

**Sergei Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas Op. 80 and 94bis:**

**A historical and comparative study of manuscripts, early editions  
and interpretations by David Oistrakh and Joseph Szigeti**

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PhD thesis

## Declaration

This unpublished thesis is copyright of the author. The thesis is written as a result of my own research work and includes nothing that is written in collaboration with other third party. Where contributions of others are involved, every effort is made to indicate this clearly with reference to the literature, interviews or other sources. The thesis is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has been already submitted to another qualification or previously published.

Signed: 

Viktoria Zora

Date: London, 16 May 2017

## **Abstract**

The thesis investigates Sergei Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas (Op. 80 and Op. 94bis) within the historical contexts of their years of composition (1938-46), dissemination (1944-48) and publication (1946-51) in the Soviet Union, the USA and, partially, the UK. It therefore considers Sergei Prokofiev's Soviet years (1936-53) from a new perspective and unfolds the Western dissemination history of the Violin Sonatas and Prokofiev's relationship with Western musicians during the Second World War and the Stalinist era. Moreover, the thesis sheds light upon the Soviet and Western cultural and diplomatic organisations that facilitated the dissemination and publication of the Violin Sonatas in the USA and the UK during the 1940s.

The thesis examines and deduces via extensive study of primary sources the chronology of the composition of the Violin Sonatas. The First Violin Sonata (Op. 80, 1938-46), which has hitherto been examined most briefly in the literature, is traced from sketches to the Autograph Manuscript. The sketches are organised chronologically around the interrupted compositional period (1939-44), while the Autograph Manuscript dates from 1946. The Second Violin Sonata (Op. 94bis, 1944), a transcription of the Flute Sonata, is examined via copyist manuscripts, which trace the collaboration process between Prokofiev and the violinist David Oistrakh, who initiated the transcription of the Flute Sonata into the Second Violin Sonata, and subsequently became the dedicatee of the First Violin Sonata.

Furthermore, the thesis evaluates the perception of the Violin Sonatas through the press reviews of premieres and interpretations of the works during the 1940s, both in the Soviet Union by David Oistrakh, and in the USA by Joseph Szigeti. The analysis of the first performance editions edited by Oistrakh and Szigeti in late 1940s and early 1950s (Muzgiz, Leeds Music Corporation, Anglo-Soviet Music Press) sheds light upon different historical approaches to the interpretation of the Violin Sonatas and is reflected in the recital that supplements the thesis.

## Note on Transliteration

I have adopted the Library of Congress System in the thesis' text (**Table 1**). However, I have broken away from this in my written work when a name or work in Russian has a commonly accepted English spelling or translation such as Sergei Prokofiev (instead of Sergeĭ Prokof'ev), David Oistrakh (instead of David Oĭstrakh), and Yevgeny Mravinsky (instead of Evgeniĭ Mravinskiĭ). Moreover, I have adopted the following English spellings to other personalities of my thesis: Joseph Szigeti (instead of Zhozef Sigeti/Īozhef Szigeti), Grigori Shneerson (instead of Gregory Schneerson/Grigoriy Shneyerson/Grigoriĭ Shneerson), Levon Atovmyan (instead of Levon Atovm'ĭan), Semyon Shlifshtein (instead of Semyon Shlifshteyn/Semĕn Shlifshteĭn) and Serge Koussevitzky (instead of Sergeĭ Kusevĭtskiĭ). In the bibliography I have included the spellings of the names in book titles as originally published in the original language (Sergeĭ Prokof'ev in Russian, Sergej Prokofjew in German, Sergey/Serge Prokofiev/Prokofieff in English), but the authors' names are written with commonly accepted English spelling. I have used '[sic]' next to words that use idiosyncratic spelling to indicate the original spelling from sources (e.g. cited telegrams in Chapter 4 or newspaper cuttings in Chapter 5). Throughout the thesis I have referred to Prokofiev's Sonata for Violin and Piano No. 1 in F minor, Op. 80, as the First Violin Sonata and similarly, to Prokofiev's Sonata for Violin and Piano No. 2 in D major, Op. 94bis, as the Second Violin Sonata omitting the opus numbers. When referring to both works, I have adopted the generic title Violin Sonatas.

**Table 1: Russian Transliteration, Library of Congress**

Russian			
<i>Vernacular</i>	<i>Romanization</i>	<i>Vernacular</i>	<i>Romanization</i>
<i>Upper case letters</i>		<i>Lower case letters</i>	
А	A	а	a
Б	B	б	b
В	V	в	v
Г	G	г	g
Д	D	д	d
Е	E	е	e
Ё	Ë	ё	ë
Ж	Zh	ж	zh
З	Z	з	z
И	I	и	i
Й	Ï	й	ï
К	K	к	k
Л	L	л	l
М	M	м	m
Н	N	н	n
О	O	о	o
П	P	п	p
Р	R	р	r
С	S	с	s
Т	T	т	t
У	U	у	u
Ф	F	ф	f
Х	Kh	х	kh
Ц	ĬS	ц	ĭs
Ч	Ch	ч	ch
Ш	Sh	ш	sh
Щ	Shch	щ	shch
Ъ	" (hard sign)	ъ	" (hard sign)
Ы	Y	ы	y
Ь	' (soft sign)	ь	' (soft sign)
Э	Ë	э	ë
Ю	ÏU	ю	ïu
Я	ÏA	я	ïa

## Archival Abbreviations and Soviet Acronyms

The standard format of Russian archival description is f. (*fond* or collection), op. (*opis* or file or register), ed. khr. (*ediniṣa khrameniā*, item or file) or d. (*delo*, item) or No. (number) and l. (*list*, page or sheet). Verso is used to indicate a sheet's reverse side (l. 15 *ob.* – *oborot*). The referencing of American archival materials includes the archive name followed by b. (box) and f. (folder) or p. (package). If the folder has a title it is included within quotations. The exception to this referencing is the NARA archive, which includes b. (box), f. No. (file number) or f. (folder) and loc. (location). NARA's location breaks down to a numerical succession (e.g. 59.250.37.9.2) that indicates Rg. No 59 (registration number), stack area 250, row 37, compartment 9 and shelf 2. When archival collections are part of libraries, the libraries will also be abbreviated: e.g. Am-Rus Literary Agency Records in the Library of Congress is abbreviated to AmRus (LC).

### List of Abbreviations and Soviet Acronyms:

**AmRus:** Am-Rus Literary Agency Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress

**Agitprop:** Department of Agitation and Propaganda (*Otdel agitatsii i propagandy*)

**ASMP:** Anglo-Soviet Music Press

**BL:** British Library, London, UK

**MDK:** Library of the Union of Soviet Composers (*Moskovskii Dom Kompozitorov*), Moscow, Russia

**FSB:** Russian Federal Security Service (*Federal'naia Sluzhba Bezopasnosti Rossiiskoi Federatsii*)

**GARF:** State Archive of the Russian Federation (*Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii*)

**Glavlit:** Main Administration for Literary and Publishing Affairs (*Glavnoe Upravlenie po Delam Literatury i Izdatel'stv*)

**GM:** M.I. Glinka State Museum of Musical Culture, Moscow, Russia (*Gosudarstvennyi Tsentral'nyi Muzei Muzykal'noi Kul'tury imeni M.I. Glinki*)

**GURK:** Main Administration for the Control of Repertory and Performances at SNK (SM) USSR (*Glavnoe Upravlenie po Kontroliu za Zrelishchami i Repertuarom pri SNK (SM) SSSR*)

**JHC:** Jascha Heifetz Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress

**JSA:** Joseph Szigeti Archive, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University

**KGB:** Committee for State Security (*Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti*)

**KSP:** Stalin Prize Committee (*Komitet po Stalinskim Premiiam*)

**LC:** Library of Congress, Washington D.C., USA

**LC/ISCM:** League of Composers/ISCM records, New York Public Library Archives & Manuscripts

**Mosoblgorlit:** Moscow's Administration for Literary and Publishing Affairs (*Moskovskoe Oblastnoe i Gorodskoe Upravlenie po Delam Literatury i Izdatel'stv*)

**Muzgiz:** State Music Publishers (*Gosudarstvennoe Muzykal'noe Izdatel'stvo*)

**Muzfond:** Music Fund of the USSR (*Muzykal'nyi Fond SSSR*)

**NARA:** National Archives and Records Administration, Archives II, College Park MD, USA

**NKVD:** People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (*Narodnyĭ Komissariat Vnutrennikh del*)

**NYPL:** New York Public Library, N.Y., USA

**Politburo:** Political Bureau (*Politicheskoe Biuro*)

**RGALI:** Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (*Rossiĭskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Literatury i Iskusstva*)

**RSL:** Russian State Library, Moscow, Russia

**SKA:** Serge Koussevitzky Archive, Music Division, Library of Congress

**SM:** Committee of Ministers (*Sovet Ministrov*)

**SNK:** Committee of People's Commissars (*Sovet Narodnykh Komissarov*)

**Sovinformbyuro:** Soviet Information Bureau (*Sovinformbiuro*)

**SPA:** Serge Prokofiev Archive, Columbia University (formerly held at Goldsmiths, University of London)

**SSK:** Union of Soviet Composers (*Soiuz Sovetskikh Kompozitorov*)

**VOKS:** USSR/All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (*Vsesoiuznoe Obshchestvo Kul'turnykh Sviazei s Zagranitseĭ*)

**VUOAP:** All-Union Administration for the Protection of Authors' Rights (*Vsesoiuznoe Upravlenie po Okhrane Avtorskikh Prav*)

## Lists of Musical Examples and Tables

The numbering of Musical Examples and Tables is consecutive throughout the thesis. The abbreviation l. (*list*) stands for page or sheet, and verso is used to indicate a sheet's reverse side. The performance editions of the Violin Sonatas are abbreviated in the musical examples with the name of the publisher, the date and the editor (See **Table 12** in Chapter 6). For example, the performance edition 'Prokofieff, Serge. *Second Sonata Op. 94bis for Violin and Piano*. Edited by David Oistrakh. Moscow, Leningrad: State Music Publishers (Muzgiz), 1946.' is abbreviated as Muzgiz 1946 or Muzgiz 1946 ed. Oistrakh. The abbreviations are the following:

### **Performance editions of the Second Violin Sonata, Op. 94bis**

**Muzgiz 1946:** Edited by David Oistrakh. Moscow, Leningrad: State Music Publishers (Muzgiz), 1946.

**ASMP 1946:** London: Anglo-Soviet Music Press, Boosey & Hawkes, 1946.

**Leeds 1946:** Edited by Joseph Szigeti. New York: Leeds Music Corporation, 1948.

**Sikorski '1946':** Hamburg: Musiverlag Hans Sikorski, 1946.

**Sikoriski 1960:** Edited by David Oistrakh. Hamburg: Musiverlag Hans Sikorski, 1960

**Schirmer 1965:** Modern Russian Masterworks. New York: G. Schirmer, Inc (ASCAP), 1948, 1965.

## **Performance editions of the First Violin Sonata, Op. 80**

**Muzfond 1947:** Moscow: SSK, Muzfond, 1947. Steklograph edition.

**Muzgiz 1951:** Edited by David Oistrakh. Moskva, Lenigrad: Gos. muzykal'noe izd-vo (State Music Publishers, Muzgiz), 1951.

**Muzgiz 1957:** Edited by David Oistrakh. Moskva: Gos. muzykal'noe izd-vo (Muzgiz), 1957.

**ASMP 1947:** Edited by Joseph Szigeti. London: Anglo-Soviet Music Press, Boosey & Hawkes, 1947.

**Leeds 1948:** Edited by Joseph Szigeti. New York: Leeds Music Corporation, 1948.

**Sikorski '1947':** Edited by D. Oistrakh. Hamburg: Musiverlag Hans Sikorski, 1947.

**Sikorski 1977:** Edited by D. Oistrakh. Hamburg: Musiverlag Hans Sikorski, 1977.

## **List of Musical Examples**

### **Chapter 2: Second Violin Sonata: Compositional process from sketches to the first performance edition**

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Ex. 2: I Moderato, bars 103-110 (Sketchbook No. 10, l. 15)

Ex. 3: II Scherzo, bars 7-10 (Sketchbook No. 10, l. 46)

Ex. 4: III Andante, bars 1-17 (Sketchbook No. 10, l. 23)

Ex. 5: III Andante, bars 6-13 (Sketchbook No. 10, l. 22)

III Andante, bars 34-38 (Sketchbook No. 10, l. 18)

Ex. 6: IV Allegro con brio, bars 1-3 (RGALI 1929/1/192, l. 1)

Ex. 7: IV Allegro con brio, bars 118-122, 141-142 (RGALI 1929/1/192, l. 2 verso)

Ex. 8: IV Allegro con brio, coda, bars 169-174 (RGALI 1929/1/192, l. 1 verso)

### **Primary sources of the Second Violin Sonata**

Ex. 9: I Moderato, bar 75 (RGALI 1929/1/193, RGALI 1929/1/194)

Ex. 10: I Moderato, bars 49-54 (RGALI 1929/1/193)

Ex. 11: II Scherzo, bars 7-14 (RGALI 1929/1/193)

Ex. 12: II Scherzo, bars 347-358, coda (RGALI 1929/1/193)

Ex. 13: The RGALI 1929/1/194 corresponding examples from the Scherzo

II Scherzo, bars 7-14; bars 347-358, coda

Ex. 14: I Moderato, bars 49-54 (RGALI 1929/1/194)

Ex. 15: Atovmyan, *Spravochnik po Tekhnike Zapisi Not*, p. 37

Ex. 16: the title and first pages of the violin part (GM 33/12, violin part)

Ex. 17: I Moderato, bars 43-51 (GM 33/12, violin part)

Ex. 18: I Moderato, bar 80 (GM 33/12, violin part)

Ex. 19: III Andante, bars 19-30 (GM 33/12, violin part)

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- Ex. 28: I Moderato (GM 33/13, score)
- Ex. 29: I Moderato, bottom of the first page (GM 33/12, score)
- Ex. 30: I Moderato, bottom of the first page (GM 33/13, score)
- Ex. 31: I Moderato, bottom of the first page (Muzgiz 1946, score)
- Ex. 32: II Scherzo, bars 101, 322 (RGALI 1929/1/193)
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Ex. 50: IV Allegro con brio, bars 106-108 (Schirmer 1965)

Ex. 51: IV Allegro con brio, bars 119-120 (Schirmer 1965)

Ex. 52: IV Allegro con brio, bars 126-127 (Schirmer 1965)

