant danger to European stability presented by Franco's Nationalist rebellion, the Soviet regime provided extensive support to the Republican government.[145] This assistance included military aid, logistical support, and ideological solidarity through propaganda campaigns. In his examination of Soviet Intervention in the Spanish Civil War, John MacCannon emphasizes the indispensable role played by the Soviet Union in sustaining the Republican cause, highlighting how Soviet aid prevented the early collapse of the Republic against Franco's forces.[146] However, MacCannon also delves into the dual nature of Soviet support, questioning the extent to which it served Soviet geopolitical interests alongside aiding the Republic:

> Unarguably, the Soviets saved the Republican cause in November 1936. Had Franco taken Madrid, he would certainly have won the war quickly. Instead of a rapid victory, the Insurgents now faced the task of surrounding the capital and conquering the eastern half of Spain. Meanwhile, the Soviets were providing the Republic with new arms every day and transforming the popular militias into real armies. Soviet assistance did not come without strings attached, however. First of all, Stalin demanded financial compensation. On October 22, Soviet agents transported 50 metric tons of gold, 60 percent of the Republic's bullion reserves, to Moscow. The value of the shipment has been estimated at $600,000,000, and the USSR kept every penny.[147]

That controversial transfer of gold reserves came to be known as "Moscow Gold" or "Gold of the Republic”.[148] According to Gerald Howson, the documentation he studied in the Russian Military Archives indicates that the Soviets deceived the Spanish Republic by covertly altering the ruble-to-dollar exchange rate for each item they supplied, ranging from bombers to bearings and spark

---

145 John McCannon, "Soviet Intervention in the Spanish Civil War, 1936–39: A Reexamination." *Russian History* 22, no. 2 (1995): 154–180. Accessed January 1, 2022. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24657802.

146 McCannon, "Soviet Intervention in the Spanish Civil War”, p. 167

147 McCannon, "Soviet Intervention in the Spanish Civil War”, p. 169.

148 The term “Moscow Gold” was originally coined as a critique of the funding of communist parties and unions in Western Europe in the 1920s and 30s. Before 1935, while Joseph Stalin's government was promoting the worldwide revolution of the proletariat, English-speaking media outlets like *Time Magazine* used the term to describe Soviet plans to intensify the activities of the international communist movement, which at that time had a modest presence in the United States and the United Kingdom. *Time* believed that this shift in Soviet policy, which in 1935 favored communist participation in various popular front alliances worldwide, was partly due to Stalin's need to counter criticisms from Trotsky, arguing the Soviet Union had stagnated in a sole-state socialism and it needed to expand socialism through a “permanent revolution”. See "Loud Pedal," *Time*, November 21, 1938, accessed April 15, 2024, https://web.archive.org/web/20090916200548/http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,760314-1,00.html; David Barreira, "¿El 'mayor atraco de la humanidad' sucedió en el Banco de España? La falsa leyenda del oro de Moscú." *El Español*, September 15, 2020. Accessed April 15, 2024. https://www.elespanol.com/cultura/historia/20200915/atraco-humanidad-sucedio-banco-espana-leyenda-moscu/520699306_0.html.

plugs.[149] Howson argues that this manipulation resulted in the Republic being overcharged millions of dollars, possibly up to 51 million dollars, solely in arms sales. According to Gerald Howson, the documentation he studied in the Russian Military Archives indicates that the Soviets deceived the Spanish Republic by covertly altering the ruble-to-dollar exchange rate for each item they supplied, ranging from bombers to bearings and spark plugs.[150] Howson argues that this manipulation resulted in the Republic being overcharged millions of dollars, possibly up to 51 million dollars, solely in arms sales.

Nevertheless, not all scholars agree on this matter. Ángel Viñas, a renowned historian of the Spanish Civil War, challenges the construction of what he considers a myth perpetuated in the aftermath of the war by Francoist authorities.[151] Delving into the historical context surrounding the evacuation of gold from Spain in September 1936, Viñas elucidates the dire circumstances faced by the Republican government in the early stages of the conflict. With the Nationalist forces, led by Francisco Franco, swiftly capturing key strategic locations like Irún and Talavera de la Reina, the Republicans found themselves confronted with imminent threats and the encroaching danger of Franco's troops nearing Madrid. In response to these pressing challenges, Viñas underscores the strategic imperative of safeguarding Spain's gold reserves to sustain the Republican resistance. The evacuation of gold would not be an act of theft or misappropriation, but rather a pragmatic response to the exigencies of war. He contends that without access to sufficient resources, including financial assets like gold, the Republican forces would have been severely handicapped in their ability to counter the better-equipped Nationalists. By framing the gold evacuation as a criminal act committed by the Republicans, the Franco regime sought to vilify the Republican government and its supporters, particularly socialists and communists, justifying his “catholic crusade for Spanish civilization”. The exploitation of the "Oro de Moscú" narrative and its circumstances serves to contextualize the controversy and debate surrounding Soviet involvement in the Spanish Civil War, as well as the subsequent tensions between Francoist authorities and the Soviet Union after the war's conclusion.

149 Gerald Howson, "Los armamentos: Asuntos ocultos a tratar." In *La República asediada: Hostilidad internacional y conflictos internos durante la Guerra Civil*, edited by Paul Preston (Barcelona: Ediciones Península, 2001), p. 412-415.
150 Idem.
151 Ángel Viñas,"Respondiendo a Vox sobre el mito del ‘Oro de Moscú.’" *Ángel Viñas Blog*, September 29, 2020, 10:33 AM. Accessed April 15, 2024, https://www.angelvinas.es/respondiendo-a-vox-sobre-el-mito-del-oro-de-moscu/.

4.1 An International Response to Crisis

As the Nationalist insurgency gained momentum, the demand for artistic endeavors capable of galvanizing international solidarity and rallying support for the Republican cause grew urgent. In this context, theater emerged as a powerful instrument for shaping public opinion, evoking emotions, and propagating ideological narratives. Works like *Salute to Spain* by Shostakovich and Afinogenov took center stage, channeling the artistic and cultural resources of the Soviet Union.[152] Through evocative storytelling and symbolic imagery, this piece aimed to inspire hope, galvanize support, and amplify the voices of those fighting against fascist oppression.

Shostakovich's music composed for Afinogenov's theater play was part of a wave of these musical compositions dedicated to the Republican cause across Europe, particularly within socialist circles. Meanwhile, across the English Channel, Benjamin Britten was crafting his own musical response with his *Ballad of Heroes*.[153] Growing increasingly aligned with left-wing politics in the mid-1930s, Britten adopted a notably political stance in his art, conveying messages of solidarity and resistance against political oppression. Additionally, in England amidst the chaos of war, the voices of the Cambridge Basque Children's Choir resonated throughout Britain, bearing witness to the plight of Republican refugees fleeing Franco's forces.[154] Comprised of evacuee children from the Basque region, this choir utilized music as a form of cultural diplomacy, raising awareness about the Spanish Civil War among British audiences.

4.2 Aleksandr Afinogenov and the Urgency for Pro-Republican Theater

In remarkably short span of just twelve days, Afinogenov wrote the play *Salute to Spain!* as a tribute to the stirring events in Spain that had so moved him. At its core, the play glorified the brave and resolute spirit of the Spanish people as they united in defiance of Franco's tyrannical rule.[155] It celebrated the Spanish workers' unwavering quest for freedom, their loyalty to democratic principles, and their steadfast courage in the face of adversity. Afinogenov's play emerged from a fervent desire to creatively engage with the valiant struggle of the Spanish people against fascist insurgents. This marked a departure from his previous works, notably *Mashenka* (1940), which adhered to the conventions of intimate "living-room drama," centered around familial dynamics

152 Igor Contreras Zubillaga and Eva Moreda Rodríguez,"Spain in our Ears: International Musical Responses in Support of the Republic during the Spanish Civil War" *Journal of War & Culture Studies* 14, no. 4 (2021): p. 365-371, accessed April 15, 2024, DOI: 10.1080/17526272.2021.1950958.

153 Zubillaga et al."Spain in our Ears", p. 366.

154 Zubillaga et al."Spain in our Ears", p. 367.

155 Alexander Afinogenov, *Izbrannoye* (Moscow: Sovietskiy Pisatel, 1951).

reminiscent of Chekhov's tradition.[156] The shift in focus necessitated a dramatic restructuring, moving towards panoramic "open-air drama" featuring numerous characters, battle sequences, and large-scale masses. This heroic-romantic genre, characteristic of early Soviet-era reconstructions of revolutionary struggles, demanded a departure from the confines of closed theatrical spaces. Considering that theatrical shift, the ensemble cast of "Salute, Spain!" also embodies the collective spirit of those who rose against fascism, including various archetypal figures such as an old peasant, a student, a journalist, and a circus clown. While most remain nameless, a few characters, like the anarchist Enrico and the pilot Jose, stand out. There is also a White Russian emigrée, characterized as a "nationless" mercenary that fights for the Francoist side, revealing the denunciation of the internal enemies and so called traitors of the motherland.[157] The narrative is bookended by fiery speeches from Spanish communist leader Dolores Ibárruri, rallying the troops with a call to crush fascism and inspire other nations still under its grip. Despite its shortcomings, characterized by limited character development and a somewhat didactic tone, Afinogenov's play served as a potent response to the events unfolding in Spain, offering Soviet audiences a vivid portrayal of distant yet compelling struggles.

The play prominently featured the character of the mother, who symbolized the indomitable spirit of the Spanish people, especially through her sacrifice as a widow and her raising of three daughters imbued with patriotism, defiance, and loyalty to the Republic.[158] Although too old to take up arms herself, she offered her greatest treasure - her daughters - to the cause of her homeland. Leading the fight against the fascist insurgents in Afinogenov's narrative were the Communists, epitomized by the character of Dolores Ibarruri (a real-life politian), who represented the ideological fervor of the Communist Party and its central role in rallying the masses to liberation. Through Dolores, Afinogenov portrayed the endearing simplicity, humility, and humanity of the heroic Spanish communist, juxtaposed with her profound inner strength and revolutionary zeal. In the epilogue, after the death of Lucía, the last daughter of the nameless mother, the "Pasionaria"[159] shares her words of comfort with her: "I would like to be your fourth daughter...(...)We say goodbye you, our girl, and the enemy is knocking at the gates of our city, and we already have to go. (…). Your last

156 Kopytova, "Shostakovich's Music for Salute, Spain!", p. 482.
157 In the play, Afinogenov even writes in the dialogue "You are not Russian, you are White". The play is not indifferent to the denunciation of the "traitors" of the Bolshevik revolution and the exiles, even in a work removed from these dimensions as is the case of the Spanish Civil War. See Alexander Afinogenov, "Salute to Spain", p. 75.
158 Alexander Afinogenov, *Izbrannoye* (Moscow: Sovietskiy Pisatel, 1951), pp. 11-12.
159 Nickname of Dolóres Ibárruri, leader of the Spanish Communist Party.

breath was a groan. But you overcame the groan of your pain with a cry: “Long live communism!” This cry was your last song. We sing this song over you now: long live communism!”.[160]

One cannot overlook the underlying backdrop of Soviet totalitarianism and the lack of agency within the communist system. The play, while celebrating the resilience and courage of the Spanish people, also reflects the pervasive control exerted by the Communist Party over every aspect of life. The character of Dolores Ibarruri serves as a representation of the communist ideology's dominance in shaping the lives and actions of individuals. Her portrayal highlights the indoctrination and conformity expected with totalitarian practices, where loyalty to the Party takes precedence over personal autonomy. Reminiscent of the Orwellian “Big Brother” figure, this lack of freedom is further emphasized by the mother's sacrifice of her daughters to the cause, underscoring the subjugation of individual desires to the collective agenda.[161] Just as in Orwell's dystopian novel "1984," the mother's sacrifice of her daughters to the cause, underscoring the subjugation of individuals to the collective agenda under the premise of antifascism.

In a dark twist of fate, Afinogenov, like Shostakovich before him, also became the target of Soviet totalitarian practices and slander, leading to the banning of his works. On June 22, 1937, he was expelled from the CPSU (b) and the Writers' Union.[162] Afinogenov, who grew up in a family deeply involved in revolutionary activities, attributed his personal achievements to the revolution and thus strongly believed in the noble intentions of socialist ideals. He lamented the ingratitude of his generation, emphasizing how easily people overlook the significant improvements brought about by the Revolution. He argued that if people could truly comprehend the horrors and hardships of life before the Revolution, they would feel ashamed of their petty complaints and grievances. On May 16, 1937, Afinogenov wrote a defensive speech in his diary, which he never delivered:

> They took a peaceful man, a playwright, who only wanted to write a few dozen more good works for the good of the country and the party, and turned this man into a pile of garbage, into a laughing stock, into a shame and disgrace for society...[163]

---

160 Afinogenov, Epilogue of “Salute to Spain” p. 113.
161 George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (London, England: Penguin Classics, 2021).
162 Kopytova, “Shostakovich’s Music for the Play ‘Salute, Spain!’, p. 259.
163 Leonid Radzikhovsky, "Terror: schastlivtsy. Sovetskie pisateli kak 'gruppa riska' 'stalinskikh chistok'," *Rossiyskaya gazeta - Nedelya - Federal'nyy vypusk*, no. 237 (8885) (October 18, 2022), accessed April 2, 2024, https://rg.ru/2022/10/18/terror-schastlivcy.html.

The last showing had occurred on May 6, 1937, coinciding with the expulsion of Afinogenov from the Writers' Union and the Communist Party on charges of Trotskyism.[164] The play, deemed to espouse subversive ideas, was banned, signaling the end of its stage presence and marking a somber conclusion to its brief but impactful run.[165] Finding himself in a situation where lies and slander ground him to dust, and the fear of meeting with an NKVD investigator, Afinogenov had much to fear for: he had a six-year-old daughter Svetlana from his marriage with his American wife, and she was pregnant of his second daughter, soon to be born.[166] Confident in his innocence, he awaited arrest day by day, considering expulsion from the party an undeniable omen considering the context of the Great Purge. Ironically, two plays in Afinogenov's creative portfolio forshadowed that period: "Fear" (1930) and "Lie" (1933), which addressed the themes of slander and provoked his fall from grace with the regime. Despite enduring personal trials, Afinogenov clung to hope for the triumph of justice. Surprisingly, Afinogenov's hopes were realized when he was reinstated in the party in February 1938. During World War II, he headed the Literary Department of Sovinformburo. It was planned that Afinogenov, together with his wife, would travel to the USA to advocate for the opening of a second front. However, on the eve of this business trip, he perished in tragic circumstances: during a German air raid on October 29, 1941, a random shell fragment that exploded nearby, causing his instant death.[167]

4.3 Inner Tensions in the Leftist Front: Anarchism versus Communism

The figure of George Orwell, as mentioned in the previous section, offers a compelling case study when comparing his personal experiences in Spain with Afinogenov's portrayal of events in this piece. The British writer fought in the Spanish Civil War, serving as a soldier and officer in parts of Catalonia and Aragon from December 1936 to June 1937. In his book Homage to Catalonia, he provides a first-hand account of his experiences during the Spanish Civil War, offering valuable insights into the dynamics of ideological conflict and totalitarianism.[168]

---

164 This is especially curious considering the heavy criticism Afinogenov directs explicitly towards supporters of anarchism and the CNT during the play (see section 4.3 of this same chapter, page 52), strategic allies of the POUM, a party which, while not openly Trotskyist, sympathized with these ideas and was very anti-Stalinist. Afinogenov portrayed Spanish communists, followers of the Third International's line, in an extremely favorable light, making these accusations quite unusual.

165 Galina Kopytova, "Shostakovich's Music for Salute, Spain! p. 484-485.

166 Galina V. Kopytova, "Shostakovich's Music for the Play 'Salute, Spain!': Finds and Search Prospects," *Muzykal'naya akademiya* [Music Academy], no. 2 (2023): 257.

167 Dmitry Bykov, *Boris Pasternak* (Moscow: Molodaya Gvardiya, 2008), 264. Accessed April 3, 2024 from http://book-online.com.ua/read.php?book=6236&page=264.

168 George Orwell, *Homenaje a Cataluña* (Barcelona: Ediciones Destino, 2003).

As a soldier and officer in Catalonia and Aragon from December 1936 to June 1937, Orwell witnessed the repression of anti-Stalinist factions by the Stalinist-controlled government. His narrative vividly captures the revolutionary fervor in Barcelona, where he arrived in the midst of the libertarian revolution in late 1936. Orwell's admiration for the anarchists' control of public spaces and adherence to libertarian principles is evident, yet he also observes the erosion of these ideals as Stalinist influence grows, mirroring the oppressive practices depicted in his later novel, Nineteen Eighty-Four. The parallels between Orwell's experience in Spain and the themes explored in Nineteen Eighty-Four are striking. Just as the Party exerts absolute control over society in Orwell's dystopian novel, Orwell's observations in Catalonia reveal the insidious nature of totalitarianism and the suppression of dissenting voices within leftist movements. Although it was met with hostility upon publication, Orwell's "Homage to Catalonia" remains a powerful testament to the ongoing struggle for freedom and democracy, and serves as a cautionary tale against the dangers of ideological extremism and the erosion of civil liberties.

In contrast, Afinogenov's work presents a total denunciation of the leftist militiamen to the left of the Communist Party controlled by the Third International of Stalin, personified in the character of Enrico. Enrico is a member of the CNT anarchist group characterized as lazy, chaotic, and lacking in intellectualism, a rebel without a cause who fails to understand the value of Soviet discipline. One of the major conflicts during the Spanish Civil War was the ideological division between promoting revolutionary collectivization during the war (a position advocated by the Trotskyist party POUM and the anarchist CNT) and prioritizing the fight against the fascist enemy, silencing internal critics (represented by the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Spain). This dual vision of the issue was so divisive that it sparked street battles between the two ideological blocs of the Republican side in the May 1937 events, where anarchists and communists clashed in the streets of revolutionary Barcelona.[169]

> Miguel: You're breaking military discipline, Enrico.
>
> Enrico: Then I cry: down with discipline, it limits courage and feeling! (...)
>
> Miguel: Without discipline, we can't build an army.
>
> Enrico: Then we don't need an army. We'll defeat the fascists with the heroism of free individuals.

169 See Manuel Aguilera Povedano, *Compañeros y camaradas. Las luchas entre antifascistas en la Guerra Civil Española* (Madrid: Editorial Actas, 2012).

Miguel: Heroism is nurtured in battle, the battle is fought by the people, the people unite in the army — the army wins with organization, courage, and discipline.

Enrico: We can still save them. Soldiers, those with the true heart of a Spaniard, follow me! Voices. Forward!

Miguel: Not a step! I'll shoot anyone who dares to disobey the order. You don't know how to fight. Do you think war is a bullfight or a fairground brawl? That's nonsense three times! The fascists will crush us if we don't pull ourselves together, if we allow ourselves to be divided, into small groups, where each one is a hero on their own, as long as they have the courage.[170]

In several passages like this one Enrico does not obey orders from the military ranks and decides to act erratically, putting the entire squads into danger. It is essential to point out the ideological bias of this approach to authoritarianism, since it reflects the blind obedience for the Soviet authorities of the time, without questioning the reasons of logic behind it. From this perspective accentuated by the playwright, to be a good socialist is to accept authoritarianism and remain uncritical. It is remarkable that at the end of the play, Enrique's imprudent decisions and illogical strategies result in the platoon's capture, culminating in his heroic death cry of "long live discipline."[171] This final moment serves to "redeem" Enrique from the folly of his anarchistic ideologies, which are portrayed as foolish and derided. The narrative underscores the importance of obedience and adherence to hierarchical structures, emphasizing the superiority of discipline over individualistic notions of freedom. Through Enrique's demise, the narrative reinforces the valorization of authority and the submission to superior command, portraying them as indispensable virtues essential for the success and triumph of the revolution.

4.5 The Play’s Role in the Soviet Propaganda Apparatus

The Leningrad production of "Salute, Spain!" enjoyed immense popularity, running continuously on the main stage of the Dramatic Theatre and in the Palace of Culture of Industrial Cooperation for a total of fifty-six performances during the 1936/37 season, averaging ten performances per month.[172] Leonid Radishchev, a local writer, attributed the play's success primarily to its timeliness. Against the backdrop of newspaper headlines detailing fascist attacks and the resilient spirit of the Spanish people, audiences found in "Salute, Spain!" a direct reflection of current events. Despite any

170 Alexander Afinogenov, “Salute to Spain”, p. 94.
171 Alexander Afinogenov, “Salute to Spain”, p. 113.
172 Galina Kopytova, "Shostakovich's Music for Salute, Spain!", p. 482.

perceived flaws in the production, spectators were moved by its heartfelt portrayal of the struggle in Spain and expressed gratitude to the theatre through thunderous applause. The Leningrad press hailed the director's vision and the production's artistic design as a triumph of theatrical prowess.

Shostakovich's evocative music, described as simple yet stirring, played a significant role in enhancing the play's impact, seamlessly woven into its fabric to create a cohesive artistic experience. However, the Soviet press framed the play's success as an ideological victory over Shostakovich, whom they had previously criticized for formalism and naturalism in his compositions.[173] A meeting of composers in 1937 praised Shostakovich's music for "Salute, Spain!" as evidence of his growth and ideological alignment with the party's principles.

Central to the thematic fabric of Afinogenov's work was the idealized fraternal bond between the Spanish people and the Soviet Union, exemplified by the Republican fighters' profound admiration and solidarity with the Soviet homeland, embodied by Moscow, the Kremlin, and Stalin as moral fortresses and guiding lights. In one dialogue from the play, Jose and Concha, two Spanish Republican fighters and pilots, face imminent death as their plane crashes. Amidst the chaos of war, they express their deep love for each other and their shared dream of visiting Moscow, a symbol of hope and liberation, almost a sort of lost paradise. Despite the uncertainty of their fate, they cling to the possibility of survival and the realization of their aspirations. The scene is underscored by the haunting backdrop of Madrid radio music, emphasizing the raw human emotions amidst the turmoil of war:

> Jose: I thought about telling you about this after the victory I thought you would be my wife...
>
> Concha: “Let the girl on the plane”...
>
> Jose: “You don’t know Spanish women well”...
>
> Concha: We won't die. They will come for us. We will recover and go to Moscow.
>
> Jose. Moscow is far away.

173 Kopytova, "Shostakovich's Music for Salute, Spain! p. 484.

> Concha: Anyway... I have to see her. I learned one Russian word: “Tovarisch”[174]… Compañeros[175]...You our comrades... There, in Moscow. I want to shake your hands, comrades. I want to say hello to you, comrades! Don’t forget about us, comrades!..[176]

The piece adopted a genre and style tailored to its purpose as a rallying cry for support of the Spanish cause, characterized by its grandiose yet romantic structure, concise characterizations, sweeping folk scenes and battle sequences, and dynamic plot progression. While it effectively conveys the intensity of the struggle and invokes journalistic fervor, it falls short in fully exploring the depth of its material and occasionally strays from its intended narrative. A frenetic narrative rhythm dominates, leaving little room to breathe or deeply comprehend the unfolding events. The dialogue, at times rushed and artificial, may be attributed to this narrative pace and the wartime backdrop. However, despite its intentions, the play occasionally feels underdeveloped and disjointed. While it effectively conveys the intensity of the struggle and invokes journalistic fervor, it falls short in fully exploring the depth of its material and occasionally strays from its intended narrative.

5. The Music for *Salute to Spain*: A Paradigmatic Example of Socialist Realist Music

The influence of Przybyszewski's ideas on socialist realism in music is evident in the music Shostakovich composed for "Salute to Spain". In the following pages I will proceed to analyze the piece with this lens in mind to unravel its compositional and stylistic characteristics that align with the principles of socialist realism. I also intend to analyze the characteristics of Andalucism present in the music, due to the influence of this in the construction of Spanish style as mentioned before. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the music for this particular piece is not particularly colorful or essentialistic when it comes to representing Spain, in comparison with other works of Shostakovich that deal with these topic, like the Spanish Songs Op. 100 that I will examine later in the third chapter. This is probably done on purpose, and the reason is well explained by the war setting of the play. As Galina Kopytova explains in her article, the stage artist, N.P. Akimov, opted against portraying Spain with conventional vibrant hues, instead crafting visual imagery that emphasized

174 Meaning “comrades” in Russian.
175 Same word but in Spanish. Due to the difficulty of writing this word with the letter Ñ in the cyrillic alphabet, in the original play it’s reproduced as something similar to “Kompanieros” in latin script.
176 Afinogenov, “Salute to Spain”, p. 95.

the somber atmosphere of the Spanish people's tragic struggle.[177] Similarly, Shostakovich's music, characterized by its intense somberness, does not only complements the stage narrative but also stands as a poignant artistic commentary on the events in Spain, asserting its own distinct significance alongside the unfolding drama.

5.1 Fanfares

In the beginning of the suite, three fanfares make their appearance. Historically associated with royalty and the military, fanfares announce significant events or the arrival of important individuals.[178] Bold melodies and rhythms, often incorporating heroic dotted rhythms and major triads and an improvisatory character define these short compositions.[179] In line with the socialist-realism current, Shostakovich employed these fanfares programmatically in his composition, utilizing their evocative power to symbolize the resilience and valor of Republican militias during the Spanish Civil War as a “musical image”. Drawing from the genre's connotations, he infused his composition with urgency and defiance, with three short excerpts featuring four trumpets in B.

Figure 16: Fanfare I.[180]

The first fanfare (figure 16) exhibits trumpets playing C major and D#m arpeggios, divided into two groups playing different inversions of the same chords.[181] The short composition culminates in the note A, played in different octaves. These “intonazia” techniques, such as the use of arpeggios, divided trumpet section, and chord inversions, signify a shift away from purely abstract or individualistic compositions towards pieces that depict the struggles and triumphs of the proletariat, often through a militaristic lens. The first fanfare sets the stage for the unfolding drama of the

177 Afinogenov, “Salute to Spain”, p. 95.

178 Edward H. Tarr, "Fanfare," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan Publishers, 2001).

179 Norman Lloyd, "Fanfare". In *The Golden Encyclopedia of Music* (New York: Golden Press, 1968), p. 172.

180 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 27: *Incidental Music* (Moscow: Muzika, 1986), 283.

181 Note: throughout this section I will refer to the notes as they appear transposed in the trumpet’s register, for facilitating the musical analysis.

theater piece, depicting a pivotal moment in the history of the Spanish Civil War. In the opening scene, Francoist troops, along with foreign volunteers and the Moroccan corps, gather at the shores of the Strait of Gibraltar, preparing for the invasion of the Peninsula.[182] Against this backdrop, the distant call of "Form up!" reverberates, juxtaposed with the trumpet's somber melody cutting through the ominous atmosphere, heralding the emergence of the officers who take their positions before the unseen troops. While it remains uncertain whether this moment marks the commencement of the composition's first fanfare, the contextual clues suggest a compelling possibility. The scene is enveloped in an aura of mystery, with only the faint outlines of soldiers visible in the flickering torchlight. Amidst this atmosphere of anticipation, the general makes a grand entrance, flanked by his retinue, serving as a potent symbol of authority and leadership.

