

**THE SOCIETY FOR JEWISH FOLK MUSIC, ST.PETERSBURG RUSSIA:
STORICAL ACCOUNT OF ITS CREATION, DEVELOPMENT AND IMPACT**

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1. INTRODUCTION

Many Jewish musicians of today are familiar with the Russian Jewish composers from the school of St. Petersburg and the St. Petersburg Society for Folk Jewish Music. There is some question as to whether or not the musical world has always been appreciative of Russian Jewish music or whether such appreciation is but a recent phenomenon.

Since I grew up in Russia I spend many years studying music and music history there. Included in my studies were Rimsky Korsakov, "Moguchayah kutchka", Tchaikovsky, Glinka, Stravinsky and others. The list of these composers is endless. However, to my great surprise, I discovered almost fifteen years later in my studies in New York at Hebrew Union College Jewish Institute of Religion that we had not at any time touched upon the Russian Jewish composers who were alive and creative in the vicinity of my music school in St. Petersburg. I often had wondered why in St. Petersburg we have never listen to the music of Lazare Saminsky (1882-1959) or Moses/Mikhail Milner (1886-1953).

Now however, Jewish musicians know quite a bit about that era of Russian Jewish music. But in the rest of the musical world whenever I mention works by Joel/Yuli Engel (1869-1927) nobody has any idea of his music or his life. One might think that with all the knowledge and information now available about Russian Jewish composers, their lives and their works, there is no need for further discovery and deeper research. At the same time I am daily confronted by the insufficiency of knowledge in this area among the wider circle of professional musicians. This is the case not only with Jewish professional musicians in United States, it is even the case with professional musicians in Israel where

would expect to be particularly sensitive to the history of Jewish composers in Russia. I often ask myself – why only Jewish scholars could identify Solomon Rosowsky (1878-1962) or the members of the St.Petersburg society for Jewish Folk Music. Certainly their music is good enough for everyone to learn and appreciate. I therefore have often asked myself why only Jewish singers and Jewish musicians should perform this music. Certainly this music was not intended only for a small circle of listeners.

Considerations of this nature have led me to concentrate on the contribution of Russian Jewish composers as my final research project.

Throughout history music has played an essential part in human development. The role of music has always interpretively reflected the total life of a given civilization. In its sounds, harmonies, and rhythms it has articulated all the elements of a given civilization. In so doing, it has given emotional expression to its social, political and economic concerns. It has revealed the stability or instability of a civilization and bared the very soul and heartbeat of that civilization. One must always remember that the creation of music involves certain sophistication however small or great. It involves the existence on the one hand of some degree of leisure for the composer and an audience that is responsive to that kind of composition. We see this throughout the history of music. Therefore music like the pictorial arts provides a wonderful reliable expression of the realities of a civilization.

In biblical times for example music played an important role. We even see this in the story of David, elevated by tradition to be the most musical of all biblical figures, and Saul, when the women of all Israel joining in to the accompanied with drums song went to meet king Saul to celebrate his victory over the Philistines – “and the women answered

one another as they played and said, Saul has slain his thousands and David his ten thousands" (Samuel I 18:7). Certainly the psalms in the bible were intended for musical settings. They were created to give appreciation to the needs of the Jewish people during the days of their theocratic state ever since psalms were introduced as the texts for Levites musical choirs in the temple of Jerusalem. The text of psalm 150 is perhaps one of the most familiar one, - "Let all praise the lord, hallelujah".

With the rise of western civilization whose origins we may arbitrarily date around the year 500 C.E. in Western Europe we can trace the flourishing of its music. As a matter of fact it was Pope Gregory I (590-604), who collected and systematized the early music of the church, especially that music which came to be called Gregorian chant. Later on, as medieval civilization developed and attained the period of culture known as the Renaissance of the twelfth century, the university of Notre Dame in Paris discovered a new kind of music called the "organum". (Organum is Polyphony used in liturgical music from the late 9th century to c. 1250. There were several types of organum that developed during that time – parallel syllabic organum, modified parallel organum and free organum). The florescence of church music led to its standardization. This in turn engendered a new phenomenon in Western Europe, seeded by church music but definitely secular in nature. That was the phenomenon of the music of the French troubadours and trouveres, who were the poets and the singers in the courts of France. This was the time when in Germany we find the Meistersingers, professional singers and composers. Among whom there was at least one well known Jew.

In secular music as well as in church music since the time of the standardization of the Gregorian chant by the Pope Gregory I or perhaps even going back to the earlier

biblical times, it is obvious that the vocal music, the music that intended for the human voice, has been the predominant kind of music. Later in music history the polyphony was adopted by instrumental music, however its origins are in the vocal music.

With the coming of the Renaissance which can be said to have begun in Italy in the 13th century and which reached its arousal in Western Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries a developing interest in science and mathematics was applied to the musical tradition, which was enriched by it not just in the church but in secular circles as well. It was a major influence for the new style of polyphony, which was introduced around this time. The art of polyphonic compositions was explored by many composers, one of the first among them being Giovanni da Palestrina (1525-1594). (Missa Papae Marcelli, 1577, is perhaps one of the most famous compositions by Palestrina)

In the post Renaissance period known as the Baroque some composers began to disregard the older styles. The Baroque composers benefited from the frequent employment as court musicians. One of the finest examples of this new tradition is Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750). This court position gave these composers status and income and also induced if not compelled them to work prolifically and creatively. As a result they explored and developed new styles of musical compositions for the pleasure of their employers, the monarchs.

One must understand the social and political structure of this period to appreciate the extent and the quality of its musical composition. These contextual situations define the specific cultural standards that permitted this music to flourish. For example, it was during the Baroque period that we find the development of the musical forms of various

dances, mostly instrumental music, in direct proportion to the growing popularity of these dances as part of the social structure of the courts of the numerous monarchs.

It was during this time also that the genre of opera was first created. Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643) was one of the first composers to explore and master the art of opera. His opera "Orfeo" which was written in 1607 is considered to be the first major operatic composition of all the times. At the same time new genres of instrumental music, namely the concerto and suite, developed. Antonio Vivaldi (1678-1741) is perhaps one of the most prolific composers to explore and develop the concerto style. Over 500 concertos composed by Vivaldi are available today. However vocal and choral music was still the predominant form.

By the middle of the 18th century new styles of composition developed corresponding to new contextual realities. It was at this time during the period known as the Enlightenment that universal themes in philosophy and the arts were sought. The musical styles of opera and oratorio were being explored and flourished. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) is one of the major composers of that historical period. Mozart's operas such as "Don Giovanni" (1786), "Cosi fan tutte" (1790), "Die Zauberflote" (1791), his numerous string quartets and orchestral compositions, his new musical style with its elements of ritual and allegory about human harmony and enlightenment changed the musical world. It was also a time when sonata form was developed. Joseph Haydn (1732-1809) is considered to be the first one to explore and to develop this new style of musical form of composition – "sonata form".

Once again one might trace some of the characteristics of the enlightenment in the musical styles of that period, its universality, its great deal of rational structure, and its

pervasive humanism. As the enlightenment gives way to romanticism you begin to have a movement of emotion, passion and localism.

The defeat of Napoleon could be seen as a turning point in history and the arts, ushering in a new era known as Romanticism. Romanticism was an alternative to the enlightenment. Its roots had been developing for some period of time with political connections to the pre Napoleonic for which naturally opposed him. When they came to the fore after 1850 they facilitated the appearance of Romanticism with its harking back to ancient times and to the idealization of their individual localities and states. In a period to be known as romanticism one might discover a period which gave dominance to personal emotions to local pride, to national aspirations and to a new forms of literature, poetry and music. It was at this time when in the field of music we have the development of the art of lieder, song. Composers such as Robert Schumann (1810-1856), Franz Schubert (1797-1828), Johannes Brahms (1833-1897) are famous for their numerous compositions of lieder and song cycles. It was during that times different regions sought to discover their national identity. Many of the composers in this area following the same guidelines sought to discover the folk music of their national areas and translate them into contemporary musical form.

2. JEWISH MUSIC AS PART OF JEWISH CULTURE

When within this broader consideration of music we try to define Jewish music we run into the same problem that we have when we try to define anything else that is specifically Jewish. Are we to consider as Jewish music anything that is written by someone who is or claims to be or is regarded to be a Jew, or is there something intrinsic

about Jewish music that defines it over against its immediate environment and which at the same time connects to the heritage of Jewish music in the past? In other words, is there a connection between a chant from ancient Israel and a folk song sung by Jews from Poland or a sacred composition from a Russian synagogue?

Indeed, upon closer examination, it appears that any definition of Jewish music must take into account both elements that we have been discussing: on the one hand a sense of continuity with the Jewish past, however disparate the musical expression of the present may be, if for no other reason because there is a sense of continuity and substantive content of this music; but, on the other hand, it is necessary to keep in mind the ethnic and cultural backgrounds which connect all dimensions of Jewish music to their specific environments.

Music has always been an inseparable part of Jewish culture. At every stage of the historical development of the Jewish people we find references to music. We see it in the book of psalms: "Praise the Lord! Praise God in His sanctuary, Praise Him for His mighty acts; Praise Him according to His excellent greatness!", Psalm 150:1-2, and in the book of Isaiah when it says: "at the sound of pipes, cymbals and drums, and several other percussive instruments, those emasculated servants of the goddess Ishtar would march through the streets in procession"... (Isaiah 23:16) Little is known what kind of music was performed during those times, but it definitely existed as part of that ancient culture.