Ex. 53: IV Allegro con brio, bars 159-160 (Schirmer 1965)

Ex. 54: IV Allegro con brio, bars 169-174 (Schirmer 1965)

### **Chapter 3: First Violin Sonata: Compositional process from sketches to the first performance edition**

#### **Sketches of the First Violin Sonata**

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Autograph Manuscript (GM 33/380)

Ex 56: I Andante assai, bars 16-22, absent from RGALI page 1

New thematic material bars 16-22 (Sketchbook No. 11 page 44)

Corresponding bars 16-22 of Autograph Manuscript (GM 33/380)

Ex.57: I Andante assai, RGALI 1929/1/188 page 3

Autograph Manuscript (GM 33/380), bars 80-81

Autograph Manuscript, ending, *pizz.* section instead of thematic material from

RGALI 1929/1/188 page 3

Ex. 58: II Andante brusco, RGALI 1929/1/188 pages 4-5

Page 4: first theme, bridge bars 38-44

Page 5: second theme, bars 50-65

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- Ex. 67: RGALI's page orientation and comparison to Autograph Manuscript  
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- Ex. 71: Extension of the manuscript's margins and inserted passages and notes  
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- Ex. 75: Autograph Manuscript: identical thematic material  
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- Ex. 76: binding and numbering of the Autograph Manuscript  
 Binding sheet 11/page 19; Numbering sheet 29/page 54
- Ex. 77: Fingerings and bowings in the Autograph Manuscript  
 I Andante assai, bars 52-53; II Allegro brusco, bars 16-19;  
 II Allegro brusco, bars 172-174; III Andante, bar 40; III Andante, bar 90;  
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- Ex. 80: Muzfond 1947, Stave systems in the violin part (six to ten stave systems)  
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Seven stave system p. 15, II Allegro brusco, final bars 284-300

Eight stave systems, p. 19, III Andante, final bars 78-95

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Ex 81: Fingerings of the violin part are identical with those on the Autograph Manuscript

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Ex. 82: ASMP 1946, copyright

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Ex. 84: BL seal on Muzfond 1947, score: I Andante assai, bars 17-20

Ex. 85: BL seal on Muzfond 1947, violin part: I Andante assai, bars 51-53

Ex. 86: Publication information in Muzfond 1947, score, last page

Ex. 87: Publication information in Muzfond 1947, violin part, last page

Ex. 88: Publication information in Muzfond 1947, title page

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- Ex. 91: II Presto, bars 335-346 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)  
II Presto, bars 335-346 (Muzgiz 1946 ed. Oistrakh)
- Ex. 92: IV Allegro con brio, bars 1-6 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)  
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I Moderato, bars 42-46 (Muzgiz 1946 ed. Oistrakh)
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- Ex. 101: III Andante, bars 1-15 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)  
III Andante, bars 1-21 (Muzgiz 1946 ed. Oistrakh)
- Ex. 102: III Andante, bars 68-71 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)  
III Andante, bars 68-71 (Muzgiz 1946 ed. Oistrakh)
- Ex. 103: IV Allegro con brio, bars 38-42 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)  
IV Allegro con brio, bars 38-42 (Muzgiz 1946 ed. Oistrakh)
- Ex. 104: IV Allegro con brio, bars 72-92 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)  
IV Allegro con brio, bars 73-92 (Muzgiz 1946 ed. Oistrakh)

## **Performance editions of the First Violin Sonata**

Ex. 105: Copyright information, First Violin Sonata: ASMP 1947, Leeds 1948

Ex. 106: comparison of editorial layouts, First Violin Sonata

ASMP 1947 ed. Szigeti; Leeds 1948 ed. Szigeti

Muzgiz 1951 ed. Oistrakh; Muzgiz 1957 ed. Oistrakh

Ex. 107: I Andante assai, bars 51-53: Comparison of fingerings

ASMP 1947 ed. Szigeti; Muzgiz 1951 ed. Oistrakh

Muzfond 1947 sent to ASMP ed. Oistrakh

Autograph Manuscript, bars 52-55

Ex. 108: II Allegro brusco, bars 172-174: Comparison of fingerings

ASMP 1947 ed. Szigeti, bars 166-175

Muzgiz 1951 ed. Oistrakh, bars 166-175

Muzfond 1947 sent to ASMP ed. Oistrakh, bars 172-173

Autograph Manuscript, bars 172-174

Ex. 109: III Andante, bar 40: Comparison of fingerings

ASMP 1947 ed. Szigeti; Muzgiz 1951 ed. Oistrakh

Muzfond 1947 sent to ASMP ed. Oistrakh; Autograph Manuscript

Ex. 110: IV Allegro, bars 59-63: Comparison of fingerings

ASMP 1947 ed. Szigeti, bars 56-63; Muzgiz 1951 ed. Oistrakh, bars 56-63

Muzfond 1947 sent to ASMP ed. Oistrakh, bars 59-64

Autograph Manuscript, bars 59-63

Ex. 111: II Allegro brusco, bars 45-47: Comparison of fingerings

ASMP 1947 ed. Szigeti; Muzgiz 1951 ed. Oistrakh

Muzgiz 1957 ed. Oistrakh, different fingerings

Muzfond 1947 sent to ASMP ed. Oistrakh

Autograph Manuscript, bars 45-47

Ex. 112: IV Allegrissimo, bars 82-85. Notes E A, two last quavers of bar 84 are belatedly inserted in the Autograph Manuscript and absent in 'ASMP Muzfond' 1947 edition

Ex. 113: IV Allegrissimo, bars 82-85: Comparison of editions

ASMP 1947 ed. Szigeti; Leeds 1948 ed. Szigeti;

Muzgiz 1951 ed. Oistrakh

Ex. 114: I Andante assai, bars 40-43: Comparison of Muzgiz 1951 and 1957 editions

### **Performance editions of Violin Sonatas**

Ex. 115: Copyright information on Sikorski editions of the '1946' and '1947'

Sikorski '1946' Op. 94bis © Leeds, violin part: I Moderato, bars 34-41

Sikorski '1947' Op. 80 © ASMP, violin part: I Andante assai, bars 36-39

Ex. 116: Copyright information on Sikorski editions of 1960 and 1977

Sikorski 1960 Op. 94bis, violin part: I Moderato, bars 34-41

Sikorski 1977 Op. 80, violin part: I Andante assai, bars 36-39

Ex. 117: comparison of editorial layouts: Muzgiz and Sikorski editions

Second Violin Sonata: Sikorski '1946' ed. Oistrakh; Muzgiz 1946 ed. Oistrakh

First Violin Sonata: Sikorski '1947' ed. Oistrakh; Muzgiz 1957 ed. Oistrakh

Ex. 118: Misprint in the Second Violin Sonata: IV Allegro con brio, bar 95

Misprint: Sikorski 1960 ed. Oistrakh; Correct: Sikorski '1946' ed. Oistrakh

Copyist Manuscript GM 33/12, violin part, bar 95

Ex. 119: Misprint in the Second Violin Sonata: IV Allegro con brio, bars 98-100

Misprint: Sikorski 1960 ed. Oistrakh; Correct: Sikorski '1946' ed. Oistrakh

Copyist Manuscript GM 33/12, violin part, bars 99-100

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Misprints: ASMP 1947; Leeds 1948; Muzgiz 1951

Correct editions: Sikorski '1947'; Muzgiz 1957

Autograph Manuscript, bars 89-91

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction and historical background of Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas

### 1.1 Literature review for Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas

Sergei Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas are the only chamber music compositions for violin and piano composed during his Soviet years (1936-53). The Violin Sonatas are among the late compositions in Prokofiev's oeuvre alongside works such as the opera *War and Peace*, the ballet *Cinderella* and the Fifth Symphony. Throughout the thesis, the Second Violin Sonata (1944) will be addressed before the First Violin Sonata (1938-46) to reflect the chronological order of their completion, and to facilitate the discussion of historical and cultural contexts surrounding the dissemination and publication of the Violin Sonatas. This literature review will give an overview of the existing information about the Violin Sonatas in the published literature. The author will start by examining Prokofiev's autograph writings, then proceed with major Soviet and Western publications.

Prokofiev left a considerable amount of written material in the form of the *Diaries*, two incomplete autobiographies – *A Brief Autobiography* and a detailed *Autobiography* in two parts – short articles and essays. Despite the significance of the aforementioned autograph writings, their publication and dissemination was considerably delayed. The first of Prokofiev's writings that became available were short essays written for the Soviet press in the early 1940s.<sup>1</sup> In 1937 Prokofiev started writing his *Autobiography*, which in 1939 was renamed *A Brief Autobiography*, which

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<sup>1</sup> S. I. Shlifshtein, ed., *S.S. Prokofiev: Materialy, Dokumenty, Vospominaniia*, Izd. 2-e, dop (Moskva: Gos. muzykal'noe izd-vo, 1961), 243–249, 251–253.

was published in 1956 in four chapters: ‘I Early Years’, ‘II After the Conservatoire’ and ‘III-IV The Years Abroad and After my Return Home’.<sup>2</sup> In 1945 Prokofiev restarted working on his detailed *Autobiography*, completing only the first two parts until ‘The Conservatory’. The detailed *Autobiography* was first published in the Soviet Union in 1973<sup>3</sup> followed by publications in English (1979)<sup>4</sup> and German (1981)<sup>5</sup>.

Prokofiev’s *Diaries*, which start in 1907, stop at the year 1933, with the last autograph pencil clarifications written on the manuscript in 1936. The first part of the *Diaries* to be published was the *Soviet Diary* (January-March 1927), which occurred only in the early 1990s in Russian (1991)<sup>6</sup>, English (1991)<sup>7</sup>, French (1991)<sup>8</sup> and German (1993)<sup>9</sup>. The year 1933 was certainly a decisive year for Prokofiev; some scholars even set Prokofiev’s relocation to the year 1933 (Moisenko: 1942, Boelza: 1943, Whittall: 1988)<sup>10</sup> instead of 1936.<sup>11</sup> Prior to his relocation Prokofiev deposited

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<sup>2</sup> S. I. Shlifshteĭn, ed., *S.S. Prokof'ev: Materialy, Dokumenty, Vospominaniĭa*, Izd. 1-e (Moskva: Gos. muzykal'noe izd-vo, 1956).

<sup>3</sup> Sergeĭ Prokof'ev, *Avtobiografiĭa*, ed. M. G. Kozlova (Moskva: Sov. kompozitor, 1973).

<sup>4</sup> Sergei Prokofiev, *Prokofiev by Prokofiev: A Composer's Memoir*, ed. David H Appel, trans. Guy Daniels (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1979), 178.

<sup>5</sup> Sergej Prokofjew, *Prokofjew über Prokofjew: aus der Jugend eines Komponisten*, ed. David H Appel (München: R. Piper, 1981).

<sup>6</sup> Mikhail Evgen'evich Tarakanov, *Sergeĭ Prokof'ev, 1891-1991: [buklet]* (Moskva: Sov. kompozitor, 1991), 15–155.

<sup>7</sup> Sergei Prokofiev, *Soviet Diary, 1927, and Other Writings* (London: Faber and Faber, 1991).

<sup>8</sup> Sergei Prokofiev, *Voyage En URSS, 1927*, Série “Musique” (Arles, France: Actes Sud, 1991).

<sup>9</sup> Sergej Prokofjew, *Aus Meinem Leben: Aus Dem Englischen von Willi Reich; Sowjetisches Tagebuch 1927: Aus Dem Russischen von Gottfried Eberle* (Zürich: M & T Verlag, 1993).

<sup>10</sup> Rena Moisenko, *Twenty Soviet Composers* (London: Workers' Music Association, 1942), 51–55; Igor Fedorovich Boelza, *Handbook of Soviet Musicians* (London: Pilot, 1943), 43–45; Arnold Whittall, *Music since the First World War* (London: Dent, 1988), 75–84.

his *Diaries* and some private correspondence in a safe deposit in the USA. This archive was relocated by the Soviet State to Moscow in 1955, deposited in the RGALI archive and officially embargoed for 50 years.<sup>12</sup> It was only in 2002 that the complete *Diaries* (1907-33) were published in Russian<sup>13</sup> followed by their English translation in three volumes (2006, 2008 and 2012).<sup>14</sup>

Thus, Prokofiev left very little information about his Soviet years (1936-53). Available to scholars are only the third part of the *Brief Autobiography* 'The Years Abroad and After my Return Home' which stops at the year 1936 and short articles and essays written for the Soviet Press in the 1940s. Prokofiev's autograph writings therefore shed much light on his Western Years, without illuminating his Violin Sonatas composed between 1938 and 1946.

In discussing Prokofiev's biographies, the starting point is Israel Nestyev's 1946 biography published in New York in English.<sup>15</sup> The biography is revised from Nestyev's own dissertation, which he defended in June 1945 in the composer's presence.<sup>16</sup> The biography was written by drawing together materials from

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<sup>11</sup> Prokofiev visited the USSR in 1927, 1929 and 1932. Prokofiev moved permanently to Moscow in March 1936 and his family relocated to Moscow in May. Simon Morrison, *The People's Artist: Prokofiev's Soviet Years* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 6, 27–31, 43.

<sup>12</sup> Sergeĭ Dediulin, ed., *Podvig Trekh Pokolenii: K Izdaniu Dnevnika Sergeia Prokof'eva*, Bibliograf Vypusk 15 (Parizh: Izdanie Assotsiatsii Russkii Institut v Parizhe, 2010), 50–51.

<sup>13</sup> Sergeĭ Prokof'ev, *Dnevnik* (Paris: SPRKFV, 2002).

<sup>14</sup> Sergey Prokofiev, *Sergey Prokofiev Diaries: 1907-1914 Prodigious Youth*, trans. Anthony Phillips (London: Faber and Faber, 2006); Sergey Prokofiev, *Sergey Prokofiev Diaries: 1915-1923 Behind the Mask*, trans. Anthony Phillips (London: Faber and Faber, 2008); Sergey Prokofiev, *Sergey Prokofiev Diaries: 1924-1933 Prodigal Son*, trans. Anthony Phillips (London: Faber and Faber, 2012).

<sup>15</sup> Israel V. Nestyev, *Sergei Prokofiev: His Musical Life* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1946).

<sup>16</sup> The viva was on the 1 June 1945 the Moscow Conservatory with Professors Viktor Tsukkerman and Dmitriĭ Kabalevskii. Dissertation title was 'Tvorcheskii Put' S. S. Prokof'eva'. Igor' Vishnevetskii, *Sergeĭ Prokof'ev: Zhizn' Zamechatel'nykh Liudeĭ* (Moskva: Molodaĭa gvardiĭa, 2009), 546.