> A distant call: “Form up!” The trumpet is singing. The officers come out and stand in front of the lined up soldiers. The troops are not visible Only in the darkness can one discern the rows lined up for the meeting. By the light of torches, the general emerges, accompanied by his retinue. Rising to the top. General Here it is, the Spanish coast. Valiant Spaniards. Legionnaires. Moroccan arrows. Brave Moors. There are cloudless skies throughout Spain. This signal broadcast now by a radio station from Ceuta. Here it is. Lightning bolts of words are drawn in the sky; "There are cloudless skies throughout Spain." According to this signal, we raise the sacred banner of rebellion. In the name of God, church, law and power. In Barcelona, Seville, Saragossa, Madrid—supporters and friends are waiting for us everywhere. I see them. They're already starting. The glow of distant fires flashes in the sky at different times and with different strengths. Soldiers! We are starting a war. Spain was taken over by communists, workers, atheists. In three days we will be in Madrid. On the fourth day three hundred thousand scoundrels will be shot. Remember, soldiers: our war—a new war! In a new war, the vanquished are destroyed entirely. Show yourself, soldiers! The Republican houses are yours. Republican wives are yours. The Republicans' daughters are yours(…). Forward, and woe to Madrid! Columns of troops move in the darkness. Dry and clear march soldier to the drums".[183]

182 Afinogenov, “Salute to Spain”, pp. 75-76.
183 Afinogenov, "Salute to Spain,", pp. 75-76.

Figure 17: Fanfare II.[184]

In the second fanfare (figure 17), two trumpets engage in a dialogue with alternating responses until they converge into a homophonic texture. One trumpet provides harmonic support with a second inversion C major chord, while the other embellishes the D note with a flourish. It finishes without the third, playing open fifths. The insistence of the appoggiatura at the beginning of each note seems to indicate urgency, a feeling of vertigo. Once again, it's a very militaristic piece of music, rallying the troops to battle.

Figure 18: Fanfare III.[185]

The last fanfare (figure 18) employs harmonies alternating between G major and A major, concluding the trumpet divisi on the note Bb. The compositional method uses a canon in which trumpets I and II respond to III and IV one measure later, alternating and generating these suggested chords until ending in unison. This harmonic ascent, combined with the dotted rhythm and the patriotic-military character of the piece, suggests a kind of motivational rallying cry, a call to duty. It's an uplifting piece of music that appeals to soldiers motivation. The harmonies in all these three pieces exhibit harmonic progressions that seem at odds with the more traditional consonant/diatonic IV-V-I harmonies found in fanfares. Shostakovich's penchant for chromaticism could suggest something almost bombastic and parodic, or lightly unsettling, reminiscent of the funeral march that will be mentioned later (see figure 24).

184 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 27: 283.
185 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 27: 283.

5.2 Song of Rosita

The tenderly nostalgic and deliberately “Spanish”-inflected ‘Song of Rosita’ is arguably the piece that represents Shostakovich's closest flirtation with the Andalusian style in the piece, capturing the essence of its emotive intensity and harmonic flair within the context of his own distinctive musical voice. Shostakovich himself was particularly warmly disposed to this lyrical song: he presented a five-page autograph ‘Songs about Rosita’ with piano accompaniment to his younger sister for her birthday (see figure 19), adding an inscription to the manuscript: ‘To dear Zoya from Mitya. 24 VIII 1939. Leningrad’. In the autograph ‘Rosita’s Song’ is transposed from B minor to F minor for the benefit of Zoya, who was engaged in singing at the time.[186]

186 "Song of Rosita" from the music of the spectacle *Salut, Ispaniya!*, Dmitriy Dmitriyevich Shostakovich (Leningrad: Leningradskiy Gosudarstvennyy Akademicheskiy Teatr Dramy Im. A.S.Pushkina, 1936-1939), 3 lista, Saint Petersburg State Museum of Theater and Music, page 1.

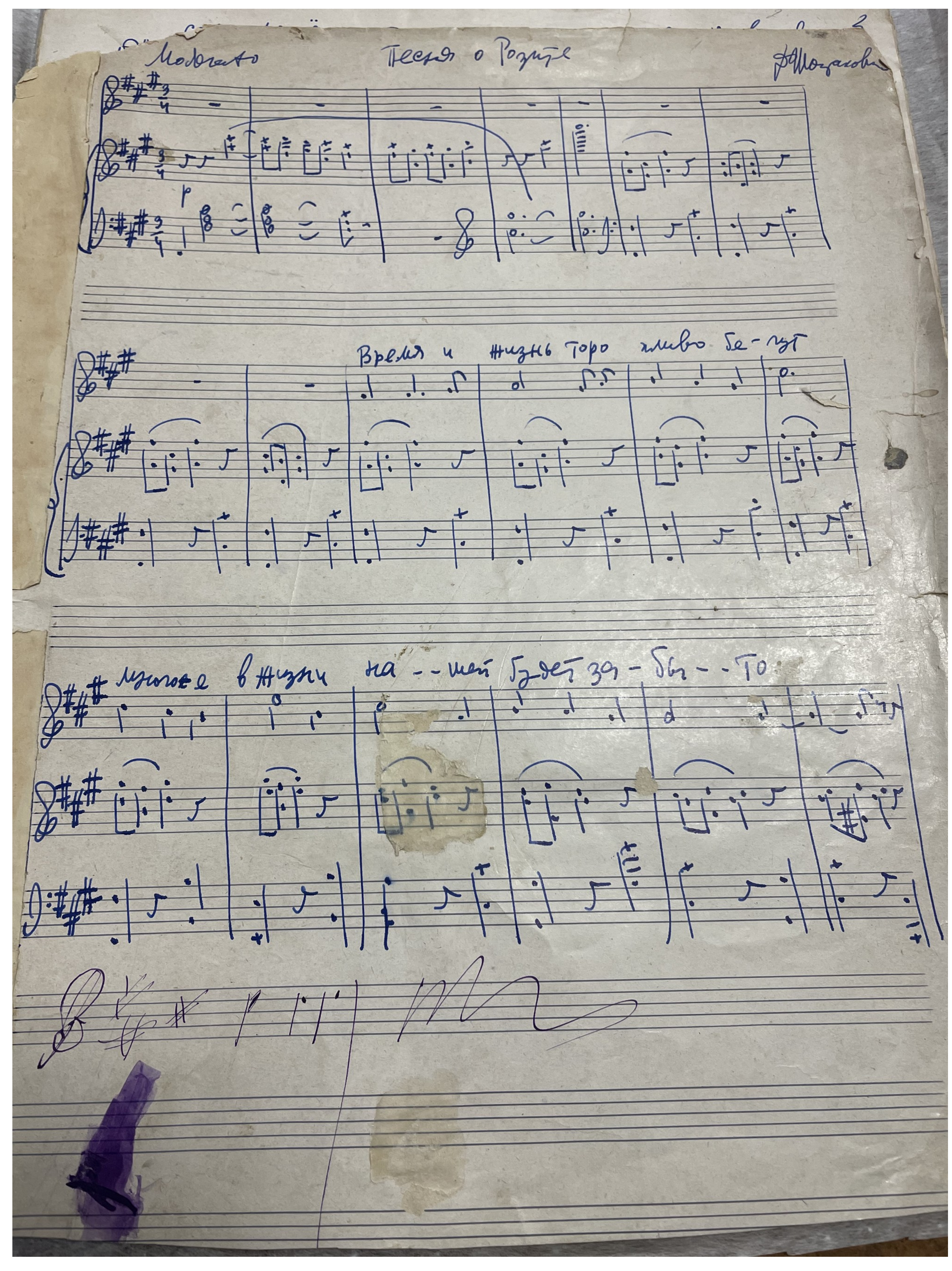

Figure 19: *Pesnya o Rozite* (Song of Rosita) arrangement for piano manuscript, page 1.[187]

187 "Song of Rosita", page 1.

Rosita emerges in the play as one of the daughters in a family deeply affected by the tumultuous events of the time. Their father, a staunch antifascist, fell victim to the regime of Primo de Rivera, the dictator reigning before the Second Republic.[188] Raised in the shadow of his memory, the daughters are steeped in tales of his resistance, instilling in them a fierce commitment to opposing fascism. As the daughters grow up, they become involved in the resistance movement. In the piece Rosita expresses her desire to join the commander's unit, alongside a character named Miguel. She remembers this Miguel as the man who helped build a road near their village, while she used to carry water for him. Rosita is determined to fight, symbolizing the active participation of ordinary women in the struggle against fascism during the Spanish Civil War.

The Song of Rosita marks a pivotal moment in the play's tumult of conflict and resistance. An old man introduces this song dedicated to Rosita's memory after witnessing her tragic death. The lyrics follow:

Time and life rush hastily,

Much in our lives will be forgotten,

But we will never forget

Your name, Rosita.

Rosita... My heart aches.

Spain is bathed in the blood of its children.

I saw them die — And you among them, Rosita...

But you did not fall alive to the enemy,

Your heart — pierced by your own bullet.

No, we will never forget

Your name, Rosita.[189]

Set against the backdrop of a village besieged by fascist forces, her demise embodies the defiance and courage of those thrust into the crucible of war.[190] As the enemy advances and demands

188 Afinogenov, “Salute to Spain”, p. 80.
189 Afinogenov, “Salute to Spain” p. 94.
190 Afinogenov, “Salute to Spain” p. 94.

surrender, Rosita and her comrades stand resolute, refusing to bow to tyranny. In this terrible moment, Rosita's decision to take her own life rather than succumb to captivity embodies the unwavering spirit of resistance to oppression. The scene captures the brutality and desperation of warfare and paints a stark portrait of the sacrifices made by ordinary people caught in the crossfire. Rosita's courage shines brightly amidst the chaos, symbolizing the indomitable will of those who refuse to be silenced by tyranny. Her sacrifice echoes throughout the community, inspiring others to continue the fight against injustice. The music serves as a powerful testament to her bravery, offering comfort and strength to those who continue to resist even in the darkest of times.

The composer's autograph was published as part of the *Collected Works* in 1986.[191] The orchestration consists of two flutes, oboes, clarinets in B, four horns in F, glockenspiel, etc. The piece is in B minor. The composition revolves around the concept of a string accompaniment enveloping the baritone voice (the elderly character in the play), while the woodwind instruments (flutes, oboes) fill in the gaps of the voice. The chimes could symbolize the innocence tragically lost due to the war of the girl, Rosita.

Figure 20: Orchestral score of the Song of Rosita.[192]

191 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 27: *Incidental Music.*
192 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 27: 283.

The violins, moving in a mournful rhythm of two eighth notes followed by a quarter note (see figure 20), carry the progression of harmonic sequences. These passages, laden with lament, evoke a sense of sorrow and melancholy. In contrast, during transitional moments, the cellos and double basses shift to pizzicato (see figure 21). Here, the plucked strings, with their delicate and stark sound, convey a sense of fragility and vulnerability. This choice of texture could serve a purpose of contrast, to highlight the tragic nature of the funeral song, as the pizzicato accompaniment symbolizes the fragile thread of life amidst the somber procession of mourners.

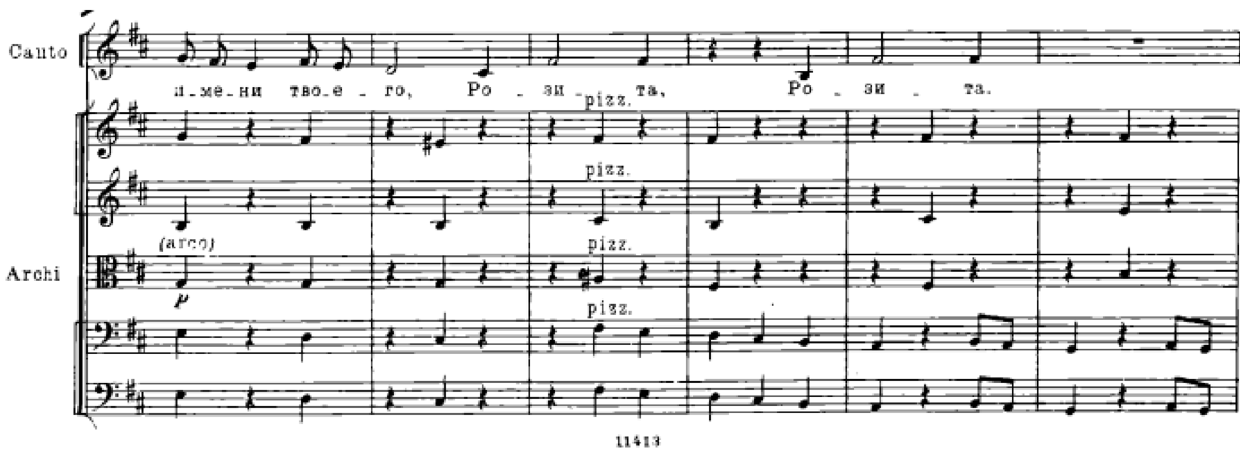

Figure 21 “Imeni Tvoyego, Rosita” (Your name, Rosita) bars 19-21.[193]

Concerning the form, the composition takes on a ternary ABA, not surprising given that this form is known as a lied or song form and is the most classic format for composing a vocal number due to the contrast between its parts. In this case, the A sections are presented in B minor, while the B section introduces a more positive and orientalist atmosphere in the relative D major, exploring the Spanish associations, as mentioned earlier. Critics such as Muzalevskiy observed that the song's style marked a departure from Shostakovich's previous compositions.[194] They noted its compelling blend of majestic simplicity, warmth, and sincere melody, along with its restrained yet profound sense of sorrow and pride in heroic acts. "Song of Rosita" represented a significant advancement in Shostakovich's repertoire, as he seldom delved into such intimate vocal forms. Moreover, the song demonstrated Shostakovich's ability to transcend the march movement's conventional schematicism and its characteristic dry, abrupt chord progressions.

193 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 27: 284.
194 Kopytova, "Shostakovich's Music for Salute, Spain! Discoveries and Perspectives,", p. 486.

Concerning the Spanish-sounding musical characteristics, it's interesting to note that in bars 21-25, Shostakovich employs the Aeolian dominant scale (Aeolian ♯3 scale), also known as Mixolydian ♭6 scale, descending melodic major scale, or Hindu scale.[195] (Figure 22). It is named Aeolian dominant because its sound derives from having a dominant seventh chord on the tonic in the context of what is otherwise the Aeolian mode. This scale also corresponds to Raga Charukeshi in Indian Classical tradition.[196] In the context in which he uses it harmonically in the piece, we're in the major relative key of D major, and then the next chord would be a dominant V chord (A Major) of the D major key with an exotic flourish in the note of Bb.

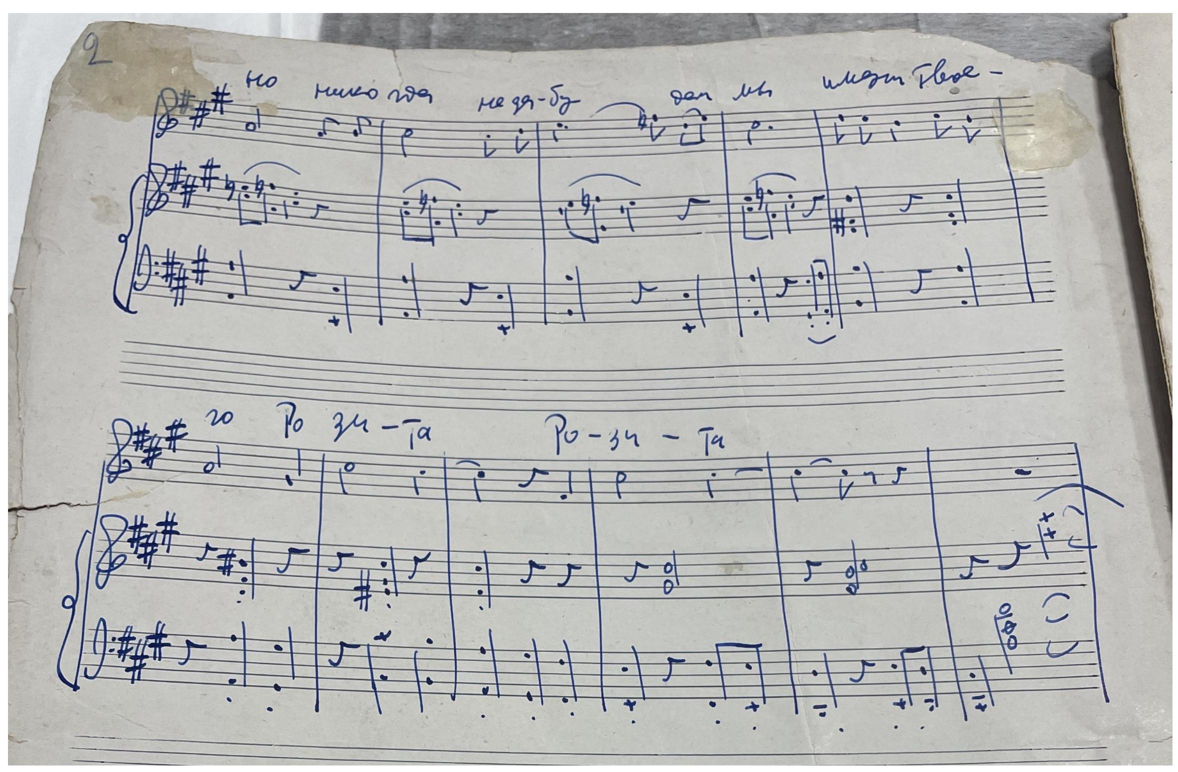

Figure 22: Song of Rosita, piano arrangement manuscript page 2, bars 21-25.[197]

It is quite likely that he used the scale based on its oriental associations. Even though this is not a quintessential musical scale used in Andalusian music or flamenco, the ♭6 makes it sound quite "eastern", creating augmented seconds in the melody (written enharmonically as minor thirds) such as the case in bar 23 (figure 22), which coincides with a stereotyped oriental portrayal of Spain. In his discussion of musical orientalism in Russian music of the 19th century, Richard Taruskin

195 "Melodic Scales" Tonal Centre, accessed June 24, 2024, http://www.tonalcentre.org/Melodic.html.
196 RagaSurabhi, "Raga Charukesi: Arohanam, Avarohanam and Alapana | Raga Surabhi," YouTube video, July 8, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PERB3AgcFAM&ab_channel=RagaSurabhi.
197 “Song of Rosita”, page 2.

discusses the use of the interval and how it became emblematic of Eastern musical styles.[198] Composers like Balakirev utilized the augmented second extensively in pieces like the *Polovtsian Dances of Prince Igor* or his *Georgian Song* to evoke a sense of exoticism and otherness in their compositions. These intervals, along with close little ornaments and characteristic melodic patterns, were part of Balakirev's attempt to infuse his compositions with what was perceived as Eastern musical flavors. Musical elements intentionally associated with these previous traditions would not be far removed from a "gypsified" vision of Spain, influenced by historical stereotypes—as evident in the case of *Carmen*, which is thought to have been based on the Romani people of Bessarabia.[199] These musical resources align well with Kerzhentsev's remarks on the "indigenization" of music in the Soviet Union in the context of Eurasianism (arguably, an attitude inherited from imperialist ideology, as I mentioned earlier).[200] Later in the 1940s, Shostakovich began to exhibit an interest in Jewish themes, fascinated by the music's ability to juxtapose a lively melody with somber undertones.[201] Works such as the Fourth String Quartet (1949) incorporated Jewish motifs. Jada Watson's thesis delves into this quartet, analyzing its incorporation of the Jewish folk idiom against the backdrop of Stalin-era Soviet politics.[202] While his inclusion of Jewish themes is sometimes seen as an attempt at self-rehabilitation following political condemnation, producing these works in the middle of Stalin's antisemitic campaign may point towards a rebellious act from the composer against the figure of Stalin.[203] His exploration of Jewish themes was further fueled by his study of Moisei Beregovski's 1944 thesis on Jewish folk music.[204] Thus, we observe a consistent inclination to seek inspiration from the East, symbolically reflected in this vocal number.

5.3 Excerpt: Song of Rosita (Instrumental)

In the next segment of the suite, we encounter once again the theme of Rosita, this time reduced solely to the A section of the ternary form (see figure 23). It is instrumentally played tenderly by the strings only in the same original key of B minor. While it's not exactly known at which point in the piece this theme would appear, it's likely to be used as a leitmotif, serving as a reminder of the character of Rosita later on, especially when she is mentioned again.

---

198 Richard Taruskin, "'Entoiling the Falconet': Russian Musical Orientalism in Context," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 4, no. 3 (1992): 257, accessed June 24, 2024, http://www.jstor.org/stable/823694.

199 See Chapter 1, section 1.1 pages 11-12.

200 See section 1.2 of the Introduction, pages 4-6.

201 Alexander Tentser (ed.), *The Jewish Experience in Classical Music: Shostakovich and Asia* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), p. 14.

202 Jada Watson, "Aspects of the 'Jewish' Folk Idiom in Dmitri Shostakovich's String Quartet No. 4, Op. 83 (1949)" (Master of Arts thesis, University of Ottawa, 2008), DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.20381/ruor-18883.

203 Jada Watson, "Aspects of the 'Jewish' Folk Idiom", page 11.

204 Tentser, *The Jewish Experience in Classical Music*, p. 5.

Figure 23. “Otryvok” (Excerpt).[205]

5.4 Foreshadowing the Fifth Symphony: the Funeral (Mourning) March.

The funeral march in appears almost at the end of the piece, at the funeral of Lucia, one of the daughters of the anonymous mother figure that fell into combat, accompanied by the speech of Dolores Ibarruri, secretary of the Spanish communist party. In the epilogue, after the death of Lucía, the last daughter of the nameless mother, the “Pasionaria”[206] shares her words of comfort with her:

205 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 27: 294.
206 Nickname of Dolóres Ibárruri, leader of the Spanish Communist Party.

“I would like to be your fourth daughter...(...)We say goodbye you, our girl, and the enemy is knocking at the gates of our city, and we already have to go. (…). Your last breath was a groan. But you overcame the groan of your pain with a cry: “Long live communism!” This cry was your last song. We sing this song over you now: long live communism!”.[207] The piece carries a sense of gravitas, tinged with a subtle hint of irony reminiscent of Mahler's first symphony, echoing elements from Shostakovich's own suppressed fourth symphony. There's also a suggestion of the bombastic style he would later subvert in the finale of his forthcoming fifth symphony. David Fanning's album notes draw a connection between the composition and Shostakovich's personal life, particularly his tumultuous relationship with Elena Konstantinovskaya, who had recently ended an affair with him before relocating to Spain with filmmaker Roman Karmen.[208] This personal turmoil, combined with professional and political pressures, may have influenced Shostakovich's association with Spain, lending a deeper, albeit somewhat somber, emotional resonance to the music.

Shostakovich employs the Neapolitan cadence in the funeral march of "Salute to Spain," infusing the composition with a sense of Southern flavor between the ominousness of the music (see figure 24). This cadence, characterized by the progression from the chord built on the lowered second scale degree to the tonic chord is somehow reminiscent of the use of the Neapolitan chord in Rimsky-Korsakov's *Spanish Capriccio.*

207 Afinogenov, Epilogue of “Salute to Spain”, p. 113.
208 "Opus 44: Salute to Spain (1936)" Exhaustive Shostakovich Wordpress, Accessed May 1, 2024. https://exhaustiveshostakovich.wordpress.com/2011/01/26/opus-44-salute-to-spain-1936.

Figure 24: Napolitan cadence in the "Funeral March".[209]

As for the rhythm and figuration of the piece, it features an andante tempo with the typical dotted eighth note-sixteenth followed by a whole note, patterns commonly associated with such marches.[210] In a transitional section (see figure 25), the mournful tone dissipates, giving way to something new: a whimsical fanfare in the relative major (Eb Major), reminiscent of earlier segments in the play score (Fanfares I, II, III) but with a strange, almost ironic tone due to the strange harmonic changes (From a Eb/Bb to an augmented Bb functioning as secondary dominant of Eb). The music sounds filled with a sense of tragedy, darkness, almost ironically heroic passages that seem forced and unsettling almost bombastic and whimsical in such a depressive context. It juxtaposes solemnity with unexpected moments of forced triumph.

209 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 28: *Incidental Music Piano Arrangement* (Moscow: Muzika, 1986), 206.

210 (For example, the well-known funeral march in Chopin's Piano Sonata No. 2). As an accomplished pianist it is quite likely that Shostakovich knew this piece, very standard in the repertoire and perhaps took inspiration to write his own funeral march.

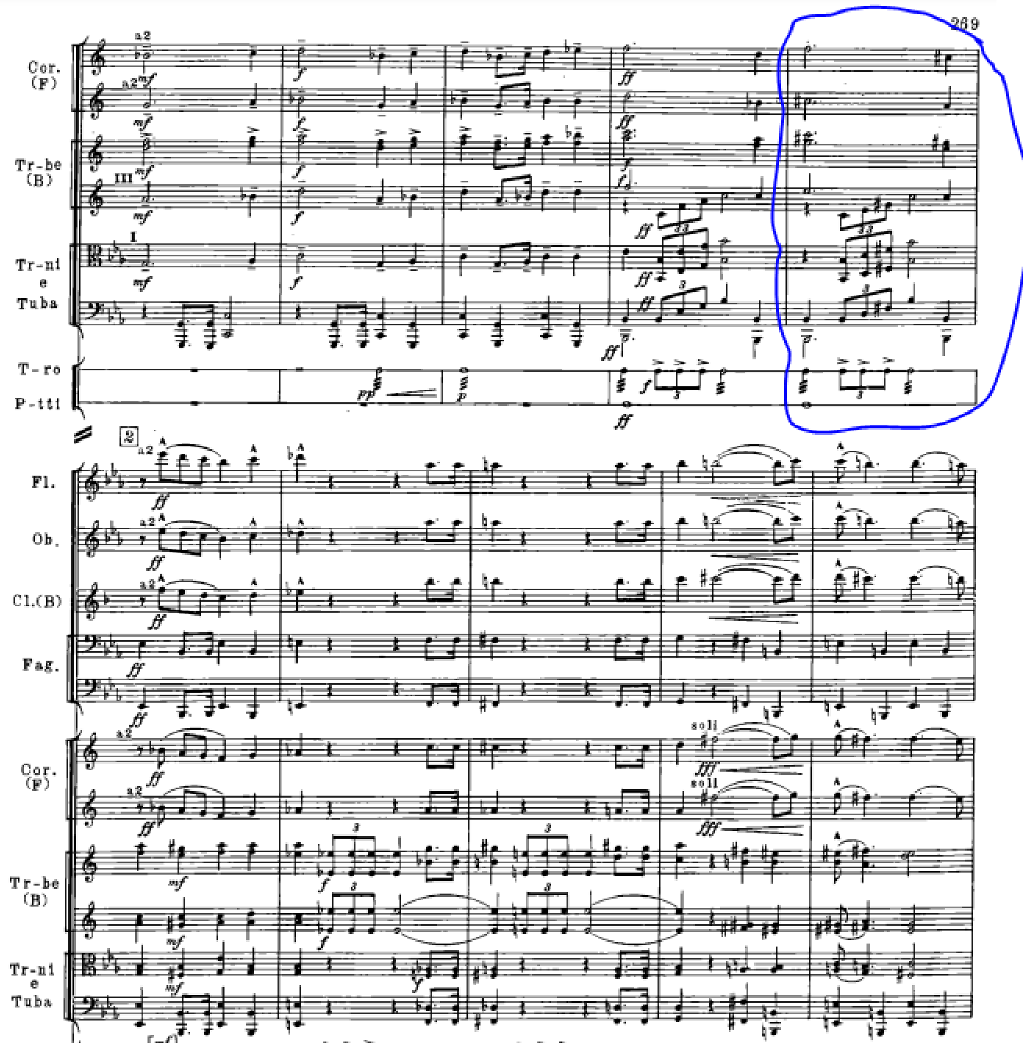

Figure 25: Augmented chord as a secondary dominant leading to the relative Eb major, bar 17.[211]

This new “uncanny” fanfare-like segment is characterized by rare secondary dominants and chromatic ascending modulations, creating a sense of instability and chaos, further enhancing the composition's emotional journey. The recurring appearance of the augmented chord as a bridge between modulations (see figure 25 and 26) demonstrates Shostakovich's skillful craftsmanship and mastery of composition techniques, when considering motivic development. The chord, used before as a secondary dominant (figure 25) is now used motivically for developing the modulation between Em and Cm (figure 26), and through clever voice leading and the usage of this symmetric chord[212] it contributes to the composition's overall cohesion and effectiveness.