The Bible mentions musical instruments for the first time already in the book of Genesis (4:21), where it tells the story of Jubal – "The father of all such as handle the kinnor and uggav". Instruments such as drum, harp, timbres-drums and cymbals are constantly mentioned in the books of Bible. These musical instruments usually

accompanied the ancient Hebrews in their joyous occasions, such as, for example, the procession of people accompanying king David, one of the most musical characters of the Bible, when he brought the ark of the Lord up to Jerusalem. This description appears in two places in the book of II Samuel 6:5 "all manner of instruments made of cypress wood, and with kinnorot (harps), and with nevalim (psalteries), and with tupim (timbrels), and with menane'im (sistra), and with tsiltseim (cymbals)". In the second mention of the same event in I Chronicles 13:8, we find that David and all Israel "played before God with all their might, and with singing, and with harps, and with psalteries, and with timbrels, and with cymbals and with trumpets".

It says in the book of II Chronicles 5:12 that in the temple of Solomon "The Levites who were the singers...being arrayed in fine linen, having cymbals and psalteries and harps, stood at the east end of the altar, and with them an hundred and twenty priests sounding trumpets". Some musical instruments such as the shofar for example were raised to a higher position due to belief that its sound could frighten the enemies and keep evil at bay. Or it could also be the instrument of God himself when there was a need to bring the Hebrews to God's attention. Therefore, it says in Zechariah (9:14-15): "and the Lord God will blow the horn...The Lord of hosts will defend them".

Piyyutim were another poetic and musical form to express the emotional needs of the Jewish people during ancient times. Piyyut is the poetry that was written for use in the synagogue service beginning in Talmudic or more specifically Amoraic times. In many ancient congregations it was customary to use poetic versions of the prayers instead of the standard prose versions. The cantor was expected to compose a different version of the service for a special occasion. The composition of piyyutim was one of the most

important artistic activities of the Jews throughout the Middle Ages. Many of the piyyutim are still recited today. For example, the piyyut "Adir hu" is traditionally sung during the Passover Seder.

Certainly biblical chanting or cantillation which was systematized and canonised by the Masoretes, the Hebrew scholars during the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries, is another example of the Jewish musical tradition. At the beginning biblical cantillation was melodically shaped speech intonation, which was intended to accent the most important words and syllabi. However, later on, this tradition was developed into a specific system of tropes or biblical musical configurations.

Our religious tradition tells us that when the Hebrews escaped from Egypt they rejoiced together in song accompanied by Miriam's dancing and the playing of the timbrels by the Red Sea. Musical references could be easily found in our everyday liturgy even today. "": Moshe uvnei Israel lecha anu shira besimcha rabba ve amru culam ...Mi chamocho baelim adonay..." Here is another example that perhaps, without realizing it, suggests that even back in the times of the Exodus music played a significant part in Hebrew life.

The above-mentioned examples are just a few from many that illustrate the frequency with which music is mentioned as part of Jewish life and worship. Every sort of popular rejoicing or celebration is accompanied by music.

With the development of Western civilization Jewish artists played a significant role in music history, not just as Jewish composers but also as world-recognized musicians. One of the early examples of this phenomenon is Salomone Rossi (1570-1630), the Italian composer. Salomone Rossi worked as a musician at the court of Mantua

in Italy from 1587 until 1628. Rossi was a prolific composer, who made a significant impact during the Renaissance period. He was a gifted secular composer who collaborated with the greatest composers of that era such as Monteverdi. As well as secular music Rossi devoted himself to synagogue music. He wrote numerous settings of psalms and prayers. To promote the Hebrew language he wrote prolifically in Hebrew. His first collection *Hashirim Asher Lishlomo*, the *Songs of Solomon*, was printed in Venice in October of 1622.

To understand the history of Jewish music in Eastern Europe and particularly in Russia it is important to understand the development of Jewish life in Eastern Europe. Jewish life in Eastern Europe presents an interesting combination of ideological and religious influences which began in the feudal period along the Rhine in Western Europe and became the tonal elements of Jewish life for a variety of different ethnic groups that became assimilated into Judaism. It was here in feudal Europe after the disappearance of the earlier small Jewish communities in the areas that we now call France and western Germany that the Jewish population gradually grew. The area of this development came to be called Ashkenazi. The term Ashkenaz comes from the book of Genesis (10:3). The origins of the word, however, are unknown. The "Ashkenazi" culture that developed along the Rhine eventually spread all over Europe from west to east and became the tonal and dominant culture of all Jews of those areas. Indeed, as time went on, a form of the German language which came to be called Yiddish Teutsch or simply Yiddish became the tonal language of all people who were Jewish in Eastern Europe, this despite the fact that many of these people also spoke local languages of various kinds. Yet the road of Jewish continuity was their Ashkenazi heritage and the Yiddish language. To be sure the

initial languages of most Ashkenazi Jewry were not Yiddish but their local ones. Along the Rhine Jews spoke different dialects. The migrations of Jewish nuclei from west to east was due to historical circumstances. It was through these circumstances that Jewish communities of central and Eastern Europe were developed. It is important to realize that these communities did not develop in the age of nationalism.

In order to understand the history of Jewish music in Eastern Europe and particularly in Russia one might find it helpful to explore some chapters of the history of Jewish settlements in Eastern Europe. Some of the oldest Jewish settlements of Eastern Europe were in Germany around the Rhine and Main. Once again we can not forget or ignore the certain given elements of any process of immigration, which derive from with new climatic conditions, new cultural and social changes.

As Jewish culture influenced and interacted with Christian art in the beginning of the tenth and eleventh century in the same manner Jewish musical artistry started to be influenced by the Christian art, which surrounded Jews in the local areas of their new settlements.

Difficult social conditions that Jews were forced to live in could easily explain such artistic motion. To be sure, German music was enriched by the art of minnesingers and meistersingers, and, starting with the sixteen century, by the development of the Protestant movement which brought German poetry and music to a higher level. Although Jews were forced to leave Germany and to move to Eastern Europe and Italy, they already carried the influences of their cultural florescence.

3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN JEWRY AND ITS MUSICAL ELEMENT

It was in 988 when Russia under the monarchy of Prince Vladimir formerly adopted Christianity in its Eastern and Byzantine configuration. In the Russian church the Byzantine chant developed into "znamennyi raspev", which was very similar to the Gregorian chant previously discussed in this paper. Znamennyi raspev was notated with "kryuki" (neumes), a system similar to the notation of Jewish cantillation. One might find an interesting parallel development among these three branches within the music history such as Judaism and Jewish art of cantillation, Christian Gregorian chant and its neumes and Russian znamennyi raspev and its kryuki (neumes), due to the same time frame of the development of these three systems.

The znamenyi chant was always sung without instrumental accompaniment and was strictly organized into eight groups. Once again one might found a similarity between the above and the art of Torah cantillation. Both are elements of sacred music, both demand previous knowledge of musical chanting, and lastly both are strictly organized.

Little is known about secular music in Russia during the middle Ages. However there are a few references to the art of "skomorochi". "Skomorochi" or jongleurs were the traveling artists who performed their songs along the streets of ancient Russia. They were among the latest derivatives of the troubadours and jongleurs who traversed Province and the rest of the French and Western German territories in the High Middle Ages. Skomorokhim were pursued and persecuted by the church, which claimed that they were inspired by the devil.

Under the rule of Ivan Groznyi, Ivan the Terrible, (1533-84), Russia significantly increased its contact with Western civilization. Russian music became influenced by Western artists and musicians. The development of instrumental music, the use of musical instruments such as the organ were innovations in Russia but were accepted in due to their popularity in Western world. Particularly under the rule of Peter the Great (1672-1725), who promoted the increased influence of Western culture in Russia, the notion of inviting foreign musicians was very popular and became a kind of a fashion. This policy was adopted by later Russian monarchs as well. By introducing the style of Western art Peter the Great tried to promote culture and progress within Russia itself. As part of his development plan he invented Russian "balls" or elaborate assemblies of Russian higher nobility, where they were obliged to perform various recently learned European dances.

The notion of large military instrumental bands became popular under the monarchy of Peter the Great as well. Therefore it became fashionable to invite and to employ Western instrumentalists and musicians. It seems that under the rule of Peter the Great Russian culture and art began to flourish and became open to a newer Western influence. The founding of St.Petersburg in 1703 as a window to the West is perhaps one of many great achievements of Tsar Peter.

Along with other innovations of Peter the Great the art of operatic singing was imported from Italy and introduced to Russian audiences. Later by the middle of eighteen century Russians had developed their own style of opera. A few of Russia's noble families even had their own private opera companies. However the first opera manager to run the opera theater was Italian man by the name of Locatelli. By 1780 the interest in

operatic art had grown significantly and several public opera houses had been opened in St. Petersburg.

Under the monarchy of Catherine the Great (1762-1796) the art of opera developed even further. Many of the Italian, German and French operas along with some Russian operas were performed on a daily basis in different opera theaters in St. Petersburg and Moscow. Catherine II, as well as Peter the Great, was very interested in foreign, Western-European culture and was determined to open Russia's borders to foreign artists.

The first Russian opera to be staged and sung entirely in Russian was Michail Glinka's (1804-1857) historical drama *A Life For The Tsar*, which was performed in 1836.

Along with operatic life Russia was flourishing with many instrumental concerts. It is important to understand that the cultural life of Russia during these years was mainly centered in St. Petersburg and Moscow. While these two cities were blossoming with culture, history and art the rest of Russia remained mainly uncultured and illiterate. Within the growth of cultural development in Russia foreign musicians were still the dominant element in Russian concert life.