Prokofiev's own *Brief Autobiography* and by adding Prokofiev's new compositions during the war years. Also, Nestyev based his biography on meetings with Prokofiev and his close companions, such as N. Myaskovsky and B. Asafyev. Prokofiev's letter to Nestyev of 18 October 1942 reveals that by 1942 Prokofiev had read Nestyev's biography and was aware of its forthcoming American publication.<sup>17</sup> Nestyev's biography was published in French (1946)<sup>18</sup> and in German (1962)<sup>19</sup> while the Soviet publication appeared only in 1957<sup>20</sup> after Prokofiev's death in 1953.

In Nestyev's 1946 biography the description of the Flute Sonata dominates, whereas its violin version, the Second Violin Sonata, is mentioned only in a footnote alongside the information that it was successfully performed by David Oistrakh in Moscow and by Joseph Szigeti in New York.<sup>21</sup> The First Violin Sonata is mentioned only as a 'work in progress'. In the French version of Nestyev's book only the Flute Sonata is mentioned, with the Violin Sonatas being absent.<sup>22</sup> Nestyev's complete biography on Prokofiev's entire artistic life was published in 1960 in English.<sup>23</sup> In his 1960 biography Nestyev placed among the major patriotic Russian works - *Alexander Nevsky*, *War and Peace*, *Ivan the Terrible*, Fifth Symphony - the First Violin Sonata. Moreover, Nestyev gives a very detailed description of the First Violin Sonata's epic Russian character and its movements, identifying similarities with *Ivan the Terrible*,

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<sup>17</sup> RGALI f. 1929, op. 3, ed. khr. 78.

<sup>18</sup> I. Nestyev, *Prokofiev*, Pour La Musique (Paris: Éditions du Chêne, 1946).

<sup>19</sup> I. Nestyev, *Prokofjew: Der Künstler und sein Werk* (Berlin, Ost: Henschelverlag Kunst und Gesellschaft, 1962).

<sup>20</sup> I. V. Nest'ev, *Prokof'ev* (Moskva: Gos. muzykal'noe izd-vo, 1957).

<sup>21</sup> Nestyev, *Sergei Prokofiev*, 166.

<sup>22</sup> Nestyev, *Prokofiev*, 183–184, 203–204.

<sup>23</sup> Israel V. Nestyev, *Prokofiev* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1960).

*Alexander Nevsky*, *War and Peace*, and connecting the brutal second movement with dissonant passages of the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Piano Sonatas.<sup>24</sup> However, Nestyev does not mention that the First Violin Sonata was awarded a Stalin Prize.<sup>25</sup> The Second Violin Sonata is briefly mentioned as the adaptation of the Flute Sonata written with assistance of the violinist David Oistrakh. Nestyev mentions that after the premiere of the Second Violin Sonata by David Oistrakh on 17 June 1944 the work was successfully established in the repertoire of violinists in the Soviet Union and abroad without acknowledging Joseph Szigeti's New York premiere.<sup>26</sup> The second edition of Nestyev's biography (1973) contains the same information on the Violin Sonatas.<sup>27</sup>

After Nestyev's 1946 biography, the next publication in significance is the anthology published by Semyon Shlifshstein in 1956<sup>28</sup> (second edition, 1961)<sup>29</sup>. Shlifshstein's book contains very brief accounts of the Violin Sonatas with the exception of the article written by Oistrakh, 'O Dorogom i Nezabvennom' ('About the Dear and Unforgettable'), in which Oistrakh describes his collaboration with Prokofiev on the creation of the Second Violin Sonata, the first informal hearing of the First Violin Sonata at the composer's summer house, Nikolina Gora, and

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 298, 373, 385–388.

<sup>25</sup> Prokofiev was awarded six Stalin Prizes: in 1943 for the Seventh Piano Sonata, in 1946 for the Fifth Symphony and the Eighth Piano Sonata, in 1946 for the *Cinderella* ballet, in 1946 for his score for the first part of the film *Ivan the Terrible*, in 1947 for the First Violin Sonata and in 1951 for the oratorio *On Guard for Peace* and for the symphonic and vocal work *Winter Bonfire*. V. M. Bogdanov-Berezovskii and E. F. Nikitina, *Sovetskie Kompozitory - Laureaty Stalinskikh Premiĭ* (Leningrad: Muzgiz, 1954), 301.

<sup>26</sup> Nestyev, *Prokofiev*, 348–349.

<sup>27</sup> I. V. Nest'ev, *Zhizn' Sergeĭa Prokof'eva*, 2-e perer. i dop. izd (Moskva: Sov. kompozitor, 1973).

<sup>28</sup> Shlifshstein, S.S. *Prokof'ev: Materialy, Dokumenty, Vospominaniĭa*.

<sup>29</sup> Shlifshstein, S.S. *Prokof'ev*.

subsequent visits to Nikolina Gora with the pianist Lev Oborin to work on the First Violin Sonata with the composer.<sup>30</sup>

As was the case with Nestyev's biography, Shlifshtein's book was published relatively shortly afterwards in the West: in English (1959), in which the Violin Sonatas are mentioned only in Oistrakh's article 'In Memoriam',<sup>31</sup> and in German (1961).<sup>32</sup> In 1965 Shlifshtein also edited an anthology on Sergei Prokofiev, but this contains no information on the Violin Sonatas.<sup>33</sup> A similar anthology, containing no account of the Violin Sonatas, was published in 1981 by Marina Nestyeva (Nestyev's daughter).<sup>34</sup>

Nestyev's biography and Shlifshtein's anthology had an immense impact on subsequent Soviet and Western publications. Therefore, the majority of the information available on the Violin Sonatas in the Soviet and Western literature is directly quoted or paraphrased from the aforementioned publications. Furthermore, because the Violin Sonatas were not significantly analysed and the award of the Stalin Prize for the First Violin Sonata was not acknowledged in Nestyev's and Shlifshtein's books, other Soviet musicologists have likewise not discussed the Violin Sonatas in depth as they have largely based their comments on the two aforementioned publications.

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 248–249, 252, 382, 447–453, 467.

<sup>31</sup> S. Shlifshtein, ed., *S. Prokofiev: Autobiography, Articles, Reminiscences* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1959), 124–132, 164–192, 237–243.

<sup>32</sup> S. I. Shlifshtein, *Sergej Prokofjew; Dokumente, Briefe, Erinnerungen. Zusammenstellung, Anmerkungen und Einführungen: S.I. Schlifstein. Ins Deutsche übertragen von Felix Loesch.* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1961).

<sup>33</sup> S. I. Shlifshtein, ed., *Sergej Prokofiev = Sergei Prokofiev.* (Moskva: Muzyka, 1965).

<sup>34</sup> Marina Izrailevna Nest'eva, *S.S. Prokof'ev, Chelovek, Sobytiia, Vremia* (Moskva: Muzyka, 1981).

Thus, Soviet musicologists such as Danilevich (1968)<sup>35</sup>, Savkina (1981)<sup>36</sup>, including English<sup>37</sup> and German<sup>38</sup> translations of the book) and Alfeevskaya (1993)<sup>39</sup> include no accounts of the Violin Sonatas. Sabinina in her 1956<sup>40</sup> publication mentions only the Second Violin Sonata, whereas the First Violin Sonata appears only briefly in the 1984 publication.<sup>41</sup> Brief accounts of the Violin Sonatas can be found in biographies by Danko (1966)<sup>42</sup>, Roziner (1978)<sup>43</sup> and Vishnevetskiĭ (2009, only the First Violin Sonata)<sup>44</sup>. More detailed descriptions and occasional analysis of the Violin Sonatas appear in books by Morozov (1967)<sup>45</sup> and Martynov (1974)<sup>46</sup>. Roziner, Morozov, Matynov and Vishnevetskiĭ acknowledge the First Violin Sonata as one of Prokofiev's most significant works and only Vishnevetskiĭ (2009) mentions that the First Violin Sonata was awarded the Stalin Prize in 1947. The award of the Stalin Prize is predominantly discussed in relation to the Seventh Piano Sonata and the Fifth

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<sup>35</sup> Lev Vasil'evich Danilevich, *Kniga O Sovetskoĭ Muzyke*, Izd. 2-e (Moskva: Sov. kompozitor, 1968), 244–263.

<sup>36</sup> N. P. Savkina, *Sergeĭ Sergeevich Prokof'ev* (Moskva: Muzyka, 1981), 91, 123–124.

<sup>37</sup> N. P. Savkina, *Prokofiev*, trans. Catherine Young (Neptune City, N.J.: Paganiniana Publications, 1984), 148.

<sup>38</sup> Natalja Pawlowna Sawkina, *Sergej Sergejewitsch Prokofjew* (Berlin: Verlag Neue Musik, 1984).

<sup>39</sup> G. S. Alfeevskaĭa, *Istoriĭa Otechestvennoĭ Muzyki Sovetskogo Perioda* (Moskva: Al'fa, 1993), 8–34.

<sup>40</sup> Marina Dmitrievna Sabinina, *Sergeĭ Prokof'ev* (Moskva: Glavpoligrafroma, 1957), 60, 76, 124.

<sup>41</sup> D. V. Zhitomirskiĭ and Lev Nikolaevich Raaben, eds., *Muzyka XX Veka: Ocherki* (Moskva: Muzyka, 1984), 7–43: 9, 24.

<sup>42</sup> Larisa Georgievna Dan'ko, *Sergeĭ Sergeevich Prokof'ev, 1891-1953: Kratkii Ocherk Zhizni i Tvorchestva: Knizhka Dlia Īunoshestva* (Moskva: Muzyka, 1966), 82, 105–106, 109.

<sup>43</sup> Feliks Roziner, *Tokkata Zhizni: Prokof'ev: Muzykovedcheskoe Povestvovanie*, Pioner--Znachit Pervyi (Moskva: Molodaĭa gvardiĭa, 1978), 167, 170, 172, 174, 188.

<sup>44</sup> Vishnevetskiĭ, *Sergeĭ Prokof'ev: Zhizn' Zamechatel'nykh Liudeĭ*, 572, 669.

<sup>45</sup> Sergeĭ Morozov, *Prokof'ev, Zhizn' Zamechatel'nykh Liudeĭ*, vyp. 10 (Moskva: Molodaĭa gvardiĭa, 1967), 224, 230, 245–246, 248, 267–268.

<sup>46</sup> Ivan Ivanovich Martynov, *Sergeĭ Prokof'ev: Zhizn' i Tvorchestvo* (Moskva: Muzyka, 1974), 423–426, 468, 478–483.

Symphony. The omission of the award to the First Violin Sonata indicates that the Soviet musicologists may have underestimated the work's significance. Morozov acknowledges Szigeti alongside Oistrakh as the first interpreters of the First Violin Sonata who promoted the work in many venues of different countries.<sup>47</sup>

From the 1960s until the 2000s the publication of anthologies on Shlifshtein's prototype continued reflecting the fact that Prokofiev's legacy was acknowledged posthumously, predominantly during the decades 1960s-80s.<sup>48</sup>

In 1962 Nestyev and Edelman edited an anthology consisting of articles by musicologists (Nestyev, Sabinina, Glebov, Asafiev, Malkov), Prokofiev's published correspondence and memoirs by foreign musicians. The first 1962<sup>49</sup> edition contains no information on the *Violin Sonatas*, whereas the second supplemented 1965 edition contains a memoir by Szigeti, 'Prokofiev, Kakim ja ego znal' ('Prokofiev, As I knew him'), where Szigeti describes the arrangements that Prokofiev made to send him in California the manuscripts of the Violin Sonatas for the American performances.<sup>50</sup> In 1978 Blok edited in English an anthology of autobiographical articles, notes, interviews and memoirs by colleagues and musicologists. In this anthology, which is a fuller version of Shlifshtein's (1961) anthology, the Violin Sonatas are mentioned mainly in Oistrakh's article 'In Memoriam'.<sup>51</sup> In 1991 Tarakanov edited an anthology

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<sup>47</sup> Morozov, *Prokofiev*, 246.

<sup>48</sup> Leonid Maximenkov, 'Prokofiev's Immortalization,' in *Sergey Prokofiev and His World*, ed. Simon Morrison (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 285–332.

<sup>49</sup> I. V. Nest'ev and G. IA Edelman, eds., *Sergei Prokofiev: Stat'i i Materialy, 1953-1963* (Moskva: Sov. kompozitor, 1962).

<sup>50</sup> I. V. Nest'ev and G. IA Edelman, eds., *Sergei Prokofiev: Stat'i i Materialy, 2-e dop. i perer. izd* (Moskva: Sov. kompozitor, 1965), 396–398.

<sup>51</sup> V. Blok, ed., *Sergei Prokofiev: Materials, Articles, Interviews* (Moscow: Progress, 1978), 199–204, 195.

containing the first publication of Prokofiev's *Soviet Diary*, among other articles and memoirs,<sup>52</sup> with no account of the Violin Sonatas; however, in Tarakanov's 1991 short biography-booklet on Prokofiev the Violin Sonatas are mentioned in the context of Prokofiev's collaborations with instrumentalists.<sup>53</sup> In 1991 Varunts edited an anthology of solely autobiographical materials: interviews, memories and articles written by Prokofiev. The Violin Sonatas are briefly mentioned in connection with Oistrakh. Prokofiev reports the creation of the Second Violin Sonata in collaboration with Oistrakh and Oistrakh's article 'In Memoriam' is also included in a commentary.<sup>54</sup> Finally, Prokofiev writes that he possessed an American edition of the First Violin Sonata in his personal library, which sheds light upon the existence of a Western performance edition in the 1940s and also raises questions about Prokofiev's cultural communication with the West. The tradition of academic anthologies was continued by the Glinka Museum through its publications in the 2000s: 2001<sup>55</sup>, 2004<sup>56</sup> and 2007<sup>57</sup> in which mention of the Violin Sonatas is absent with the exception of the 2004 publication, which includes excerpts from diaries (1946-50) written by Mira Mendelson, Prokofiev's second wife.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Mikhail Evgen'evich Tarakanov, ed., *Sergei Prokofiev, 1891-1991: Dnevnik, Pis'ma, Besedy, Vospominaniia* (Moskva: Sov. kompozitor, 1991).

<sup>53</sup> Tarakanov, *Sergei Prokofiev, 1891-1991*, 1991, 13.