211 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 27: 289.

212 The augmented chord is symmetric since all of its intervals are at the same distance. Therefore, G augmented can adopt many different names and its sonic properties will not be affected (G aug, Baug, Ebaug), making it extremely effective and versatile for modulating to distant keys, as in this case between C minor and E minor.

Figure 26: Augmented chord as a bridge between Em and Cm, bar 23.[213]

The rhythm of the funeral march interspersed with the triumphant theme reminds us that we are at a funeral, despite the heroic character of the music. The harmonic progression chromatically ascends towards minor chords, causing this seemingly heroic and triumphant theme to sound gloomy, and darkly ironic. It bears a strong resemblance to the final movement of Shostakovich's Fifth Symphony, which the composer was working on at the same period when this piece was premiered. The final movement of the fifth symphony is declared in *Testimony* to be a parody of shrillness.[214] In the composer's controversial[215] memoirs by Volkov, the following is mentioned about the finale of the Fifth:

> The rejoicing is forced, created under threat, as in Boris Godunov. It's as if someone were beating you with a stick and saying, 'Your business is rejoicing, your business is rejoicing', and you rise, shaky, and go marching off, muttering, 'Our business is rejoicing, our business is rejoicing.[216]

213 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 28: 206.

214 Solomon Volkov, *Testimony: The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich*, trans. Antonina W. Bouis (New York: Harper & Row, 1979).

215 Irina Shostakovich, the composer's wife, pointed out that Volkov had minimal contact with Shostakovich, casting doubt on his supposed sources. A panel of prominent former Soviet composers declared the book a fraud. Dr. Laurel E. Fay documented evidence of forgery, showing that signatures claimed as proof of authenticity were taken from previously published Soviet articles and forged onto Volkov's chapters. These discrepancies have discredited the book's claims. See Laurel E. Fay “Shostakovich Versus Volkov: Whose Testimony?”*The Russian Review* 39, no. 4 (1980): 484–93, https://doi.org/10.2307/128813.

216 Solomon Volkov, *Testimony:* page 183.

Despite the questionable authenticity of such accounts, it's plausible that the authoritarian imposition of socialist realism during the 1930s purges, combined with Shostakovich's personal persecution, may have left an imprint on his compositional style. One thing is certain: one can really hear the emotional turmoil in the composition, leaving the listener questioning the possible hidden meaning behind this music.

5.4 Final march. Epilogue and Military Speech

The final triumphant march emerges as a grand fanfare of brass winds accompanied by the full orchestra (see figure 28), once again echoing the earlier fragments of the piece with frenetic harmonic rhythm and a swift military tempo. Positioned as the culmination of the work, it is envisaged to feature at the conclusion of the piece, within the epilogue of the subsequent section, following a stirring speech by La Pasionaria rallying the troops and a fraternal greeting message from Stalin to the Spanish people: "Encouraged by your help, the heroic Spanish people assures you that he will not lose heart in this fight. Fascism will not break through. We'll hold it back and throw it away, for we will give all our blood to this cause to the last drop. We will crush fascism in Spain and serve as an example for countries still bearing the yoke of fascism. To fight and victory, comrades!".[217] The character Miguel, a republican soldier then enters the square and issues loud commands, rallying the regiments of revolutionary Spain to march to the field with resolute step. As the troops enter the square, the drums of the orchestras thunder, and they march forth silently, sternly, and firmly. The people, too, greet them silently, with the brass ringing in the marching music of the columns leaving for the front. It's not the carefree strumming of guitars but the boldness of brass that accompanies the army as it prepares to repel attacks and advance. As the last detachments with bayonets at the ready pass, beating a clear and menacing step, the curtain slowly falls.[218]

217 Afinogenov, “Salute to Spain”, p. 114.
218 Alexander Afinogenov, “Salute to Spain”, p. 114.

Figure 27: March.[219]

For this scene, Shostakovich composed a piece in Bb major, exuding a militaristic air all throughout. Structurally, it follows an ABA form, with the A section repeated da capo until transitioning to the B section in Eb minor. The energy is palpably triumphant, gearing up for battle and victory. Once again, we find the Mixolydian b6 scale with the correspondent augmented

219 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 27: 295.

seconds. Shostakovich employs an interesting IVm modal interchange subdominant, placing the Ebm chord in the key of Bb major (see figure 28).

Figure 28: Mixolydian b6 scale and ivm chord, bar 15.[220]

This is intriguing as the subsequent modulation to Ebm in the B section of the piece occurs over this previous modal interchange chord (IVm), thereby masterfully interweaving harmonies through these "ornamented" subdominants (see figure 29). The music possesses a certain almost humorous character, from my perspective, with those descents by conjunct degrees with a rigid and strong rhythm, crossing the threshold between the triumphant and bombastic and perhaps bordering on the ironic. While we cannot know for certain what the composer had in mind, considering the aforementioned with the last piece, it does not seem unreasonable to think that there is a certain tone of parody within the music, within its military character. Once again, Shostakovich presents us with music that is anything but static, moving at a brisk harmonic pace, as is often the case throughout the suite (in this regard, Rosita's song is an exception, as Shostakovich operates in a much more static and contemplative form).

220 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 27: 295.

Figure 29: B section (from the second repetition). Piano reduction, bars 28-39.[221]

6. Exploring the Naxos Recording of 'Salute to Spain': Insights and Considerations.

In 2009, Shostakovich enthusiasts were treated to the complete orchestral rendition of the play Salute to Spain on a CD released by Naxos, thanks to the efforts of the British conductor Mark Fitz-Gerald, known for reviving many of Shostakovich's lesser-known works.[222] The CD comprises all the score numbers published in volume 27 of the Collection of Works, albeit in a slightly altered sequence. Additionally, due to the scarcity of original music for the play by Shostakovich Fitz-Gerald included two choral numbers not attributed to Shostakovich. One of these is 'Po dolinam i po vzgor'yam' ('In the valleys and in the mountains'), originally sung by characters in the Afinogenov play, though the recording features the more polished rendition by the male choir Camerata Silesia.

221 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 28: 209.

222 Dmitri Shostakovich, *World Premiere Recordings: The Girlfriends (complete), Salute to Spain, Rule, Britannia, Symphonic Movement (1945)*, performed by Polish National Radio Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Mark Fitz-Gerald, Naxos 8.572138, 2009.

The song dates back to the years 1918-1922 and celebrates the deeds of the partisans in the Primorie region, near the Amur River.[223] This region was a battleground during the Russian Civil War, where partisans fought against the White armies and foreign forces attempting to seize control. Becoming a symbol of the Amur partisans and their struggle, the music was kept by the Red Army in their repertoire, reflecting the cultural and symbolic significance that this song holds for the partisans. In Afinogenov's play, a clear parallel is drawn between the conflict of the Siberian Far East partisans and the Republican militia fighting against the fascist faction of the Spanish War. Within the play, the guerrilla song was sung in Spanish, and the Spanish lyrics still exist.[224] It appears that if Afinogenov's instructions had been followed, there wouldn't have been any issues with performing "Po dolinam" in Spanish, as another vocal piece on the CD is sung in Spanish: the famous "Warszawianka".

The CD also includes this well-known revolutionary march, popularized as the anthem of the May revolts during the Polish Revolution of 1905 against Tzarist Russia (in Polish: Warszawianka 1905 roku).[225] Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the version in Spanish presented with lyrics by Valeriano Orobón Fernandez *A las barricadas* (To the Barricades), also known as *Negras tormentas* (Black Shadows) was famous as the anthem of CNT, the Spanish anarcho-syndicalists.[226] This inclusion, while historically significant, may seem out of place within the context of Afinogenov's play, as it opposes the communist ideology represented therein. Especially considering the play is particularly critical with anarchism, it is quite unlikely that this would be sung by the characters in the play.

The CD booklet and reviews shed light on the challenges faced during production. Fitz-Gerald, aware of the song 'Mï idyom' ('We are marching') referenced in the play's script, encountered difficulty due to a mistranslation of the title as 'My Idiom', hindering his search for the corresponding song (see figure 30).[227] This underscores the importance of knowing the original Russian language when working with these sources, as well as the historical, political, and cultural

223 "Anniversary of the Battle of Volochayevka," Boris Yeltsin Presidential Library, accessed May 9, 2024, https://www.prlib.ru/history/619023.
224 Afinogenov, "Salute to Spain", p. 100.
225 Abraham Ascher, *The Revolution of 1905: Russia in Disarray* (Stanford University Press, 1994), 157–158.
226 Ulrich Klan and Dieter Nelles, *Es lebt noch eine Flamme. Rheinische Anarchosyndikalisten /-innen 1919-1945* (Trotzdem-Verlag, Grafenau-Döffingen, 1990), cited in "Das schwarz-rote Liederbüchlein,", accessed May 9, 2024, https://web.archive.org/web/20160116042028/http://www.anarchismus.de/kultur/schwarz-rotes-liederbuch.pdf page 4.
227 Galina Kopytova, "Shostakovich's Music for Salute, Spain!", 487.

context of the mid-1930s to avoid such errors. The song 'We are marching', known in Spain as ‘Unión de Hermanos Proletarios’ and translated into Russian by Boris Turganov, emerged as a popular anthem during this period. Its presence in Soviet Russia, as evidenced by its publication in Pravda in 1936, highlights its significance within the political landscape. Moreover, its incorporation into Aleksandr Galich’s play ‘The Seaman’s Silence’ underscores its popularity and cultural resonance in Soviet Russia.

Figure 30: “My Idyom” (We are marching). Song of the Spanish Popular Front for voice and piano accompaniment.[228]

Shostakovich's musical score had a complicated history, re-emerging in the 1960s amid renewed focus on political developments in Spain.[229] According to a document signed by Z. A. Maiman, head of the theater's music department, dated September 20, 1965, the score for "Salute to Spain" was sent to Moscow in 1964 and never returned. The political climate of the mid-1960s, characterized

228 Kopytova, “Shostakovich’s Music for the Play 'Salute, Spain!'”: 265.
229 Kopytova, “Shostakovich’s Music for the Play 'Salute, Spain!'”: 269.

by anti-Franco sentiment, likely reignited Shostakovich's interest in Spain. During this time, Soviet academic and cultural circles showed solidarity with Spanish miners, who were in strike in the northern region Asturias, and Shostakovich signed an open letter supporting them. This context may have led Shostakovich to revisit his music related to supporting leftist causes in Spain, composed nearly thirty years earlier. The composer's connection to this region in northern Spain is particularly notable and will be highlighted in the next chapter, when discussing the *Spanish Songs* Op. 100.

7. Final thoughts

"Salute to Spain" stands as a remarkable example of socialist realism in music, showcasing Shostakovich's adeptness at incorporating forced ideological themes into his compositions while maintaining artistic integrity. The influence of Przybyszewski's ideas on socialist realism is palpable in Shostakovich's music for the play, particularly in its alignment with the principles of depicting the struggles and triumphs of the proletariat. Through a detailed analysis of the piece, I have analyzed how Shostakovich skillfully crafted music that not only complemented the stage narrative but also served as a musical portrayal on the tragic events of the Spanish Civil War.

Soviet intervention in the Spanish Civil War and the solidarity expressed through theater, particularly in Afinogenov's "Salute, Spain!" highlights the complex interplay between geopolitical interests, ideological agendas, and the urgency for Republican support. The Soviet Union's extensive military aid and logistical support undoubtedly played a crucial role in sustaining the Republican cause against Franco's Nationalist rebellion. However, the nature of Soviet assistance raises questions about its motivations and the extent to which it served Soviet geopolitical interests alongside aiding the Republic. In the theatrical realm, "Salute, Spain!" served as a potent instrument for rallying international solidarity and shaping public opinion in support of the Republican cause. Through evocative storytelling and symbolic imagery, the play celebrated the resilience and spirit of resistance embodied by the Spanish people, while also reflecting the pervasive control exerted by the Communist Party over every aspect of life. Afinogenov's work, while celebrating the bravery of the Spanish people, also portrays the ideological struggles within leftist movements, particularly the tension between anarcho-libertarian ideals and Stalinist communism. The character of Enrico symbolizes the ideological conflicts that divided the Republican side, highlighting the suppression

of dissenting voices within leftist movements and the valorization of obedience and discipline over individual freedoms.

Despite the absence of conventional vibrant hues in the visual imagery and the music's departure from stereotypical Spanish motifs, the somber atmosphere of Shostakovich's music effectively captured the tragic struggle of the Spanish people against fascism. The use of fanfares, the Song of Rosita, and the Funeral March all contribute to the overall thematic coherence and emotional complexity of the composition, illustrating Shostakovich's mastery of composition techniques and his ability to evoke a wide range of sentiments. By examining the piece through the lens of socialist realism, one can see Shostakovich's contribution to Soviet cultural life in the 1930s and his engagement (forcefully) with ideological imperatives. In the subsequent chapter, I will explore how the Spanish Civil War profoundly influenced Dmitri Shostakovich's life and artistry through the influence of the Spanish Republican refugees. Despite the two-decade gap, the conflict's impact persisted, culminating in Shostakovich's composition of the Spanish Songs, Op. 100, in 1956. These songs serve as a poignant reminder of the enduring resonance of the war's themes of resistance and solidarity. By examining this connection, I will uncover the lasting legacy of the Spanish Civil War in shaping Shostakovich's future engagement with Spanish themes.

Chapter 3: “Los Niños de Rusia”, Shostakovich and the *Spanish Songs* Op. 100

Having explored the broader socio-political impact of the Spanish Civil War in the previous chapters, this chapter delves into a more personal and cultural dimension: the plight and experiences of the Spanish children refugees who found a temporary haven in the Soviet Union. The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) not only ravaged Spain but also led to a significant humanitarian crisis, with thousands of children being evacuated to various countries to escape the violence. Among these, around 3000 children arrived in the Soviet Union between the years 1937-1938, where they would spend formative years far from their homeland.[230] This chapter explores the profound impact of this displacement on the children’s lives, focusing on the cultural and musical heritage they brought with them to Russia, affecting the work of the composer Dimitri Shostakovich as reflected in his Spanish Songs Op. 100, published in the year 1956.[231] In a curious turn of events, the renowned Soviet composer once again delved into Spanish musical themes during a period that coincided with the repatriation of many of these Children of War (now grown adults) to Francoist Spain, as well as the political thaw under Nikita Khrushchev, who assumed leadership of the Communist Party three years after Stalin's death.[232] Through an in-depth examination of these historical and cultural connections, particularly as reflected in Shostakovich’s music, this chapter seeks to unravel the complex interplay of music, memory, and identity shaped by the experience of exile, as well as the evolution of Spanish-Russian relations through the examination of these musical exchanges.

1.1 Background: the Spanish Exile in the Soviet Union

The toll of the Spanish Civil War remains uncertain, with modern day historians estimating a number ranging between half a million and a million casualties.[233] This figure includes those killed in combat, executed, bombed, and those who succumbed to hunger, malnutrition, and war-related diseases. The period also witnessed the peak of repression and human rights violations, known as the "white terror," which commenced with the July 1936 coup d'état in the territories occupied by

230 Alicia Alted Vigil, “El Exilio Español En La Unión Soviética,” *Ayer*, no. 47 (2002): 131, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41325146.

231 Dmitri Shostakovich, *Spanish Songs op. 100 (1956): Arrangements of Traditional Folk Songs for Mezzo-Soprano and Piano*. Boosey & Hawkes catalogue, accessed May 26, 2024. https://www.boosey.com/cr/music/Dmitri-Shostakovich-Spanish-Songs/1881.

232 “Los Niños de Rusia 1937-1956: Niños de la guerra.” Niños de Rusia, accessed May 26, 2024. https://www.ninosderusia.org/project/quienes-fueron-los-ninos-de-rusia/#:~:text=Ni%C3%B1os%20de%20Rusia%2C%20ni%C3%B1os%20de%20la%20guerra&text=destinado%20a%20proporcionar%20refugio%20a,tuvo%20lugar%20hasta%201956%2D1957.

233 Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War* (New York: Modern Library, 2001), XVIII, 899-901.

the Francoist forces such as Galicia, Castilla, León and Navarra.[234] Francoist Spain targeted a wide array of groups as enemies of the regime, including loyalists to the Second Spanish Republic, liberals, various socialist factions, Protestants, leftist intellectuals, homosexuals, Freemasons, Romanis, Jews, Black people, immigrants, and nationalists from the Basque, Catalan, Andalusian, and Galician regions. The repression under Franco's rule was driven by the right-wing concept of "limpieza social," or social cleansing, leading to the immediate targeting and killing of individuals deemed threats to the state upon Nationalist forces taking control of an area.[235]Furthermore the Catholic Church in Spain justified the atrocities carried out by the Civil Guard and the Falange as necessary to defend Christendom.[236]

As the war progressed, due to these harsh conditions and the fear of prosecution experienced in the Republican-controlled territories, the conflict witnessed an unprecedented phenomenon: the evacuation of children from Spain to various countries abroad.[237] Various contingents of minors were organized to countries more or less ideologically aligned with the Republican cause or solely for humanitarian purposes, aiming to spare the children from the war's calamities. To better grasp this phenomenon, it is crucial to consider the significant impact the war had on international public opinion and Europe's situation in the immediate years preceding the outbreak of the Second World War. As previously examined through the case of Shostakovich and Afinogenov's play, the Republican cause gained sympathy amongst the members of the intelligentia of several other European countries, urging their governments to provide support and humanitarian aid. Organizations from France, England, Belgium, the Soviet Union, Switzerland, Denmark, and Mexico facilitated the evacuation of approximately 34,000 children aged between 5 and 15, with France hosting the greatest volume of refugees (with around 20,000 evacuated children).[238]

Four expeditions were sent to the Soviet Union between 1937 and 1938, totaling 2,895 children, along with educators, support staff, aspiring pilots, and sailors from Spanish ships.[239] The first three expeditions occurred between March and September 1937, originating from the ports of Valencia,

234 Stanley G. Payne, "The Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939," in *A History of Spain and Portugal*, vol. 2, Chapter 26 (The Library of Iberian Resources Online), accessed May 26, 2024, https://libro.uca.edu/payne2/payne26.htm.
235 Carlos Hernández de Miguel, *Los campos de concentración de Franco* (Penguin Random House, 2019), 109.
236 Borja De Riquer, *La dictadura de Franco*, vol. 9 de la *Historia de España*, ed. by Josep Fontana and Ramón Villares (Barcelona: Crítica/Marcial Pons, 2010), 124.
237 Alicia Alted Vigil, "El 'instante congelado' del exilio de los niños de la guerra civil española," *DEP: Deportate, esuli, profughe*, no. 3 (2005): 266.
238 Alted Vigil, "El 'instante congelado'", p. 269.
239 Alted Vigil, "El Exilio Español En La Unión Soviética,": 131.

Santurce, and Gijón, while the final group came from Barcelona in late October 1938.[240] Departures from Valencia and Barcelona consisted mainly of children who were either offspring or relatives of pilots or military personnel, while the rest mainly consisted of civil refugees.[241] Most of these children were between three and fourteen years old and came from the Basque Country, Asturias, and Cantabria—regions in northern Spain that had been cut off from the rest of the Republic by the Francoist advance, leaving them particularly isolated and in danger.[242] All of these expeditions received support from the Spanish Republic government, the Soviet Union, and the International Red Cross. The International Commission for the Aid of Child Refugees from Spain, which included associations from Great Britain, Switzerland, the United States, and Canada; the British Basque Children Committee, International Red Aid, International Anti-Fascist Solidarity, and various organizations from France, Sweden, and Norway, all participated in the collaborative evacuation effort.[243]

Among the children and their families, there was also the belief that their stay in Russia would be short, and, while their testimonies confirm that some of them were devastated by the separation, others even felt happy about the adventure of traveling to a foreign country. Alberto Fernández, one of the passengers on one of those ships recounts, with a halting speech: "I clung to my mother's skirt with my fist. I couldn't understand why they wanted to separate me from my mother. What it's like for an eight-year-old child to lose his mother!"[244] In contrast, Adelina Álvarez, another child, comments, in a firm and confident tone: "I was very happy to leave. Others cried, but not me. To me, it seemed like a very interesting adventure".[245] She later added:

> I didn't have a childhood, because not only did I not receive affection, but I was the one who stayed at home, taking care of my siblings. There were chores to do. Sometimes they cried because I didn't know what to feed them. I never went to school. So, my life

240 Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración, Gobierno de España, *Informe de la Dirección General de Inmigración de 11/05/06* (Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración, 2006), https://web.archive.org/web/20091214015044/http://www.ciudadaniaexterior.mtin.es/es/pdf/informe-ninos-guerra.pdf

241 Susana Castillo Rodríguez, *Memoria, educación e historia: el caso de los niños españoles evacuados a la Unión Soviética durante la Guerra Civil Española* (PhD thesis, Madrid, 1999), 43.

242 Alted Vigil, "El Exilio Español En La Unión Soviética," *Ayer*, no. 47 (2002): 144, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41325146.

243 Castillo Rodríguez, *Memoria, educación e historia:* 59.

244 Castillo Rodríguez, *Memoria, educación e historia:* 99-100.

245 Antonio Gómez López-Quiñones, "Identidad y memoria colectiva en Los Niños de Rusia," *Colorado Review of Hispanic Studies* 1, no. 1 (2003): 137.

was miserable. I don't know what would have become of me. That's why I always say that for me, going to the Soviet Union was a blessing, it was my salvation.[246]

These testimonies underscore the complex and varied experiences of migration and displacement, ranging from feelings of hope and resilience to profound sorrow and disorientation. While individual circumstances undoubtedly influenced these experiences to some extent, it is evident that the collective experience significantly shaped the destinies of these children, molding their migratory journeys in ways that would later resonate in their collective identity as war-displaced individuals.

1.2 The Children Houses in the Soviet Union

The reception given to some of the expeditions in Leningrad was almost like a celebration.[247] Upon their arrival in Leningrad, the Spanish children were greeted by large crowds. The city came out to welcome the "children of the heroic Spanish people" with music, flowers, flags, and banners. In the children's accounts they reflect a tone of enthusiasm and euphoria, highlighting the grand and spectacular reception, complete with bands, large colored spotlights, flags, and flowers. The symbols of Republican Spain, such as the raised fist salute and singing the International, were prominently displayed. These children were seen as embodying the heroism of the Spanish people fighting against fascism, playing dual roles as both victims and heroes.

As befitting a maneuver with significant propaganda undertones, demonstrating Soviet support for the fight against fascism in Spain, Soviet authorities took special care of the hygiene, nutrition, and health of the children.[248] Many of them arrived in a deplorable state of health due to the journey filled with hardships and the conditions they were subjected to during the war.[249]Upon arriving in the Soviet Union, the children were bathed, underwent a medical examination, dressed in new clothes, and accommodated in hotels and pioneer camps for a few days, before being distributed to the Children's Houses.

246 Antonio Gómez López-Quiñones, "Identidad y memoria colectiva en Los Niños de Rusia, 137.
247 Alted Vigil, “El Exilio Español En La Unión Soviética,”: 145.
248 Idem.
249 Castillo Rodríguez, *Memoria, educación e historia,* p. 117.

By late 1938, there were a total of sixteen houses throughout the Soviet Union. Eleven of them were located in present-day Russia: including one in central Moscow (known as Pirogóvskaya), two in the Leningrad area (one in Pushkin, now Tsárskoye Seló, 24 kilometers south of the city; one in Óbninsk), and five in Ukraine (including one in Odesa, another in Kyiv, and another in Eupatoria).[250] These various reception centers, known as the "Casas de Niños" or "Infant Houses for Spanish Children," included vacation homes of labor unions and even small palaces expropriated during the October Revolution.[251] In one of the testimonies compiled by historian Susana Castillo, one of the former girls from the Tsarskoye Selo residence (in the town of Pushkin, located 24 km away from Saint Petersburg) talks about the foster home:

> That house belonged to some wealthy folks, from that Pushkin era, from the upper class, from the aristocracy, and that's why the rooms were large, because they held dances there... Pushkin is the residence of the Russian tsars, the famous Catherine Palace is there, and we lived there nearby..., there, very close... now where we lived is named Pushkin, that's where he lived with his wife... when they got married.[252]

In these houses, apart from having all their needs met, they received education mostly in Spanish, provided by Spanish educators (mostly women), following the educational model and Soviet ideals.[253]Textbooks were translated into Spanish, and there were "interest circles" where they could learn music, dance, sewing, photography, aeromodeling, carpentry, perform plays, engage in sports, and more.[254] Writers, military personnel, and renowned scientists visited the Houses as sponsors, and they spent summers at the beach or in sanatoriums recovering from the harsh winter. Communist propaganda saw them, in some way, as the future political elite in a socialist Spanish republic that would emerge from victory in the Civil War, hence the emphasis on preserving their Spanish language and customs.[255] The Soviet government paid special attention to these houses, where the children had all their needs met: they were provided with every possible facility for studying, taught by Spanish and Russian educators, assisted by the auxiliary staff who had accompanied them on the expeditions, though gradually replaced by Russian personnel. Nieves Cuesta Fernández (Mieres, Asturias, 1925), who joined the Kharkiv Children's Home in August 1939, recalls:

250 Alted Vigil, "El Exilio Español En La Unión Soviética", pp. 145-148.
251 Alted Vigil, "El Exilio Español En La Unión Soviética", 145.
252 Castillo Rodríguez, *Memoria, educación e historia,* 184.
253 Alted Vigil, "El exilio republicano desde la perspectiva de las mujeres," *El Sueño Igualitario: Boletín del Coloquio 'El republicanismo en la historia de Teruel'* no. 13 (Grupo de Estudios Masinos, Ayuntamiento de Mas de las Matas: Cuadernos de Cazarabet), 117.
254 Alted Vigil, "El Exilio Español En La Unión Soviética,", p. 145.
255 Alted Vigil, "El 'instante congelado' del exilio de los niños de la guerra civil española," *DEP: Deportate, esuli, profughe*, no. 3 (2005): 278.

> I was placed in the 4th class. Everything was beautiful. The house, an old mansion, surrounded by woods, fruit trees, places for skiing, doing sports, walking, breathing... Some Russian teachers, but quite a few Spaniards. All you could see was attention, affection, concern for us. The director, Polina Sakharovna, carried out her Party-assigned task to the letter, as she was a former Bolshevik, stern, serious, but fair and a defender of the children. I remember some disagreements with the Spanish educators and teachers, but she was very demanding, especially for the good of the children(…).[256]

Despite the upheaval they faced due to migration, these children found themselves in environments where their well-being was prioritized. Whether due to the Soviet Union's attempts to instrumentalize these refugees or to genuine, heartfelt humanitarian concern, the fact remains that many professionals in Russia and Ukraine worked very hard to take care of them. Testimonies from the Children recount how they experienced those years between the Spanish Civil War and World War II as some of their happiest moments, where they spent their formative years in good conditions.

Health is one of the discursive themes used to recall the "wonderful conditions" they enjoyed upon arriving in the Soviet Union.[257] The accounts of those who were accommodated in sanatoriums located on the coast of the Black Sea (Red Banner, October Revolution, Communist) emphasize the series of care they received, the "healthy" habits (exercise) and hygienic (daily hygiene), and nutrition as determining elements to regain the health they had lost in Spain. During those years, the Soviet Union was an industrial superpower with a robust model of education and public healthcare, contrasting starkly with the backwardness of the fervently Catholic and conservative society of Spain in the first third of the 20th century. Many of them describe the cultural shock they experienced upon arriving in a much more modernized country, with access to a wide array of goods and services, far superior to what was available in Spain, especially for the unprivileged classes.[258] The children mostly came from very humble families, some of them miners from Asturias, who had not seen anything like that in their lives. This fabric of memories includes toys, confections, luxuries like butter, the sound of the piano, evenings of dancing on the terrace, carriage rides, toiletries like the powder box and soap, and more. The allure of these memories stems not only from their surroundings, but also from everything they were provided with.