In 1802 a Philharmonic Society was established in St. Petersburg and began to be the main organizing force of many cultural events in Russia. Grand concerts and performances were organized by this society. World-renowned compositions such as several masses composed by Haydn (1732-1809), the requiem of Mozart (1756-1791) and the first performance of *Missa Solemnis* by Beethoven in 1824, were introduced to Russian audiences by the Philharmonic Society of St. Petersburg.

One can notice that musical life in Russia was becoming a significant element of the entire Russian cultural sphere. Therefore new musical norms were developed as part of the cultural changes in Russian society. It is, however, important to understand that within Russian society there were at least two completely different semi societies: the Russian nobility and illiterate Russians, who mainly lived outside of the large cities such as St. Petersburg and Moscow.

It was particularly the city of St.Petersburg beginning with the time of its establishment in 1703 by Peter the Great as Russia's "Window to the West" and during the monarchies of Elizabeth (the daughter of Peter the Great) and Catherine the Great that the city of St. Petersburg, named after Peter the Great, became the European cultural center of the entire Russia. One of the many European architects who came to St. Petersburg was Bartolomeo Francesco Rastrelli (1700-1771). In 1716 Bartolomeo Francesco Rastrelli, the son of the architect and sculptor Carlo Bartolomeo Rastrelli came with his father to St.Petersburg to design some of the world cultural treasures as the Winter Palace, which became the Hermitage under the rule of Catherine the Great in 1762, and the Smolny Cathedral.

As new social and artistic norms were developing in Russia new musical elements were added to its cultural etiquette. It became a fashion among the Russian nobility to compose songs or "romances" that were usually based on Russian folk music. While the higher Russian hierarchy kept itself entertained by composing the Romances, the simple Russians sang their folk songs, which were orally transmitted through many generations. With the development of the printing of music by the middle of the eighteen century many amateur musicians began to publish their compositions. One of the first collections

of Russian songs was published in 1751 by an amateur musician named Teplov. The art of Russian "romance" or song grew significantly with the development of musical printing. Many important Russian composers such as Michail Glinka, (1804-1857), for example, explored the art of romance.

As to the sacred music, the art of the Court Chapel Choir gradually became the dominant element within the world of Russian sacred music. Many composers such as Dimitryi Bortnyansky (1751-1825) for example, made it their musical mission to develop and explore sacred choral music for various church choirs in Russia.

There are reasons to believe that the penetration of Jews into the territories now included within the Russian borders began at the shores of the Black Sea. Some legends connect the arrival of the Jews in Armenia and Georgia with the Ten Lost Tribes (c. 721 B.C.E.) or with the Babylonia Exile (586 B. C. E.). More evidence, such as inscriptions on tombstones, verifies the existence of some Jewish settlements along the shores of the Black Sea. Due to religious persecutions in the Byzantine Empire, and the wars between the Muslims and Persians during the seventh century Jews emigrated and settled in the Caucasus area. In the Middle Ages some Jews were merchants traveling through the Slavonic and Khazar lands on their journey to India and China. They were known in Hebrew as the "Holkhei Rusyah".

During the first half of the eighth century the king of the Khazars and his court converted to Judaism for political reasons. This kingdom of the Jewish Khazars is mentioned in ancient Russian literature as the "Land of Jews", or "Zhidovin", and became the centerpiece of Jehuda Halevi's famous work the *Cuzari*. There are even some indications that when Prince Vladimir of Kiev accepted Orthodox Christianity there were

Jews living in Kiev. The Jews there lived under the protection of the prince. When in 1117 Prince Vladimir II attacked the previous monarch he as well destroyed many houses of Jews.

The invasion of the Mongols (1237) and their government were years of suffering for many Jews of Russia. At the same time the communities of Rabbanites as well as Karaites developed in the area of Feodosiya, in the Crimea.

From the beginning of the fourteenth century the Lithuanians obtained central power over Western Russia. Under Lithuania Jews were granted important privileges at the end of fourteenth century. It was during these times from beginning of the fourteenth century till the sixteenth century that many important Jewish communities were established in the areas that later formed the Ukraine and Byelorussia. It was during those years that Jewish culture and autonomy was blooming and highly developing.

At the same time within the borders of Moscow Jews were not tolerated. Jews were among other foreigners who were unwelcome; they were considered to be enemies of the state. During the 1470s the religious sect known in Russia as "Zhidovstvuyushchiye" was discovered in Novgorod, one of the most important commercial cities of Russia and at the court of Moscow. The Jews were persecuted for establishing this sect. It was Tsar Ivan Grosnyi (1530-84) who upon his occupation of Pskov ordered all the Jews who did not agree to convert to Christianity to be drowned in the river. During those times Jews were not allowed legally in Russia. A few of them entered Russia illegally on the trading routes from Poland and Lithuania and settled in small towns along the Russian borders.

In 1648-49 the Chmielnicki pogroms destroyed many of the Jewish communities of the Ukraine. Sometime later the Muscovite armies tortured the Jews in the cities of Lithuania and Byelorussia that now fell into the Muscovite's hands. With all the exile and tortures that Jews of Poland, Ukraine and Byelorussia had experienced during the times of the divisions of Poland at the end of eighteenth century most of these Jewish communities fell under Russian rule.

In 1742 the Czarina Elizabeth, the daughter of the Peter the Great, ordered to the expulsion of all the Jews living within her kingdom. When the senate tried to bring to her attention that this would cause her some economic loss she responded: "I do not want any benefit from the enemies of Christ"

At the same time as Czarina Elizabeth was investing her money and energy in trying to continue her father's dream and to open Russian borders to European artists she was making sure that Jews were not welcome and had nothing to do with the cultural blooming of Russian monarchy.

The question of authorizing the entry of Jews with the purpose for trading arose again when Catherine the Great became the ruler of Russia in 1762. Being a smart leader she intended to accept the authorization but her opinion was tabled by the strong rejection of the senate. Some Jews however entered Russia and settled in small communities within Russian borders. Others were part of the Jewish communities, which were conquered by the Russians from Turkey in 1768. Following the three partitions of Poland in 1772, 1793, 1795 several Jewish communities fell within the new Russian borders.

The Jews who lived in the communities within the new Russian borders after the first partition of Poland in 1772 were financially independent and supported themselves

by trading and merchandising. They formed a middle class between the Russian nobility and Russian enslaved peasants.

In 1791 Catherine the Great issued a decree in which the permanent settlements of Jews were not allowed within her kingdom. The area where most of the Russian and Polish Jews settled became known as the Pale of Settlement. The economic situation of the Jews however gradually deteriorated with the establishment of the Pale of Settlement. The autonomy of the Jewish community was still recognized and their traditional education was allowed. When these communities fell under Russian government many of them were heavily in debt. Severe economic difficulties, including high tax assessments payments, compelled many Jews to leave their own settlements and move into villages or to the estates of the nobility.

As a result of the three partitions of Poland in the late eighteen century, Russia acquired the large mass of Polish Jewry predominately within the regions of Podolia, Bohemia, and the Ukraine. The vast majority of these Jews were by any stretch of the imagination pre-modern. That is, they were engaged in medieval type occupations, and lived in an insular fashion by themselves under their own rule, which had been sanctioned by their host government. In a real sense they were hardly fit to participate in the struggle for modernization, which Peter the Great and Catherine the Great had correctly seen as the best option for the development of the Russian Empire.

From that time on the Russian czars appeared, at least on the surface, to reflect a contradictory attitude toward their new Jewish subjects. This attitude, in reality, was not contradictory at all but highly consistent with their policies. It must be remembered that the main policy of the Russian czars was to transform their state into an efficient modern

machine. Therefore, consistent with this policy, would be the conversion of the Jewish group from pre-modern to modern occupations and to a divestment of their pre-modern ways including their language, which was Yiddish, and their dress, which was essentially Polish, and their quasi-autonomy under Talmudic law, and to make all of them Russians in the sense in which the other Russians were Russian. Naturally this policy of the czars was not universally accepted by all of the higher echelons of their subordinate nobility, who saw this policy as in effect favoring the policies of centralization by the czars at their expense and, secondly, favoring the Jews who as subjected to the czar directly could be marshaled against them instead of being localized as their own local servants and their own local scapegoats. Recognizing this fact, the czars, partially to appease their subordinate nobles and at the same time partially to accelerate the desire for the modernization of Jews, took severe actions against the Jews within the areas where they lived, which, as we have mentioned, came to be called the Pale of Settlement. They added extra taxes on the Jews, much to the delight of their local business competitors; they limited the areas of Jewish residence, and they continued to support sporadic acts of anti-Jewish feeling and violence, all of this to siphon off the discontent of the local peasants and their leaders, which would otherwise have been directed against them. At the same time some leading spokesmen for the czars proposed, at least on an idealistic plane, the complete removal of the distinctiveness that separated Jews from the rest of the Russian population. They proposed that Jews assume second names, that they relinquish their customs and specific ways of life, and that they enter at some age into the general Russian educational system. Obviously, and on the basis of what we have already said, these ideal constructions could not been destined to be carried out effectively and without

resistance on the part of the lesser nobles, in whose interest it was to prevent the Jews from doing what the czar wanted.