<sup>54</sup> Viktor Varunts, ed., *Prokofiev O Prokofeve: Stat'i i Interv'iu* (Moskva: Sov. kompozitor, 1991), 200–201, 208, 213, 215, 222.

<sup>55</sup> M. P. Rakhmanova, ed., *Sergei Prokofiev: K 110-Letiū so Dniā Rozhdeniā: Pis'ma, Vospominaniia, Stat'i* (Moskva: Gosudarstvennyi Tsentral'nyi Muzei Muzykal'noi Kul'tury imeni M.I. Glinki, 2001).

<sup>56</sup> M. P. Rakhmanova, ed., *Sergei Prokofiev: K 50-Letiū so Dniā Smerti: Vospominaniia, Pis'ma, Stat'i* (Moskva: Gosudarstvennyi Tsentral'nyi Muzei Muzykal'noi Kul'tury imeni M.I. Glinki, 2004).

<sup>57</sup> M. P. Rakhmanova and M. V. Esipova, eds., *Sergei Prokofiev: pis'ma, vospominaniia stat'i: sbornik* (Moskva: Gosudarstvennyi Tsentral'nyi Muzei Muzykal'noi Kul'tury imeni M. I. Glinki, Deka-VS, 2007).

<sup>58</sup> Rakhmanova, *Sergei Prokofiev*, 2004, 5–226.

The Violin Sonatas are also mentioned in Marina Nestyeva's 2003<sup>59</sup> biography, which argues that David Oistrakh was self-effacing in describing his collaboration with Prokofiev on the Second Violin Sonata, commenting that upon Oistrakh's advice Prokofiev added new textural innovations in the violin version. Thus, Nestyeva's 2003 biography is the only biography to comment about the impact of the collaboration between Prokofiev and Oistrakh.

With regard to Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas in Western scholarship, the tendency to repeat information from Shlifshtein's and Nestyev's publications predominates. Thus, brief accounts of the Violin Sonatas are found in biographies by Samuel (in French 1960<sup>60</sup>, English 1971<sup>61</sup>, reprinted in French 1995<sup>62</sup>), Rayment (1965)<sup>63</sup>, Moisson-Franchhauser (1974)<sup>64</sup> and by Schipperges (in German 1995<sup>65</sup>, English 2003<sup>66</sup>). In the biographies by Brockhaus (1964)<sup>67</sup>, Seroff (1969)<sup>68</sup> and in the 1953<sup>69</sup> journal issue of *Musik Der Zeit* dedicated to Prokofiev, only the Second Violin

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<sup>59</sup> Marina Izrailevna Nest'eva, *Sergeï Prokofiev*, Biograficheskie Landshafty (Cheliabinsk: Arkaim, 2003), 171–172.

<sup>60</sup> Claude Samuel, *Prokofiev*, Solfèges 16 (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1960), 146–147.

<sup>61</sup> Claude Samuel, *Prokofiev*, Illustrated Calderbooks CB74 (London: Calder and Boyars, 1971), 141.

<sup>62</sup> Claude Samuel, *Prokofiev*, Solfèges (Paris: Seuil, 1995), 154–158.

<sup>63</sup> Malcolm Rayment, *Prokofiev*, Novello Short Biographies (Sevenoaks: Novello, 1965). Rayment refers to 'two sonatas for violin and piano' in his list of Prokofiev's 'Principal Compositions'

<sup>64</sup> Suzanne Moisson-Franckhauser, *Serge Prokofiev et Les Courants Esthétiques de Son Temps (1891-1953)*, Langues et Civilisations (Paris: Orientalistes de France, 1974), 267, 272.

<sup>65</sup> Thomas Schipperges, *Sergej Prokofjew*, Originalausg, Rowohlts Monographien 516 (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1995), 108, 114–115.

<sup>66</sup> Thomas Schipperges, *Prokofiev*, Life & Times (London: Haus, 2003), 122–123. Schipperges incorrectly dates the completion of the First Violin Sonata in 1947 (p. 123)

<sup>67</sup> Heinz Alfred Brockhaus, *Sergei Prokofjew* (Leipzig: Verlag Philipp Reclam, 1964), 157, 165–170.

<sup>68</sup> Victor Seroff, *Sergei Prokofiev: A Soviet Tragedy* (London: Leslie Frewin, 1969), 294, 360.

<sup>69</sup> Gerald Abraham and Frank Merrick, eds., 'Serge Prokofieff,' *Musik der Zeit*, Heft 5 (1953): 21–22.

Sonata is mentioned, whereas Kaufmann's biography (1971)<sup>70</sup> mentions only the First Violin Sonata.

A consistent description of the Violin Sonatas including an outline of the compositional process mainly quoted from Shlifshtein and Nestyev, and occasional analysis of the movements, are found in biographies by Robinson (1987)<sup>71</sup>, Gutman (1988)<sup>72</sup>, Dorigné (1994)<sup>73</sup>, Biesold (1996)<sup>74</sup>, Minturn (1997)<sup>75</sup>, Jaffé (1998)<sup>76</sup>, Boccuni (2003)<sup>77</sup> and Morrison<sup>78</sup> (2009) as well as in the publication of the International Music Festival in Duisburg<sup>79</sup> dedicated to Sergei Prokofiev.

Of the aforementioned musicologists only Moisson-Franchhauser (1974), Robinson (1987), Schipperges (1995), Jaffé (1998) and Morrison (2009) mention that

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<sup>70</sup> Helen Loeb Kaufmann, *The Story of Sergei Prokofiev* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1971), 145–146.

<sup>71</sup> Harlow Robinson, *Sergei Prokofiev: A Biography* (New York, N.Y: Viking, 1987), 421–422, 449–451, 454, 456.

<sup>72</sup> David Gutman, *Prokofiev* (London: Alderman, 1988), 7, 143, 159–60.

<sup>73</sup> Michel Dorigné, *Serge Prokofiev*, Bibliothèque Des Grands Musiciens (Paris: Fayard, 1994), 590–593, 620–624.

<sup>74</sup> Maria Biesold, *Sergej Prokofjew: Komponist Im Schatten Stalins: Eine Biographie* (Berlin: BeltzQuadriga, 1996), 281, 291–292.

<sup>75</sup> Neil Minturn, *The Music of Sergei Prokofiev*, Composers of the Twentieth Century (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 1997), 140–151.

<sup>76</sup> Daniel Jaffé, *Sergey Prokofiev, 20th-Century Composers* (London: Phaidon, 1998), 178–179, 192–193, 216.

<sup>77</sup> Maria Rosaria Boccuni, *Sergej Sergeevič Prokofev, Autori & Interpreti 1850-1950 1* (Palermo: L'Epos, 2003), 444, 448–449, 469–470.

<sup>78</sup> Morrison, *The People's Artist*, 277–278, 281.

<sup>79</sup> Hermann Danuser, Ū N. Kholopov, and Mikhail Evgen'evich Tarakanov, eds., *Sergej Prokofjew: Beiträge Zum Thema, Dokumente, Interpretationen, Programme, Das Werk* (Laaber: In Kommission des Laaber Verlages, 1990), 258–260, 262–265.

the First Violin Sonata was awarded the Stalin Prize in 1947<sup>80</sup> whereas the significance of the First Violin Sonata in Prokofiev's oeuvre is recognised only by Gutman (1988), Dorigné (1994) and Jaffé (1998).

Moreover, Dorigné acknowledges in his footnotes the first American premiere of the First Violin Sonata by Szigeti on 2 January 1948 and mentions that the first Western edition of the First Violin Sonata was edited by Szigeti and published by the Anglo-Soviet Music Press.<sup>81</sup> However, this information conflicts with Morrison who claims that 'the score, which would not be published until 1951, remained a work in progress (...). In a sense, the Violin Sonata, as an often desolate-sounding work, would not be realized until 1953, when Oistrakh played the first and third movements at the composer's funeral.'<sup>82</sup> The First Violin Sonata was in fact first published in the West by the Anglo-Soviet Music Press (Boosey & Hawkes) in 1947, preceding significantly its Soviet 1951 Muzgiz edition, which shows that the Western dissemination of the work has received very little attention in the literature.

In the general Western literature relating to Russian Music and Soviet composers the Violin Sonatas are absent in publications by Moisenko (1942)<sup>83</sup>, Abraham (1943)<sup>84</sup>, Boelza (1943)<sup>85</sup>, Nabokov (1951)<sup>86</sup>, Vodasky-Shiraeff (1969)<sup>87</sup>,

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<sup>80</sup>According to Moisson-Franckhauser (1974 p. 272) the First Violin Sonata was awarded Stalin Prize in March 1947; however, Vishnevefskiĭ (2009 p. 572) dates the award on 7 June 1947. Morrison (2009 p. 282) wrote that on 7 June 1947 Prokofiev learnt that he was awarded the Stalin Prize for the Sonata.

<sup>81</sup> Dorigné, *Serge Prokofiev*, 620, 623.

<sup>82</sup> Morrison, *The People's Artist*, 278.

<sup>83</sup> Moisenko, *Twenty Soviet Composers*, 51–55.

<sup>84</sup> Gerald Abraham, *Eight Soviet Composers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1943), 5, 32–42.

<sup>85</sup> Boelza, *Handbook of Soviet Musicians*, 43–45.

<sup>86</sup> Nicolas Nabokov, *Old Friends and New Music* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1951), 110–138.

Krebs (1970)<sup>88</sup> and Whittall (1988)<sup>89</sup>. Schwarz (1983)<sup>90</sup> mentions only the Flute Sonata and its violin version, the Second Violin Sonata, missing out the First Violin Sonata. However, Leonard (1956)<sup>91</sup>, Hakobian (1998)<sup>92</sup> and Maes (2002)<sup>93</sup> place the First Violin Sonata alongside the most significant works without, however, mentioning the award of the Stalin Prize. The Second Violin Sonata is mentioned either unconnected to the Flute Sonata (Leonard), or as its adaptation (Hakobian, Maes).

Taking into account the aforementioned review, one can make several observations. Firstly, Sergei Prokofiev did not leave a coherent and detailed description of his Soviet years (1936-53) and therefore the information on the Violin Sonatas is selective and dispersed throughout the autograph writings – short essays, interviews, press releases for the Soviet Press – from 1940 to 1950.

Secondly, in the Soviet and Western literature there is an inconsistency in the attention given to the historical significance of the Violin Sonatas. Thus, some scholars acknowledge and include a partial historical and musicological analysis of the Violin Sonatas, whereas other scholars only briefly refer to or even omit the

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<sup>87</sup> Alexandria Vodarsky-Shiraeff, *Russian Composers and Musicians: A Biographical Dictionary* (New York: Greenwood, 1969), 104–105.

<sup>88</sup> Stanley D. Krebs, *Soviet Composers and the Development of Soviet Music* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970), 138–164.

<sup>89</sup> Whittall, *Music since the First World War*, 75–84.

<sup>90</sup> Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*, Enl. ed., 1917-1981 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 173–212, 232–243.

<sup>91</sup> Richard Anthony Leonard, *A History of Russian Music* (London: Jarrolds, 1956), 311, 295–321.

<sup>92</sup> Levon Hakobian, *Music of the Soviet Age, 1917-1987* (Stockholm: Melos Music Literature, 1998), 192–193.

<sup>93</sup> Francis Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar* (Berkeley, Calif.: London: University of California Press, 2002), 331.

existence of the Violin Sonatas in Prokofiev's oeuvre. It is significant that the First Violin Sonata, despite being a work for which Prokofiev received one of his six Stalin Prizes, is only patchily represented in the literature. This also shows general if not total unawareness of the fact that the Soviet State recognised the historical and cultural importance of the First Violin Sonata.

Thirdly, the collaboration between Prokofiev and Oistrakh is presented with simplified, concise and factual arguments, mostly drawn from Oistrakh's memoirs. Moreover, the compositional and interpretative history of the Violin Sonatas is connected almost exclusively with the Soviet violinist David Oistrakh. The American premieres by the violinist Joseph Szigeti are mentioned predominantly in footnotes.

Finally, Nestyev's and Shlifshtein's publications have given us effectively all the historical information generally known about the Violin Sonatas and thus, the literature does not address the Western performance history of the Violin Sonatas. Moreover, in the existing scholarly literature there is lack of awareness of all the available editions of the Violin Sonatas, and in particular, of the dissemination history of the Violin Sonatas in the West. Therefore, the significance of the Western score editions in the dissemination history of the Violin Sonatas has been underestimated.

## 1.2 Research rationale, research questions and methodology

Taking into the consideration the literature review, the Soviet and Western literature of the 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century refers briefly to the Violin Sonatas and connects their composition and performance entirely with Oistrakh. In contrast, the involvement of Szigeti with Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas in the USA during the 1940s remains largely lost in the main text of the literature with the exception of a few footnotes and short statements. An overview of the friendships and interactions between Prokofiev, Oistrakh and Szigeti can reveal the reasons behind Szigeti's participation in the Western dissemination of the Violin Sonatas.

Szigeti's significance lies in his long personal acquaintance with Prokofiev, which is reflected in their long-lasting surviving correspondence dated 1923-32 and 1945.<sup>94</sup> Szigeti's acquaintance with Prokofiev began with the First Violin Concerto after Szigeti found the manuscript at the home of pianist and pedagogue Józef Turczyński in Warsaw.<sup>95</sup> Their first meeting occurred on 29 May 1924, when Szigeti visited Prokofiev in Paris to rehearse the Concerto ahead of his debut performance with Fritz Reiner on 1 June that year at the International Society for Contemporary Music Festival in Prague.<sup>96</sup> The success of Szigeti's interpretation of the Concerto resulted in numerous performances of the work in European capitals, the Far East, the US and Australia. Szigeti was the violinist who gave the Concerto its Soviet

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<sup>94</sup> SPA, 5 letters from Prokofiev to Szigeti 1923-1925 and 13 letters from Szigeti to Prokofiev 1923-1932; RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 689; RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 269.

<sup>95</sup> W. S. Meadmore, *Szigeti: A Biography of a Musician. Introduction by Sir Compton Mackenzie* (Szigeti Archive, Box 1: Self-publication, n.d.), 164; Joseph Szigeti, *With Strings Attached: Reminiscences and Reflections*, 2nd ed., rev. and enl (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), 200.