256 Alted Vigil, "El Exilio Español En La Unión Soviética,": 146.
257 Castillo Rodríguez, *Memoria, educación e historia:* 142.
258 Castillo Rodríguez, *Memoria, educación e historia,* 135.

Naturally, not all of these experiences were the same for everyone. While many memories of the Houses are cheerful, expressing freedom, enthusiasm, nostalgia, and grandiosity, there are also contrasting accounts. For example, one woman's testimony vividly illustrates a life marked by inevitable tragedy.[259] Her account diverges significantly from the more optimistic recollections, depicting her journey from leaving the Children's Home to her present life with melancholy and resignation. She recalls marrying at 16 out of necessity, driven by circumstance rather than choice. Although her older Russian husband was supportive and kind, her narrative is imbued with a sense of duty rather than joy:

> ...but thank God I got married [currently, she is a practicing Catholic], and if you ask if I wanted to or not... well, I don't know... I had to get married [I was 16 years old], I had no other choice. He has always been very good to me [Russian husband, about fifteen years older than her], he has loved me a lot, he has helped me throughout my life. We had three children, and when he needed to support me, he did. When he could, he kept me at home, and when he earned less, I had to work. But I have worked for about thirty years...[260]

Her reflections reveal a profound sense of alienation and sorrow. Her life in the Soviet Union, though materially sufficient, felt stifling. The emotional and cultural displacement she experienced is palpable, marked by a lingering sense of loss and isolation. A particularly painful memory she recalls later is her enforced separation from her sister upon arrival in Leningrad, reflecting the deep psychological impact of being torn from her family.[261] The contrast between her life in Spain and her experiences in the Soviet Union highlights what she perceives as lost—family, faith, and a sense of belonging. Her testimony underscores the diversity of experiences among those who lived in the Soviet Union as refugees, showing that for some, the period was not just one of adventure and growth, but also one of profound emotional wounds.

---

259 Susana Castillo Rodríguez, *Memoria, educación e historia: el caso de los niños españoles evacuados a la Unión Soviética durante la Guerra Civil Española* (PhD thesis, Madrid, 1999), 137.
260 Susana Castillo Rodríguez, *Memoria, educación e historia,* 137.
261 Susana Castillo Rodríguez, *Memoria, educación e historia*, 138.

1.3 The Second World War and the Second Exile

Life for the Spanish children was severely disrupted by the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, known as Operation Barbarossa, in June 1941. During the years of the Great Patriotic War[262], they endured great hardships, suffering from extreme hunger and cold, as their homes were located along the path of the German army's advance through Kharkiv, Leningrad, and Kyiv.[263] The crude conditions forced their evacuation to regions deep within the interior, thousands of kilometers from their original locations: the recently abolished German Autonomous Soviet Republic of the Volga, between Stalingrad and Saratov, and the cities of Ufa (Bashkiria), Tashkent, Samarkand (Uzbekistan), and Tbilisi (Georgia), among others. Numerous testimonies recount the arduous and lengthy evacuations, which took weeks or even months. Some of the youth and adults enlisted as volunteers in the Red Army, while others assisted with rear-guard duties. About 200 people died, a third of whom were young individuals who had come to the Soviet Union as children.

Within the recollections of these extremely difficult times, the valor and sacrifice of individuals residing in Houses 8 and 9 of Leningrad stand out prominently.[264] Due to being besieged in the city during the German blockade, these Houses served as models of resistance against the Germans, symbols of the heroism of those who fought on the front lines. Their members are remembered for the assistance they provided to the civilian population and for the hardships they endured while trapped between the enemy lines. At that time, House 9 had become a residence for older youths, typically aged between 15 and 18 years old. These youths were students of technical schools, institutes, or factories who, during the siege of Leningrad, worked in war factories, hospitals, and public canteens. They also contributed to the city's defense by constructing trenches in the rear. In the defense of Leningrad, 70 Spaniards tragically lost their lives, 46 of whom were children or young adults.[265]

In the winter of 1942, Carmen de los Ríos Sánchez was among the group of children of Spanish republicans who were lucky enough to escape the besieged city.[266] As Sánchez's grandson Francisco Torre recounts in his interview with the *Sputnik* magazine, they were part of one of the evacuations

262 This is a term used in many of the ex-Soviet republics to denote the Eastern Front campaign of World War II.
263 Alted Vigil, "El Exilio Español En La Unión Soviética": 147.
264 Castillo Rodríguez, *Memoria, educación e historia*, 180.
265 Alted Vigil, "El Exilio Español En La Unión Soviética,": 147.
266 Denis Lukyanov, "Cómo una niña de la guerra sobrevivió a la invasión nazi en la URSS," *Sputnik*, September 24, 2018, accessed May 30, 2024, https://latamnews.lat/20180924/ninos-de-rusia-joven-espanola-entregada-a-falange-por-tercer-reich-1082221737.html.

of Spanish children from foster Homes number 8 and 9 in the city, traveling in vans over the frozen surface of Lake Ladoga, known in contemporary historiography of World War II as the “Road of Life”.[267] That's when her journey began on a train across the vastness of the Soviet Union. In August 1942, the group — consisting of the 11 children and their teacher — found themselves in the Caucasus — a region in the southern part of the European part of the USSR — when they were suddenly intercepted by an SS unit advancing through this territory. The eleven children, including Sánchez, who was 17 years old, and their teacher fell into the hands of the Germans. As Sánchez's grandson Francisco Torre recounts in his interview with the *Sputnik* magazine, the young people were wearing red scarves — worn by the pioneers — so the Germans thought they were communists and were going to kill them. However, there was a Spanish Blue divisionary[268] with the SS, and it was only thanks to him that they were not killed. The Spanish divisionary continued to insist, arguing that they were Spanish and that they were only children. And so it was: the children of Republican fighters, who at that time were only between 15 and 19 years old, were saved in a distant land by someone who had fought against their parents in Spain a few years earlier.The Francoist authorities in Spain quickly used these children as a propaganda asset to denounce communism, portraying their return as a rescue from the clutches of a hostile ideology, claiming that the children of the Republicans managed to "escape from the Soviet hell" by "reaching the German lines”.[269] These captives were generally taken to Poland and then to Berlin, where in January 1943 the Germans handed the children over to representatives of Francoist Spain, an event celebrated at the Ibero-American Institute in Berlin. Many Spanish media outlets reported on the return of the children to the country, and there were even some who claimed that the youths had been rescued by Nazi troops.

The majority of the evacuated children and young people who managed to escape the Nazi invasion began returning to their original locations in 1944 to resume their studies or work.[270] However, some chose to stay in the cities where they had been relocated. Pedro López Fernández, born in

267 David M. Glantz, *The Siege of Leningrad, 1941–1944: 900 Days of Terror* (Staplehurst: Spellmount, 2001), 76-80.
268 The Blue Division, officially designated as the 250th Infantry Division of the German Army, was a unit composed of Spanish volunteers who fought for Nazi Germany on the Eastern Front during World War II. It was formed in June 1941, shortly after Operation Barbarossa, the German invasion of the Soviet Union. The volunteers were primarily Falangist and Nationalist supporters of Francisco Franco's regime in Spain, although a significant number of them had Republican sympathies, either due to family ties or political affiliation, and attempted to exempt themselves by enlisting in these forces and "purging their sins" (this is the Francoist National-Catholic narrative). They fought alongside the Axis forces during the Siege of Leningrad and the Battle of Krasny Bor until the division was withdrawn from the Eastern Front in 1943. See Núñez Seixas, Xosé M. "Russia and the Russians in the Eyes of the Spanish Blue Division soldiers, 1941–4." *Journal of Contemporary History* 52.2 (2017): 352–374.
269 Denis Lukyanov, "Cómo una niña de la guerra sobrevivió”.
270 Alted Vigil, “El Exilio Español En La Unión Soviética,”: 147-148.

Portugalete (a town near Bilbao) in 1924, was one such individual. He had traveled to the Soviet Union with the expedition that left from the port of Santurce in June 1937. He recounts his experiences during the war:

> In early June 1941, I finished my studies at school and enrolled in a technical school that trained specialists for the automobile industry. But on June 22, the Great Patriotic War began, radically changing our lives. At the start of the war, I was living in Moscow, at the House of Spanish Youth on Pirogovskaya Street. Bombing in Moscow began soon, and German troops approached the city. Soviet authorities decided to evacuate us, and we were taken by train to Uzbekistan. The journey was arduous, with much hunger and cold, lasting from October 27 to mid-December. It was thousands of kilometers to the city of Samarkand. I lived in Samarkand with my family for fifty years. I started studying at a technical school there, training as a specialist for the food industry. Wartime life was very harsh: there were many deaths and injuries, and there was a severe lack of clothes, food, soap, and coal. People's behavior changed drastically; there was much mourning, and eyes looked very sad. During the four years of the war, I studied at the technical school and occasionally worked to survive. The hardships we endured during those years are very difficult to describe... Several young Spaniards died in Samarkand from hunger... The exiled adults who were with us helped us understand the theory of scientific communism, but they couldn't offer much other assistance.[271]

During this time, the most distressing accounts emerge, detailing experiences of starvation, illness, criminal activities, sexual assault, and prostitution. In his article in the Catalan journal *La Vanguardia*, writer César Vidal, describes the hardships faced by Spanish children in the Soviet Union, including hunger and mistreatment, which led some to resort to submission or delinquency.[272] He mentions incidents of theft gangs formed in Tashkent and highlights the plight of Spanish girls who turned to prostitution in places like Samarcanda and Tiflis, where some even became pregnant and gained notoriety among party leaders. Various accounts highlight the presence of criminal gangs, with one notable instance described by Republican soldier Valentín González "El Campesino" in Kokand, where Spanish children formed a group, distinct from Russian children, and even adopted the flag of the Spanish Republic as their symbol.

---

271 Alted Vigil, "El Exilio Español En La Unión Soviética,": 148.
272 César Vidal, "Los juguetes rotos de Stalin," *Diario La Vanguardia*, June 14, 1998.

Vidal's article sparked controversy among the "children of the war," who saw it as sensationalist and unfairly generalized their experiences based on isolated incidents. In response, writer Daniel Arasa questioned the accuracy of Vidal's claims, particularly regarding the prevalence of rape in gulags and the fame of Spanish prostitutes among party leaders.[273] He argues that such statements lack proper context and may exaggerate the unique experiences of Spanish children in the Soviet Union as a distinctive delinquent group. While he argues that Spanish children faced significant challenges in the Soviet Union, it is also important to consider the broader context of World War II and avoid overgeneralizations that may distort historical realities.

Despite supposed protection under the Spanish Communist Party, the Red Cross, and other Soviet institutions, Spanish children often faced dire shortages of essentials such as food, medicine, and heating. Jesús Hernández, leader of the PCE and exiled in the Soviet Union, recounts his efforts to compel authorities to meet their needs.[274] Survivors endured austere conditions, residing in modest peasant dwellings and toiling in fields for subsistence. Criticisms of the PCE's opposition to the children's repatriation to Spain abound in various testimonies. Whether or not Dolores Ibárruri's purported statement, "We cannot return them to their parents turned into ruffians and prostitutes, nor allow them to leave here as furious anti-Soviets," as conveyed by Hernández, is authentic, negative recollections persist regarding the PCE's conduct, particularly that of La Pasionaria.[275]

2.1 Francoist Spain's Diplomatic Fallout with the Soviet Union

The end of the war in May 1945 did not result in the repatriation of the children to Spain or to other nations where their families had sought exile.[276] One might wonder why the Soviet government retained the children. Firstly, it is important to note that the USSR did not recognize Franco's regime, so there were no diplomatic relations between the two countries. Repatriation was not considered for these children, leaving them with little choice but to remain in their new host country. For the Soviet authorities these children were considered citizens under the democratic

273 Daniel Arasa, "Carta al director," *La Vanguardia*, June 17, 1998.

274 Fernando Hernández Sánchez, "Pistolero, ministro, espía y renegado", in E. Vanni, *Yo, comunista en Rusia* (Barcelona: Destino, 1950), pp. 206-207.

275 César Vidal, "Enigmas de la historia: El destino de los niños de la guerra (y II)," in *Libertad Digital*, https://www.libertaddigital.com/otros/revista/articulos/78371027.htm (accessed June 1, 2024).

276 Alted Vigil, "El Exilio Español En La Unión Soviética,": 148.

legitimacy of the Spanish Second Republic, which ceased to exist in 1939 following its defeat by the Nationalist faction supported by the Axis powers.[277] With General Franco's victory and the dismantling of republican institutions, the Soviet Union refused to repatriate these war refugees, arguing the lack of legitimacy of the new regime. This decision left these children effectively nationless, as they were citizens of a state that no longer existed. From the Soviet perspective, there was nowhere to return them to, as that place was the Republic, and the Republic had fallen.

In Spain, the evacuation of the Children to the Soviet Union was later portrayed under Franco's dictatorship as "the theft of children," "a Machiavellian plan carried out at the expense of our youth," "the communist plot to steal children from Spain," and other criticisms targeting the actions of the involved organizations.[278] This rhetoric was a cover for strong political opposition. The children were often used as a pretext to discredit the Communist Party and leftist ideologies, under the legitimacy of the "Regime" the "Fatherland" or the "true Spain".

Almost all efforts by Franco's government to repatriate the children were unsuccessful. Stalin refused to hand over the children of republican fighters to Franco. While this stance is understandable, it is less clear why children whose families were exiled in other countries were not allowed to leave. There was, however, a political reason for this. Leaders of the PCE and the Comintern viewed these children as the "golden reserve of the Party".[279] They believed these children should become future leaders of the PCE. The children were encouraged to retain their Spanish language and customs while integrating into Soviet society. Hence, the directive in all Children's Homes was to educate them as Spaniards, as they were expected to return to Spain one day and contribute to the "construction of socialism" there.

Concerning the cultural life of the Spanish diaspora, the role played by the Spanish Cultural Center Club Schikalov, established in Moscow in 1946 with the sponsorship of the Soviet authorities, was of great importance.[280] This club quickly became a point of reference for their collective identity. The Schikalov provided various rooms for hosting performances, exhibitions, and reading sessions. It also offered circles for learning Spanish music and dances, chess, and visual arts. The activities

277 "Spanish Civil War", United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed June 1, 2024, https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/spanish-civil-war.

278 Castillo Rodríguez, *Memoria, educación e historia: p.* 108.

279 PCE stands for the Spanish Communist Party; Alted Vigil, "El Exilio Español En La Unión Soviética,": 148.

280 Alted Vigil, "El 'instante congelado'",",p. 278.

included organizing exhibitions, literary contests, artistic evenings, meetings with prominent figures, film screenings, theater performances, and classical dance or ballet shows. Overall, regarding the Soviet Union, it cannot be argued that the exiles created a distinct culture of exile; instead, it was perhaps in this country, due to historical circumstances, where there was an unprecedented expansion of the Spanish language and cultural tradition before the arrival of these few thousand Spaniards.[281] Both adult and "child" exiles are credited with the emergence of Soviet Hispanic studies, which brought Spain and Russia closer than at any other time in their history, greatly contributing to the mutual understanding and knowledge of their respective cultures despite geographical and linguistic barriers.

2.2 Shift in Repatriation Policies: A New Paradigm

In the aftermath of Stalin's death in 1953, a period of relative thaw occurred in the Soviet Union, especially following Khrushchev's famous speech denouncing the crimes of Stalinism in 1956.[282] With Spain's recent entry into the UN in 1955 after Franco's meeting with U.S. President Eisenhower, an agreement was finally reached in 1957 for the return of the "children" who wished to go back to Spain.[283] The repatriation process, discreetly organized, aimed to portray the Francoist regime as a "savior" from the perceived Soviet threat to those who had left as minors. On January 21, 1957, the Soviet ship Crimea arrived at the port of Castellón de la Plana with 412 Spaniards on board.[284]

Upon their return, they faced challenges including a hostile regime, suspicion from authorities due to perceived pro-communist leanings, and the difficulty of reintegration into families after nearly two decades, often as adults with different life experiences.[285] More than 400 even decided to return to the Soviet Union due to the inadaptation they felt returning to their homeland. Some children had obtained previous permission to travel to Mexico in 1946 to reunite with their families, while others

281 Alted Vigil, "El Exilio Español En La Unión Soviética": 154.
282 Nikita Khrushchev, "February 25, 1956. Khrushchev's Secret Speech, 'On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences,' Delivered at the Twentieth Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," *The Wilson Center Digital Archive*, accessed June 1, 2024, https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/khrushchevs-secret-speech-cult-personality-and-its-consequences-delivered-twentieth-party.
283 Castillo Rodríguez, *Memoria, educación e historia:* p. 71.
284 Hispanopolis, "EFEMÉRIDES - 1957 EN LA HISTORIA DEL MUNDO," accessed October 5, 2013, archived at https://web.archive.org/web/20131005020618/http://hispanopolis.com/bin/efemerides.cgi?Year=1957.
285 María Serrano, "El regreso de los niños refugiados en Rusia," *Diario Público*, Sevilla, July 2, 2017.

went to Fidel Castro's Cuba from the 1960s to the 1970s to work as Soviet specialists (due to the advantage of being proficient in Spanish, unlike other Soviet citizens).[286] Most of those who remained in the Soviet Union settled in Moscow, with some in Siberia. Vacation stays in Spain were allowed for those who had lived in the Soviet Union for twenty years. From the 1960s, some began returning individually, and after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the economic crisis that followed the dismemberment of the Soviet Union, more than 30 also returned to Spain.[287] Their situation was unique due to Spain's lack of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union until 1977, after the death of dictator Franco in 1975. Disadvantaged by the fall of the Soviet regime, they emerged from legal limbo in 1990 with the opportunity to regain Spanish nationality.[288]

The survivors have continued to maintain frequent contact. Those who remained permanently in the Soviet Union, specifically in Moscow, often gathered in the halls of a factory, at the Chkálov Club, or at the Spanish Center itself (also known as the House of Spain).[289] Those who returned, whether through associations (including those from Asturias, the Basque Country, or Madrid) or in a more informal manner, have also continued to meet in the places where they were originally from and to which they returned. In December 2003, the survivors of those children were honored with the Emigration Medal in its highest category, receiving the gold distinction.[290]

3. Shostakovich's Connection with the Spanish Children: The Spanish Songs Op. 100

In 1956, Dmitri Shostakovich composed the vocal cycle "Spanish Songs," Op. 100, which includes arrangements of six folk songs for mezzo-soprano and piano.[291] Soviet critics were pleased with Shostakovich's creation of such simple and accessible "people's music", where Shostakovich's own imprint can be discerned in the economical writing style he employed, contrasting with other Soviet composers who often favored lush and extravagant treatments of Spanish themes.[292] If

286 Castillo Rodríguez, *Memoria, educación e historia, p.* 22.
287 Susana Castillo Rodríguez, *Memoria, educación e historia: el caso de los niños españoles,* 38.
288 Government of Spain, "Reforma del Código Civil en materia de nacionalidad" Law 18/1990, of December 17, BOE núm. 302, Tuesday December 18, 1990, [2].
289 Jaime Camino, *Los niños de Rusia* (Spain, 2001), documentary film, 1:26:00-1:30:00.
290 Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración, Gobierno de España, "Informe de la Dirección General de Inmigración de 11/05/06,".
291 Dmitri Shostakovich, *Spanish Songs op. 100 (1956): Arrangements of Traditional Folk Songs for Mezzo-Soprano and Piano,* Boosey & Hawkes catalogue, accessed May 26, 2024, https://www.boosey.com/cr/music/Dmitri-Shostakovich-Spanish-Songs/1881.
292 Hamish McLaren, countertenor, and Matthew Jorysz, piano, *Sphynx*, booklet (Orchid Classics, Recorded at St. Paul's Church, Knightsbridge, London, on 27 August 2019, 07 September 2019 & 16-19 September 2019),

Shostakovich's *Spanish Songs* seem to diverge from his earlier style (with *Salute to Spain* better representing his unique approach to Socialist Realism, as discussed in Chapter Two), it is because the songs primarily consist of slightly altered arrangements of traditional Spanish tunes, provided by contralto Zara Dolukhanova. She had recently performed in the premiere of Shostakovich's *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, and she likely expected the composer to approach the Spanish material with a similar idiosyncratic touch. Initially, Dolukhanova envisioned an elaborate recital based on complex elaboration of these melodies, but Shostakovich opted for simpler, more conventional arrangements. As a result, the tunes stand on their own, unpretentiously enjoyed. Shostakovich's treatment of the songs was very modest, featuring lightly scored and sympathetic piano accompaniment. Dolukhanova premiered the songs with Shostakovich but soon lost interest in them. In contrast, many other singers found delight in the songs, such as soprano Deborah Pantofel-Nechetskaya, who performed them on January 27, 1957 with Boris Abramovich on the piano.[293]

The origins of these songs are closely tied to the experiences of those Spanish Republican children who took asylum in the Soviet Union. Zara Dolukhanova reportedly first encountered these Spanish melodies through Lyudmila Cobo, a student at the Moscow Institute of Foreign Languages who later married the Spaniard Ivan Cobo.[294] Ivan Cobo, who had been evacuated from Republican Spain during the 1936 conflict against the fascists, grew up in the Soviet Union and sang these melodies wistfully, reminiscing about his homeland. Impressed by the emotive rendition, Lyudmila Cobo invited Dolukhanova to record these melodies, along with Spanish poems, which she then presented to Shostakovich. The composer embarked on this project during the spring and summer in Bolshevo and Komarov, as evidenced by letters exchanged with G. M. Schneerson, who assisted in clarifying the texts.[295] Shostakovich expressed dissatisfaction with the lyrics provided by the translation duo Bolotin and Sikorskaya. Bolotin and Sikorskaya were a prominent couple of the Soviet intelligentsia, known for their work as poets, screenwriters, and translators. Their translations were integral to the adaptation of the Spanish songs, yet Shostakovich critiqued their work, remarking, “The texts leave much to be desired.” He further commented, “At the dacha, I discovered that the translations were partly interlinear and partly summaries of the content of the Spanish songs. I’m telling them... If it helps you, then try in your free time to match these words to

https://booklets.idagio.com/5060189561612.pdf.

293 Boosey & Hawkes, "Shostakovich Worklist," PDF, accessed June 3, 2024, https://www.boosey.com/downloads/shostakovich_worklist.pdf, page 229.

294 "Discussion on Dmitry Hvorostovsky Page" *OK.ru*, accessed June 19, 2024, https://ok.ru/dmitrykhv/topic/151594537102159.

295 Idem.

the corresponding songs." This feedback reflects Shostakovich's concern that the translations did not accurately capture the essence and nuances of the original Spanish lyrics.

One might wonder whether the news and events surrounding the repatriation policies of the 1950s reignited the composer's interest in Spain, following his earlier work on "Salute to Spain" in 1936. Given his previous engagement with the Spanish Republican cause, it is plausible that the shifting dynamics of Soviet-Spanish relations and the renewed focus on the Spanish children might have prompted him to revisit this theme. This renewed interest could have been fueled by the international context of the time, which likely brought past issues related to the Spanish Civil War back into public discourse.

It is also plausible that Shostakovich's interest in Spanish music extended beyond political connotations. As will be described in the following sections, the character of these pieces is nostalgic and poignant, rather than overtly political or communist. Unlike the music for "Salute to Spain," there is no indication that these works were commissioned by authorities or driven by directives from above. This suggests that Shostakovich's involvement in this project was more likely driven by personal interest rather than a need to conform to socialist realist demands or to safeguard his reputation. When examining Shostakovich's works, it becomes evident that he was frequently more interested in developing his own musical language and exploring diverse transnational topics, such as his engagement with Jewish folklore (which will be further explained later), than in creating specific socialist music deriving from his personal agenda. This was particularly true when he was not commissioned for these works and had to follow directives from above. The relative freedom from composing overly propagandistic music, which had been more prevalent during Stalinism, likely allowed Shostakovich to engage with more purely musical or emotional themes, rather than political ones. This is not to say that Shostakovich did not want to engage with political topics in his music; on the contrary, he was very explicit about his societal views on issues such as anti-Semitism, as will be explained in the following paragraphs. The question is whether Shostakovich had the freedom to engage in the topics that concerned him or if he was compelled to adhere to the Party's directives. This shift in his trajectory as a composer, moving away from being weaponized for propaganda and engaging more in projects of personal interest, will be analyzed in the following sections.

4.1 From Socialist Realism to Critical Realism

During the post-World War II era in the Soviet Union, still under Stalin's rule Shostakovich faced increasing pressure to conform to Socialist Realist principles in his compositions—a style mandated by the Soviet government that as previously explained in the second chapter glorified Soviet ideals and promoted optimism and heroism in art.[296] January of 1948 marked a critical juncture when Shostakovich's name was mentioned in the Zhdanov Decree. Shostakovich was criticized amongst other Soviet composers for their perceived "dualism" writing accessible mass songs alongside complex symphonic works described as "unmelodical", "bourgeois" and avant-garde (in the worst sense of the word).[297]

> The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) points out in its Resolution that formalistic distortions and anti-democratic tendencies have found their fullest expression in the works of such composers as Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Khachaturian, Popov, Miaskovskii, Shebalin, and others. In the music of these composers we witness a revival of anti-realistic decadent influences calculated to destroy the principles of classical music. These tendencies are peculiar to the bourgeois movement of the era of imperialism: the rejection of melodiousness in music, neglect of vocal forms, infatuation with rhythmic and orchestral effects, the piling-up of noisy ear-splitting harmonies, intentional illogicality and unemotionality of music. All these tendencies lead in actual fact to the liquidation of music as one of the strongest expressions of human feelings and thoughts.[298]

Shostakovich's response, including a forced speech of repentance, was seen as necessary for his career rehabilitation amidst Party criticism. Following the event a musical conference was organized in late February 1948 by the Union of Composers, where all composers labeled as "Formalists" were required to deliver self-critical speeches. Sergei Prokofiev, also named in the decree, did not attend due to illness and sent a letter instead. Shostakovich, however, attended and delivered an unplanned speech. In a critical and sardonic tone, Shostakovich recounted the circumstances of that event, revealing that he had not prepared his speech in advance:

296 See Chapter 2, section 1, page 39.

297 Andrei Zhdanov, "Discussion at a General Assembly of Soviet Composers," February 17, 1948, accessed June 19, 2024, https://soviethistory.msu.edu/1947-2/zhdanov/zhdanov-texts/discussion-at-a-general-assembly-of-soviet-composers/.

298 Andrei Zhdanov, "Discussion at a General Assembly of Soviet Composers".

> When they called my name, I had no idea what I would say... As I approached the podium, someone grabbed my sleeve and thrust a paper into my hands: 'Take this, please'... Initially bewildered, I soon understood; he whispered, 'Everything is written here, read this, Dmitry Dmitriyevich'... I ascended the podium and began reciting someone else's absurd and foolish nonsense.[299]

In response to this incident, reminiscent of the famous Pravda article scandal of 1936 Shostakovich adopted a nuanced strategy. Rather than openly challenging authorities, he would divide his creative output. On one hand, he produced works that adhered closely to official aesthetics, satisfying state expectations, while on the other hand, his instrumental compositions, such as the string quartets, retained elements of personal expression and innovation, subtly questioning societal norms.[300] This period of artistic accommodation to Soviet realities culminated in Shostakovich's pragmatic decision to join the Communist Party in 1960. The move, perceived as a concession to navigate the political landscape, underscored his adaptive approach to ensure his continued artistic productivity while navigating the constraints of Soviet cultural policies. It was during this period in the 1950s that Shostakovich composed two sets of folk song arrangements: the Greek Songs (1952/1953) and the Spanish Songs, op. 100 (1956), strategically blending accessible and nationalistic elements with his unique artistic voice.