Thus, for example, in line with the Czar's policies, one of the great senators in Russia, namely the poet Derzhavin in the year 1800 urged the czar to embark upon a program of modernization of the Jews. In this he was essentially supported by leading modern Jews, among them Nathan Shklover, who was a prosperous merchant in St. Petersburg, and others who wanted the Jews to be involved in their modern manufacturing and agricultural techniques. It was suggested that Jewish boys over the age of twelve certainly, and some may have said even earlier, should be compelled to attend only Russian schools.

All of these events occurred during the reign of Paul the First (1796-1801). His successor, Alexander the First (1801-1825), proceeded along the same seemingly dichotomous path, which was indeed a single minded policy. In 1802 Alexander I appointed a commission for the purpose of what he called the improvement of Jewish conditions in White Russia and in other areas that had been acquired as the result of the partitions of Poland. However, this commission understandably was hampered in its work and, when it failed to emerge with any important achievements, the enemies of this process prevailed and in 1804 they succeeded in keeping Jews out of Russia proper and confining all Jews to certain areas: five in Lithuania and White Russia, five in the Ukraine or Little Russia and five in New Russia. Jews were also to be evicted from all other villages. At the same time they restricted many of the pre-modern economic activities in which Jews had been engaged in these areas and left open the opportunity for Jews to leave these areas if they in fact showed a promise of engaging in more modern

occupations. The same decree opened public schools to Jews and allowed Jews to open new schools with Russian, Polish and German as obligatory languages, and compelled rabbis to become proficient in these languages. At the same time it reduced the scope of their rabbinic authority, in effect, reducing this authority to what we would call ritual matters.

This struggle between the old way and the new way was a struggle that pervaded the higher echelons of Russian society. At the same time it created factions within the Jewish group. The advanced factions wanted to see an acculturation of Jews to Russian modernization, not necessarily to the point of full assimilation but understandably to some greater compromise with the Russian way of life. At the same time other factions of Jews, doubtless representing the majority of the Jews, and with them the rabbis who feared and refused modernization, recognizing it as an instrument of the further reduction of their own power, greatly resisted all change and struggled against the leadership of their own new guard.

The struggles here both among the non-Jewish Russian leaders and the Jewish leaders themselves were banked with the entry of Napoleon's troops into Russia. This major event united Russians against the invasions of the French troops, and, in addition, served the purposes of the Old Guard in both the Jewish and non-Jewish camps, for the legitimate reason that Napoleon's armies brought with them a great thrust toward enlightenment and therefore in favor of all institutions of modernizations. Therefore it is not surprising that among the Russian leadership the Old Guard should have had reasons to prevent Jewish acculturation while at the same time using and abusing Jews at war. It is not surprising that a parallel pattern was to be seen among Jews, to such a degree that

for the first time the leaders of the Hassidim and the leaders of the Mitnagdim ganged together in a mutual struggle against not only Napoleon but also the ideas that Napoleon brought with him.

With the defeat of Napoleon in 1812, understandably the Old Guard came back and remained very strong for many many decades, fighting off the ideas of the New Guard among the Russian and the Jewish leadership, which in both cases grew and pleaded for the modernization of Russia for the sake of Russian strength and survival.

These struggles were already visible during the reign of the Alexander I (1801-1825). Therefore he took certain steps to favor Jewish acculturation, and, even beyond, the assimilation of Jews into Russian Christian society. On the other hand Alexander I exercised discrimination against Jews in general, forbidding them to employ Christian servants or to become masters of serfs. All of this shows the instability of Russian leadership vis-à-vis the problems of the Old Guard and New Guard.

Alexander's successor, Nicholas I (1825-1855) tried to promote the process of "Russification or civilizing". In 1827 Czar Nicholas issued a new decree in which he ordered that seven twelve years old boys among every hundred Jewish boys were to serve in the Russian army for twenty five years. He as well in 1830 issued another ukase, where he established a new tax for Jews in the Pale of Settlement, according to which Jews now were obliged to pay twice as much as their Christians neighbors. Due to all these harsh new legal developments in the nineteen century in Russia many Jews felt compelled to be baptized and to accept Christianity. For example, two of the most important Jewish musicians, scholars and educators, Anton and Nicholas Rubenstein, who later in their life made a significant impact on the establishment of the music conservatory in

St. Petersburg, were baptized during this period (1831). Baptized Jews were freed of paying taxes for three years. They, as well, were given a choice to settle in the territories beyond the Settlement. These valetudinarian efforts reflected the victory of the Old Guard forces over the forces of modernization.

These forces showed some progress during the reign of Alexander II (1856-1881), when the process of "Russification" continued and Jews were given increasing opportunities. These included the acceptance of Jewish children to high schools and to some degree the higher educational level. Jewish scholars and professionals, obviously as part of the modernization process desired by the czars, had greater accessibility than ever before to various parts of Russia. However, this period of relative openness was short lived, because after the assassination of the Czar Alexander II, his son Alexander III (1881-1896) found himself compelled to favor the interest of the Old Guard to decrease opportunities for the Jewish population. In this regard in 1887 a new ukase limited the number of Jewish students admitted to high schools and universities and series of pogroms began to be unleashed against the Jews in the Pale of Settlement, all of this intended to siphon off the forces of the Old Guard and the growing forces of the extreme left which threatened ultimately incite of revolution. As a matter of fact things got to the point where in 1891 Jewish professionals were compelled to leave Moscow and forbidden from sustaining their businesses there.

In this situation favoring the Old Guard Nicholas II (1896-1917) presided over a Russia that was in the throes of revolution, where the modernists were lacking in tonal power, but nevertheless growing more numerous and radical and the Old Guard led by Nicholas II increasingly determined to impose a lid on all of their activities and

symbolically upon the Jews. Pogroms became increasingly frequent, and the number of Jewish students in high schools or universities was restricted. At the same time after the assassination of Alexander II the doors of emigration were opened for Jews and between the years 1881 to 1910 approximately a million Jews emigrated from Russia to the United States.

With regard to Jewish life itself the following observations are appropriate. To begin with there were the modernizing Jews, who could be placed into two major categories: Jews who wished to throw off all traces of their Jewish heritage to the point of accepting the Russian Orthodox Church, that being their main option in these areas since pure official secularization was not possible. The other group was interested in maximum acculturation without a loss of some degree of Jewish identity, which then meant primarily a Jewish identity along religious lines. Within the second group of modernizing Jews fall the Maskilim. The Maskilim were the "enlightened" ones who were interested in maximum halakhic observance and ritual observance in general while seeking to acculturate in language, clothing and education to that of the general environment. The Maskilim were spiritual descendents of Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), one of the first scholars of the Enlightenment in Germany and his followers. All of them sought a rapprochement between the traditional teachings of Judaism and the modernized opportunities of the secular world. The Maskilim emphasized a revival of Hebrew, and were opposed to the use of Yiddish, which they considered to be premodern. Moses Mendelssohn made a great translation of the Torah into German with the Hebrew characters for the purpose of teaching Jews wished to be enlightened the German language. One of the most important organizations of haskalah movement in Russia was

the Society for the Spread of Enlightenment among the Jews of Russia, founded in 1863 in St. Petersburg with the financial support of the Gunsburg family.

Among other Jews who were largely pre-modern, two main groups could be identified. One was the group of the "Mitnagdim" or the "protestants". The term "mitnaged" (or mitnagdim in plural) was a term of opprobrium and disparagement given to them by their opponents the "Hassidim". However, the Mitnagdim were the older and more traditionally authentic group. They emphasized the primacy of Jewish study and the observance of the mitzvot, though at the same time they were able to keep an open mind to the latest scientific discoveries and techniques in the outside world, provided that these did not challenge their view of the continuity of the Jewish faith and the tradition as they understood it. Thus essentially their view of the Jewish tradition was one where they recognized change, but they did not officially state so and they maintained an idea of solid if not monolithic continuity.

With the decline of the European world, beginning in the middle of the seventeenth century and therefore the Jewish world in it, there came a great deal of poverty, degradation, ignorance, illiteracy and a decreasing interaction between the lower classes of the Jewish population and the upper classes from which and into which many of the scholars and rabbis had married and with which they were now allied. There was therefore a big gap between the outlook of the rabbinic mitnaged establishment, which was relatively comfortable and devoted itself to study, and their supporters on the one hand and the large increasing numbers of people who were deprived, destitute, and limited and who nevertheless were under the jurisdiction of these rabbis, who gave these

people less and less time and attention and yet wished them to pay the dues they were required to pay for the general community establishment.

It was a result of these dire-circumstances and the increasing numbers of these disoriented Jews suffering from the terrible effects of the post 1650 depression, which incidentally included also many pogroms against the Jews, of which the Chmelnizkyi massacres of 1656 were the most significant, that Hassidism arose. The term "Hassid" means the pious one, but it was a technical term adopted by the Hassidim themselves. The leaders of the Hassidic community, including its putative founder, Israel Baal Shem Tov (1719-1760) had been parts of the old mitnaged rabbinic establishment. However, these leaders were not centrists; they were actually out of authority and in danger of losing much of their authority, and therefore they were in search of new constituencies within Judaism. These second and third echelon leaders of Jewry became the leaders of the Hassidic movement and ultimately brought to its people a sense of purpose and meaning in life by deemphasizing that which the large number of their followers could not do and that is to devote themselves to a life of placidity and study, but instead providing them with miraculous healing on the one hand, which essentially amount to psychological consolation, and on the other with a sense of growth and spirit filled with music and joy for their troubled souls.