<sup>96</sup> Meadmore, *Szigeti: A Biography of a Musician. Introduction by Sir Compton Mackenzie*, 189-190.; Tully Potter, notes to *Great Violinists – Szigeti: Prokofiev- Bartok - Block*, (1935, 1939), Naxos Historical, CD 8.110973

premieres in Leningrad and Moscow on 8 and 19 October 1924 respectively.<sup>97</sup> In gratitude for his role in the Concerto's international success, Prokofiev dedicated to Szigeti the Melody No. 5 from his *Five Melodies*, Op. 35bis.<sup>98</sup> On 28 December 1928, Prokofiev heard Szigeti's interpretation of the Concerto in Paris under Ansermet, and wrote in his diary: 'This was the first time I had heard his interpretation, and I must say that it was the best performance of the work I have heard so far – clear, logical and all as if laid out on a plate.'<sup>99</sup>

The First Violin Concerto also inaugurated Prokofiev's acquaintance with the Odessa-born violinist David Oistrakh. In 1927 Prokofiev had visited Odessa as part of his first Soviet tour and attended a concert in his honour. However, Oistrakh's interpretation of the Scherzo from the Concerto was rather disappointing for Prokofiev, who at the end of Oistrakh's performance rushed on the stage, took the pianist's seat and started demonstrating the music to Oistrakh.<sup>100</sup>

Between 1924 and 1929 Szigeti toured the Soviet Union eleven times and it was during these years that Oistrakh heard Szigeti's violin playing in Odessa and in Moscow.<sup>101</sup> In 1928 Oistrakh moved from Odessa to Moscow, and in 1936 Prokofiev relocated to Moscow in the same block of apartments on Chakalova Street in which Oistrakh lived. Oistrakh and Prokofiev forged a close friendship over chess, which

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<sup>97</sup> Szigeti, *With Strings Attached*, 235; M.A. Mendel'son-Prokof'eva, *O Sergee Sergeeviche Prokof'eva: Vospominaniia. Dnevniki. 1938-1967*. (Moskva: Kompozitor, 2012), 511, f. 80.

<sup>98</sup> Prokofiev, *Sergey Prokofiev Diaries 1924-1933*, 196.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 759.

<sup>100</sup> Viktor Jusefovich, *David Oistrakh: Conversations with Igor Oistrakh* (London: Cassell, 1979), 163–164.

<sup>101</sup> Yakov Soroker, *David Oistrakh*, trans. J. Vinner (Jerusalem: Lexicon Publishing House, 1982), 52; Viktor Aranovich Ūzefovich, *David Oistrakh: Besedy s Igorem Oistrakhom*, Izd. 2-e, ispr. i dop. (Moskva: Sovetskii kompozitor, 1985), 256.

soon led to musical collaborations. On 24 October 1939, Oistrakh performed the First Violin Concerto at the Great Hall of Moscow Conservatory under the composer's baton.<sup>102</sup>

The Second World War brought upheaval for all three musicians, but it was also a time when significant new music was created. Between 1941 and 1943 Prokofiev was evacuated from Moscow while Oistrakh remained for most of the war in Moscow. At Oistrakh's suggestion Prokofiev transcribed his Flute Sonata for violin into the Second Violin Sonata and soon Prokofiev recommenced his First Violin Sonata, which he had originally started in 1938, eventually completing it in 1946. Szigeti had in the meantime migrated to the USA in 1940. Prokofiev and Szigeti kept in touch during the War. In March 1944 the composer received Szigeti's 1935 recording of the First Violin Concerto with Thomas Beecham and the London Philharmonic Orchestra, sent via the British Embassy and VOKS.<sup>103</sup> In the preface of both editions of the Violin Sonatas (New York: Leeds Music Corporation 1946, 1948), Szigeti claims that Prokofiev had entrusted him with the manuscripts of the Violin Sonatas for the first performances in the Western Hemisphere: those premieres are customarily stated as having been respectively the Second Violin Sonata in Boston on 26 November 1944 and the First Violin Sonata in San Francisco on 2 January 1948.<sup>104</sup> This thesis aims to investigate the accuracy of Szigeti's claims, as well as research Szigeti's premieres, and how the Violin Sonatas were received in the USA. In the literature, though Szigeti is mentioned predominantly in connection with the First

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<sup>102</sup> Ūzefovich, *David Oĭstrakh*, 205–206.

<sup>103</sup> GARF, f. 5283, op. 15, d. 217, l. 4-7.

<sup>104</sup> Lev Nikolaevich Raaben, 'Īozhef Sĭgeti,' in *Zhizn' Zamechatel'nykh Skripacheĭ i Violonchelistov* (Leningrad: Muzyka, 1969), 204.

Violin Concerto, his role in the dissemination of the Violin Sonatas has fallen into obscurity as a result of the war.

The years in which the Violin Sonatas were composed (1938-46) historically coincide with the Stalinist era and the Second World War. Hence, the influence of international politics, cultural exchange, but also of censorship, will be taken into consideration while evaluating the Western dissemination of the Violin Sonatas, with research being focused predominantly on the USA where Szigeti was resident. The UK is covered only contextually and historically, mainly in terms of the establishment of the Anglo-Soviet Music Press in 1945 and of the UK's war alliance with the USSR and the USA.

Thus, the aim of the current research is to synthesize the sporadic information on the Violin Sonatas from Prokofiev's autographical writings, his second wife Mira Mendelson's *Diaries* (2012)<sup>105</sup>, the existing literature and published and unpublished correspondence in order to examine the historical background of the composition and dissemination of the Violin Sonatas. The main research questions are:

1. What light can the surviving primary sources of the Violin Sonatas shed on the collaboration between Sergei Prokofiev and David Oistrakh?
2. Which Soviet and Western cultural and diplomatic organisations facilitated the dissemination and publication of the Violin Sonatas in the USA and the UK during the 1940s?

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<sup>105</sup> Mendel'son-Prokof'eva, *O Sergee Sergeeviche Prokof'eva: Vospominaniia. Dnevnik. 1938-1967.*

3. What can the premieres and the first performance editions by David Oistrakh and Joseph Szigeti reveal about the performance practice of the Violin Sonatas in the 1940s?

With regards to the first research question, the entire compositional process from sketches to the first performance editions will be evaluated in Chapters 2 and 3. In the analysis of the Second Violin Sonata, the various stages of collaboration between Prokofiev and Oistrakh will be investigated via a comparison and chronological organisation of the surviving primary sources: sketches, autographs, manuscripts by copyists and corrected annotated editions. The analysis of the First Violin Sonata is mainly concerned with the compositional process and the chronological evolution of ideas as these appear in sketches, the Autograph Manuscript and steklograph edition. Whilst tracing the compositional process of the Violin Sonatas, the thesis does not address the musical analysis of the works, which has already been covered in depth by Rebecca Sue Kaufman.<sup>106</sup>

The second research question on cultural and diplomatic organisations which facilitated the dissemination and publication of the Violin Sonatas in the West will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. The war against fascism created unprecedented conditions, which allowed the dissemination of Soviet music into countries that formed a military alliance with the USSR. During the research the author discovered a gap in the literature on the operation of the Soviet-Western musical exchanges and diplomacy during the 1940s. Thus, Chapter 4, largely drawn from archival research, discusses the operation of organisations such as VOKS, Preslit, Am-Rus Music

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<sup>106</sup> Rebecca Sue Kaufman, 'Expanded Tonality in the Late Chamber Works of Sergei Prokofiev' (Ph.D. thesis, Music University of Kansas, 1987). See Chapter V (p. 225-323) for complete musical analysis of Op. 80 and Chapter IV (p. 126-224) for complete musical analysis of Op. 94, Flute Sonata.

Agency and Anglo-Soviet Music Press, addresses the complexities of the Western publication of the Soviet music and considers the historical context of cultural exchanges and military war alliances during the 1940s. Hence, Chapter 4 gives the necessary knowledge to comprehend the Western dissemination and publication of the Violin Sonatas in the 1940s, which is specifically addressed in Chapter 5.

In Chapter 5 (sub-chapter 5.1, 5.2) the author traces the dissemination of manuscripts of the Violin Sonatas from Moscow's VOKS and diplomatic circles to the USA (Am-Rus Music Agency, Leeds Music Corporation) and to the UK (Anglo-Soviet Music Press) and sheds light upon how the Violin Sonatas were first published in the Soviet Union, the USA and the UK.

The third research question is addressed in Chapters 5 (sub-chapter 5.3, 5.4) and Chapter 6 via an examination of the historical perception of the Soviet and American premieres and early interpretations by Oistrakh and Szigeti in the 1940s; a comparison of the first performance editions prepared by Oistrakh and Szigeti, and an evaluation of the interpretative differences between those editions, reflected in the recital that supplements the thesis. The performance style of the Violin Sonatas is addressed in relation to the author's own performance practice of the works. The subsequent performance history of the Violin Sonatas beyond the 1940s is beyond the scope of the thesis, with the exception of a brief acknowledgement of the late recordings by Oistrakh and Szigeti from the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>107</sup>

This research is result of archival work during three field research trips to Moscow, Russia, between April 2013 and December 2014 and of one field research trip to the USA in July-August 2014 to New York N.Y., Washington D.C., Boston

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<sup>107</sup> See sub-chapter 6.3 and list of 'Recordings of the Violin Sonatas by Oistrakh and Szigeti', p. 367.

M.A. and Rochester N.Y.<sup>108</sup> In particular, the author has worked in the personal archives of Prokofiev (SPA, RGALI f. 1929, GM f. 33), Oistrakh (GM f. 285) and Szigeti (JSA), including a remote research request to the Joseph Szigeti Collection of Music and Recordings at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, USA. Archival correspondence from the archives AmRus (LC), GARF (VOKS f. 5283), JHC (LC), LC/ISCM (NYPL), NARA and SKA (LC) is used in the thesis mostly to give historical context and to support the operation of cultural relations, diplomacy and musical exchanges. The challenges of the archival research were the geographical spread of the archives (Moscow, New York, Washington, Boston) and the temporary closures of Prokofiev's personal archives (RGALI f. 1929, SPA) during 2013-2014 including the move of the SPA from Goldsmiths, University of London, to Columbia University in New York, USA.

The author has attempted as far as possible to employ oral testimony by interviewing the students of Oistrakh and Szigeti. In total the author contacted eight students of Oistrakh and two students of Szigeti, out of whom only three students of Oistrakh responded (Oleh Krysa, Alexander Treger and Michael Vaiman). The challenges of the interview project were firstly, the geographical distance from interview participants who are resident in the USA, Europe and Australia and secondly, the significant distance in time as all interview participants studied with Oistrakh in the 1960s and 1970s. However, during the USA field research trip (2014) the author travelled to Rochester (N.Y, USA) and interviewed Oleh Krysa, who identified Oistrakh's handwriting on the copyist and autograph manuscripts of the Violin Sonatas. Lydia Mordkovitch, student of Oistrakh, and dedicatee of the present

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<sup>108</sup> Field research trips in Moscow: 1-17 April 2013, 1-12 December 2013 and 14-26 December 2014. USA field research trip: 14 July-7 August 2014 (New York N.Y 14-19 July, 26 July, 4-7 August; Boston MA. 20-25 July; Washington D.C. 27 July-2 August; Rochester N.Y. 2-3 August)

thesis, passed away in 2014. Additionally, the author interviewed Rev. Canon Dr Michael Bourdeaux and Victor Hochhauser to shed light on the operation of cultural relations in the post-war period.

The thesis refers to many Soviet and Western individuals, but the key personalities to the thesis are: Grigori Shneerson (1943-48 Head of Music Section VOKS), Levon Atovmyan (1940-48 Deputy Chairman, Director and Chief Editor of Muzfond), Semyon Shlifshtein (1940-44 Music Consultant in the Committee of Arts Affairs), Serge Koussevitzky (Russian émigré conductor, 1924-49 Music Director of the Boston Symphony Orchestra), Helen Black (1944-51 Director of Am-Rus Music Agency, New York) and Alfred Kalmus (Director of the Anglo-Soviet Music Press, London).

### 1.3 Prokofiev's compositional practice, the composer's wider collaborations with violinists

This sub-chapter will address the main characteristics of Prokofiev's compositional practice and is predominantly drawn from Blok's monograph *Metod Tvorcheskoï Raboty S. Prokof'eva: Issledovanie (The method of creative work of S. Prokofiev, 1979)*, which is the result of his musicological research focused on Prokofiev's instrumental, mostly chamber compositions.<sup>109</sup> Thus, the sub-chapter aims to prepare the discussion of the compositional process of the Violin Sonatas in Chapters 2 and 3 of the thesis.

According to Blok, the peripatetic 'spread' of Prokofiev's creative practice – both geographically and chronologically – was a significant and constant characteristic of his work.<sup>110</sup> Another characteristic was Prokofiev's intentional and methodical differentiation of composition into three stages: sketching, piano scoring and orchestral or instrumental scoring. During the first stage of sketching, Prokofiev worked without the piano and aimed at producing preliminary thematic materials and the overall structural outline of the composition. Thus, this first stage of sketching included decisions on tonality, melodic climaxes, overall structure, as well as initial ideas for instrumentation. The second stage was piano scoring, i.e. detailed work on the music at the piano from the determined outline. The third stage of instrumentation was finalised on the manuscript paper without playing the composition on the piano.

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<sup>109</sup> V. Blok, *Kontserty dlia Violoncheli s Orkestrom S. Prokof'eva* (Moskva: Muzgiz, 1959), 4–5; Blok, *Sergei Prokofiev*; V. Blok, ed., *S.S. Prokof'ev: Stat'i i Issledovaniia* (Moskva: Muzyka, 1972); V. Blok, *Metod Tvorcheskoï Raboty S. Prokof'eva: Issledovanie* (Moskva: Muzyka, 1979), 4–5.

<sup>110</sup> Blok, *Metod Tvorcheskoï Raboty S. Prokof'eva*, 23–24.