4.2 Liberalization in the Soviet Union: the end of Stalinist Terror

The date of creation of the Spanish Songs Op. 100 closely coincides with the initial departures of Spanish refugees following the minimal opening of relations between Franco's Spain and Khrushchev's Soviet Union. During the years 1956-1957, the Soviet Union experienced significant change. As previously mentioned, Nikita Khrushchev's political and cultural thaw, marked by the 20th Party Congress and his Secret Speech denouncing Stalin's cult of personality, ushered in a new era of relative liberalization and openness.[301] Artists, including Shostakovich, found themselves with slightly more creative freedom to explore diverse cultural themes, moving away from the strict socialist-realist aesthetic that had previously constrained their work.

299 Levon Hakobian, *Dmitrii Shostakovich: opyt fenomenologii tvorchestva* (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2004), page 292.

300 Francis Maes, "Between reality and transcendence: Shostakovich's songs," in *The Cambridge Companion to Shostakovich*, ed. Pauline Fairclough and David Fanning (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), page 243.

301 Nikita Khrushchev, "February 25, 1956. Khrushchev's Secret Speech".

Just two years earlier, in 1954, Shostakovich had composed the Festive Overture to commemorate the anniversary of the October Revolution. This piece was created with remarkable speed and apparent ease. As Shostakovich's friend Lebedinsky recounts, "when he wrote light music he was able to talk, make jokes, and compose simultaneously, like the legendary Mozart. He laughed and chuckled, all while the work was underway and the music was being written down".[302] The shift in the composer's mental well-being reflects not only Shostakovich's skill in capturing moments of celebration and joy but also the changing atmosphere of cultural production in the Soviet Union. This period felt like a moment of expansion and liberation from the oppressive atmosphere of the previous years.

To better frame this period of liberalization there is one incident worth mentioning that happened a few years later. Shostakovich was previously cautious about openly criticizing authorities (understandable given Stalin's brutal regime). However during these years his rebellious spirit arose and took advantage of this newfound artistic freedom: In 1962, with the Soviet Union still under Khruschev, he composed his thirteenth symphony, titled "Babi Yar".[303] The name refers to a hill near Kyiv where over 37,000 Jews were brutally murdered by the Nazis during the Holocaust. Shostakovich set the music to poems by his friend Yevgeny Yevtushenko. These powerful verses not only memorialized the tragic event but also openly criticized the Soviet authorities for failing to acknowledge it. The impact of "Babi Yar" reverberated throughout the Soviet Union, challenging societal norms and revolutionizing the country. In his symphony, Shostakovich incorporated four additional poems by Yevgeny Yevtushenko, openly condemning the harsh conditions of living under Stalin's regime and denouncing the anti-Semitism prevalent in the Soviet Union.

This marked a significant departure for Shostakovich, as he had never before expressed such explicit criticism in his music directed at the Soviet authorities. Despite government attempts to prevent the world premiere, the performance took place on December 18, 1962.[304] However, the symphony was subsequently banned for the next thirty years. Shostakovich's courage in composing this work was immense; that night, he even found KGB agents stationed outside his apartment in

302 Retrieved from Dmitri Shostakovich, "Festive Overture", concert program, Los Angeles Philharmonic, accessed June 4, 2024, https://www.laphil.com/musicdb/pieces/1755/festive-overture.

303 Cesare Civetta, "How Shostakovich Survived to Protest Stalin's Anti-Semitism," *Medium*, May 17, 2018, https://medium.com/@beethovennow/how-shostakovich-survived-to-protest-stalins-anti-semitism-e5abf04727fd.

304 Idem.

case he attempted to defect. While denouncing Stalin after Khrushchev's speech in 1956 was not groundbreaking (since even the USSR's leader had done so), questioning the ongoing anti-Semitism was a daring move. This highlights the contrast between Shostakovich's creative endeavors during the Great Terror and afterward.

5. Exploring the Spanish Songs Op.100: Andalusian Influences, Exoticism, and Diverse Spanish Regional Folklore

In this section of the chapter, I offer a comprehensive analysis of Shostakovich's Spanish Songs Op. 100, focusing on the original sources behind each composition—a novel contribution to the field made possible by extensive archival research at the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI). This archival work involved discovering and examining manuscripts that provide fresh insights into Shostakovich's engagement with Spanish musical influences. By uncovering these sources, I elucidate how Shostakovich's compositions intertwine with broader socio-political and cultural themes previously explored in this thesis. Through a detailed examination of the six pieces, I aim to reveal Shostakovich's use of minimal expressive elements to evoke vivid musical imagery, highlighting his integration of Andalusianism, exoticism, and Northern Spanish regional folklore. The analysis delves into thematic elements of tragic love, reflecting diverse emotions from the sorrowful separation from one's homeland to the tender beginnings of romance and the realm of dreams. It also examines Shostakovich's handling of rhythm, tonality, and harmonic progressions, which infuse the compositions with an evocative, if sometimes essentialistic, Spanish flavor. Central to this discussion is how the interplay between accompaniment and melody allows the latter to emerge as the central protagonist. This analysis directly addresses two key research questions: first, how Shostakovich's treatment of Spanish folklore is shaped by the Andalusianism trend, reflecting the influence of previous nineteenth-century composers such as Rimsky-Korsakov; and second, the impact of the Spanish Civil War on the Soviet Union, particularly how the cultural and musical heritage of Spanish child refugees influenced Shostakovich's work.

In her analysis of the songs musicologist Ana María Mula highlights that, irrespective of its geographical roots, folk music shares several common features, typically showcasing straightforward melodies or melodic embellishments with an emphasis on stepwise movement.[305]

305 Ana María Mula Pérez, "Referencias hispanas en obras de Shostakovich de la década de los años 50," *Cuadernos de Investigación Musical* 3 (2017): 29, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.18239/invesmusic.v0i3.1697.

Repetition, whether in rhythm or harmony, is frequently employed, especially in accompanying parts. While maintaining a consistent tonal center, there's often a tendency to juxtapose relative major and minor keys, often structured in a simple ABA format. Notably, the use of modes, where modal melodies and tonal accompaniments coexist, is characteristic, with the Phrygian mode holding particular significance in Spanish (and especially Andalusian) tradition. Recognizing these overarching traits of folk music, it's evident that Shostakovich's six songs encompass many of these characteristics. To illustrate this effectively, examples from the score will be provided.

5.1 "Proshchay, Grenada!" (Farewell, Granada)/Granadina.

Translation: S. Bolotin.

The piece titled "Goodbye, Granada" is unequivocally traced back to the song "Granadinas" or "Adiós, Granada" featured in the zarzuela "Los Emigrantes".[306] This assertion is firmly supported by the annotations found in the original manuscript of the song, which leave no doubt about its origins (see figure 31). Despite minor differences between the original lyrics and Bolotin's translation, the unmistakable musical similarities between the two compositions reinforce this attribution. Goodbye, Granada" has persevered as a beloved and widely recognized piece, existing independently of its original context, performed by renowned baritones such as Alfredo Kraus.[307] This enduring popularity explains its transmission to Shostakovich through the network of Spanish emigration.

306 Rafael Calleja and Pablo Cases, *Emigrantes.. Granadinas*, performed by Tito Schipa, 1922, Barcelona, Compañía del Gramófono, 66039, Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

307 Alfredo Kraus, "Granada Mia," performed by Orquesta de Camara de Madrid, conducted by Pablo Cases Ruiz del Árbol, Tomás Barrera Saavedra, and Rafael Calleja Gómez, 1994, Montilla Records, YouTube video, 3:15, posted June 19, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AjQltbp0bN4&ab_channel=AlfredoKraus-Topic.

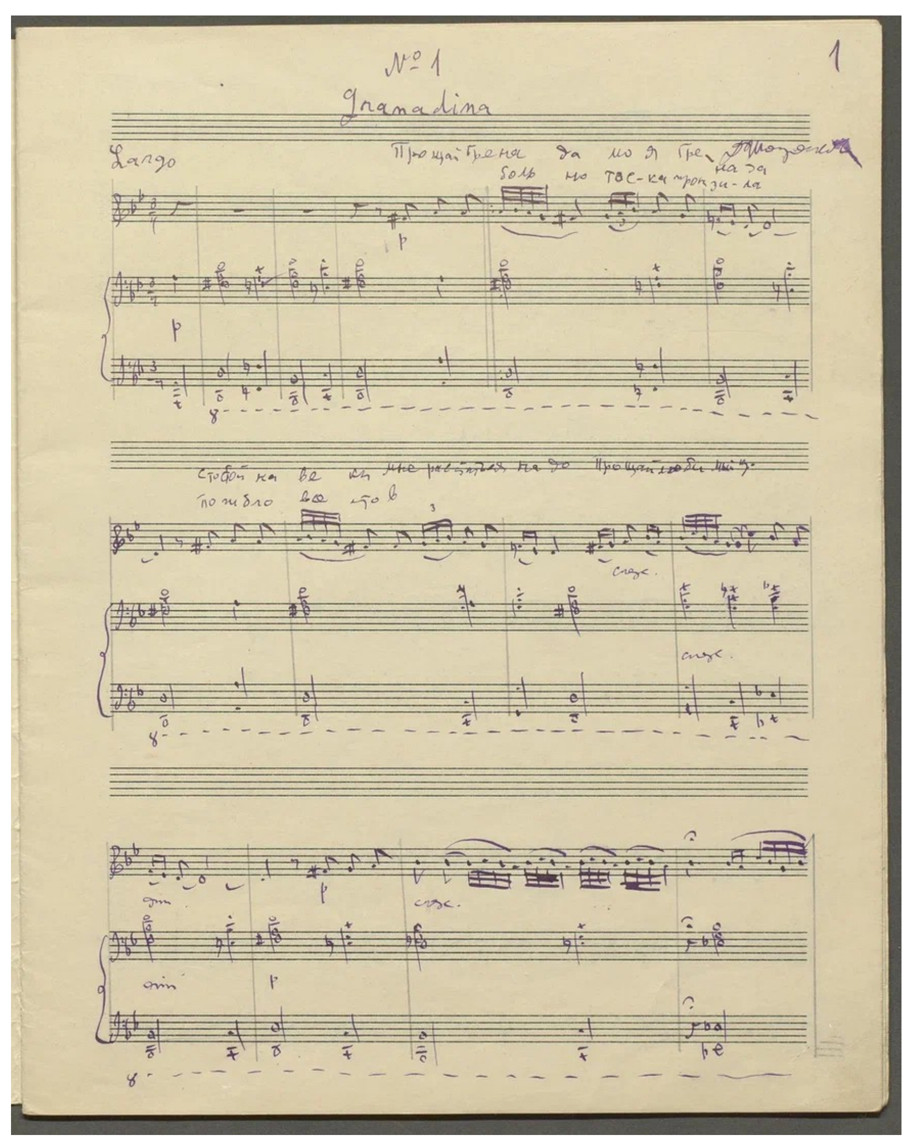

Figure 31: Manuscript of “Granadina”.[308]

Another aspect under consideration is the thematic content. The zarzuela portrays a profound concern for the societal repercussions of Spain's widespread emigration between 1900 and 1930.[309] Economic, political, and demographic circumstances compelled numerous Spaniards to seek better opportunities abroad. Given Shostakovich's aim to craft a series of Spanish songs and his direct exposure to the emigration of Spanish children during the Civil War, the theme was pertinent and meaningful. His personal struggles under a dictatorial regime likely heightened his empathy towards those displaced.

308 Dmitri Shostakovich, "Spanish Songs," Op. 100, RGALI, f. 2048, op. 2, units hr. 28, Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, Moscow, Russia, p. 1.

309 Mula Pérez, "Referencias hispanas en obras de Shostakovich”, 28.

The disparity between the original song lyrics and Bolotin's translation should not negate their shared origin. Itis important to acknowledge that Shostakovich did express dissatisfaction with the translations of the song lyrics. Shostakovich probably encountered this music through traditional songs sung by exiled children, even though the lyrics were drawn from a collection of Spanish poetry. Consequently, while the melodies may have remained consistent, alterations to the lyrics were probable. Translating song lyrics into another language inevitably results in adjustments to accommodate the music, often leading to modifications in meaning. Moreover, the song's widespread popularity suggests its dissemination through informal channels, such as the oral tradition among Spanish emigrants, thereby rendering it susceptible to variations in both musical composition and lyrical content.

Figure 32: Bars 1-7.[310]

The song is modal, with Shostakovich choosing to notate it in an B-flat Major key signature for ease of reading, maintaining a ternary 3/4 time signature (see figure 32). Despite its brevity, consisting of only two pages, it exhibits numerous characteristics already present in the original melody, associating it with Andalusian folklore and flamenco. The piece has a strong improvisatory character, both due to the abundance of ornaments and the inconsistency in rhythm. Firstly, the Phrygian mode permeates the piece. Typical embellishments or flourishes on the strong beat, common in "cante jondo" style, enhance the melody.[311] These elements collectively contribute to the unmistakable flavor of Andalusian and flamenco music within the composition.

310 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 32: *Romances and Songs for Voice and Piano* (Moscow: Muzika, 1982), 182.

311 Vocal flamenco style, meaning “deep song” in the Andalusian dialect of Spanish. For examples, see Marcos Roca "Cante Jondo," YouTube video, 4:23, February 28, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=grKOl66cY6k&ab_channel=MarcosRoca.

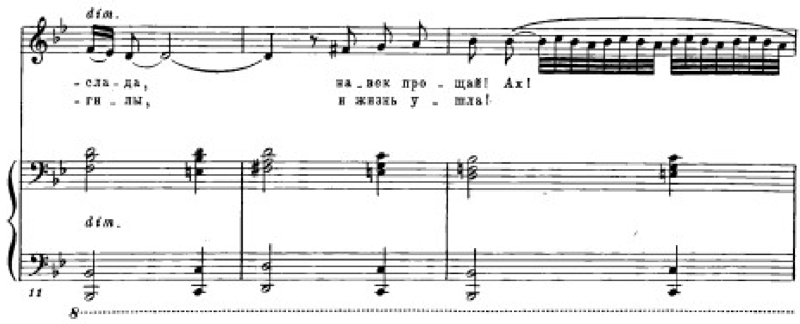

Figure 33: Bars 10-12. Note the embellishment on measure 12, which lasts for a whole measure.

The accompaniment is straightforward, consisting of basic harmonies within the Phrygian mode—slow, heavy, and laden with block chords. Shostakovich allows the melody to shine almost entirely on its own. While this piece is often cited as one of Shostakovich's more "Spanish" works, even more so than the music in "Salute, Spain," it is important to recognize that this characterization is based on the previously discussed connection between Andalusian elements and the Spanish musical topic, as outlined in Chapter 1.[312] Here, the pain and nostalgia, the Andalusian folklore, and the essence of flamenco truly shine. It is likely that Shostakovich knew and was influenced by the works of Korsakov and Glinka based on Spain during his student years at the Petrograd Conservatoire, which definitely affected his conception of the Spanish theme in Russia. The lyrics are as follows:

Goodbye, Granada, my Granada!

I have to leave you, I will never return.

Goodbye, my beloved land, joy of my eyes.

Forever, goodbye!

Oh! Your memory will be my only joy, my beloved land, my native land.

Forever, sorrow has pierced my heart,

I have lost everything I loved in life.

312 See section 1.2 of the Introduction, pages 4-6.

My love rests in the darkness of the grave, life has departed.

Everything around me has become hateful.

I no longer have the strength to live as before, where youth was so bright.[313]

In Shostakovich's adaptation of the song "Goodbye, Granada," the lyrics reflect themes of existential despair and a sense of inescapable fate, resonating deeply with the Russian literary tradition.[314] This adaptation transforms the original Spanish sense of longing and loss of the homeland into a broader meditation on human suffering and the harshness of fate, themes that are central to Russian literary narratives. One of the most prominent aspects is the use of darker, more somber imagery. In the Russian version, phrases like "my love rests in the darkness of the grave" and "everything around me has become hateful" evoke a sense of profound, personal despair and an almost existential angst. Within the melancholic strains of this adaptation, one can discern the collective heartbeat of the generation of Spanish children torn from their homeland, their voices echoing the ache of separation, the yearning for familiarity, for the “World of Yesterday” and the heavy burden of uncertain futures.[315]

---

313 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 32: *Romances and Songs for Voice and Piano* (Moscow: Muzika, 1982), 182-183.

314 For a prominent example of these themes, see Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Crime and Punishment* (New York: Vintage Classics, 1993). Dostoevsky's novel delves into the psychological torment and moral dilemmas faced by the protagonist, Raskolnikov, who grapples with guilt, redemption, and the crushing weight of his actions. The novel portrays a profound sense of inevitability and the harsh consequences of fate, mirroring the existential undertones present in this song.

315 This is a reference to Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday: An Autobiography* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1964). The plight of Spanish Republican children who found themselves exiled to the Soviet Union during the tumult of the Spanish Civil War echoes the themes of displacement and longing present in the works of Stefan Zweig. Just as Zweig grappled with the loss of his beloved *Heimat*, these young refugees experienced a profound rupture from their homeland, forced to flee the upheaval and violence of war. Like Zweig's nostalgic reflections on pre-war Vienna, the Spanish children carried memories of their homeland's vibrant culture, traditions, and landscapes, now forever altered by conflict. Their journey into exile mirrored Zweig's own experiences of displacement, as they navigated unfamiliar lands and cultures, yearning for the familiarity and security of their lost Heimat.

5.2 “Zvezdochki”(Little Stars)/Mozuca

Translation: T. Sikorskoya.

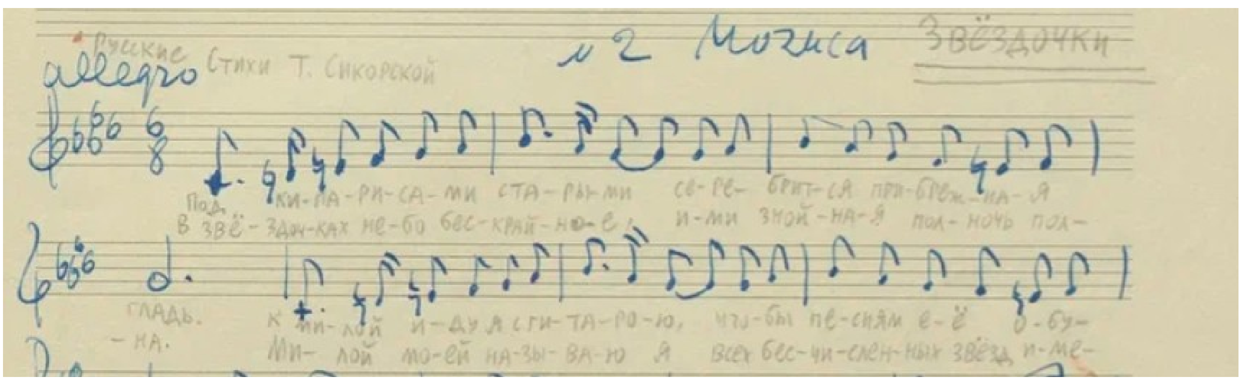

Figure 34: Shostakovich’s manuscript with the melody of “Mozuca”.[316]

This is a song written in the key of F melodic minor (theme A) and F major (theme B) in 6/8 time signature, lasting just over a minute and following this structure: introduction, theme A, theme B, and coda. In the manuscript, the original melody is said to come from a tune called “Mozuca” (see figure 34).

316 Dmitri Shostakovich, "Spanish Songs," page 20.

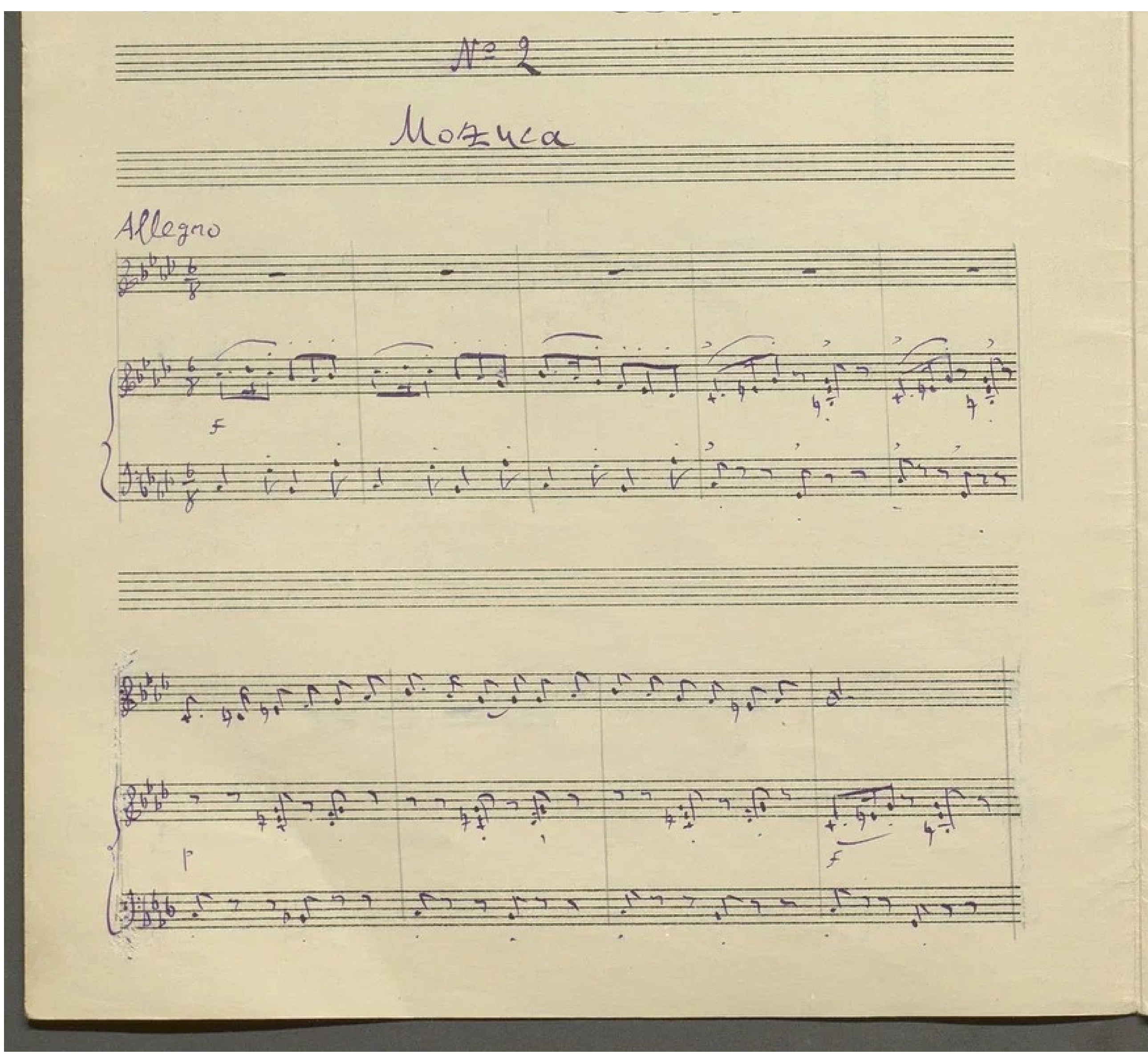

Figure 35: Manuscript of Shostakovich arrangement for piano and voice, Theme A. Notice the accents in the downbeat in bars 4-5.[317]

In the title of the song, it already specifies the region of Spain it comes from. "Mozuca" (in standard Spanish, "mocita"- meaning: little girl) is a word closely associated with Cantabria, as this diminutive in "-uca" instead of "-ita" is characteristic of this place. Shostakovich transports the listener to this mountainous region, a big cultural and geographical contrast to Andalusia. A distinctive sonic element reminiscent of northern Spanish folklore is the rhythmic variation, evoking the genre of popular music known as "jota montañesa" (see figure 35).[318] While jotas are traditionally associated with Aragonese folklore, they are widespread throughout Spain. The Cantabrian variation of the jota, unique to the region, is characterized by its lively dance and

317 Dmitri Shostakovich, "Spanish Songs” page 2.
318 Asociación Socio-Cultural Castilla, "El folclore montañés", https://www.asc-castilla.org/castilla/historiasup/historia-castilla/folcloremontanes/, accessed June 10, 2024.

instrumental accompaniment, typically featuring dulzainas (shawms), pitus (clarinets), and tamboril (drum). This sets it apart from other jotas found across Spain. The dance is performed in two styles: “a lo ligero” (lightly) and “a lo pesado” (heavily). Shostakovich employs a melody in a lighter style for the B theme, characterized by lively syncopated rhythms, fast tempo, and a staccato bass accompaniment that captures the essence of this dance form (see figure 36). The composer may have been familiar or influenced by Glinka’s Jota, but truth is the jota style is well represented in this B theme, with the melody and style remaining very transparent to its folk dance origins. Concretely this B part comes from a traditional Cantabrian tune called “En la orilluca del Ebro”.[319]

Figure 36: bars 26-30 Theme B.[320]

Musicologist Ana María Mula Pérez associates this composition with a song of Cantabrian origin with the same name, belonging to the composer Arturo Duo Vital (1901-1964).[321] "Mozuca, da bien la vuelta" is the third movement of the Suite Montañesa (1949), an instrumental work consisting of

319 Aurelio Ruiz, "A La Orilluca del Ebro (Remasterizado)," in *Lo Aprendí De Mi Padre (Canciones Montañesas) (Remasterizado 2022)*, YouTube video, 2:34, posted by Aurelio Ruiz - Topic, January 28, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k91b6pretlI&ab_channel=AurelioRuiz-Topic.

320 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 32: *Romances and Songs for Voice and Piano* (Moscow: Muzika, 1982), 186.

321 Mula Pérez, "Referencias hispanas en obras de Shostakovich" pp. 29-30.

three movements representing the landscape and folklore of Cantabria.[322] Mula Pérez also highlights the resemblance the resemblance this movement of the Suite Montañesa bears to the "Scene" and "Gypsy Song" from Rimsky-Korsakov's Capriccio Espagnol (1887) (see figure 37).[323] However, the melody used in Shostakovich's collection differs significantly from that piece. This association, although logical, is unfounded. Thanks to the chance discovery of a chamber music arrangement score of these songs for the V.V. Maksimova Orchestra I have been able to identify through the lyrics presented here in Spanish the true origin of this melody.[324] The song is called "Mozuca en la romería"[325] from composer Alfonso Ruíz Martínez, student and disciple of the well-known Spanish conductor Ataúlfo Argenta.[326] Born in Laredo (Cantabria) on January 23, 1915, Ruíz Martínez spent his later years in Luanco, Asturias where he lived and worked until his passing.[327] His compositions include the zarzuela "La Galerna," premiered in Laredo in 1941, and numerous songs such as "La barca marinera" and "Asturias, tierra querida". Ruiz Martínez's legacy underscores his profound influence on Cantabrian and Asturian culture, particularly through zarzuelas and popular songs. Specifically, the song "Mozuca en la romería" has survived the passage of time thanks to the efforts of Asturian and Cantabrian choral societies, which still continue to perform the piece nowadays. It is likely that Ivan Cobo, the Spanish-born refugee and author of the original tape of the songs, was from one of these two regions and acquired the melody in his childhood because it was part of the common repertoire of these regional societies.