The fact that these teachers were part of the second and third echelon leadership of the old rabbinic, and now we can call it mitnaged establishment is nowhere better seen than in the fact that the first great ideologue of the Hassidic movement was Jacob Joseph HaCohen of Pollona, whose great book *Toldot Yakov Yoseph*, a commentary on the Torah, which in effect presents a pro-hassidic polemic, had been one of the leaders of the

Mitnagdim. His work, which appeared in the year 1780, twenty years after the death of the Baal Shem Tov, precedes all other hassidic works including the texts of the *Shivhei ha-Besht* which appeared in two separate editions in the same year 1815. These new hassidic leaders eventually came to be called "Zaddikim". The term "Zaddik" means the righteous one", but a term "zaddik" in effect was a technical word to be utilized in opposition to the technical term rabbi. These zaddikim were in essence the direct followers of the miracle workers who themselves had been part of the mitnaged tradition. The miracle workers in the middle of the eighteen century who went around giving people consolation, healing advice and some sense of connection to Judaism and to God, which they thought they had lost.

The Hassidim eventually fell into many groups indeed on entire spectrum of groups, sometimes in sharp opposition to one another as they are until this day. They also showed opposition to the mitnagdim within the area of halakhah by adopting different prayer times, by different clothing and even different shehita knives, all within halakhah but all to show that they were separate and to maintain the separateness from the mitnagdim. They emphasized music and song, joy and gladness, and many of their musical tunes, not uninfluenced by the general environment, have become part of the classical heritage of subsequent Judaism.

By the end of the nineteenth century a new umbrella of movements emerged within the Jewish communities. Many of them were influenced by the "enlightened" Jews and comprehended large segments of the pre-modern Jewish population as their followers. They all had in common an increased secularization, which was a natural by-product of the development of modernization, and which became a live option in Russia

as it did in other countries as the nineteenth century moved on. This secularization meant that although these groups could rely on their religious ideology, it was not primary for them, and their working ideas could come from the ideas of the secular world around them. This was especially the case with the new concepts of nationhood and peoplehood, which had been developing their own mythology, certainly from the middle of the eighteenth century on and definitely after the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, which in effect ushered in the era of romanticism, where all of these ideas took stronger root.

Within the Jewish group there were various nationalist groups. One of these was the Bund, or the league of Jewish workers, who were not interested in leaving their Russian settlement, but wanted to have their own cultural autonomy, or as they called it "national autonomy". They were interested in having their own language, which they claimed to be Yiddish, and various public rights for the language and in other areas for themselves as participants of a broader Russian community. One of the leading voices for this type of Judaism and similar groups was Simon Dubnow (1860-1941), the great historian of Jewry whose works on the history of the Jews of Russia and Poland and whose *History of the Jewish People* reflect this tendency toward the internal self-contained autonomous Jewish nationalism based around the Yiddish language and secular culture.

The other major group were the Zionists, who themselves comprised as an umbrella of organizations, one of the most important parts of which was the "Hovevei Zion". The Zionists adopted and incorporated traditional Jewish ideas such as the "Shivat Zion" and the centrality of the Hebrew language, but these were essentially subordinated to a nationalistic cause, which in effect was secular in nature. The Zionist organizations

in Russia grew enormously, and while they were at one with the fundamental ideas of the leadership of modern Zionism that came from Germany and Theodor Herzl (1860-1904), as expressed most particularly in his work *Der Judenstaat* (1897), nevertheless they differed radically with the Westerners who were also nationalistic, but were indifferent to the place, where Jewish nationalism should take root. Herzl was prepared to go to Uganda for example, and to organize a Jewish state in which German culture if not the German language and German type institutions were predominant; while the Eastern Zionists that is in the Polish and Russian areas, also wanted modern nationalistic institutions, but they insisted on Eretz Israel as the venue for a Jewish state and on the Hebrew language as the vehicle for its national and cultural expression. As this went on, the Eastern European Zionists won their battle, not after a long struggle and particularly with the Sixth Zionist Congress in 1904, where Hertzl suffered a great political defeat and died shortly thereafter.

Zionism was also reflected in various noble groups of *inteleghenzia*, who were meeting in private houses and salons. One of such smaller private groups was organized in Moscow by professor Zachrayev around 1890. Among those who were part of this group were Joel Engel, the editor of Russian-Jewish journal, "Rasviet", Abraham D. Idelsohn (1882-1938), the historian, Pesach Marek (1862-1920), an accountant who devoted his time to study Jewish history and culture and many others.

All of the above played a significant role in the future of Russian Jewry. Not less a significant role was to be played by the large number of Russian Jews who emigrated during the period of the great exodus of 1882 to 1910 and who spread throughout the

modern Western world, in which they took their place alongside all other elements of their modernizing societies.

4. NATIONALISM IN RUSSIA

When Jewish nationalism began to develop and to flourish in Russia, music, once again, played a significant role as one of the expressions of the entire nationalistic movement. The year 1898 could perhaps mark the beginning of the Russian Jewish nationalistic movement, when two historians Pesach Marek (1862-1920) and Saul Ginsburg (1866-1940) published an article in the journals, "Hamelits" (the Advocate), "Hatsefirah" (Morning), and "Voskhod" (the Dawn), in which they described their plan to issue a collection of Jewish folk songs. Devotes of the Haskalah movement, these two scholars, though being not professional musicians, were trying to look into the Jewish past hoping to discover a Jewish national music while the leaders of the Russian national musical movement, along with Rimsky-Korsakov and "Moguchayah Kutchka" were busy collecting their own Russian national resources. Jewish scholars and musicians along with Russian scholars and musicians began to tour throughout Russia, and in the Jewish case, going to the areas of the Pale of Settlement with a hope to find folk treasures. These two historians, Pesach Marek and Saul Ginsburg, were not the only ones who became interested in the history of Russian Jewry.

It was around during that time (1898) that Sholom Aleichem, the famous Jewish Yiddish writer, came across a folk singer and a poet named Mark Warshawski (1845-1907) and tried to convince him to publish some of his works. Warshawski, a professional attorney, lived in Odessa and liked to tour along the areas of Pale of

Settlement with the same interest as the others, trying to find as many original Jewish folk tunes and texts as possible. Joel Engel, one of the most significant Russian Jewish scholars and musicians, whose influence upon the Jewish nationalistic development in the years to come was extraordinary, so too was traveling in the Jewish areas looking for and transcribing Jewish folk melodies. He did so during the summer of the year 1897 after his historical meeting with Vladimir Stassov (1824-1906), one of the main leaders of Russian Nationalistic movement, historian and scholar, who was trying to encourage his Jewish friends to research and investigate their own Jewish resources.

It is important to mention, that although the publishing industry was well developed in Russia during the end of the nineteenth century, most of the original Russian as well as Jewish folk tunes, were still transmitted orally, this created a need for the composers interested in learning the "authentic" melodies to travel and to transcribe the tunes by themselves.

Many Russian scholars and musicians such as Anton Rubenstein, Modest Mussorgsky, and Nickolai Rimsky-Korsakov, along with Jewish scholars and musicians recognized the interactions and interrelationships between Russian and Jewish "authentic" art. This fact was especially true during the times when oral tradition was the predominant one, where Russian and Jewish folk melodies were transmitted orally from one generation to another. This explains the fact that during later years many well established Russian Jewish composers chose to take a Jewish folk tune and to develop it into the art song, based upon the traditional tune. Among the Jewish scholars, who accepted and supported the interaction between Russian and Jewish cultures was Eliyohu Orshanki (1846-1875), a publicist, who in 1866 came fore with the article, "On the

Isolation of the Jews", in which he illustrates the interaction between the Jewish folk song and Slavic folk song, as well as the influence of the music of Synagogue and Jewish folk song during that time.

It is important to remember that the main vehicle of Synagogue music were the Hazzanim, who by virtue of their duties developed individual styles and specialties within the sacred Ashkenazi spectrum. Hazzanim, usually great singers, used to travel and to adopt various musical elements from all over the Europe into their compositions. The Eastern Hazzanim during those times of the beginning of the nineteenth century could be generally divided into two groups: hazzanim with a nice vocal ability, and great self performance and composers, and secondly, hazzanim with poor vocal abilities, but great and prolific composers and choir-directors. The hazzanim of the first group tented to create their own schools, where they taught not just their repertoire but mainly their own style and technique. For example, one of these hazzanim was Joseph Altshul, called "Yoshe Slonimer" (1840-1906). He was born in Wilna and served later in his life as a hazzan in Lithuania, Slonim and eventually in Horodna. He possessed a great basso-voice; he was a highly educated musician and a prolific composer.

From the second group of hazzanim the best example could be Nissi Belzer, who had a poor voice, but was a great choir director and talented and prolific composer. Despite his vocal abilities he became a hazzan in several important Jewish cities such as for example, Kishinev and Berdichev. None of these hazzanim, however, was interested in Jewish folk tunes. They considered it to be less noble to search or to adopt Jewish folk melodies into their repertoire

The response to the article published by Ginsburg and Marek was overwhelming. Music began to arrive from all over Russia. Though not professional musicians the two historians handed over the musical responsibility to their friend Joel Engel. Joel Engel in 1905 after several years of organizing the newly incoming material published his *First Album of Ten Jewish Folk songs*. During the year 1900 a significant illustrated lecture was given by Ginsburg at the Moscow Polytechnic Museum. This public concert-lecture was sponsored by the music division of the "Imperial Society for Natural Science, Anthropology and Ethnography". Several Jewish folk songs arranged by Engel were performed at this concert. This event proved to be a great success.