Such a methodical segmentation allowed Prokofiev to return to and reflect upon the work at any stage and after considerable breaks.<sup>111</sup>

Blok identified five types of sketches in Prokofiev's creative practice: 1) the preliminary sketches i.e. initial sketching of thematic materials; 2) structural sketches which give the overall structure of composition; 3) sketches in piano scoring of instrumental or orchestral compositions; 4) sketching extracts of individual fragments, which usually supplemented a work during its revision; and 5) sketches of orchestration and instrumentation. From Reinhold Glière, Prokofiev's first compositional teacher, Prokofiev adopted the method of numerical abbreviation, which included initial numbering of bars (e.g. 1, 2, 3) and subsequent usage of numerical succession to indicate the repeated bars (e.g. 2, 3, 1, 2, 1). Besides numerical abbreviation, Prokofiev used the same principle with the alphabet, and assigned letters to refer to specific bars and even letters to stand for a combination of bars or themes. Thus, according to Blok, Prokofiev developed a 'method of dual alphabetical system' in which some letters indicated repeated bars and their succession, whereas other letters symbolized repeated combination of bars or whole sections.<sup>112</sup>

Parallel work on different musical compositions was another characteristic of Prokofiev's creative practice. It is indicative that Prokofiev's Sketchbooks No. 10 and No. 11 (*Notnye zapisnye knizhki*), dated from 1940 to the mid 1940s, contain thematic materials from the Flute Sonata, First Violin Sonata, Second, Fourth, Fifth

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<sup>111</sup> V. Blok, 'Sotrudnichestvo s Muzykantami-Iсполnitel'iami i Deiatel'iami Drugikh Vidov Iskusstv,' in *Metod Tvorcheskoï Raboty S. Prokof'eva: Issledovanie* (Moskva: Muzyka, 1979), 24–25.

<sup>112</sup> Blok, *Metod Tvorcheskoï Raboty S. Prokof'eva*, 51, 67.

and Sixth Symphonies, the opera *War and Peace*, and the Ninth Piano Sonata.<sup>113</sup> However, there are exceptions to Prokofiev's practice of composing several works in tandem, especially when big projects were close to completion or when Prokofiev was absorbed in one project.<sup>114</sup>

In further discussing Prokofiev's compositional practice, Blok emphasizes the repeated reuse of thematic materials across musical genres. According to Blok, themes from the unrealized sonata for violin and piano from Prokofiev's childish manuscripts were used in *Ballade* for cello and piano (1912).<sup>115</sup> The only trace of the aforementioned sonata for violin and piano is found in Prokofiev's *Autobiography*.<sup>116</sup> Among other examples, the unused thematic material from the ballet *Prodigal Son* (1928) formed the major part of the Fourth Symphony (1930) with few alterations.<sup>117</sup>

Finally, Blok highlights Prokofiev's inclination to revise completed works – often after they had been performed – and to create new editions, versions and transcriptions. Blok emphasizes that Prokofiev's revised works ought to be considered as new compositions created for different interpretative purposes. The extent of revisions varies from fundamental changes of thematic materials to simple alteration of instrumentation. Thus, a stage work can become an orchestral suite or a piano solo piece.<sup>118</sup> An example of continuous revision is Prokofiev's First Cello Concerto Op. 58 (1933-38) which was not only reworked, but also was revised into a new version

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<sup>113</sup> RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 290; RGALI f. 1929, op.1, ed. khr. 291.

<sup>114</sup> Blok, *Metod Tvorcheskoï Raboty S. Prokof'eva*, 27.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>116</sup> Sergeï Prokof'ev, *Avtobiografiâ* (Moskva: Klassika-XXI, 2007), 304–305, 324.

<sup>117</sup> Blok, *Metod Tvorcheskoï Raboty S. Prokof'eva*, 35–36.

<sup>118</sup> Blok, *Sergei Prokofiev*, 38–41.

entitled the *Symphony-Concerto* Op. 125 (1950-52). The First Cello Concerto was commenced in 1933, and in its original form, completed in 1938, Prokofiev used only half of the thematic materials.<sup>119</sup> Prokofiev made a first attempt to revise the Concerto in the 1950s, which was then named Cello Concerto No. 2; after the unsuccessful premiere of that first revised version in 18 February 1952, Prokofiev made further significant changes to the music, which led to the final version of the work and to its new title: the *Symphony-Concerto*.<sup>120</sup>

New editions of Prokofiev's music include numerous autograph transcriptions, which appear in the composer's catalogue with either the addition of bis suffix to the opus number or under a new opus number. For example, transcriptions from the ballet *Romeo and Juliet* Op. 64 include: Op. 64bis first symphonic suite, Op. 64ter second symphonic suite, Op. 75 ten pieces for piano and Op. 101 third symphonic suite. Among other Prokofiev's transcriptions can be mentioned transcriptions from the ballet *Cinderella* (Op. 97, Op. 97bis, Op. 102, 107, 108 and 109), *Hamlet* (Op. 77bis), *Alexander Nevsky* (Op. 78bis), *War and Peace* (Op. 96, Op. 110).

Prokofiev's violin music is a creative mixture of original compositions and transcriptions, a common aspect of Prokofiev's compositional practice considering the extensive number of his own autograph transcriptions. Prokofiev's violin writing is spread over 30 years and consists of the First Violin Concerto, Op. 19 (1915-17), *Five Melodies* for violin and piano, Op. 35bis (1920/1925), Sonata for two violins, Op. 56 (1932), Second Violin Concerto, Op. 63 (1935), Second Violin Sonata, Op. 94bis (1942-43/1944), First Violin Sonata, Op. 80 (1938-46) and Sonata for Solo Violin,

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<sup>119</sup> Blok, *Metod Tvorcheskoï Raboty S. Prokofieva*, 40.

<sup>120</sup> Alexander Ivashkin, 'Cooling the Volcano: Prokofiev's Cello Concerto Op. 58 and Symphony-Concerto Op. 125,' *Three Oranges* 18 (November 2009): 8.

Op. 115 (1947). The genesis of these compositions often derived from Prokofiev's collaboration with violinists.

The first of these was Prokofiev's collaboration with Paweł Kokhánski. In 1917, the year of First Violin Concerto's completion, Kokhánski with 'utmost care and understanding' was working on the Concerto's solo part transforming it into – as Prokofiev noted in his diary – 'the superb violin solo part of my Concerto he had made himself'.<sup>121</sup> In 1921 Prokofiev consulted with Kokhánski during the preparations of the 1922 edition of *Overture on Hebrew Themes* Op. 34: 'went to see Kokhánski again, to show him the proofs of the *Hebrew Overture* and consult with him on bowings.'<sup>122</sup> In 1925 Prokofiev collaborated again with Kokhánski, preferring him to the violinist Cecilia Hansen, on the transcription of the Five Songs Without Words Op. 35, which became the *Five Melodies*. Prokofiev described his collaboration with Kokhánski and the violinist's personality in his diary on 1 July 1925:

Was at Kokhánski's, and we took a good look at Opus 35, transcribing it for violin. [...] Cecilia somehow got hold of the second of the Songs Without Words and we found it went beautifully for violin. It was at that point that I decided to make a version of the whole Opus, but to collaborate not with the naive Cecilia but with Kokhánski, whose skills in this respect are fabulous. [...] I set for Kokhánski's, armed with preliminary sketches [...]. We worked for two hours and recast practically the whole opus. Kokhánski is marvelously gifted and imaginative, qualities in him that are indeed universally recognised.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Prokofiev, *Sergey Prokofiev Diaries: 1915-1923 Behind the Mask*, 33, 230, 536. For Kokhánski's input in the First Violin Concerto also see Martin Riseley, 'The Violin Concertos of Sergei Prokofiev' (D.M.A. thesis, Juilliard School, 1995).

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 614.

<sup>123</sup> Prokofiev, *Sergey Prokofiev Diaries 1924-1933*, 191–192.

The second violinist who collaborated with Prokofiev was Robert Soëpens. Prokofiev and Soëpens became acquainted when Soëpens co-premiered with Samuel Dushkin Prokofiev's Sonata for two violins for the Triton inaugural concert in 1932.<sup>124</sup> Subsequently they corresponded throughout 1933-34 and the tragic death of Kokhánski at the age of 46 from cancer in January 1934 might have influenced Prokofiev's decision to write something for Soëpens. The new piece for violin was the Second Violin Concerto, the composition of which gives evidence of their collaboration. Soëpens's autobiography and his letter to Prokofiev on 17 May 1935 describe his desire for a great violin singing part with *chanterelle* and 4<sup>th</sup> string, qualities which relate to the first and second themes of the Second Violin Concerto. Revealing are also Prokofiev's letters to Soëpens on 1 August 1935: 'Attached is the piano score of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Concerto. I haven't yet fully worked out the bowings, especially in the 2<sup>nd</sup> movement [...]. If you have any good ideas – mark them in pencil: I'm happy for you to make useful changes' and on 10 August: 'come to see me at the estate of the Bolshoi Theatre, near Moscow to work on the Concerto in peace. [...] I wait your thoughts with great curiosity – of course no compliments, please, just cool criticism!'<sup>125</sup>

In examining the collaboration between Prokofiev and these instrumentalists, the question of the latter's possible influence on the compositional process is most intriguing. Was their collaboration predominantly about technicalities such as bowings and interpretation markings, or did it also influence the musical language, thematic material and general mind-set of the work? It is certainly evident that when

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<sup>124</sup> Triton was a contemporary music society founded in Paris by Pierre-Octave Ferroud in 1932, which included among its members Honegger, Poulenc, Ravel and Stravinsky. The society's inaugural concert was held on 16 December 1932.

<sup>125</sup> Yumiko Nunokawa and Shin-ichi Numabe, 'The Friendship between Serge Prokofiev and Robert Soëpens,' *Three Oranges* 24 (November 2012): 6, 9.

Prokofiev composed or transcribed his violin compositions, he had consciously chosen specific violinists with whom to collaborate. For instance, he preferred Kokhánski to Hansen for the transcription of the *Five Melodies*, and composed singing melodies in the Second Violin Concerto as Soëtens had desired. It is also evident that Prokofiev gave more freedom to Kokhánski to alter the violin part of the First Violin Concerto than to Soëtens, who had expressed his wishes for the Second Violin Concerto and advised on bowings and violin technique.

The forgotten case of the Ukrainian violinist Alexander Illievitch can shed some further light upon Prokofiev's collaborations with violinists. In 1936 Illievitch decided to transcribe Prokofiev's March from *The Love for Three Oranges*, but the publication of the transcription remained unrealised. Prokofiev's letter of 9 August 1936 to Illievitch explained the reasons:

I objected against the publication of your transcription of the March mainly because, it had a lot of counterpoint and many additions which do not exist in my composition. [...] I will be very glad, if you will send me other transcriptions of my compositions, but try to avoid any additions in them [...] Of course, the solo part you can decorate, because this derives from violinistic technique, but do not compose new music.<sup>126</sup>

However, Prokofiev transcribed with Illievitch his *Gavotte* Op. 12. On 28 September 1937 Prokofiev wrote to Illievitch that 'it looks that now all is correct. I will look again and afterwards with speak with Muzgiz'.<sup>127</sup> The 1938 proofreading copy of *Gavotte*, score and violin part, with Prokofiev's editorial comments is currently deposited at the RGALI archive.<sup>128</sup> In 1939 Muzgiz published *Gavotte* as a

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<sup>126</sup> G. Tiūmeneva, 'Neizvestnye Pis'ma S. S. Prokof'eva,' *Muzykal'naia Zhizn'* 9–10 (1991). Author's translation.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> RGALI f. 1929, op. 2, ed. khr. 55.

‘transcription for violin and piano by Illievitch and Prokofieff’.<sup>129</sup> From Prokofiev’s correspondence with Illievitch it becomes evident that with regard to transcriptions, Prokofiev was protective of his original compositions and did not approve any changes to the music, but only changes that would better suit violinistic technique.

The debate on collaboration between Prokofiev and instrumentalists is well illuminated by Alexander Ivashkin and Simon Morrison, who focus on the collaboration between Prokofiev and Rostropovich and the creation of *Symphony-Concerto* Op. 125. Ivashkin in his 2009 article entitled ‘Cooling the Volcano: Prokofiev’s Cello Concerto Op. 58 and *Symphony-Concerto* Op. 125’ responds to Morrison who questions the degree of Rostropovich’s participation in, and hence influence on, the composition of the *Symphony-Concerto*. Ivashkin argues that Rostropovich participated in the shaping of the work according to ‘Rostropovich’s own memoirs of 1954, his liner notes of the CD box set Russian Years and his numerous interviews [...] as well as Prokofiev’s own dedication on the cover page of the manuscript’.<sup>130</sup> Moreover, in his article, Ivashkin provides a detailed analysis of the music from the view of cello technique and instrumental possibilities, concluding that the ‘*Symphony-Concerto* is a brilliantly cellistic work, with a very wide range required from the cellist’.<sup>131</sup> Morrison’s main argument is that the subjective nature of recollections can only be trusted to some extent, whereas other sources, such as surviving archival correspondence, may be more enlightening and hence trustworthy. Thus, Morrison concludes that Rostropovich might not have been the only cellist

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<sup>129</sup> S. S. Prokof'ev, *Gavot Op. 12. Perel. dlia Skripki i F.-P. A. Il'evicha i S. Prokof'eva* (M. L.: Gos. muz. izd-vo, 1939).

<sup>130</sup> Ivashkin, 'Cooling the Volcano: Prokofiev’s Cello Concerto Op. 58 and *Symphony-Concerto* Op. 125,' 8.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

involved in the composition of Prokofiev's cello works: 'The answers [...] are probably buried in the Russian federal archives and private holdings.'<sup>132</sup>

To conclude, one can observe that both approaches are necessary for drawing conclusions. A synthesis of archival correspondence, careful analysis of surviving sketches, manuscripts and performance editions, recollections and diaries, and comprehension of the instrument's technique can shed light on the creative compositional practice and on the collaboration between a composer and performer. This holistic approach – subject to the availability of surviving primary and secondary sources – can assess the complex notion of collaboration between a composer and a performer. In the limited literature on the subject, collaboration is mainly examined by case studies as every composer has his/her individual approach to working with an instrumentalist. The collaboration itself is often problematic for composers, and researchers have 'found no obvious deterministic relationship between the success of collaboration (as process) and the success of the work created (product). [...] a successful collaboration was not guaranteed by having good personal connections.'<sup>133</sup> Historically, composers dedicate their works to instrumentalists 'in friendship, admiration or anticipation of a first performance', despite the fact that 'only few compositions were written in such close collaboration and consultation between composer and performer that personal idiosyncrasies of the instrumentalist were reflected in the emerging work'.<sup>134</sup> The role of composers is to create new music and often to push the technical boundaries of a genre or instrument. While 'the role of the

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<sup>132</sup> Simon Morrison, 'Rostropovich's Recollections,' *Music & Letters* 91, no. 1 (February 1, 2010): 89.

<sup>133</sup> Sam Hayden and Luke Windsor, 'Collaboration and the Composer: Case Studies from the End of the 20th Century,' *Tempo* 61, no. 240 (April 1, 2007): 38.