As for the arrangement Shostakovich makes of the song, Theme A sounds very "flamencoish" (see figure 38) featuring a particular style of pizzicato, use of the Phrygian mode, and dotted rhythm that is more reminiscent of Andalusian musical genre than Cantabrian folk dances. Although the original melody by Ruíz Martínez is also in the Phrygian mode[328], it is much more solemn, with a slower

322 Arturo Dúo Vital, "Suite Montanesa: III. Mozuca, da bien la vuelta", performed by Malaga Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Jose Luis Temes, on *Arturo Dúo Vital: Obras orquestales*, Verso, 2012, released December 1, 2012, NAXOS of America.

323 Mula Pérez, "Referencias hispanas en obras de Shostakovich" pp. 29-30.

324 V.V. Maksimova Orkestra, *Kamernyi repertuar vokalista s orkestrom* (Tomsk: Izdatelstvo Tomskogo universiteta, 2015), page 8.

325 A "romería" is in Spanish culture a traditional pilgrimage to a small hermitage or religious temple, where people travel to a sacred site, often a shrine or a church, usually in the countryside. These events are not only religious but also social gatherings, where the community comes together to celebrate with music, dancing and food.

326 Listen to Pepe Arlote, "Mozuca en la Romería, de Alfonso Ruíz Martínez," YouTube video, 2:48, posted July 21, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6_suUzQYLuo&ab_channel=PepeArlote.

327 Jesús Mª Fernández Gutiérrez, "Alfonso Ruiz Martínez, ese gran músico," La Nueva España, December 9, 2015, https://www.lne.es/aviles/opinion/2015/12/09/alfonso-ruiz-martinez-gran-musico-19668949.html.

328 Note: Although a personal hypothesis, this could be interpreted as a case of self-exoticizing, where the composer utilizes an Andalusian sounding mode to appeal to the Spanish taste of the era. The association of Spanish music with Andalusian flamenco did not only work outwards, in other European countries, but also within Spain, where composers and musicians from other regions tried to apropiate this tradition due to its success.

tempo and harmonic rhythm. In this case, the Cantabrian origin of the melody is somewhat distorted, especially in the piano accompaniment that appears guitaristic to fit the lens of what constitutes a quintessential Southern sound, even when the source does not necessarily align completely with this style. This case bears resemblance to Rimsky-Korsakov's Asturian Alborada and highlights the common adaptation of Spanish northern folk traditions in Russia to fit the nineteenth-century narrative of Spanish (and therefore Andalusian) topic.

Figure 37: Rimsky Korsakov's "Gypsy Song" bars 28-31.[329]

Figure 38: Bars 6-10 Theme A "Zvezdochki".[330]

The translation of the lyrics further reinforces the idea that Shostakovich infused the original melody with a distinctly Andalusian essence, far away from its Cantabrian origin. These lyrical

329 Nikolay Rimsky-Korsakov,"Spanish Capriccio, Op.34." First edition. (Leipzig: C.G. Röder, 1887), page 40.
330 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 32: 184.

passages, such as "Under the old cypresses, the tranquil sea is a silver mirror. I go to my beloved, with my guitar, to teach her some songs," evoke vivid scenes and themes reminiscent of the poetry of Federico García Lorca. Particularly, the imagery of the silver sea reflecting the moon, a motif frequently found in Lorca's "Romancero Gitano," symbolizes otherworldliness, femininity, and passion.[331] These elements conjure images closely associated with the Mediterranean region. The presence of ancient cypress trees and the mention of the Spanish guitar evoke imagery emblematic of a warm, sun-drenched climate, sharply contrasting with the rainy, oceanic landscape of Cantabria. Furthermore, the portrayal of teaching songs with a guitar and the exchange of kisses for notes infuses the narrative with a romantic and passionate atmosphere, evoking the exotic allure commonly associated with Spain.

5. 3 "Pervaya vstrecha" (First Meeting)/En Samir de los Caños

Translation: S. Bolotin.

Based on the autograph of the piece (see figure 39) the third song of the cycle appears to originate from a folk song from Zamora. This deduction comes from the title, which refers to the locality of Samir de los Caños, located in that province near Salamanca and the border with Portugal. Unfortunately, I could only locate one recording of this song on YouTube (proof that this is not a very popular song), but the melody matches Shostakovich's arrangement exactly.[332] Therefore, there is no doubt that this melody is borrowed from this traditional song. The original lyrics in Spanish evoke vivid and sensory imagery: cold mountain water, a beautiful brunette girl that has the scent of mint. The song captures the essence of a traditional village dance, with dancers stepping gracefully and the joyful resounding of the tambourine. Interestingly, in the manuscript of the melody collected by Shostakovich, the Russian word for tambourine ("buben") appears crossed out, further confirming this association (see figure 39). It also retains some characteristics that allow it to be located in the Leonese region, such as certain reminiscences of the Astur-Leonese language spoken in the area (the word 'clavelina,' with the typical diminutive ending in -ina, instead of -ita in standard Spanish).

331 See Gustavo Correa, "El Simbolismo de La Luna En La Poesía de Federico García Lorca," *PMLA/Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 72, no. 5 (1957): 1060–84, https://doi.org/10.2307/460379.

332 Escuela Experimental Los calafates, "En Samir de los caños," YouTube video, 6:30, posted August 6, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K6_ij5FBMzo&t=53s&ab_channel=EscuelaExperimentalLoscalafates.

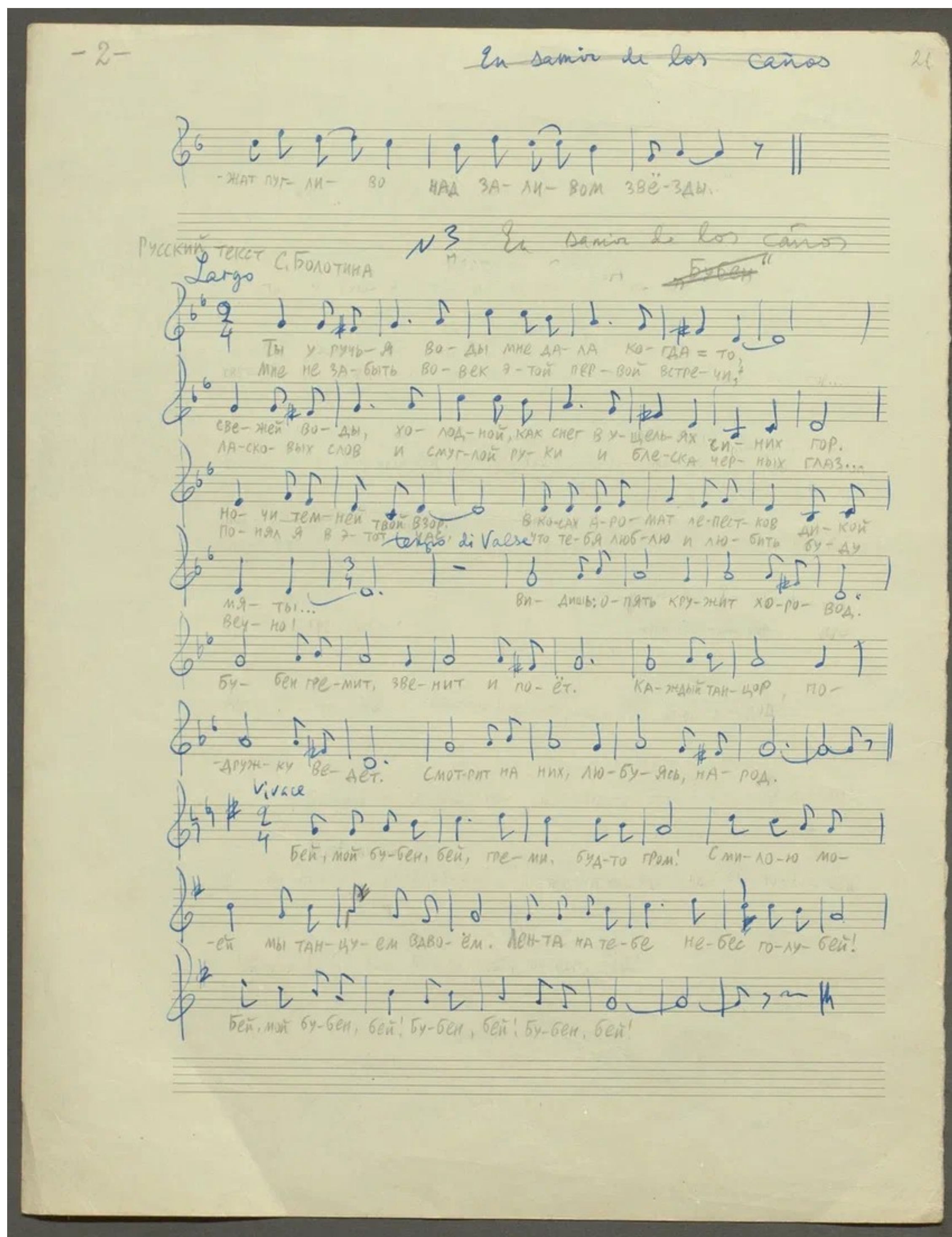

Figure 39: Manuscript of the melody for “En Samir de los Caños”.[333]

The song is written in a 3/4 time signature and has a structure consisting of an introduction, theme A, theme B (Tempo di valse), and theme C (see figure 40). The melody is practically unaltered from

333 Dmitri Shostakovich, "Spanish Songs," p. 21.

the original source, as one can listen when comparing the score to the previous recording.[334] Within theme A, in a very reflective and melancholic largo tempo, the ostinato presents a simple rhythmic pattern, consistently using quarter notes in the left hand of the piano, doubling the melody with a simple harmonization revolving around the tonal center of G minor and its dominant D major.

Figure 40: “Pervaya Vstrecha” Theme A, bars 1-14.[335]

334 Escuela Experimental Los calafates, "En Samir de los caños," YouTube video, 6:30, posted August 6, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K6_ij5FBMzo&t=53s&ab_channel=EscuelaExperimentalLoscalafates.
335 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 32: 187.

Theme B features a more developed ostinato (see figure 41), with the left hand performing a rhythmic repetition of a half note followed by a quarter note. The right hand plays an ostinato that is both rhythmic and harmonic, with an embellishment around the note Eb. In this section, Shostakovich maintains the minor key, contrasting with the previous recording, which modulates to G major.[336]

Figure 41: “Pervaya Vstrecha” Theme B, bars 25-34.[337]

In theme C is where the livelier and vibrant dance-like style is introduced (see figure 42), in the key of C major and Vivace tempo. This aligns with the lyrics, which speak of the tambourine resounding and the jolly character of the dance. The Russian translation, remains very close to the original lyrics: “Resound, tambourine, resound, like the storm! I dance with my beloved. Your ribbon is bluer than the sky”.[338]

336 Escuela Experimental Los calafates, "En Samir de los caños," YouTube video, 6:30, posted August 6, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K6_ij5FBMzo&t=53s&ab_channel=EscuelaExperimentalLoscalafates.
337 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 32: 188.
338 Idem.

Figure 42: “Pervaya vstrecha” Theme C, bars 44-50.[339]

5. 4. “Khorovod” (Round-dance)/Ronda.

Translation: T. Sikorskoya.

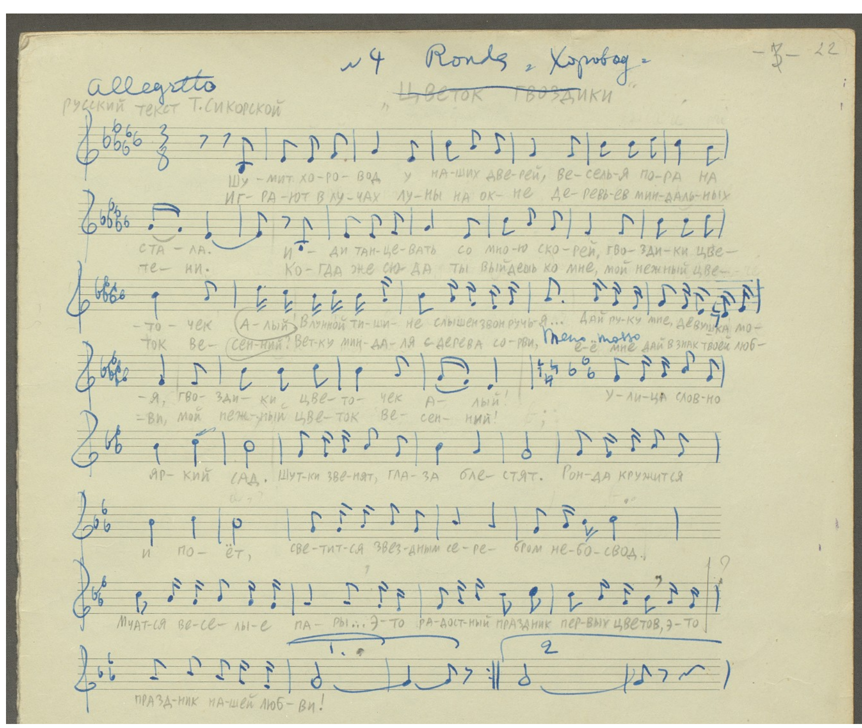

Figure 43: Shostakovich’s manuscript of “Ronda” (melody only).[340]

339 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 32: 189.
340 Dmitri Shostakovich, "Spanish Songs,", page 22.

The fourth song in the cycle also appears under the title "Tsvetok Gvozdiki" (Carnation Flower) in Shostakovich's manuscript (see figure 43). Upon re-examining the score of V.V. Maksimova's chamber arrangement, I traced the origin of this song through its lyrics to a popular tune, apparently originating from the province of Zamora, Spain, known as "A tu puerta está la ronda".[341] According to the musical group Ronda Segoviana, this anonymous melody is documented in various sources including Agapito Marazuela's *Cancionero de Castilla*, and is found in regions stretching from Zamora to Extremadura and Jaén under different names.[342] Its exact origin is challenging to pinpoint due to its extensive presence across Spanish geography, but it is unmistakably classified as a round dance or circle dance. Interestingly, in Shostakovich's manuscript, the word "khorovod" appears as a translation of the concept of a ronda. A khorovod (see figure 44) is a traditional Slavic circle dance performed during folk celebrations and rituals in Russia and other Slavic countries.[343] Participants form circles, often several concentric ones, holding hands or linking arms, and move rhythmically to music, frequently accompanied by singing.

341 V.V. Maksimova Orkestra, *Kamernyi repertuar vokalista s orkestrom* (Tomsk: Izdatelstvo Tomskogo universiteta, 2015), page 21. Listen to Ronda Segoviana, "A Tu Puerta Está la Ronda (de 'Tus Ojos Morena', 1980)," YouTube video, 3:42, posted June 23, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RtYWVXe5-AE.

342 This popular tune is also known as "Tira la rama", "Clavelina de enero" and many other names. See Ronda Segoviana, "Tus Ojos Morena - 1980", album booklet, accessed June 19, 2024, http://www.rondasegoviana.es/disco1.html.

343 Daria Krylova, "8 Facts About the Khorovod, Russia's Oldest Dance," *Russia Beyond,* December 7, 2016, accessed June 19, 2024, https://www.rbth.com/arts/2016/12/07/8-facts-about-the-khorovod-russias-oldest-dance_654295.

Figure 44: A typical Russian khorovod dance.[344]

Although far from the Slavic traditions, the Spanish "ronda" is also traditional folk dance characterized by its circular formation and joyful rhythmic movements. The Spanish ronda dance is closely linked to the French "rondeau," which influenced the development of the rondo form commonly used in the third movements of sonatas in Western Classical music. This form, seen in pieces like the third movement of Beethoven's Pathétique Sonata, typically features a recurring theme interspersed with contrasting episodes, mirroring the structure of the traditional ronda.[345] According to Agapito Marazuela's Songbook, these types of dances were integral to traditional celebrations in Castile, often marking communal gatherings where participants would form circles and dance to lively melodies.[346] Participants typically gather in circles, holding hands or linking arms, and move to the accompaniment of music, often singing along. These type of dances were not only a form of social entertainment but also preserved cultural traditions and communal bonds within rural communities. For a good visual example of how these traditional tunes would be danced, I refer to the program "Lo que te rondaré" on Extremadura television, where a rendition of

344 Daria Krylova, "8 Facts About the Khorovod, Russia's Oldest Dance,".
345 "Rondeau" in *Diccionario enciclopédico Espasa 11*, (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1998), p. 1553.
346 Agapito Marazuela, *Cancionero de Castilla* (Madrid: Delegación de Cultura de la Diputación de Madrid, 1981), https://www.madrid.org/bvirtual/BVCM000042.pdf, pp. 18-20.

this dance is performed in the typical regional costumes of Mérida, in the province of Badajoz.[347] The dance is accompanied by the typical castanets, so closely associated with Spain. The musicians perform with the typical instrumental formation of a tuna[348]: among them lute, guitar, bandurria, and transverse flute. Lyrically, the Russian translation of the lyrics is a direct copy of the traditional Spanish tune. The song describes a communal gathering where people come together to dance and celebrate. Symbolically, it revolves around the motif of the "little red carnation," a symbol deeply rooted in Spanish folk tradition where it represents themes of love, passion, youthfulness and beauty.

At our door is the round dance, the time of joy has arrived.

Come quickly and dance with me, little red carnation!

In the silence of the moon, the murmur of the stream echoes.

Give me your hand, my dear love, little red carnation.[349]

347 Canal Extremadura, "La Ronda | Lo que te rondaré," YouTube video, May 2, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5dmKnuYdoB4&ab_channel=CanalExtremadura.

348 In Spain and Portugal, a tuna is a group of university students dressed in traditional academic attire who perform serenades using traditional musical instruments.

349 See Figure 43.

Figure 45: “Ronda” Theme A, bars 1-8.[350]

Musically speaking, the song "Ronda" introduces new Spanish elements that had not appeared before. The composition features an introduction, theme A, and theme B. Theme A is in 3/8 time signature and G-flat major (see figure 45), while theme B (meno mosso) shifts to E-flat major in 2/4 time signature. Harmony plays a crucial role in introducing varied musical colors. Despite its initial key, theme A dynamically moves through other tonalities, including the use of G major in the introduction (bars 1-4).

350 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 32: 190.

As in the preceding songs, an ostinato is also present in the piano part. Shostakovich seeks to replicate the sounds of the Spanish guitar by mimicking the technical and tonal qualities of the instrument. In this instance, the rhythmic material appears to evoke a distinctively flamenco guitar technique known as "rasgueo." (figure 46**,** bars 23-24 in the piano). Moreover, the use of the Phrygian mode and the chord progression of the Andalusian cadence (i-V-IV-V) is discernible in the piano accompaniment. Even though the song may seem to have an Old Castilian origin, Shostakovich once again adds a bit of Andalusian essence, something that will be present in practically all of these pieces. What is intriguing is not just the introduction of elements from the composer himself into these arrangements of traditional songs, but also the subtle infusion of Russian musical characteristics. Shostakovich's music sounds "Russian" in several ways: it often features dark, low-registered harmonic textures, abrupt tempo shifts, and a brooding quality. These elements are blended with the "andalusified" Spanish traditions to create a unique musical amalgamation. While the original melodies are respected and minimal alteration is attempted, the persistence of the stereotype makes this inevitable.

Figure 46. Andalusian cadence in bars 22-23.[351]

5.5."Chernookaya"(Dark-Eyed Girl)/Eres Alta y Delgada

Translation: T. Sikorskaya.

There is no doubt that Shostakovich drew inspiration from the popular Spanish song "Morena Saladá" for this composition, as the manuscript bearing the Spanish title provides clear evidence (see Figure 25). "Eres alta y delgada" or "Morena saladá," is a traditional mountain melody

351 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 32: 191.

originating from the Spanish region of Cantabria.[352] Notably, this is already the second time in the cycle that songs from this region appear. Considering a significant number of Spanish refugees in the Soviet Union parted from the port of Santander, this is no surprise. It is important to remember that many of the Spanish children who came to the Soviet Union were from the northern regions of Asturias, Cantabria, and Euskadi. Therefore, the presence of another song typical of Cantabrian folklore in a collection of songs brought by these refugees is expected, especially considering this song has an almost lullaby-like character and it could possibly have been transmitted from mothers who sang this to their children.

A notable aspect of this song is the alteration of accentuation in the word "salada" to align with the metric structure of the melody, ensuring it coincides with the strong beat on the tonic syllable. This subtle adjustment in accentuation to synchronize with the musical rhythm is a distinctive feature of the song's rendition and is prevalent in Northern Spanish folklore.[353] The tune, apparently very popular during the Spanish Civil War and often sung by members of the Republican forces was compiled, among others, by singer-songwriter Rolando Alarcón in his well-known collection of Songs from the Spanish Civil War.[354] The lyrics are as follows:

Mother gave you eyes like stars,

The gentle color of your dusky cheeks,

My dear!

With pain in my heart on a late night

I wander without you, alone,

My dear!

Oh, why was I punished by fate?

352 Juan de Aguila del Águila, *Las canciones del pueblo español* (Unión Musical Española, 1976), p. 193.

353 In Northern Iberian musical traditions, it is a common practice to modify the metrics or even the duration of a word to fit the musical structure. This stylistic resource is prominently seen in Galician traditions, where words are often adjusted by adding what is called an epenthetic vowel, typically an "e," to align with the melody and maintain rhythmic consistency. For example, in Galician cantigas, a word like "marchar" might be altered to "marchar(e)" or "levar" to "levar(e)" to ensure that the syllable count matches the musical meter.

354 Listen to Rolando Alarcón, "Eres Alta y Delgada," in *Canciones de la Guerra Civil Española* (Alerce, 2001). Rolando Alarcón was a Chilean singer-songwriter and an important figure in the Nueva Canción Chilena movement who dedicated much of his career to collecting and preserving the songs of the Spanish Civil War, capturing the popular melodies sung by Republican fighters during the conflict.

Oh, why did I meet you?

I will die of mad love,

If you do not love me,

My dear![355]

The Russian version of the lyrics is an adaption of the Spanish original song. It's noteworthy that the translation employs the word "ochi" for eyes instead of "glazá," the contemporary term in Russian. This choice underscores the folkloric and rustic essence of the music, as "ochi" is less prevalent in modern Russian but was common in nineteenth-century usage. This decision reflects an effort to maintain the original Spanish lyrics' folkloric character intact. It's interesting to note that the lyrics in Russian are a free adaptation, as they do not exactly reproduce the content of the original (although they are quite similar). The most significant change is that it emphasizes the pain of navigating alone through the night, being punished by fate, and the pain of unrequited love, whereas the original Spanish lyrics primarily express love and admiration for a tall young woman with black hair and dark eyes. It's important to highlight the Russian penchant for melancholy and the concept of "toska". Toska (similar to the Portuguese concept of “saudade”) can be loosely translated as a deep emotional state of profound melancholy and longing, a sentiment often reflected in Russian literature and music, capturing a complex feeling that encompasses aspects of sorrow, yearning, and existential angst.[356] This theme is deeply ingrained in the Russian cultural identity, often shaping the emotional tone of its artistic expressions.

355 Dmitri Shostakovich, "Spanish Songs," Op. 100, RGALI, f. 2048, op. 2, units hr. 28, Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, Moscow, Russia, unspecified.

356 See Anton Chekhov, *Toska*, (Saint Petersburg: Peterburgskaya Gazeta, 1886).

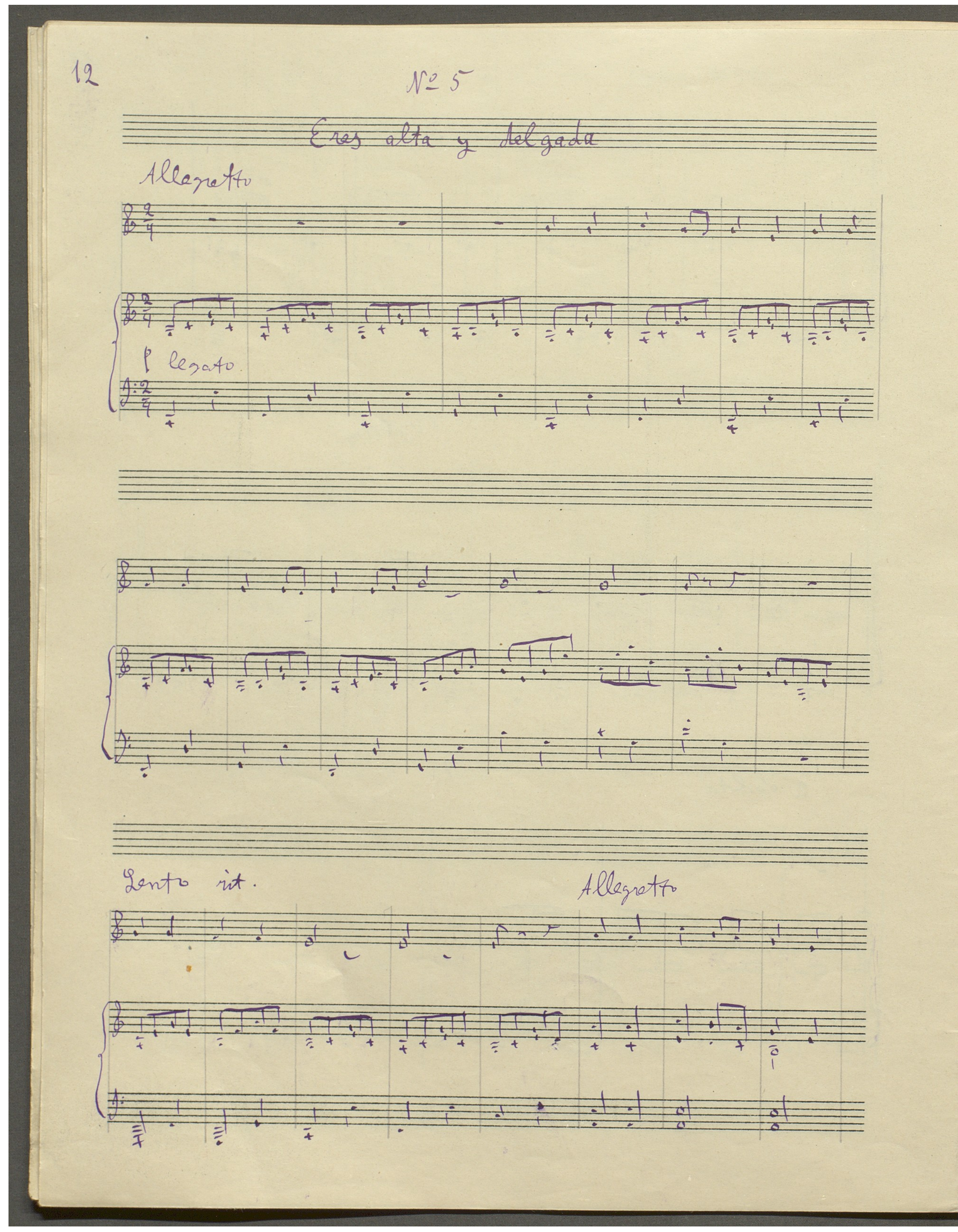

Figure 47. Manuscript of the piano and vocal arrangement of “Chernookaya”.[357]

357 Dmitri Shostakovich, "Spanish Songs,”, RGALI, p. 12.

The song, written in C major in 2/4 time signature (see figure 47) follows a classical structure: introduction, theme A, theme B, theme A’. In terms of melody, it is very simple and tender melody consisting mostly of stepwise motion. Shostakovich does not change the original melody, but changes considerably the harmonic chord progression. He also significantly changes the harmonic rhythm compared to the original song, making it much slower and reflective, almost dreamy, in comparison to the rhythmic and syncopated version by Rolando Alarcón. It is possible that the melodies he collected were already arranged this way; this is likely, as in the manuscript where only the vocal melody is registered (see figure 48), the piece appears just as it does later with the piano harmonization

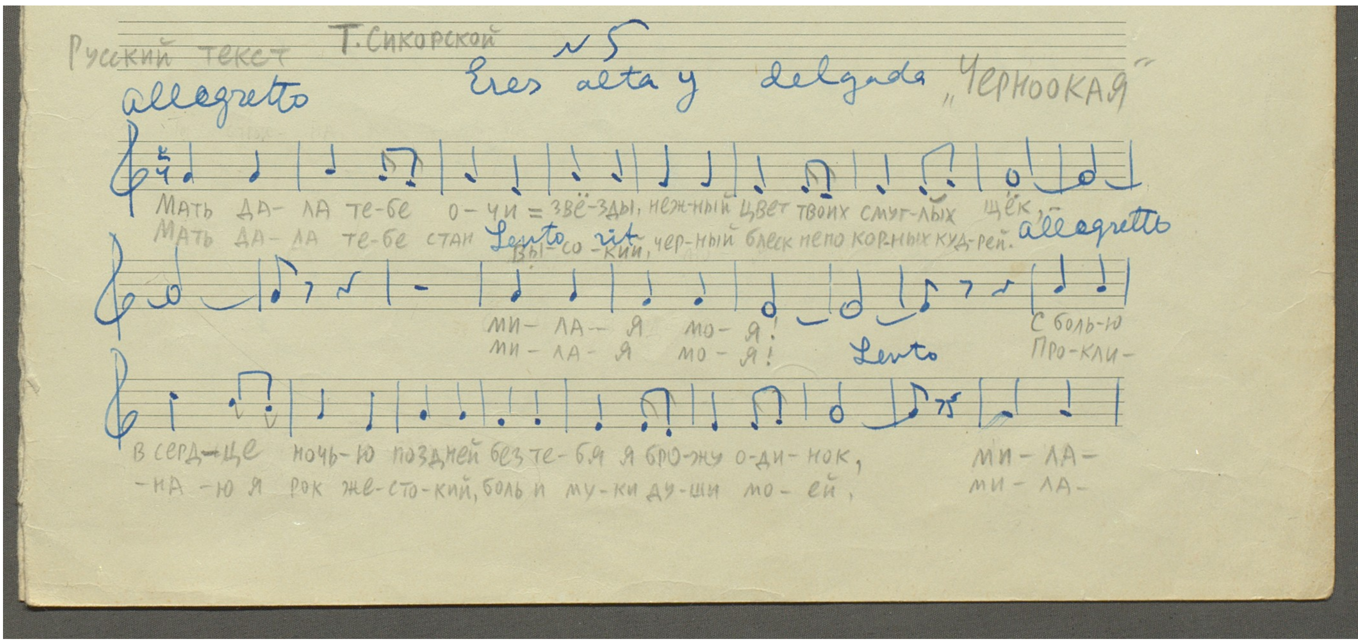

Figure 48. Melody and lyrics, manuscript.[358]

What is significant is the type of accompaniment Shostakovich provides: an ostinato accompanying theme A is crafted in a manner reminiscent of the Alberti bass, very simple, but with interesting chord inversions (see figure 49). The absence of the dominant chord in the beginning (unlike in the original tune), alternating between the tonic (in different inversions) and subdominant chords creates a sense of distance, fitting well with the lyrical content describing the beloved.