The significance of this concert could be hardly overestimated. It was a great achievement on several aspects. First, it proved to the entire Russian population that Jewish folk song does exist. Secondly, it gave strength and new force for the other Jewish composers to come forward with their own discoveries and compositions. In April of 1901 the same type of lecture was given in the St. Petersburg Conservatory. In some of his later articles Engel said: "It is true that we have such songs which have come down to the folk masses from unknown sources of olden, long forgotten times; or they may have been written recently, almost before our very eyes. But these have become widely accepted among the folk masses because of their folk character".¹

As all Russia was facing the new times of modernization and nationalism Jewish musicians played an important part in the development of the musical life and education of their country Russia. It was through the courage and organizational labor of the two Rubenstein brothers, Anton and Nicholas, that Russian musical life began to be

¹ Engel, Joel. "An Answer to Sholom Aleichem," *Der Yid*, Cracow 1901, no. 40, p. 42. This source is cited by Weissner, Albert. *The Modern Renaissance of Jewish Music*. Bloch Publishing Company, INC., New York, 1954.

professionalized during the last decades of the nineteenth century. It was Anton Rubenstein's idea to give musicians status of a "free artist", and by doing so to provide the musicians with a respectable position in the social echelons of Russian society. In 1859 Anton Rubenstein founded the Russian Music Society, whose activity was institutionalized in St. Petersburg in 1862 with the founding of the St. Petersburg Conservatory, where even a few foreign musicians were appointed as its first professors.

Vladimir Stasov, who was shortly to become the ideological leader of the "Russian Five", was opposed to the idea of the Western type musical institution, assuming that it would underestimate the nationalistic dimensions of Russian music. However, the success of the St. Petersburg conservatory led soon after its establishment, in 1866, to the foundation of a second conservatory in Moscow, under the direction of Nicholas Rubenstein, and where Petr Iliyich Tchaikovsky (1840-1893), who had just graduated from the St. Petersburg conservatory, was one of the first professors. By the year 1871 Rimsky-Korsakov as well accepted the position as a professor at St. Petersburg conservatory. The Russian Musical Society shortly after expanded its educational programs and new music schools were established in Kiev (18613), Saratov (1865), Kharkov (1871), Tbilisi (1871) and Odessa (1886).

5. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOCIETY

The year 1901 could be considered as the time when the idea of having an institutional organization that included Jewish Russian composers, who are trying to research and to establish the Jewish folk music within Russia, began to brew. When Joel Engel arrived in St. Petersburg in April of 1901, he was surprised to find an audience that was eager and

excited for his lecture about Jewish folk music within Russia. Joel Engel was happy to meet one of the protégé's of Rimsky-Korsakov and Balakirev, a student at the St.Petersburg Conservatory, Ephraim Skliar (1871-1943?). Skliar during that time was seriously engaged, with the support of his teachers, in composing musical arrangements based on Jewish folk tunes. Born in Timkevittchi, a small town in White Russia, to a father, who was a Hebrew scholar and a part time chazzan, Ephraim Skliar from the time when he was a little boy was engaged in listening, performing and even composing Jewish music. Needless to say due to such a background he was on the intimate terms with the Jewish Russian folk musical tradition.

It was not easy for Skliar to get the permit to leave the Pale but with the help of Balakirev, who believed in the young talent, Skliar arrived in St.Petersburg. During his later musical education in the St. Petersburg conservatory Skliar was strongly supported by Mili Balakirev, who was one of the most important Russian intellectuals during that time and surely the father of "The Russian Five" (Mili Balakirev 1837-1918, Cesar Cui 1835-1918, Alexander Borodin 1833-187, Modest Mussorgsky 1839-1881, and Nickolai Rimsky-Korsakov 1844-1908), and by Rimsky-Korsakov, the head of the Conservatory.

Never forgetting his Jewish background Skliar was the instigator and the creator of the club, "Kinor Zion", (Lyre of Zion). The members of this club were the students from the Conservatory who were looking to compose and to perform Jewish music. It was also during that time that Skliar wrote for one of his analysis classes taught by Rimsky-Korsakov the Yiddish song "Farn Obshayd" (text by L. Jaffe). After becoming familiar with this new composition the Russian composer responded to Skliar by saying: "Write another thirty such things and you will found a new school..."

Rimsky-Korsakov, a strong believer in the ideas of nationalism and especially in the use of music as one of the vehicles to express the national ideas of a certain population, Russian or Jewish, was very eager to urge his Jewish students to come up with their own style of composition. He used to approach his Jewish students by saying: "Why do you imitate European and Russian composers? The Jews possess tremendous folk treasures. I myself have heard your religious songs, and they have made a deep impression upon me. Think about it. Yes, Jewish music awaits her Jewish Glinka".² Supported by such strong words of Rimsky-Korsakov, Skliar among others continued his work, but the idea of having a bigger organization of Jewish musicians started to materialize.

Despite all the excitement and support in the courts of the St. Petersburg Conservatory, Jews were still treated as an outside population, as Jews. More and more Jewish intellectuals were now arriving in St. Petersburg and Moscow from everywhere in Russia, but the Pale of Settlement was still there. Jews were still not free to move and settle where they wished to go.

In 1906 a new student, Lazare Saminsky (1882-1959), who was born in a small town Vale, near Odessa, was accepted at the St. Petersburg Conservatory. It was after his arrival that the idea of the organization of Jewish professional musicians was advanced, and between Saminsky, Rosowsky, who was also a student at the conservatory at that time and Skliar, who stayed in St. Petersburg as a choir director of the St. Petersburg Synagogue, the pianist Leo Nesviski-Abileah, and the singer Tomars the core of the new organization was created. Shortly thereafter a number of additional Jewish scholars and

² This quote of Salomone Rosowsky is documented by Albert Weisser, *The Modern Renaissance of Jewish Music*, p. 44, after their conversation on January 2, 1950.

musicians, such as Michael Gniessen, Pesach Lvov, Alexander M. Zhitomirski, all students of Rimsky-Korsakov, and Susman Kisselgoff, Moshe Shalit and L. Streicher, joined the group.

The time came, and in 1908 the group of Jewish Russian musicians and scholars decided to apply to the Governor of St.Petersburg, General Drachevsky, for the legalization of the Society. Rosowsky, Nesviski-Abileah and Tomars were to represent the organization in the process. They proposed for the group to be called the "The Society for Jewish Music". Needless to say that the governor, a Russian General was extremely surprised to find out that Jewish music even existed. Rosowky, who had graduated from Kiev law school prior to his arrival in St.Petersburg, was the one who negotiated the battle. He explained to the governor about Jewish folk music, bringing to his attention many Jewish composers such as Rubenstein, Halevy and Goldmark, who were well established and internationally known. Rosowsky also supported his presentation by referring to some great Russian composers such as Glinka and "The Russian Five", who were using some Jewish folk elements in their compositions. To all of that General Drachevsky replied,"Yes, indeed, I recall now having heard a Jewish melody once in Odessa at a Jewish wedding. But that was a folksong. I think your Society should rather call itself the Society for Jewish Folk Music". There were no further argument and the Society was established on November 30, 1908. The Society had its own constitution, which included the aims and the goals of the organization. For example, "It is the aim of the Society...to work in the field of research and development of Jewish Folk Music (sacred and secular) by collecting folksongs, harmonizing them and by promoting and supporting Jewish composers and workers in the filed of Jewish music. In order to

achieve these aims the Society has (a) to help print musical compositions and papers on research of Jewish Music; (b) to organize musical meetings, concerts, operatic performances, lectures, etc.; (c) to organize a choir and orchestra of its own; (d) to establish a library of Jewish music; (e) to issue a periodical dedicated to Jewish music; and (f) to establish contests and give prizes for musical compositions of a Jewish character. The work of the Society is to be spread all over Russia.

Several committees were created within the Society. There was the Musical and Arts Committee, which included Saminsky, Rosowsky, and Joseph Achron, who joined the Society in 1911. This committee was to examine new compositions, to arrange and to promote performances, and to look into new publications. The Administrative Committee was placed under the direction of Israel Okun, who was the engineer and music fan serious, whose administrative work was so valuable and important that Rosowsky called him the "soul" of the entire organization. This committee was to provide a financial support and security to the Society. This was to be accomplished by gathering funds from different resources such as the Baron Ginsbourg family, one of the most significant patrons and supporters of Jewish music and musicians; also the Bund, from subscriptions to the publications, and lectures and concerts, organized by the Society.

The success of the Society was overwhelming. Many non-musicians, but somehow involved in the activities of the Society joined the organization. They included, for example, Shlomo Ansky, Rappaport, who was a playwright and ethnographer, Mordecai Riversman, the poet and litterateur, Mendel Elkin, an active Jewish culture enthusiast and the pass curator of YIVO, and Isaiah Knorosovski, who was a music critic.

It is important to remember that the Society with its core was inspired and influenced by two men, perhaps the most important and powerful intellectuals of Russia of that time, the musical critic and publicist, Vladimir Stasov (1824-1906), and the composer and the head of the St. Petersburg Conservatory Rimsky-Korsakov (1844-1908). Both of them were highly involved and associated with "The Russian Five". This fact gave a significant political shadow to the creation of the Society. Supported by Russian important and powerful figures such as Stasov and Rimsky-Korsakov, Jewish composers were now able to create and to perform publicly a new kind of Jewish art music.