<sup>134</sup> Boris Schwarz, 'Joseph Joachim and the Genesis of Brahms's Violin Concerto,' *The Musical Quarterly* 69, no. 4 (October 1, 1983): 503.

instrumentalist may be very important, it is rarely that of an inventor. [...] The performer steps in to sort out the innovative from the impossible. [...] The performer's role is usually confined to the discovery of practical 'solutions' to musical ideas ('problems') that have been already been posed by the composer.'<sup>135</sup>

Prokofiev's collaboration with Oistrakh on the transcription of the Flute Sonata for violin and hence the creation of the Second Violin Sonata, draws exactly on this post-compositional aspect of collaboration. Oistrakh gave practical advice to Prokofiev on how to adapt the musical text to violinistic technique. Moreover, Prokofiev dedicated to Oistrakh the First Violin Sonata and consulted Oistrakh on violin bowings prior to work's premiere. In the case of both the Violin Sonatas the collaboration between Prokofiev and Oistrakh is post-compositional, but at the same time it occurred before the works were premiered. Chapters 2 and 3 will examine the primary sources of the Violin Sonatas and will attempt to trace the depth and intensity of their collaboration by examining primarily the surviving performance annotations on the manuscripts.

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<sup>135</sup> Fabrice Fitch and Neil Heyde, 'Recercar' – The Collaborative Process as Invention,' *Twentieth-Century Music* 4, no. 1 (2007): 71–72, doi:10.1017/S1478572207000539.

## Chapter 2

### Second Violin Sonata:

#### Compositional process from sketches to the first performance edition

#### Introduction and primary sources of the Second Violin Sonata

Chapter 2 will address the compositional process of the Second Violin Sonata, which is Prokofiev's transcription of his Flute Sonata made at the request of the violinist David Oistrakh. Therefore, Chapter 2 will briefly refer to the historical circumstances of commission and composition of the Flute Sonata, including a brief examination of its sketches, and will then proceed with the analysis of violin adaptation as seen through the surviving primary sources. There are five primary sources relating to the Second Violin Sonata, held in the RGALI and GM archives. When examining the surviving primary sources, the author will attempt to find any supporting evidence of collaboration between Prokofiev and Oistrakh and to address the impact of their collaboration on the revision process. The primary methodology will be the inclusion and analysis of images from the five surviving primary sources and from the first edition published in 1946 by Muzgiz.<sup>136</sup> One example of the adaptation process as it appears throughout the sources will be addressed prior to the final discussion of the differences between the flute and the violin versions as evident in the 1965 G. Schirmer edition.<sup>137</sup> The aforementioned edition includes both the flute part and the

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<sup>136</sup> Serge Prokofieff, *Second Sonata Op. 94bis for Violin and Piano*, ed. David Oistrakh (Moscow, Leningrad: State Music Publishers (Muzgiz), 1946).

<sup>137</sup> Sergei Prokofiev, *Sonata Opus 94 for Flute or Violin and Piano*, Modern Russian Masterworks (New York: G. Schirmer, Inc (ASCAP), 1948, 1965).

violin part in its score. Chapter 2 will end with an articulation of the conclusions relating to these sources.

Two primary sources for the Flute Sonata are:

- Sketchbook No. 10, few sketches of the Flute Sonata, abbreviated as Sketchbook No. 10
- Autograph sketches of the Flute Sonata, abbreviated as RGALI 1929/1/192

The five primary sources regarding the Second Violin Sonata (sub-chapters 2.2-2.3) are:

- Copyist manuscript score (annotated) of the Second Violin Sonata, abbreviated as RGALI 1929/1/193
- Copyist manuscript score (not annotated) of the Second Violin Sonata, abbreviated as RGALI 1929/1/194
- Copyist manuscripts: score and violin part (both annotated) of the Second Violin Sonata, abbreviated as GM 33/12
- Copyist manuscript: violin part (annotated) of the Second Violin Sonata, abbreviated as GM 33/899
- Proof score of the Second Violin Sonata, abbreviated as GM 33/13

The succession of primary sources of the Flute Sonata and the Second Violin Sonata is depicted in **Table 2**.

**Table 2: Primary sources of the Flute Sonata and the Second Violin Sonata**

<b>Title of composition</b>	<b>Primary Source</b>	<b>Archival Reference</b>	<b>Archival Dating</b>	<b>Abbreviation used in thesis</b>
Flute Sonata, sketches of movements I, II and III	Sketchbook No. 10	RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 290	2 October 1940 (start date)	Sketchbook No. 10
Flute Sonata, sketches of movement IV	Autograph sketches	RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 292	1943	RGALI 1929/1/192
<b>Key dates:</b> Summer 1942: commission of the Flute Sonata 18 September 1942 – 12 September 1943: composition of the Flute Sonata				
Flute Sonata Autograph	Autograph Manuscript	GM f. 33, No. 384	1942-43	n/a
<b>Key date:</b> 7 December 1943 premiere of the Flute Sonata at Moscow Conservatory by Nikolai Khar'kovskii (flute) and Sviatoslav Richter (piano)				
Second Violin Sonata	Copyist manuscript, score, annotated	RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 193	1942-43	RGALI 1929/1/193
Second Violin Sonata	Copyist manuscript, score not annotated	RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 194	1944	RGALI 1929/1/194
Second Violin Sonata	Copyist manuscript, score and violin part, both annotated	GM f. 33, No. 12	1942-44	GM 33/12
Second Violin Sonata	Copyist manuscript, violin part, annotated	GM f. 33, No. 899	Undated	GM 33/899
Second Violin Sonata	Proof, score	GM f. 33, No. 13	1942-44	GM 33/13
<b>Key date:</b> 17 June 1944 premiere of the Second Violin Sonata at Moscow Conservatory by David Oistrakh (violin) and Lev Oborin (piano)				

## 2.1 Commission and sketches of the Flute Sonata

According to the dates on the autograph score, composition of the Flute Sonata began on 18 September 1942 and was completed on 12 September 1943 at Perm, Urals.<sup>138</sup> The initiative for its composition came from the composer himself, who in a letter of 17 July 1942<sup>139</sup> to Semyon Shlifshtein asked him to amend the earlier commission of several lyrical or virtuosic pieces for violin and piano to the commission of a flute sonata for which Prokofiev already had some thematic material.<sup>140</sup> This thematic material, sketched in Sketchbook No. 10 of 2 October 1940,<sup>141</sup> includes autograph sketches of the two main themes from the first movement, Moderato, the beginning of the second movement, Scherzo, and the beginning and themes of the third movement Andante. These sketches constitute the only surviving sketches of the aforementioned movements.<sup>142</sup> The sketches of the two themes of the Moderato (**Ex. 1**, **Ex. 2**) reveal that Prokofiev initially sketched the Flute Sonata in C major instead of D major; however, the author's pencil annotation on the left side of the bars 1-4, instructs a transposition by a tone higher. That implies that the sketches of Sketchbook No. 10 are preliminary sketches from Prokofiev's first stage of compositional practice as outlined by Blok. As seen from the following examples, these sketches consist of

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<sup>138</sup> GM f. 33, No. 284.

<sup>139</sup> RGALI f. 1929, op. 3, ed. khr. 105.

<sup>140</sup> See sub-chapter 5.1, p. 204, for reasons behind the composition of the Flute Sonata and Georges Barrère's influence.

<sup>141</sup> RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 290. The date 2 October 1940 – the only available date of the source – is written on the first page the Sketchbook No. 10, which may well be the date Prokofiev commenced the Sketchbook.

<sup>142</sup> The only available source with the sketches of the Flute Sonata is the RGALI 1929/1/192 (1943), which has only sketches of the last movement Allegro con brio.

melodic themes, decisions on tonality, note values, time signatures and allocation of themes to the Flute Sonata's movements.

**Ex. 1: I Moderato, bars 1-4 (Sketchbook No. 10, l. 49)<sup>143</sup>**

Sketched in C major. A pencil annotation on the left hand side instructs transposition by a tone higher.



**Ex. 2: I Moderato, bars 103-110 (Sketchbook No. 10, l. 15)**

The second theme of recapitulation is sketched in C major.



<sup>143</sup> l. (Rus: *list*) = page or sheet.

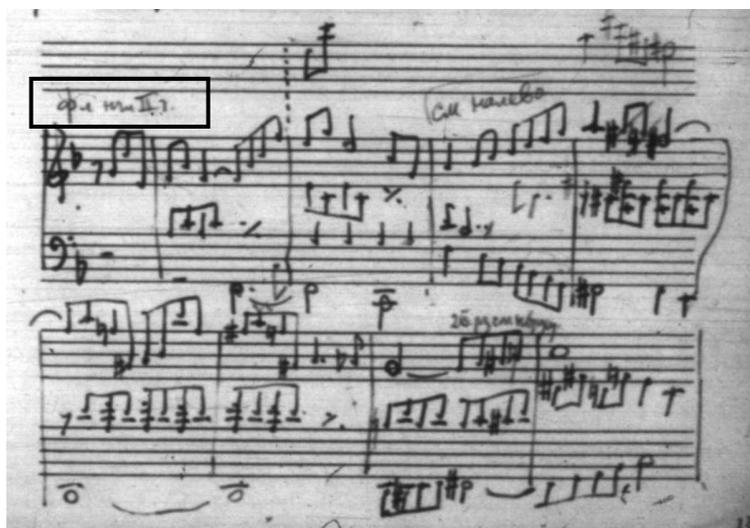
**Ex. 3: II Scherzo, bars 7-10 (Sketchbook No. 10, l. 46)**

The Roman number III indicates that Prokofiev initially conceived the Scherzo as the third movement of the Flute Sonata. In the first bar, the second beat is sketched as a whole crotchet (note C). In the final version, the crotchet becomes a quaver followed by a quaver rest.



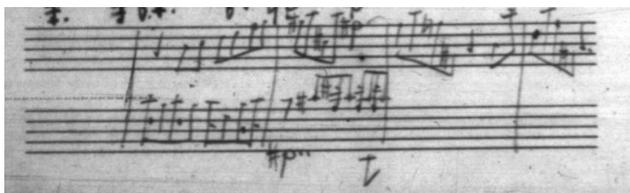
The sketches of the third movement, Andante (Ex. 4, Ex. 5), reveal that Prokofiev conceived the movement in 4/4, but during the compositional process changed it to 2/4, the time signature that appears on the autograph manuscript. Additionally, Prokofiev sketched the Andante as the second movement (II).

**Ex 4: III Andante, bars 1-17 (Sketchbook No. 10, l. 23)**



**Ex. 5: III Andante, bars 6-13 (Sketchbook No. 10, l. 22)**

Bars 6-13 are sketched in the time signature 4/4 instead of 2/4.



**III Andante, bars 34-38 (Sketchbook No. 10, l. 18)**

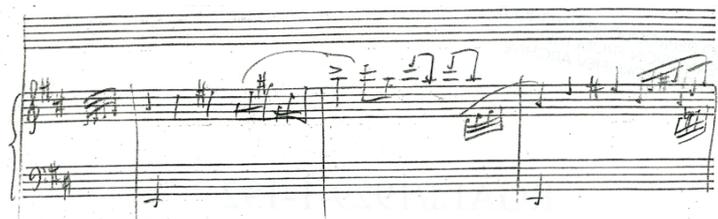
Bars 34-42 are sketched in quavers; final version in semiquavers.



The autograph sketches from the Sketchbook No. 10 were used only after the commissioning contract was signed between Prokofiev and Muzfond, which Prokofiev sent to Levon Atovmyan on 14 September 1942.<sup>144</sup>

An additional four pages of autograph sketches (RGALI 1929/1/192), pertinent to the Flute Sonata's last movement, *Allegro con brio*, provide further surviving evidence of the compositional process. These sketches are more elaborate than those in Sketchbook No. 10 and contain structural decisions of the entire movement as well some preliminary piano scoring. The first page of the sketches (**Ex. 6**) exhibits the first theme:

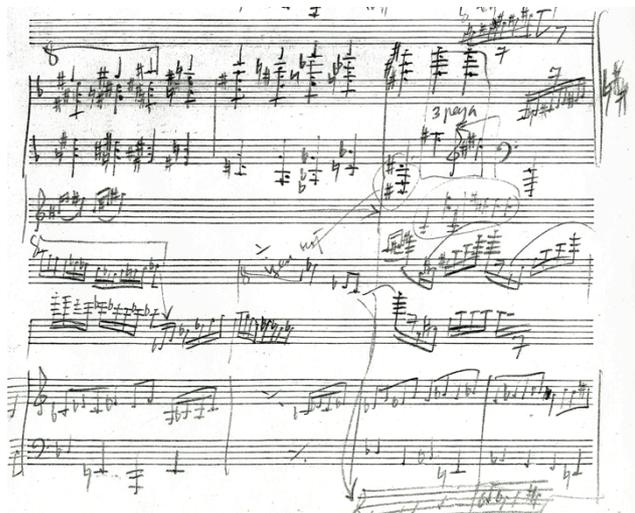
**Ex. 6: IV Allegro con brio, bars 1-3 (RGALI 1929/1/192, l. 1)**



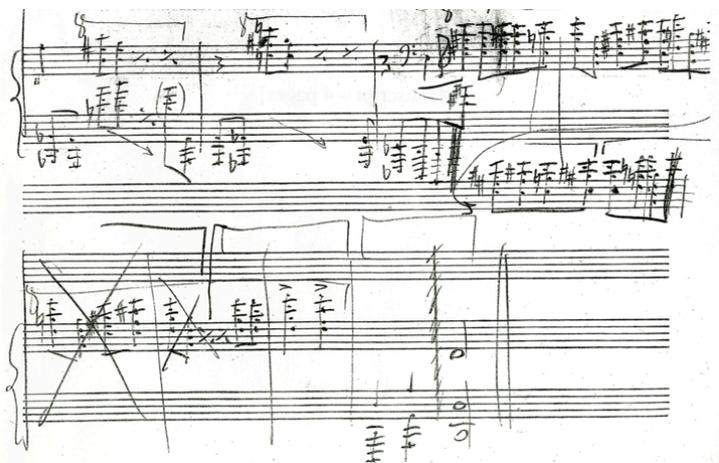
<sup>144</sup> Nelli Kravets, ed., *Riadam Velikimi: Atovm'ian I Ego Vremia* (Moskva: GITIS, 2012), 77–78.

Also in these pages, Prokofiev sketched the transition section of the development that leads into the recapitulation (Ex. 7) and harmonised the coda (Ex. 8).