358 Dmitri Shostakovich, "Spanish Songs," Op. 100, RGALI, p. 11.

Figure 49: Ostinato/Alberti bass accompaniment.[359]

Theme B (figure 50) starts with a different tempo (Allegretto) incorporating the same ostinato accompaniment, now in a very tight texture, alternating between the dominant chord (with an added second) and tonic inversions. The bass fills the gaps between the singer's entrances.

Figure 50: Theme B.[360]

359 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 32: *Romances and Songs for Voice and Piano* (Moscow: Muzika, 1982), 194.
360 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 32, 195-196.

In moments where the lyrics express anguish or pain, this aspect is emphasized in the piano accompaniment, which uses block chords and fifths instead of the more expressive and dreamy Alberti bass accompaniment (see figure 51).

Figure 51: “With pain in my heart late at night, without you I wander, lonely”.[361]

At first glance, the chord progression in the cadence between A and B (see figure 52) might not immediately suggest the quintessential Andalusian cadence, which traditionally follows a descending pattern in a minor key (i-VII-VI-V). However, the harmonic structure of this cadence (C/E - E7(#9) - E major) contains elements that evoke a Spanish flavor, especially when analyzed within the framework of chromaticism and altered chords typical of Spanish classical and flamenco music. The use of chromaticism, as illustrated by the E7(#9) chord, adds a layer of complexity and tension. The D# and F natural within this chord create a dissonance that resolves when moving to the E major chord, providing an exotic and expressive sound palette. Also this movement from C/E to E7(#9) and then to E major features smooth bass transitions. The E in the bass of the C/E chord leads seamlessly into the E of the E major chord. This kind of voice leading, with its smooth and

361 *Shostakovich Collected Works, vol. 32: Romances and Songs for Voice and Piano (Moscow: Muzika, 1982),* 195.

sometimes unexpected shifts, is often employed in Spanish guitar music to create a sense of fluidity and motion.

Figure 52: Cadence.[362]

This cadence is not found in most versions of the original tune, including those by Rolando Alarcón. It appears that Shostakovich introduced a poignant, southern-sounding flair to the original melody, which is quite simple and primarily revolves around basic tonal functions, lacking secondary dominants or such pronounced chromaticism. As observed in the first chapter, it is evident how Spanish music is often viewed through an Andalusian lens, neglecting the fact that folk tunes from the Northern mountains are very unlikely to possess these characteristics. This is effective, nonetheless, as it accentuates the exotic appeal of Spain, despite deviating from the original folk sources.

362 *Shostakovich Collected Works*, vol. 32, 195.

5.6 “Son” (Dream)/Soñé.

Translation: S. Bolotin and T. Sikorskaya.

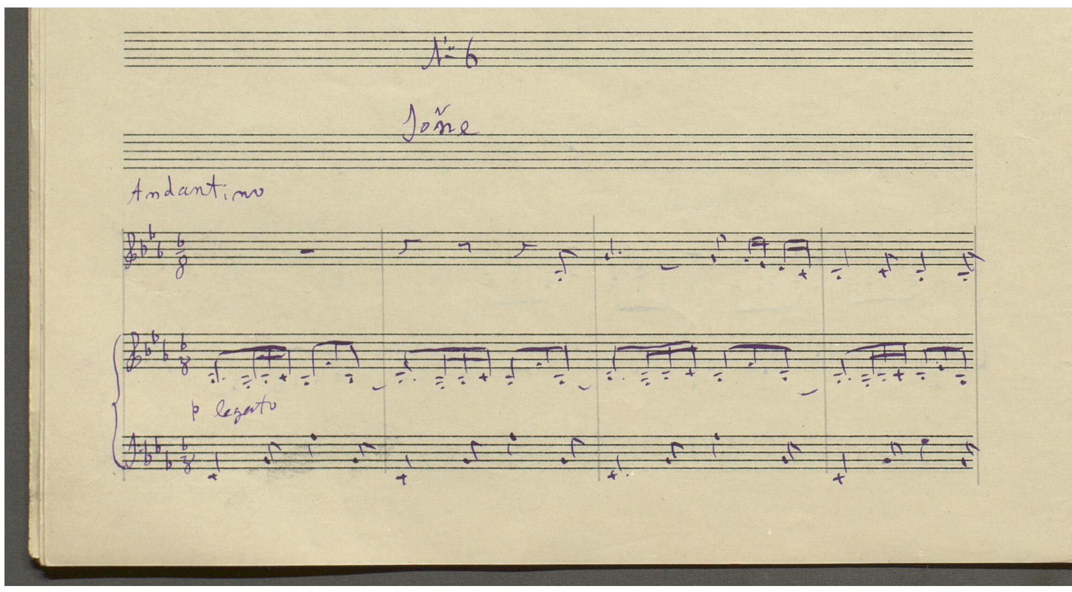

Figure 53: Manuscript “Son”/Soñé.[363]

The sixth song in Dmitri Shostakovich's cycle "Spanish Songs Op. 100," titled "Son" (Dream) originates from a traditional Spanish boat song associated with northern maritime folklore. In score published for the Shostakovich *Collected Works* song the piece is referred to as "Barcarola".[364] Initially, I was inclined to think that this song might have some connection with typical Venetian barcarolles, due to the ternary rhythm and the name of the genre. After thorough investigation, it became evident that no song by the name of “Barcarola” was associated with traditional Spanish songbooks, but instead, the origin of this melody was located in a song called "La batelera” (also known as “En un delicioso lago”), which narrates a picturesque scene on a lake between a man and a boatwoman (see figure 54).[365] This song is especially popular in Chile, having crossed the Atlantic ocean at some point during the twentieth century.[366] These style of boatmen songs are associated with habaneras, a very popular genre that emerged in the first half of the 19th century that was particularly cultivated in the northern regions of Spain, due to their maritime traditions, migratory networks, and the importance of the sea in these musical compositions.[367]

363 Dmitri Shostakovich, "Spanish Songs," Op. 100, RGALI, p. 13.

364 *Shostakovich Collected Works, vol. 32: Romances and Songs for Voice and Piano* (Moscow: Muzika, 1982), 197.

365 A batelera is a female boatwoman, who rows a small boat or barque (known as a batel) across bodies of water. These women were integral to local transportation and commerce, especially in coastal and riverine communities such as in the villages of the Basque Country. The constant passage of these boatwomen inspired various cultural references, including songs that celebrate their skill and presence on the water. See figure 54.

366 Listen to Silvia Infantas, "La Batelera, Vals" YouTube video, 2:55, VintageMusicFm, May 7, 2017, Accessed June 19, 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9LPugjBz1Rc&ab_channel=VintageMusicFm.

367 Although the habanera is originally well-defined with characteristics such as a slow tempo—at 60 beats per minute—with a binary meter: a slow-paced dance, sung, with a very precise rhythm formed, on one hand, by dotted eighth notes and sixteenth notes or by sixteenth notes, eighth notes, sixteenth notes, and, on the other, by two eighth notes,

Figure 54: Bateleras of Pasajes de San Juan/Donibane Pasaia (Basque Country).[368]

Figure 55: "La Batelera" from Isidoro Hernández.[369]

many times this type of song dealing with marine themes and boats is referred to as habanera, as something very much associated with the folklore of coastal towns. Examples of these can be found in songs like "La capitana,", "Catro Vellos Mariñeiros", "La Paloma," or "El Meu Avi Va Anar a Cuba.". See "L'Havanera," *Altamar*, accessed June 19, 2024, http://www.altamar.info/castella/lhavanera.htm.

368 Patxi Mendiburu, "La Batelera en un delicioso lago," *Patxi Mendiburu Blog*, November 2022, https://patximendiburu.blogspot.com/2022/11/la-batelera-en-un-delicioso-lago.html.

369 Isidoro Hernández, *La batelera*, música de Isidoro Hernández (Madrid: Antonio Romero, 1875), A.R. 3065, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MC/3889/81, http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000155073.

The National Library of Spain (BNE) records the earliest known version of the song in 1875, with music composed by Isidoro Hernández (see figure 55). This version includes a romantic and evocative set of lyrics, with an unknown author.

In a delightful lake with green and lush shores,
in a beautiful small boat, one afternoon I embarked.
A beautiful boatwoman, who guided the fragile boat,
as she rowed, I felt an indescribable feeling.[370]

The lyrics do not exactly match the title "Soñé" in Shostakovich's manuscript (see figure 56). Nevertheless, the content is similar, since in both the Russian translation and Spanish lyrics a scene in which a woman guides a fragile boat is described. The lyrics in Russian paint a more dramatic depiction of the events, describing this vision in a dreamy manner that could explain this different title.

Once, on a summer evening, I sat by the shore in a fragile boat,

and it led me forth, dancing on the whims of the waves.

The boat rocked, and I feared it would capsize and drown me.

Over the waves appeared a dreadful vision, as if the sun suddenly froze, and its flames turned to snow!

But even more impossible seemed the dream to me, that I flew over stormy depths,

as if you, my dear, came to me at night, as if you truly loved me.

Oh, my dove, look how the poor guy sails in his fragile boat across the sea,

the one who deeply loves you![371]

The song combines elements of nature (the sea, the waves, the sun, the storm) with the theme of romantic love and the sensation of longing and desire for the beloved. The fragility of the boat in the sea and the intensity of the emotions reflect the uncertainty and passion of love. Ultimately it represents the blend of human fragility against nature and the strength of love, with a strong emotional and visual impact, evoking the sensation of being in a dream. Curiously, none of these

370 Isidoro Hernández, *La batelera.*
371 Translated from figure 56.

associations are in the original lyrics of the Spanish song. The discrepancy is likely due to the translation process into Russian and the modifications that often occur through oral transmission, which may have altered the melody and possibly even the lyrics. Nevertheless, it is indisputable that the origin of the song is here. Although the melody has changed since the piece was first published in 1875, the connection to Shostakovich's song is evident in a couple of modern recordings that unmistakably match the composition's melodic profile.[372]

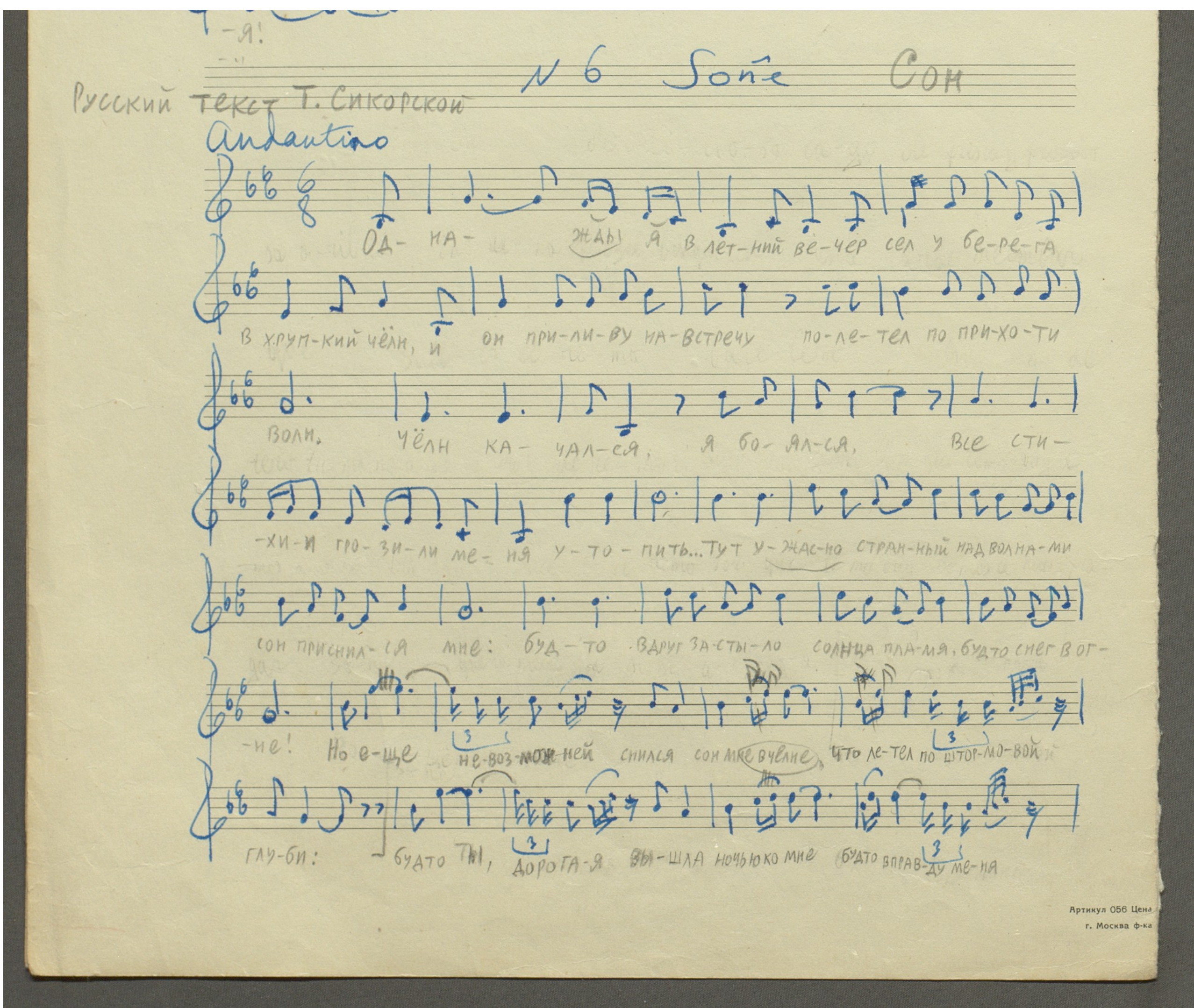

Figure 56: "Son" manuscript of the lyrics and melody.

As for the musical characteristics, the song is written in a 6/8 time signature in the key of E-flat major (see figure 57), structured with an introduction, theme A, theme B, theme A, and

372 This version is the closest one to Shostakovich's arrangement, since the verses and chorus match exactly that in the Spanish Songs Op. 100. See Ángel Castañeira Moreno, "En un delicioso lago" YouTube video, 4:18. published May 27, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=98gAzJe_MB0&ab_channel=%C3%81ngelCasta%C3%B1eiraMoreno.

coda. Shostakovich crafted this piece into a barcarolle, given its strong musical aspects typical of this genre, such as the 6/8 time signature and the continuous ostinato in the left hand. In theme A, there is a harmonic-rhythmic ostinato centered around the bass note E-flat. Rhythmically, the left-hand piano material features a straightforward ternary alternation of quarter and eighth note rhythms, while the right hand is more elaborate, employing ornamentation or flourishes that do not always align with the first beat. This is fitting considering the text content, which places us at sea, where syncopation on the first beat imparts a sense of continuous movement. Furthermore, this ostinato develops as theme A progresses, evolving into sixteenth notes and even exchanging the ostinato between the voices of the piano, resembling waves.

Figure 57: “Son” Theme A .[373]

Regarding the melody, it is practically unchanged from the original source, as with the other songs in the cycle. While in theme A we find a simple melisma, theme B presents a more elaborate

373 *Shostakovich Collected Works, vol. 32:* 197.

material in which, through the use of ornamentation or flourishes, it takes on a more virtuosic character due to the presence of these turns between the notes. The harmonic rhythm is frenetic and increases significantly, with a much more rhythmic and percussive accompaniment as well (see figure 58).

Figure 58: “Son” Theme B bars 23-33.[374]

It is noteworthy that in C (see figure 59), where the lyrics state 'Oh moya golubka, posmotri zhe!' (Oh my dove, look!), this appears to be a later addition to Isidoro Hernández's song, marking a divergence. This new melodic twist seems to have emerged in 'Lindos Marineritos,' a liberated and diverse adaptation of the original “Batelera” (see figure 55) .

374 *Shostakovich Collected Works, vol. 32:* 199.

Figure 59: Theme C: “Oh my dove”, bars 33-39.[375]

375 *Shostakovich Collected Works, vol. 32: 2*00.

6. Final Thoughts

In this chapter, I have examined Dmitri Shostakovich's *Spanish Songs Op. 100*, focusing on aspects previously unexplored in research. Specifically, this study highlights the connection between the experiences of Spanish refugee children in the Soviet Union and the composition of this cycle—an angle not thoroughly addressed before. While previous studies have noted Shostakovich's adaptation of Spanish melodies, this research extends that understanding by linking these adaptations to the refugee experiences. Additionally, by placing the work within the context of the Khrushchev Thaw of the 1950s, the study underscores the era's increased cultural exchange between Russian and Spanish musical traditions, despite the lack of formal diplomatic relations. Although Soviet-Spanish relations remained antagonistic, this period of relative openness fostered a de facto recognition that would eventually pave the way for future diplomatic relations. Moreover, Shostakovich's newfound freedom during this era allowed him to explore musical topics of personal interest with reduced government oversight, reflecting a broader shift towards artistic expression and independence.

Detailed archival research and musical analysis reveal how Shostakovich's *Spanish Songs Op. 100* incorporate Spanish folk melodies, rhythms, and harmonic structures, reshaped through his own compositional techniques to create a distinct minimalist work. This integration preserves the core elements of Spanish folk music while simultaneously refracting it through a Russian perspective that often entails a stereotypical and essentialized view of Spanish culture. By situating Shostakovich's cycle within the broader framework of Russian musical trends, particularly the Andalusian style that was prominent in 19th-century Tsarist Russia and influenced by composers such as Glinka and Rimsky-Korsakov, the study illustrates how Shostakovich both inherits and perpetuates the Russian fascination with Spanish musical themes, albeit through a lens that can reflect certain stereotypes and essentialized views. This lens highlights how his compositions both engage with and transform the foreign elements of Spanish music through a Russian interpretive framework.

In conclusion, this chapter provides a nuanced understanding of the historical and cultural factors that shaped Shostakovich's work. *Spanish Songs Op. 100* serves as a notable example of cross-cultural musical interaction, reflecting the historical experiences of Spanish refugees and the complex interplay between Russian and Spanish musical traditions.

Thesis Conclusion

As this thesis concludes, it is vital to reflect on the insights gained and their broader implications. This study has explored how Dmitri Shostakovich's compositions—specifically *Salute to Spain* and *Spanish Songs Op. 100*—reveal the complexities of Spanish-Soviet relations during and after the Spanish Civil War. The primary aim of this study was to uncover the dramatic shifts in Spanish-Soviet diplomacy from 1936 to 1956 through an in-depth analysis of Shostakovich's works. These compositions symbolize the evolution from initial Soviet support for the Spanish Republic to the subsequent diplomatic estrangement that followed the rise of Franco's dictatorship. The overthrow of the Spanish Republic and the imposition of Franco's fascist regime severed the previously strong diplomatic ties and ended the hopes for a return to democratic normalcy. This research examined how Shostakovich's music reflects the broader cultural and political transformations during this period. Initially, Shostakovich's engagement with Spanish themes was shaped by the intense political repression of the 1930s Soviet Union, particularly during the Great Purge. The era's atmosphere of fear and political persecution imposed strict ideological constraints on the arts, leading to a predominance of propaganda and socialist realism. In works like *Salute to Spain*, these constraints are evident in the demand for politically charged art. However, over the next two decades, a significant shift occurred in Shostakovich's approach. His later work, including *Spanish Songs Op. 100*, illustrates a move from a propagandistic perspective to a more personal and nuanced expression. This transition reflects a broader evolution in Soviet cultural policy—from rigid ideological control to a more empathetic portrayal of cultural and political themes. It also mirrors the shifting dynamics of Soviet-Spanish relations and the broader changes in Soviet repatriation policies during Khrushchev's Thaw.

Another aim of this study was to examine how Soviet cultural policymakers utilized Spanish music as a vehicle for advancing their imperialistic and expansionist ambitions by distorting it through Andalusian and Orientalist stereotypes. This practice is part of a broader tradition of Russian and Soviet engagement with Orientalism, which often served geopolitical and ideological purposes beyond mere fascination with exotic cultures. Historically, Russian composers and intellectuals employed Orientalism to legitimize Russia's territorial expansion into the Eurasian heartland. These efforts sought to establish a distinctive Russian musical identity by incorporating Eastern elements, reflecting Russia's self-conception as a Eurasian power bridging Europe and Asia. In the nineteenth century, Spain was often portrayed as an "Oriental" entity in Russian cultural production—a neutral exoticism that could be manipulated to mirror Russia's own imperial ambitions. This portrayal

allowed Russian artists to align their narratives with the expansionist goals of the Russian Empire, which sought dominance over the Eurasian landmass. During the Soviet era, these imperialistic tendencies continued, albeit under the guise of socialist realism and cultural diversity. The Soviet state, while ostensibly promoting the inclusion of various ethnicities and cultures within its borders, maintained a Russocentric perspective that echoed the imperialist practices of tsarist Russia. Soviet cultural policy, especially under figures like Platon Kerzhentsev, aimed to control and direct artistic expression to serve the state's ideological goals. Kerzhentsev's guidance to Dmitri Shostakovich, encouraging him to draw inspiration from the diverse musical traditions across the Soviet Union, reflects this approach. Although this policy appeared to promote cultural diversity, it ultimately reinforced Russian dominance and the imperialist dynamics of the Soviet state. In this context, the portrayal of Spanish music in Soviet cultural production fulfilled a dual role. It both exoticized and distorted Spanish identity through Andalusian and Orientalist stereotypes, reinforcing Soviet narratives of cultural superiority and control, and it served as a proxy for broader imperial ambitions, aligning with the Soviet Union's Eurasian expansionist agenda. By associating Spain with these Orientalist tropes, Soviet cultural policymakers extended the logic of Russian imperialism into new cultural territories, legitimizing their geopolitical aspirations. This portrayal not only misrepresented Spanish cultural identity but also reinforced Soviet imperialistic goals, illustrating how cultural exchange was manipulated to serve a political purpose.

This study makes a significant contribution to the field by connecting the episodes of Spanish children exile in the USSR with the narrative of Shostakovich's *Spanish Songs Op. 100*, thereby uncovering the sources behind each of these songs. By building a common thread between Andalusianism, Spanish music, and theories of geopolitics behind Russian expansion in Eastern Europe and Asia, this research offers a novel perspective on the intersection of music and political history. Through this interdisciplinary approach, the study not only reveals the cultural and political layers embedded in Shostakovich’s compositions but also provides a deeper understanding of how these themes reflect broader geopolitical strategies and cultural exchanges. This work fills a gap in existing scholarship, offering new insights into the ways music can both mirror and influence complex historical narratives.

To build upon the findings of this study, future research could benefit from a deeper exploration of Andalusian influences and Orientalist trends in broader European music. Investigating how these

themes were adopted and adapted by composers across Europe could provide valuable insights into the widespread fascination with exoticism and its implications for cultural and political identities. Additionally, further research into Russian music that aligns with these Eurasian imperial discourses would be instrumental in understanding how Russia's self-conception as a Eurasian power influenced its cultural production. This could involve examining other composers and works that reflect the imperialistic and expansionist ideologies present in Russian and Soviet music, contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of the intersection between music, politics, and imperial ambitions. Expanding this research into other regions and periods would enrich the existing scholarship and offer a more nuanced view of how music has been used as a tool for cultural and political expression.

I would like to conclude this thesis with a resolute reflection. In our current global landscape, marked by conflict and division, music has the transformative power to foster unity and bridge divides between nations. As Bertol Brecht eloquently expressed "Art is not a mirror held up to reality but a hammer with which to shape it".[376] Just as Soviet artists once championed the cause of Republican Spain, music continues to inspire visions of a more harmonious future. The legacy of Spanish refugees, immortalized in the works of composers like Shostakovich, underscores the enduring ability of music to transcend borders and preserve cultural narratives, offering hope and solidarity in times of crisis.

376 Russell Greinke, "Art Is Not a Mirror to Reflect Reality, but a Hammer to Shape It: How the Changing Lives through Literature Program for Juvenile Offenders Uses Young Adult Novels to Guide Troubled Teens," *The ALAN Review* 34 (2007): doi:10.21061/alan.v34i3.a.3.

Bibliography and recordings

Afinogenov, Alexander. Izbrannoye. Moscow: Sovietskiy Pisatel, 1951.

Aguilera Povedano, Manuel. Compañeros y camaradas. Las luchas entre antifascistas en la Guerra Civil Española. Madrid: Editorial Actas, 2012.

Alarcón, Rolando. Canciones de la Guerra Civil Española. Alerce, 2001.

Alonso González, Celsa. "Felip Pedrell y la canción culta con acompañamiento en la España decimonónica: la difícil convivencia de lo popular y lo culto." Recerca musicològica, no. 11 (1991): 305-328.

Alted Vigil, Alicia. "El 'instante congelado' del exilio de los niños de la guerra civil española." DEP: Deportate, esuli, profughe no. 3 (2005): 278.