6. THE SOCIETY, ITS PRIME AND ITS ENDING

During the years of its prime, approximately around the years 1909-1914, the Society was actively promoting Jewish music and creating Jewish art music. It organized many concerts and lectures throughout Russia. One of several important achievements and successes of the Society was a promising start of a series of publications. The first was the arrangement for a four-part choir of the folksong, *Di Gilderne Pave, The Golden Goose*, done by Skliar. This musical composition was performed in 1909 in the small hall of the St. Petersburg Conservatory.

The Society also began to organize small instrumental and vocal ensembles, which performed with the composers of the Society. These groups toured all over the various Jewish communities within and out of Pale, in Russia, and also abroad. In almost two years these small ensembles performed approximately one hundred fifty concerts. Some of these concerts were followed by an event sponsored by a local Zionist

organization. Therefore these concerts had more than an artistic purpose; they served certain needs of the entire Jewish nationalist movement.

One of the artistic goals of the Society was to investigate the connection between Jewish folk music and art music. Considering that the organization included several talented composers, each with his own ideas about art music in general and, especially, about Jewish art music, this complicated task proved an ambitious idea. The new Jewish intelligentsia, with its nationalistic and modern ideas, became an essential element in the creation of Jewish art music. Due to the historical and social changes, earlier described, it was only at the end of the nineteenth century that these Jewish professionals, historians, musicians, musicologists and other scholars, arose in Russia and were ready to pursue their Jewish nationalistic ideas, Jewish art music being one of them. The members of this intelligentsia created the Society.

United under the same ideas and goals, each of these composers had his own opinions about the Jewish folk resources to be used in creating Jewish art music. A few of them considered synagogue music to be the main source, while others turned to secular folk elements, but all of these musical and artistic ideas were strongly supported by the individual political views of the various composers.

The creation and functions of the Society cannot be detached from the political conditions in Russia during the beginning of the twentieth century. Besides the political and social unstable environment of tsarist Russia, the Jewish community had its own political disagreements between the secular and religious Jews, and within the secular circles, between the Bund, and the Zionists, and the Jews who were leaving Russia to immigrate to other countries.

The revolution of 1905 encouraged many Jewish activists to pursue their nationalistic ideas. The declaration of the Tsar of the October 17 1905 for the first time suggested a possible validation for the battle of equal rights among all Russian nations and minorities. These political developments led to the establishment of various Jewish organizations during the first decade of the twentieth century, the Society notable among them.

In 1908 the Jewish Historical Ethnographic Society led by Dubnow as its vice-chair, received political recognition. During the years of 1911-1914, under the leadership of Shlomo Ansky, the pseudonym of Shloyme Zabvl Rappoport (1863-1920), a writer and ethnomusicologist, and a member of the Society for Jewish Folk Music, this organization traveled on several occasions through the areas of Volhynia and Podolia in order to gather Jewish ethnographic resources. Another Society, the Jewish Literary Society, was established in 1908 in St. Petersburg. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century several smaller societies had started to function. For example, the Society for the Dissemination of Reading and Writing among the Jews in Riga was founded in Riga in 1908.

Among all of these organizations the Society for Jewish Folk Music was by far the most prolific. Its success became so extraordinary that according to the Society's report of 1912 the number of the members of the organization had reached three hundred and eighty nine, among whom two hundred and forty nine were in St. Petersburg. The same report claimed that by 1912 the Society's publications included thirty three compositions by different authors, and a collection of Jewish folk songs. By 1912 five major concerts had been organized with internationally renowned artists such as the

violinists, Jascha Heifetz and Ephraim Zimbalist, the cellist Joseph Press, and the famous basso Feodor Chaliapin, as their participants.

Several smaller branches of the Society were founded in Kharkov in 1913 and in Odessa in 1914. However none of them had a long term existence. The only other branch, which did survive, was founded in Moscow in 1913, under the leadership of Joel Engel. At least during the first years of the existence of the Moscow branch the two branches coexisted amicably. The two branches engaged in frequent interaction and artistic exchange. As members of the Society Saminsky, Rosowsky and Engel used to travel together and lecture, without a specific identification to which branch, St. Petersburg or Moscow, each composer belonged. However, certain differences and disagreements regarding artistic opinions, mainly concerned with the creation and the development of Jewish art music, and with the variety of the folk musical resources, caused the split of the two societies. An interesting myth about the different temperaments of the two schools, the Moscow and the St. Petersburg Conservatories, which in both cases served as a core for the branches, was in the air and came to be the source for many jokes within the Society. The St. Petersburg school was considered to be "intellectual" and "pedantic", where as the Moscow was – "over-emotional" and "hysterical". The pianist David Shor served as the first president of the Moscow branch, where the musical director was Joel Engel.

During the years of 1908 through 1912 the main attempt of the Society's composers consisted in the collection, and the harmonic arrangement of the folk songs. It was acceptable to use the folk material as a starting point and then it was up to each individual composer to develop it into art music. During the accomplishment of this test

many composers had different opinions about the interpretation of the same folk melody. Some of them used to quote the entire folk motive, where others just borrowed a couple of measures. While searching for these answers many composers disagreed and had their own artistic ideas. Rosowsky used to say to describe this controversy: "The folk song of a people is like a wide and deep sea. One may find pearls there, but one must be able to separate them from debris".

Most of the published works composed by the members of the Society were arrangements of the folk songs. The original source of the folk material in many of them is unknown. Perhaps the most significant publication of the Society was the collection of the folk songs, assembled by Susman Kisselgof (1876-1943?) after his famous expedition to the areas of the Pale, sponsored by Baron Ginsburg. This album, *Song collection for the Jewish School and Family*, was published in St. Petersburg in 1911. This work consists of the five different sections: Skarbove Folksongs, compositions religious in nature, which were credited to the Hassidim from the areas of the Pale, Skarbove area being of them later became Poland, was the first collection. The second one was called the Secular Folksongs, the songs that were published earlier by the society in addition to some new compositions. The next section was Songs Without Words, comprising six Hassidic nigunim. The fourth one was the Art Songs, which consisted of works by Jewish and non-Jewish composers, all, however, set to Yiddish or Hebrew texts. The last section discusses the art of Biblical cantillation and its tonal interpretation. Most of the folksongs from this album are arranged by Alexander Zhitomirski (1881-1937) and Pesach Lvov (1881-1913) for three-part choir.

Only a few legitimate art songs, not based on any folk tunes, were written and published by the composers of the Society. One of them and perhaps the most famous one is *In Kheyder* (sic), which was composed by Moses Milner in 1914. Other publications of the examples of the Jewish art music included few violin compositions by Joseph Acheron, the Trio by Solomon Godowsky and several works by Lazar Kaminski.

In 1915 the Zionist Russian weekly magazine, *Rassvet* (*Dawn*), published an interesting article written by Saminsky. Without mentioning any personal names or details, this article discusses in a harsh tone some of the major disagreements within the Society. There was no need for further explanations: it was clear that in his article Saminsky was trying to criticize the ideas represented by Joel Engel.

As Rimsky-Korsakov represents the musical ideas within the Russian nationalistic movement, so Joel Engel is considered to be the instigator and the "founder" of the Jewish nationalistic artistic element within Russia. Influenced by the *haskalah* movement, Engel became an important musical critic for the newspaper, *Russkiye vedomosti*, in Moscow, highly appreciated and respected not just among the Jewish intelligentsia, but among the non-Jews as well, especially he was supported by Stasov. His awakening as a Zionist Jew happened during his conservatory years in Moscow. He became part of one of the most important Zionist groups in Moscow, Zacharyevka, which was named after professor Zacharyev, who used to rent his house to the young Jewish students. It was through this Zionist group that Joel Engel, engaged by Pesach Marek, began to show his interest and passion toward Jewish folk songs, which were an essential part of the Jewish identity of the members of Zacharyevka.

Engel used to say: "Jewish melodies have appealed to me, I have written them down and worked upon them not because I was a Jew, but for the very opposite reason, that is to say, because I wasn't enough of a Jew." By saying so Engel was trying to convey the message that just because he was working with the Jewish folk material he was not connected deeply enough to his Jewish roots and identity. With the awakening of the Zionist movement in Russia Engel became increasingly involved in the new Jewish national movement and through his artistic talents played a significant role in many Zionist actions.

According to Stasov, art was entrenched in the people who belong to a certain nation and not in the individual. That is why it was incumbent upon the artists to convey their national identity. Due to this fact, only by being completely united with Jewish identity could Engel as a composer create genuine artistic treasures. For Engel these thoughts and views of Stasov was a spiritual awakening. By joining a Zionist group, by being an active member of the Society, by traveling on several occasions to the areas of the Pale, Engel immersed and surrounded himself with the Jewish nationhood.

Stasov was a big supporter of Engel's project.

"Your project on Jewish folk songs continues to delight me-a very important work; I have always felt that it has been long overdue to introduce some Jewish seed money into the history and coffers of modern (Christian) European music; a good half and perhaps more of all Gregorian, Ambrosian and other Christian melodies have Jewish roots. For the very reason that folk and liturgical songs and melodies of all people in the world-ancient and modern, pagan and Christian-are in their roots of similar constitution, essence, character and form, I think that a solid study of Jewish national melodies may become one of the first foundation stones in the studies of contemporary, new European music...and for this reason I was and remain very happy that you plan to study and publish those Semitic folk songs that are available to you"

(Stasov to Engel, February 11, 1904)

Engel did not share Stasov's opinion that Jewish music had some Christian roots, however he considered Jewish music to be that the modern contemporary Russian Jewry convey in their music. He responded to Stasov:

"About Jewish songs. I collect secular and not liturgical melodies. Many of the religious ones (often very ancient and probably common to all Jews in the world) have been published, although many more were not. As far as the melodies of Jewish folk songs are concerned, it seems nobody has yet tried to publish them. At this point I do not set broad goals such as comparing Jewish themes with other (folk music) and do not dare to draw any general conclusions because I do not feel I am qualified to do that. For now my goal is to acquaint out musicians and singers with material that is evidently very worthy of their acquaintance. At the same time I plan to publish some melodies (by fall), and if they are well received. They will influence people positively (of course, intellectual Jews first of all) who live surrounded by Jewish folk songs but never pay any attention to them and never write them down".

(Engel to Stasov, February 23, 1904)

The artistic disagreements concerning the creation of Jewish art music were always a "hot topic" among the member of the Society, especially between Engel and Saminsky. Saminsky questioned the authenticity of the Yiddish folk songs, where Engel had no doubt that they could be considered folk songs if they were created by the community. Saminsky considered music to be a national source only when its purification from all other sources has been completed. What this meant in practical terms is that almost none of the folk songs or Hassidic melodies could be considered to be a pure source for Jewish national music, due to the simple fact, that they are mostly influenced by their surrounding cultures. Engel conveyed this idea by arguing that all of the folk songs had been influenced by foreign cultures, but because it became the music of every day life among the Jewish communities, these songs could be considered as national Jewish resources.

While discussing this debate between Engel and Saminsky it is ineluctable that both composers had different political views as well, which supported their musical

dispute. Saminsky, with his love to the national "purity", and his disregard of Yiddish culture, encouraged the revival of Hebrew language and Hebrew culture. However Engel passionately supported the Yiddish language and Yiddish art. This definition of national folk material left no choice to Saminsky but to be very cautious in his choice of the folk sources and sometimes to turn toward Jewish religious music, even though it was influenced by other foreign elements, for example, Arabic music. In this disagreement between the composers the Jewish music became a kind of a symbol for the Russian Jewry: Folk music was for the masses of the ghetto, where as the sacred music served the higher noble characters of the Bible.

Neither of these composers were active members of the socialist or Zionist parties. Engel, who was not a Zionist, but was influenced by the Zionist movement, eventually moved to Palestine, where as Saminsky, who was strongly supported by Zionists while in Russia and especially after his arrival in the United States in 1917, never took an active part in Zionist affairs.

The Society continued to be active until 1918 and, due to the historical and political changes in Russia, the First World War and the Russian Communist revolution of 1917, the Society for Jewish Folk Music ended its functioning in 1918. Many of the active members of the Society left Russia due to the disagreement with the new Communist régime, and only Milner, Gniessin, Streicher and Krein remained in Russia.

The Society for Jewish Folk Music was the first organization of Jewish composers, which in modern times shared the idea of establishing a Jewish national art.

7. THE CONCLUSION, SAMINSKY, ENGEL AND KREIN

Perhaps one of the most prolific composers among the members of the Society For Jewish Folk Music was Lazare Saminsky. From the time of his dispute with Joel Engel and until his arrival in the United States, where he devoted his work to the synagogues of America and, especially, Temple Emanuel of New York City, Lazare Saminsky played a significant role in the development of a national Jewish music first in Russia, and, during his later years, here in America.

Lazare Saminsky (1882-1959) was born in a small town, Vale-Gotzulovo, near Odessa. He was always interested in music and took piano lessons as a child. He began his professional study in the Moscow Conservatory in 1905, but within one year he transferred to the St. Petersburg Conservatory, where he remained to study under the supervision of Rimsky-Korsakov and Liadov. In 1908 he was one of the first members of the Society. Saminsky graduated from the Conservatory in 1910 and remained involved in Jewish music. For several years after his graduation Saminsky worked as an assistant editor for the St. Petersburg newspaper, *Russkaya Molva* (The Russian Talk), and actively participated in many trips to the areas of the Pale, hoping to gather as many Jewish folk resources as possible. Finding it difficult to adapt to a new regime in Russia with the events of 1917, Saminsky left Russia, first for Turkey, then for Palestine, where he stayed briefly and finally through Paris to the United States.

Here in United States Saminsky became an active proponent in behalf of Jewish musicians in the United States. Already by the year 1923, shortly after his arrival in United States, through his numerous secular and sacred works Saminsky, was able to establish himself as a well known composer, and, as a charismatic and energetic

character, was able to organize the League of Composers. In 1924 Saminsky was selected to become a musical director of Temple Emanu-El, in New York City. Already in 1927 Saminsky was able to organize a first public performance of Temple Emanu-El choir at Town Hall of New York City. This concert included compositions by Moses Milner, Michael Gniessin and Saminsky's own works.

During the later years it became one of Saminsky's mission to promote and to perform different compositions written by Jewish composers, including works by the members of the Society, Ernest Bloch (181-1959), Darius Milhaud (1892-1974), and Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco (1895-1968). Saminsky also played a significant role in the foundation and later activities of different Jewish musical organizations in United States such as, *Mailamm* (1931-1939), and the Jewish Music Forum (1939-1962).

Besides being a composer Saminsky used to give variety of lectures and wrote on different musical topics. His book *Music of the Ghetto and Bible*, which discusses a variety of questions, one of them being Saminsky's dispute with Engel, was published in 1934.

A prolific composer, Saminsky composed a wide variety of works. He wrote three *Hebrew Song Cycles*, two choral pieces *Holy, Holy, Holy* and *Out of the Deep*. Numerous songs on sacred as well as secular subjects, an opera-ballet entitled *The vision of Ariel* (1916), and many other vocal and instrumental compositions are among Saminsky's works.

Joel Engel was conceivably one of the most influential and vital figures among the members of the Society. Joel Engel was born in Berdyansk, a town in Crimea, outside the Pale in 1868. The son of a successful businessman, Engel was fortunate to attend the

graduate school and later was accepted into the Law school in Kharkov and in Kiev.

Drawn to music as a child Engel took piano lessons, and in 1893, after receiving his law degree, was accepted in the Moscow Conservatory. Already during those years Engel composed an opera "Esther", where he tried to incorporate some Jewish folk melodies, which he remembered from his childhood. In the year 1897, upon his graduation from the Conservatory, Engel became a music critic for the one of the most influential Moscow newspapers *Russkiye Vedomosti*. He remained working as a musical critic until Russian revolution, when this newspaper was closed by the new regime. As a music critic Engel was at the very roots of the establishment of the Society and remained active in it until the end of the Society.

In 1922, unable to adjust to the new political life in Russia, Engel decided to leave Russia permanently and settle in Berlin. In Berlin he established a publishing house called *Yuwal*, where he was a main editor. He also organized a series of concerts and lectures, which were successfully received all over Germany. However, Engel was not able to make Germany his new home and in 1924 he moved to Palestine.

Engel became very active in the musical life of Palestine. He wrote articles on different subjects. He composed, he taught, as Saminsky was doing in America, in Palestine Engel was trying to promote Jewish national music. However, Engel's best works were his musical arrangements of Jewish folk tunes. The list of these compositions is endless. There are children songs; there are a few instrumental works such as *Adagio Misterioso*, which is based on a Habad melody, numerous piano pieces and a wide variety of vocal works, among them solo compositions, a number of duets and some choral pieces.

Engel died on February 11, 1927. As Saminsky brought with him to the United States his love and commitment to the Jewish music, in the same manner Engel carried his passion and strong devotion to serve Jewish music throughout his life.

Michael Gniessin had a very different life journey from Saminsky and Engel. He was born to a Rabbi in the town named Rostov na Donu, Rostov-on-the-Don, in 1883. As a child he sang in the synagogue choir of one of the most successful cantors from that time, Cantor Eliezer Gerovitch. At 1899 Gniessin joined his three older sisters, who were studying music in Moscow, at the Moscow Conservatory. In order to study with Rimsky-Korsakov, Gniessin transferred to the St. Petersburg Conservatory in 1901. In 1911 he accepted the position of the music teacher at the State Music School back in his hometown, Rostov-on-the-Don.

During his years in St. Petersburg Gniessin was one of the most active members of the Society. Along with others members of the Society he helped to organize lectures and concerts. He composed and arranged a number of Jewish folk tunes, which he remembered from his younger years. He visited Palestine twice, in 1914, and in 1921, where, during his last visit he even considered remaining in Palestine and briefly taught in Tel Aviv University

In 1922, with his three older sisters the Gniessin family established a private musical academy in Moscow, which later in 1944 became public and was renamed as the Gniessin Music Institute. Here Gniessin, while along with his work at the Moscow Conservatory and St. Petersburg Conservatory, remained teaching till his death in 1957.

Gniessin's works include a wide collection of vocal compositions, few instrumental works, such as for example, the Suite for orchestra *Jewish Orchestra at the Ball of the Town-Bailiff*, and incidental music to Gogol's play *Revisor* (1926).

Unlike Saminsky and Engel, Gniessin chose a very different life journey. By 1957 he became one of the most important and influential Soviet musicians and teachers in Soviet Union. Not as prolific a composer as Saminsky or Engel, Gniessin devoted almost ten of his last years to being a teacher and an educator. One can only imagine the difficulties that he had to go through to be able to adapt to a new political regime and life style in Soviet Union. But by choosing to remain in Russia and by continuing to compose music based on Jewish folk melodies, Michael Gniessin distributed his own passion and devotion to Jewish national art.

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