Alted Vigil, Alicia. "El Exilio Español En La Unión Soviética." Ayer no. 47 (2002): 131. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41325146.

Alted Vigil, Alicia. "El exilio republicano desde la perspectiva de las mujeres." El Sueño Igualitario: Boletín del Coloquio 'El republicanismo en la historia de Teruel' no. 13 (Grupo de Estudios Masinos, Ayuntamiento de Mas de las Matas: Cuadernos de Cazarabet): 117.

Álvarez Cañibano, A. Los papeles españoles de Glinka 1845-1847. 150 aniversario del viaje de Mikhail Glinka a España. Madrid: Consejería de Educación y Cultura de la Comunidad de Madrid; Centro de Documentación Musical, 1996.

Ana María Mula Pérez. "Referencias hispanas en obras de Shostakovich de la década de los años 50." Cuadernos de Investigación Musical 3 (2017): 29. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.18239/invesmusic.v0i3.1697.

Andrei Zhdanov. "Discussion at a General Assembly of Soviet Composers," February 17, 1948. Accessed June 19, 2024. https://soviethistory.msu.edu/1947-2/zhdanov/zhdanov-texts/discussion-at-a-general-assembly-of-soviet-composers/.

Ángel Castañeira Moreno. "En un delicioso lago." YouTube video, 4:18. Published May 27, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=98gAzJe_MB0&ab_channel=%C3%81ngelCasta%C3%B1eiraMoreno.

Anton Chekhov. Toska. Saint Petersburg: Peterburgskaya Gazeta, 1886.

Ascher, Abraham. The Revolution of 1905: Russia in Disarray. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.

Asociación Socio-Cultural Castilla. "El folclore montañés." Accessed June 10, 2024. https://www.asc-castilla.org/castilla/historiasup/historia-castilla/folcloremontanes/.

Assay, Michelle. Abstract from "Russian Carmens and 'Carmenism': From Imperial Import to Ideological Benchmark." In Carmen Abroad: Bizet's Opera on the Global Stage, edited by

Richard Langham Smith and Clair Rowden, 263–283. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Aurelio Ruiz. “A La Orilluca del Ebro (Remasterizado).” In Lo Aprendí De Mi Padre (Canciones Montañesas) (Remasterizado 2022). YouTube video, 2:34. Posted by Aurelio Ruiz - Topic, January 28, 2022. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k91b6pretlI&ab_channel=AurelioRuiz-Topic.

Avello, Ramón. "Capricho Asturiano." El Comercio, June 1, 2008. https://www.elcomercio.es/gijon/20080601/opinion/capricho-asturiano-20080601.html?ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.elcomercio.es%2Fgijon%2F20080601%2Fopinion%2Fcapricho-asturiano-20080601.html.

Bagno, Vsévolod. "España y Rusia: dos culturas de frontera." Nueva Revista, August 26, 1999.

Balakirev, Mily. "Jota Aragonesa." Moscow: Muzgiz, n.d. Plate M. 23708 Г. Accessed March 24, 2024. https://imslp.org/wiki/File:IMSLP12320-Glinka-Balakirev_(1862)_Jota_Aragonesa.pdf.

Barreira, David. "¿El 'mayor atraco de la humanidad' sucedió en el Banco de España? La falsa leyenda del oro de Moscú." El Español, September 15, 2020. Accessed April 15, 2024. https://www.elespanol.com/cultura/historia/20200915/atraco-humanidad-sucedio-banco-espana-leyenda-moscu/520699306_0.html.

Barreiro, Javier. "Orígenes de la jota aragonesa." Javier Barreiro Blogspot. Accessed March 28, 2024. https://javierbarreiro.wordpress.com/2016/12/16/origenes-de-la-jota-aragonesa/.

Barreiro, Javier. Biografía de la jota aragonesa. Zaragoza: Mira Editores, 2013.

Barsenkov, Aleksandr S., et al. "The Russian Nation’s Historical Destiny in the Twentieth Century: (The Russian Question in Nationality Policy)." Russian Studies in History 37, no. 2 (1998): 13–24. https://doi.org/10.2753/RSH1061-1983370213.

Barthes, Roland. Mythologies. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1972.

Belaieff, M.P., ed. Serenade Espagnole, Op. 20 No. 2 for Cello and Piano. Leipzig: M.P. Belaieff, n.d. [1890]. Plate 211, 255, 256. https://imslp.org/wiki/File:IMSLP25374-PMLP56387-Glazunov_Serenande_Espagnole_Op20No2_Cello_Piano.pdf.

Beltrán Tapia, Francisco J., Alfonso Díez-Minguela, Julio Martínez-Galarraga, and Daniel A. Tirado Fabregat. "A Brief History of the Reconquista (718-1492 AD): Conquest, Repopulation, and Land Distribution." Documentos de Trabajo de la Sociedad de Estudios de Historia Agraria 2004, Sociedad de Estudios de Historia Agraria, pp. 1-3.

Belyayev, V.M. Aleksandr Konstantinovich Glazunov: Materialy k yego biografii. Vol. 1, Part 1. Petrograd, 1922.

Bitsili, Piotr Mikhailovich. "Vostok» i «Zapad» v istorii Starogo Sveta." In Izbrannye trudy po filologii (Selected Works on Philology), 1996.

Boosey & Hawkes. “Shostakovich Worklist.” PDF. Accessed June 3, 2024. https://www.boosey.com/downloads/shostakovich_worklist.pdf.

Borja De Riquer. La dictadura de Franco. Vol. 9 de la Historia de España. Edited by Josep Fontana and Ramón Villares. Barcelona: Crítica/Marcial Pons, 2010.

Brown, Malcolm H. “The Soviet Russian Concepts of ‘Intonazia’ and ‘Musical Imagery.’” The Musical Quarterly 60, no. 4 (1974): 559–62. http://www.jstor.org/stable/741764.

Brown, William Edward. A History of Russian Literature of the Romantic Period. Vol. III. Ann Arbor, 1986.

Burgos, Enrique de. "Rimsky Korsakov’s Spanish Capriccio (Origin of the work)." In Les soirées de l’orchestre (Wordpress). Accessed April 25, 2024. https://enriquedeburgos.wordpress.com/.

Burney, Shehla. "Chapter One: Orientalism: The Making of the Other." Counterpoints 417 (2012): 23–39. Accessed January 1, 2022. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42981698.

Bykov, Dmitry. Boris Pasternak. Moscow: Molodaya Gvardiya, 2008. Accessed April 3, 2024. http://book-online.com.ua/read.php?book=6236&page=264.

Camafeita, Olga. "Alborada." In A música popular en Galicia. Rinoceronte Editora, 2010.

Cámara Hermoso, Manuel de la. "Las relaciones entre España y la Federación Rusa." Anuario internacional CIDOB, no. 1 (2010): 451.

Carlos Hernández de Miguel. Los campos de concentración de Franco. Penguin Random House, 2019.

Castillo Rodríguez, Susana. Memoria, educación e historia: el caso de los niños españoles evacuados a la Unión Soviética durante la Guerra Civil Española. PhD thesis, Madrid, 1999.

Castro Tomé, Germán. "De Ferrol para el Mundo: Acotaciones de un ferrolés." De Ferrol para el Mundo, December 2016. Accessed February 23, 2024. https://deferrolparaelmundo.blogspot.com/2016/12/estuvo-rimsky-korsakov-en-ferrol-en.html.

Cesare Civetta. “How Shostakovich Survived to Protest Stalin’s Anti-Semitism.” Medium, May 17, 2018. https://medium.com/@beethovennow/how-shostakovich-survived-to-protest-stalins-anti-semitism-e5abf04727fd.

Conquest, Robert. The Great Terror: Stalin's Purge of the Thirties. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Consello da Cultura Galega. "Colección de lousas." Accessed March 31, 2024. https://consellodacultura.gal/fondos_documentais/coleccion-de-lousas/.

Cornwell, Neil. "Through the Clouds of Soviet Literature." The Crane Bag 7, no. 1 (1983): 18. Accessed April 15, 2024. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30060542.

Correa, Gustavo. "El Simbolismo de La Luna En La Poesía de Federico García Lorca." PMLA/Publications of the Modern Language Association of America 72, no. 5 (1957): 1060–84. https://doi.org/10.2307/460379.

Crivillé i Bargalló, Josep. Historia de la música española. Vol. 7. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2007.

Cruz, Silvia. "La Batelera, Vals." YouTube video, 2:55. VintageMusicFm, May 7, 2017. Accessed June 19, 2024. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9LPugjBz1Rc&ab_channel=VintageMusicFm.

Cucó i Giner, Alfons. El despertar de las naciones: La ruptura de la Unión. Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 1999.

Daria Krylova. "8 Facts About the Khorovod, Russia's Oldest Dance." Russia Beyond, December 7, 2016. Accessed June 19, 2024. https://www.rbth.com/arts/2016/12/07/8-facts-about-the-khorovod-russias-oldest-dance_654295.

David M. Glantz. The Siege of Leningrad, 1941–1944: 900 Days of Terror. Staplehurst: Spellmount, 2001.

Davies, Brian L. "Muscovy's Conquest of Kazan." Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History 15, no. 4 (2014): 873-883. https://doi.org/10.1353/kri.2014.0050.

Del Mar, Jonathan. "Rimsky-Korsakov: Capriccio Espagnol, Op.34." Chapter. In Orchestral Masterpieces under the Microscope, 390–93. Boydell & Brewer, 2023.

Denis Lukyanov. "Cómo una niña de la guerra sobrevivió a la invasión nazi en la URSS." Sputnik, September 24, 2018. Accessed May 30, 2024. https://latamnews.lat/20180924/ninos-de-rusia-joven-espanola-entregada-a-falange-por-tercer-reich-1082221737.html.

Dmitri Shostakovich. "Festive Overture." Concert program. Los Angeles Philharmonic. Accessed June 4, 2024. https://www.laphil.com/musicdb/pieces/1755/festive-overture.

Dmitri Shostakovich. "Spanish Songs." Op. 100. RGALI, f. 2048, op. 2, units hr. 28, Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, Moscow, Russia. p. 1.

Dmitri Shostakovich. Spanish Songs, Op. 100. Boosey & Hawkes catalogue. Accessed May 26, 2024. https://www.boosey.com/cr/music/Dmitri-Shostakovich-Spanish-Songs/1881.

Drabkin, William. "Neapolitan Sixth Chord." Grove Music Online, 8th ed. Oxford University Press, 2001.

Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "narodnost." Encyclopaedia Britannica, September 1, 1999. Accessed June 23, 2024. https://www.britannica.com/topic/narodnost.

Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Russian Empire." Encyclopedia Britannica, March 11, 2024. https://www.britannica.com/place/Russian-Empire.

Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Socialist Realism." Encyclopedia Britannica, March 22, 2024. https://www.britannica.com/art/Socialist-Realism.

"Encuentro de Gaiteros." Fiestas de San Roque en Llanes, August 16, 2022. https://san-roque.com/16-08-2022-encuentro-de-gaiteros/.

Fay, Laurel E. "Shostakovich Versus Volkov: Whose Testimony?" The Russian Review 39, no. 4 (1980): 484–93. https://doi.org/10.2307/128813.

Fay, Laurel. Shostakovich: A Life. Cary: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1999.

Francis Maes. "Between reality and transcendence: Shostakovich's songs." In The Cambridge Companion to Shostakovich, edited by Pauline Fairclough and David Fanning. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Frolova-Walker, Marina. "How Can Music Be Socialist Realist?" Lecture presented at Gresham College, November 18, 2021. Transcript available at: Gresham College. https://www.gresham.ac.uk/watch-now/socialist-realist.

Fyodor Dostoevsky. Crime and Punishment. New York: Vintage Classics, 1993.

Galina V. Kopytova. "Shostakovich's Music for the Play 'Salute, Spain!': Finds and Search Prospects." Muzykal'naya akademiya [Music Academy], no. 2 (2023): 257.

Gelabert, Juan Eloy. "Imperiofobia: luces, sombras y claroscuros." Revista de Libros. Accessed September 23, 2018. https://web.archive.org/web/20200311060311/https://www.revistadelibros.com/articulo_imprimible.php?art=5392&t=articulos.

Getty, John Arch. The Origins of the Great Purges. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Gil de Gálvez, José Manuel. "El Legado Español de Glinka." Melómano Digital, November 25, 2022. https://www.melomanodigital.com/el-legado-espanol-de-glinka/.

Government of Spain. "Reforma del Código Civil en materia de nacionalidad." Law 18/1990, of December 17, BOE núm. 302, Tuesday December 18, 1990.

Halford, John Mackinder. "The Geographical Pivot of History." The Geographical Journal 23, no. 4 (April 1904): 421–424.

Hamish McLaren, countertenor, and Matthew Jorysz, piano. Sphynx. Booklet (Orchid Classics, recorded at St. Paul's Church, Knightsbridge, London, on August 27, September 7, and September 16-19, 2019). https://booklets.idagio.com/5060189561612.pdf.

Hernández Velasco, Irene. "Por qué el bombardeo a Gernika es considerado el primer ensayo de guerra total de la historia." BBC Mundo, April 26, 2017. https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-39633923.

Hernández, Cristina Aguilar. "Conceptos de lo español en la música rusa: De Glinka a Manuel de Falla." PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2017.

Hispanopolis. “EFEMÉRIDES - 1957 EN LA HISTORIA DEL MUNDO.” Accessed October 5, 2013. Archived at https://web.archive.org/web/20131005020618/http://hispanopolis.com/bin/efemerides.cgi?Year=1957.

Hopkirk, Peter. The Great Game: The Struggle for Empire in Central Asia. Kodansha International, 1992.

Howson, Gerald. "Los armamentos: Asuntos ocultos a tratar." In La República asediada: Hostilidad internacional y conflictos internos durante la Guerra Civil, edited by Paul Preston, 412–15. Barcelona: Ediciones Península, 2001.

Inzenga, José. “Asturias.” In Ecos de España. Tomo primero: colección de cantos y bailes populares. Barcelona: Andrés Vidal y Roger, 1874, 9-16.

Isidoro Hernández. La batelera, música de Isidoro Hernández. Madrid: Antonio Romero, 1875. A.R. 3065, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MC/3889/81. http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000155073.

Jaime Camino. Los niños de Rusia. Spain, 2001. Documentary film. 1:26:00–1:30:00.

Jonas, Oswald. Introduction to the Theory of Heinrich Schenker (1934: Das Wesen des musikalischen Kunstwerks: Eine Einführung in Die Lehre Heinrich Schenkers). Translated by John Rothgeb. New York: Longman, 1982.

Juan de Aguila del Águila. Las canciones del pueblo español. Unión Musical Española, 1976.

Klan, Ulrich, and Dieter Nelles. Es lebt noch eine Flamme. Rheinische Anarchosyndikalisten /-innen 1919-1945. Grafenau-Döffingen: Trotzdem-Verlag, 1990. Cited in "Das schwarz-rote Liederbüchlein." Accessed May 9, 2024. https://web.archive.org/web/20160116042028/http://www.anarchismus.de/kultur/schwarz-rotes-liederbuch.pdf.

Kopytova, Galina V. “Shostakovich’s Music for the Play ‘Salute, Spain!’: Finds and Search Prospects.” Muzykal’naya akademiya [Music Academy], no. 2 (2023).

Kopytova, Galina. “Shostakovich’s Music for Salute, Spain! Discoveries and Perspectives.” Journal of War & Culture Studies 14, no. 4 (2021): 479–92. https://doi.org/10.1080/17526272.2021.1950965.

Lamas, Rafael. "On Music and Nation: The Colonized Consciousness of Spanish Musical Nationalism." Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies 7 (2003): 76.

Laurel E. Fay. “Shostakovich Versus Volkov: Whose Testimony?” The Russian Review 39, no. 4 (1980): 484–93. https://doi.org/10.2307/128813.

Layton, Susan. Russian Literature and Empire: Conquest of the Caucasus from Pushkin to Tolstoy. Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Levon Hakobian. Dmitrii Shostakovich: opyt fenomenologii tvorchestva. St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2004.

Lowe, David A. "Pushkin and 'Carmen'." 19th-Century Music 20, no. 1 (Summer 1996): 72.

Luján, Néstor. Cuento de cuentos: origen y aventura de ciertas palabras y frases proverbiales. Vol. 1. Barcelona: Folio, 1993.

Lukic, Rénéo, and Michael Brint, eds. Culture, Politics, and Nationalism in the Age of Globalization. Ashgate, 2001.

Lukyanov, Denis. “Cómo una niña de la guerra sobrevivió a la invasión nazi en la URSS.” Sputnik, September 24, 2018. Accessed May 30, 2024. https://latamnews.lat/20180924/ninos-de-rusia-joven-espanola-entregada-a-falange-por-tercer-reich-1082221737.html.

Maeda, Natalie Olivia. "On the Outskirts of Europe: Mikhail Glinka and his Spanish Overtures." Spring 6 (2018): 1-2.

Maes, Francis. A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar. Translated by Arnold J. Pomerans and Erica Pomerans. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2002.

Manáev, Gueórgui. "La invasión de los mongoles fue la razón por la que Rusia acabó formándose." Russia Beyond, November 22, 2022. https://es.rbth.com/historia/90293-invasion-mongoles-razon-rusia-acabo-formandose.

Manning, Robert. "The Soviet Economic Crisis of 1936-40 and the Great Purges." In Stalinist Terror: New Perspectives, edited by John Arch Getty and Roberta Thompson Manning, 133–60. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Maravall Casesnoves, José Antonio. El concepto de España en la Edad Media. Madrid, Spain: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2013.

Marcos Roca. “Cante Jondo.” YouTube video, 4:23. February 28, 2017. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=grKOl66cY6k&ab_channel=MarcosRoca.

María Serrano. “El regreso de los niños refugiados en Rusia.” Diario Público, Sevilla, July 2, 2017.

Mariño, Milio. "Tuvieron nel Paraísu: Rimsy Korsakov na Felguera." Manzorga (blog), June 26, 2022. https://manzorga.blogspot.com/2022/06/tuvieron-nel-paraisu-rimsy-korsakov-na.html.

Martianova, Elizaveta. Ob otrazhenii russko-frantsuzskikh kul'turnykh sviazei vo frantsuzskom yazyke i literature XIX veka. Kharkiv, 1960.

Mazower, Mark. Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century. New York: A.A. Knopf: Distributed by Random House, 1999.

McCannon, John. "Soviet Intervention in the Spanish Civil War, 1936–39: A Reexamination." Russian History 22, no. 2 (1995): 154–80. Accessed January 1, 2022. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24657802.

Mikkonen, Simo. "'Muddle Instead of Music' in 1936: Cataclysm of Musical Administration." In Shostakovich Studies 2, edited by Paul Fairclough, 233–48. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración, Gobierno de España. Informe de la Dirección General de Inmigración de 11/05/06. Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración, 2006. https://web.archive.org/web/20091214015044/http://www.ciudadaniaexterior.mtin.es/es/pdf/informe-ninos-guerra.pdf.

Moynahan, Brian. Leningrad: Siege and Symphony. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2013.

Nikita Khrushchev. "February 25, 1956. Khrushchev's Secret Speech, 'On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences,' Delivered at the Twentieth Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." The Wilson Center Digital Archive. Accessed June 1, 2024. https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/khrushchevs-secret-speech-cult-personality-and-its-consequences-delivered-twentieth-party.

Nove, Alec. The Stalin Phenomenon. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1993.

Núñez Seixas, Xosé M. "Russia and the Russians in the Eyes of the Spanish Blue Division soldiers, 1941–4." Journal of Contemporary History 52.2 (2017): 352–374.

OnMusic Dictionary. "Madrigalism." Accessed June 24, 2024. https://dictionary.onmusic.org/terms/2062-madrigalism.

Ortega y Gasset, José. Meditaciones del Quijote. 3rd ed. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1976.

Orwell, George. Homenaje a Cataluña. Barcelona: Ediciones Destino, 2003.

Orwell, George. Nineteen Eighty-Four. London, England: Penguin Classics, 2021.

Patxi Mendiburu. "La Batelera en un delicioso lago." Patxi Mendiburu Blog, November 2022. https://patximendiburu.blogspot.com/2022/11/la-batelera-en-un-delicioso-lago.html.

Pepe Arlote. "Mozuca en la Romería, de Alfonso Ruíz Martínez." YouTube video, 2:48. Posted July 21, 2013. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6_suUzQYLuo&ab_channel=PepeArlote.

Program brochure for VIERNES TEMÁTICOS. "Clichés musicales: visiones de España, La visión rusa," Ana Guijarro and Mariana Gurkova, piano, Elena Torres, presenter. Accessed March 31, 2024. https://cdndigital.march.es/fedora/objects/fjm-pub:4491/datastreams/OBJ/content?p=2022-01-05T11:15:37.747Z.

Pshibyshevskiy, Boleslav. "K voprosu o sotsialisticheskom realizme v muzyke: neskol’ko tezisov." Sovetskoye iskusstvo, May 26, 1933, p. 2.

Pushkin, Aleksandr. Eugene Onegin. Translated with commentary by Vladimir Nabokov. Vol. III. Revised edition. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975.

Quesada, Alejandro de. The Spanish Civil War 1936–39 (1) Nationalist Forces. Illustrated by Stephen Walsh. Men-at-Arms 495. Series editor Martin Windrow. Osprey Publishing, May 20, 2014.

Radzhikhovsky, Leonid. "Terror: schastlivtsy. Sovetskie pisateli kak 'gruppa riska' 'stalinskikh chistok'." Rossiyskaya gazeta - Nedelya - Federal'nyy vypusk, no. 237 (8885) (October 18, 2022). Accessed April 2, 2024. https://rg.ru/2022/10/18/terror-schastlivcy.html.

Rafael Calleja and Pablo Cases. Emigrantes.. Granadinas, performed by Tito Schipa, 1922. Barcelona: Compañía del Gramófono, 66039. Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

RagaSurabhi. "Raga Charukesi: Arohanam, Avarohanam and Alapana | Raga Surabhi." YouTube video, July 8, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PERB3AgcFAM&ab_channel=RagaSurabhi.

Rimsky-Korsakov, Nikolai. My Musical Life. New York: Knopf, 1923.

Rimsky-Korsakov, Nikolay. "Spanish Capriccio, Op.34." First edition. Leipzig: C.G. Röder, 1887. Plate 97. Reprinted, New York: E.F. Kalmus, n.d. (1933–70). Catalog A1915. Public Domain. Includes color scan of chromolithograph title-page by A. Antipoff. Pages 3-6 missing. Accessed March 30, 2024. https://vmirror.imslp.org/files/imglnks/usimg/9/90/IMSLP32506-PMLP06266-Rimsky-Op34FSbel.pdf.

Rimsky-Korsakov, Nikolay. Principles of Orchestration. Translated by Edward Agate. Berlin: Editions Russes de Musique, 1922.

Ronda Segoviana. “A Tu Puerta Está la Ronda (de 'Tus Ojos Morena', 1980).” YouTube video, 3:42. Posted June 23, 2017. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RtYWVXe5-AE.

Ronda Segoviana. “Tus Ojos Morena - 1980.” Album booklet. Accessed June 19, 2024. http://www.rondasegoviana.es/disco1.html.

Russell Greinke. “Art Is Not a Mirror to Reflect Reality, but a Hammer to Shape It: How the Changing Lives through Literature Program for Juvenile Offenders Uses Young Adult Novels to Guide Troubled Teens.” The ALAN Review 34 (2007). doi:10.21061/alan.v34i3.a.3.

Said, Edward W. Orientalism. United States: Pantheon Books, 1978.

Said, Edward. Orientalismo. Barcelona: DeBolsillo, 2008.

Service, Robert. A History of Twentieth-Century Russia. London: Allen Lane, 1997.

Shestakova, Lyudmila, ed. "Jota Aragonesa." Mainz: Schott, n.d. Plate 15900. Accessed March 24, 2024. https://imslp.org/wiki/File:IMSLP394578-PMLP29833-Glinka_-_Jota_Aragonesa.pdf.

Shostakovich Collected Works. Vol. 27: Incidental Music. Moscow: Muzika, 1986.

Shostakovich Collected Works. Vol. 28: Incidental Music Piano Arrangement. Moscow: Muzika, 1986.

Shostakovich Collected Works. Vol. 32: Romances and Songs for Voice and Piano. Moscow: Muzika, 1982.

Shostakovich, Dmitri. "Spanish Songs," Op. 100, RGALI, f. 2048, op. 2, units hr. 28, Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, Moscow, Russia.

Shostakovich, Dmitri. Collected Works. Vols. 27 and 28. Moscow: Muzika, 1986.

Silvia Infantas. “La Batelera, Vals.” YouTube video, 2:55. VintageMusicFm, May 7, 2017. Accessed June 19, 2024. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9LPugjBz1Rc&ab_channel=VintageMusicFm.

"Song of Rosita" from the music of the spectacle Salut, Ispaniya!, Dmitriy Dmitriyevich Shostakovich. Leningrad: Leningradskiy Gosudarstvennyy Akademicheskiy Teatr Dramy Im. A.S.Pushkina, 1936–1939.

Stanjofski, Alexander. "The Great Westernizer: How Peter the Great Earned His Name." The Collector, April 4, 2021. https://www.thecollector.com/the-great-westernizer-how-peter-the-great-earned-his-name/.

Stasov, Vladimir Vasilievich. Pisma k deyatelyam russkoy kultury. Izd-vo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1962.

Stefan Zweig. The World of Yesterday: An Autobiography. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1964.

Tarr, Edward H. "Fanfare." In The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 2nd ed., edited by Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, 14–16. London: Macmillan Publishers, 2001.

Taruskin, Richard. "'Entoiling the Falconet': Russian Musical Orientalism in Context." Cambridge Opera Journal 4, no. 3 (1992): 257. Accessed June 24, 2024. http://www.jstor.org/stable/823694.

Taruskin, Richard. "Was Shostakovich a Martyr? Or Is That Just Fiction?" The New York Times, August 26, 2016.

Tentser, Alexander, ed. The Jewish Experience in Classical Music: Shostakovich and Asia. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014.

"The Stone Guest." Encyclopedia Britannica, September 13, 2019. Accessed April 20, 2024. https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Stone-Guest-play-by-Pushkin.

Transparent Language. "Russian Words of Turkic Origin." Accessed January 31, 2024. https://blogs.transparent.com/russian/russian-words-of-turkic-origin/.

V.V. Maksimova Orkestra. Kamernyi repertuar vokalista s orkestrom. Tomsk: Izdatelstvo Tomskogo universiteta, 2015. Page 8.

Vidal, César. “Enigmas de la historia: El destino de los niños de la guerra (y II).” Libertad Digital. Accessed June 1, 2024. https://www.libertaddigital.com/otros/revista/articulos/78371027.html.

Vidal, César. “Los juguetes rotos de Stalin.” Diario La Vanguardia, June 14, 1998.

Volkov, Solomon. Testimony: The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich. Translated by Antonina W. Bouis. New York: Harper & Row, 1979.

Watson, Jada. "Aspects of the 'Jewish' Folk Idiom in Dmitri Shostakovich's String Quartet No. 4, Op. 83 (1949)." Master of Arts thesis, University of Ottawa, 2008. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.20381/ruor-18883.

Zaragoza Pelayo, Rafael. "Las causas de la Guerra Civil española desde la perspectiva actual: aproximación a los diversos enfoques históricos." Historia Actual Online 14 (2007): 167–69.

Zubillaga, Igor Contreras, and Eva Moreda Rodríguez. "Spain in our Ears: International Musical Responses in Support of the Republic during the Spanish Civil War." Journal of War & Culture Studies 14, no. 4 (2021): 365–71. Accessed April 15, 2024. DOI: 10.1080/17526272.2021.1950958.