**Ex. 7: IV Allegro con brio, bars 118-121, 141-142 (RGALI 1929/1/192, l. 2 verso)**



**Ex. 8: IV Allegro con brio, coda, bars 169-174 (RGALI 1929/1/192, l. 1 verso)**



On 16 September 1943 Prokofiev informed Atovmian about the completion of the Flute Sonata.<sup>145</sup> Apart from the sketches in Prokofiev's Sketchbook No. 10, the sketches of the Allegro con brio (RGALI 1929/1/192) (Table 3) and the autograph score of the Flute Sonata, there also exists a neat handwritten manuscript score of the

<sup>145</sup> Nelli Kravets, ed., *Riadam Velikimi: Atovm'ian i Ego Vremia* (Moskva: GITIS, 2012), 104.

Flute Sonata by a copyist in the Taneyev Research Music Library at the Moscow Conservatory.<sup>146</sup>

**Table 3: Sketches of the Flute Sonata**

Abbreviated sources	Movement	Type of sketching	Closest relation to bars of the Flute Sonata
Sketchbook No. 10 l. 49	I Moderato	piano scoring	bars 1-4
Sketchbook No. 10 l. 15	I Moderato	piano scoring	bars 103-110
Sketchbook No. 10 l. 46	II Scherzo. Presto	piano scoring	bars 7-10
Sketchbook No. 10 l. 22-23	III Andante	piano scoring	bars 1-17
Sketchbook No. 10 l. 18	III Andante	piano scoring	bars 34-38
Sketchbook No 10: l. 1 & l. 15 unidentified/unused thematic material			
RGALI 1929/1/192 l. 1	IV Allegro con brio	Light sketching, piano scoring	bars 1-3, 169-174 (coda)
RGALI 1929/1/192 l. 1 verso	IV Allegro con brio	Light sketching, piano scoring	bars 144-148 (?), 159-160
RGALI 1929/1/192 l. 2	IV Allegro con brio	Light sketching, flute and piano scoring	bars 97-106
RGALI 1929/1/192 l. 2 verso	IV Allegro con brio	Light sketching, flute and piano scoring	bars 111-121, 141-142

<sup>146</sup> S. S. Prokof'ev, 'Sonata D-Dur Op. 94 dl'ia Fleity i F-P. Rukopisnyĭ Kzempliār. Partitura i Partiia Fleity. (copyist manuscript)' 1945, Chit. Zal f. 94, Nauchnaia Muzykal'naia Biblioteka imeni S. I. Taneeva.

## 2.2 Violin adaptation, the RGALI manuscripts and copyist practice of the 1940s

The initiative for the violin adaptation is attributed to the Soviet violinist David Oistrakh who, after the premiere of the Flute Sonata, approached Prokofiev and proposed an adaptation for the violin.<sup>147</sup> The adaptation process of the Flute Sonata is described in the Soviet and Western published literature as a straightforward and swift exercise, based upon Oistrakh's memoirs of his collaboration with the composer:

And here I had a chance to observe him [Prokofiev] at work and saw how it is possible to work with such organisation and efficiency. Everything happened at the speed of light. Upon Sergei Sergeevich's request, I produced two or three variants for each passage that required editing, numbered them and presented the ready samples at his discretion. He, with pencil in hand, marked the version he considered suitable, made a few corrections here and there, and thus, without unnecessary words, the violin version of the sonata was made.<sup>148</sup>

Also, Prokofiev wrote in the press release of 24 May 1944 for the Sovinformbiuro:

Together with David Oistrakh – one of our best violinists – we composed the violin variant of the Sonata. The work proved to be simple, since it turned out that the flute part can easily be adjusted to the violin technique. The changes in the violin part were minimal and mainly concerned with bowings. The piano part remained unaltered.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> The premiere of the Flute Sonata was given on 7 December 1943 by the flautist Nikolai Kharkovsky (Nikolaï Khar'kovskii) and the pianist Sviatoslav Richter at the Moscow Conservatory.

<sup>148</sup> Shlifshtein, *S. Prokofiev: Autobiography, Articles, Reminiscences*, 241–242; Shlifshtein, *S.S. Prokofiev*, 451–452. Author's translation.

<sup>149</sup> Shlifshtein, *S.S. Prokofiev*, 249. Author's translation.

However, other sources suggest that Oistrakh's influence was in fact more significant. In the *Notograficheskiĭ Spravochnik*, the first catalogue of Prokofiev's compositions dictated by the composer to Mira Mendelson in 1951-52, Prokofiev stated that the violin variant of the Flute Sonata was made by David Oistrakh with the composer. Also, in the same source Prokofiev stated that the fingerings and bowing markings in the Soviet edition of the Second Violin Sonata were edited by David Oistrakh in consultation with the composer.<sup>150</sup> Hence Prokofiev placed Oistrakh as the first arranger of the violin part and acknowledged Oistrakh's notable input into fingerings and bowings. Moreover, the Soviet musicologist Īakov Soroker places Oistrakh as co-author of the Second Violin Sonata, adding that Oistrakh used stylistic elements 'particles' (Rus: *chastitsy*) of the Flute Sonata and achieved a violin adaptation in precise 'Prokofiev style', as if the violin variant was written by Prokofiev himself.<sup>151</sup>

Despite the fact that in both the Soviet and Western literature Prokofiev's transcription of the Flute Sonata is described as accounting for minimum changes in the solo part, the primary sources and the comparison of the flute and violin versions reveal some substantial differences. These differences include changes of rhythmic patterns, addition or alteration of notes, addition of double harmonics and other changes, all to be discussed in due course.

There are five surviving primary sources to the Second Violin Sonata. The earliest two are held in the RGALI archive and both are handwritten manuscript

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<sup>150</sup> RGALI f. 1929, op. 3, ed. khr. 25, l. 29-31.

<sup>151</sup> Īakov L'vovich Soroker, 'David Oistrakh - Interpretator Prokof'eva,' in *Muzykal'noe Iсполnitel'stvo*, ed. Vladimir Īur'evich Grigor'ev, Nataliĭa Platonovna Korykhalova, and V. A. Natanson, vol. Devĭatyĭ Sbornik Stateĭ (Moskva: Muzyka, 1976), 25.

scores by copyists. One, RGALI 1929/1/193, features pencil annotations that belong to two different sets of handwriting: one of these almost certainly belongs to the composer Sergei Prokofiev, as these annotations include his characteristic correction ← sign; the other probably belongs to the copyist, as the annotations include question marks relevant to accidentals and slurs. The other manuscript, RGALI 1929/1/194, is a neat handwritten score by a copyist with no annotations. The handwriting of the copyist is different from RGALI 1929/1/193, which indicates a different person. The comparison of the two manuscripts shows that all annotated sections of RGALI 1929/1/193 have been corrected and rewritten in RGALI 1929/1/194, which reinforces the conclusion that one of the two handwritings in RGALI 1929/1/193 belongs to the composer.

A copyist was a freelance professional. RGALI 1929/1/781<sup>152</sup> contains 36 sheets of letters sent by copyists to Sergei Prokofiev between 1916 and 1947. Though none of these letters refer to the violin variant of the Flute Sonata, they shed significant light on copyist practice of the 1940s. Prokofiev made all arrangements with copyists which included negotiations of the fee and the schedule for completion of each project, postage arrangements of the original autograph score with sheets of manuscript paper, reception of rewritten manuscripts from copyist and final payments. The letter addressed to Shlifshtein on 1 November 1942<sup>153</sup> reveals that Prokofiev claimed from the Arts Committee the funds for copyists and asked for the postage of the necessary manuscript paper. Economic arrangements are evident from letters sent by copyists, such as Velikanov, who claimed from Prokofiev 3000 roubles for three acts of the *War and Peace*, and by Teplov who claimed 10 roubles per manuscript

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<sup>152</sup> RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 781.

<sup>153</sup> RGALI f. 1929, op. 3, ed. khr. 105, l. 1-4.

page for rewriting *Alexander Nevsky*. However, the most significant point is that these letters shed light on the work process, which included frequent communication and clarifications with the composer of questionable passages. Thus, Velikanov in his letter dated on December 1946 asked Prokofiev to clarify the order of the percussion instruments in the score. Tuchonravov in his letter of 11 July 1939 asked Prokofiev to send him the two missing bars from the original manuscript. Karpov in his letter of 13 May 1942 informed Prokofiev that during the engraving process at Muzfond, he found a significant number of inaccuracies which require the author's clarification, such as the absence or otherwise of accidentals (flats, sharps and naturals), crescendo markings  and numbering of triplets . Also, despite the fact that Prokofiev appointed the copyists for his compositions, Muzfond was clearly informed of all the arrangements. The evidence comes from Velikanov's letter dated 9 January 1947 where Velikanov informed Prokofiev of having sent a relevant telegram to Muzfond.

In 1946 Levon Atovmyan, who held the post of the Director and Chief Editor of Muzfond, published *Spravochnik po Tekhnike Zapisi Not (Handbook on the technique of writing musical scores)*. The handbook aimed to articulate the rules of copyist practice, since according to Atovmyan, the general incompetence and lack of technical knowledge produced low quality manuscripts that often required additional corrections and financial expenses on the part of the musical publishers. Atovmyan noted that the responsibility of a copyist was not a simple reproduction of the autograph manuscript, but also the arrangement of the score for the publication and performance. Thus, he listed four main responsibilities of a copyist in the following order: 1) proofreading of the autograph manuscript i.e. identification of any

imprecisions and inaccuracies such as note errors and omission of notes, rests, performance indications (accents, slurs), dynamic markings; 2) setting the layout of the musical material i.e. homogenous distribution of musical material on the page and on the staff, taking into account the page turns; 3) copying in clear and even handwriting the musical material from the autograph manuscript, so that the copyist manuscript is identical to a published edition; and 4) verifying of the copied score i.e. the first correction. The last stage of correction was, according to Atovmian, the most responsible stage of the copying process since the copyist holds the responsibility not only for the correctness of the notes, but also for the music performance. The latter entails the responsibility to include all performance marking (e.g. accents, slurs), Italian music words (e.g. *dolce*) and dynamics.<sup>154</sup>

Coming back to the primary source RGALI 1929/1/193 of the Second Violin Sonata, the second handwriting is unlikely to belong to the violinist Oistrakh, as the majority of the pencil annotations and question markings relate to the piano part or to various accidentals and slurs. Taking into account the copyist practice of the 1940s as outlined, the second handwriting clearly indicates annotations by a copyist. Moreover, the second primary source, RGALI 1929/1/194, is a corrected version of the RGALI 1929/1/193 – as the comparison of the two manuscripts demonstrates – written neatly in accordance with all the copyist rules. Hence, it appears that the first handwriting belongs to Prokofiev who instructed the copyist to correct some inaccuracies from the RGALI 1929/1/193 to the RGALI 1929/1/194.

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<sup>154</sup> Levon Tadevosovich Atovmian, *Spravochnik po Technike Zapisi Not* (Moskva: Vsesoiuznoe Upravlenie po Okhrane Avtorskikh Prav, Otdel Rasprostraneniia, 1946), 1–7, 83–85.

**Ex. 9** thus shows bar 75 from *Moderato*, as it appears in the RGALI 1929/1/193 and the RGALI 1929/1194: through their comparison the reader can see how bar 75 was corrected and rewritten in the RGALI 1929/1/194.

**Ex. 9: I Moderato, bar 75**

RGALI 1929/1/193	RGALI 1929/1/194
	

Both manuscripts, RGALI 1929/1/193 and RGALI 1929/1/194, are therefore not indicative of the early stages of the collaboration between Prokofiev and Oistrakh. In both manuscripts, the violin part is already revised featuring bowing and basic fingering indications. Unfortunately, the early stages of collaboration between the composer and the violinist, and in particular the ‘two or three versions of each passage’ that Oistrakh submitted to Prokofiev have not survived.

These versions were written by Oistrakh in a music notebook and, according to the violinist, Prokofiev circled the suitable version in red pencil. Soroker gives Oistrakh’s testimony on the music notebook: ‘unfortunately, this notebook, which I kept safe for a long time, is now lost’.<sup>155</sup> The notebook was not found in Oistrakh’s personal archive (GM f. 385), which contains very little material from the 1940s. The

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<sup>155</sup> Soroker, ‘David Oistrakh - Interpretator Prokof’eva,’ 25.

materials are predominantly dated from the mid 1950s until the early 1970s, i.e. after Stalin's death. Perhaps the 1968 burglary of Oistrakh's apartment on Chakolova Street may partially explain the selectiveness of the surviving materials. In 1968, when Oistrakh was on tour, the burglars removed from his apartment his entire archive. The archive represented Oistrakh's entire artistic life captured in concert programmes, posters, photographs, private letters, awards, records, tapes and other items. However, two weeks after the burglary, the archive was enigmatically returned to the apartment.<sup>156</sup> To investigate the 1968 burglary of Oistrakh's archive, the author made an enquiry on 17 November 2014 to the archival department of FSB, successor of KGB, but was informed with an official letter of 4 December 2014 that Oistrakh's music notebook with sketches of Prokofiev's Second Violin Sonata was not found at the FSB archives.<sup>157</sup> Hence, the early stage of collaboration between Prokofiev and Oistrakh is lost. However, the RGALI 1929/1/193 and the RGALI 1929/1/194 do provide very significant information on the middle stage of the collaboration between the composer and the violinist: a collaboration that occurred between the premiere of the Flute Sonata (7 December 1943) and the premiere of its violin version (17 June 1944). In particular, the RGALI 1929/1/193 gives insights into the collaboration between Prokofiev and Oistrakh as a careful examination of the copyist manuscript reveals that it was written at different times. The handwriting of the copyist appears to be changing through the manuscript. **Ex. 10** depicts a consistent handwriting as all the headnotes in the violin and piano parts appear to be roundly laid out. Bar 54 features Prokofiev's correction sign, indicating that the composer annotated the manuscript after it had been written by the copyist.

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<sup>156</sup> Rostislav Dubinsky, *Stormy Applause: Making Music in a Worker's State* (London: Hutchinson, 1989), 262–266.

<sup>157</sup> Letter from A. I. Shishkin, Deputy Head of FSB Archive, to Viktoria Zora, Reference No: 10/A-Z-3536, 4 December 2014.

**Ex. 10: I Moderato, bars 49-54 (RGALI 1929/1/193)**

However, in **Ex. 11** and **Ex. 12** of the Scherzo, the violin part looks different in relation to the piano part. The headnotes of the violin part are smaller, which makes the violin part appear more inconsistent especially in **Ex. 12**. Throughout the entire RGALI 1929/1/193 the piano part is consistently written with all the notes being roundly laid out in dark ink. The bars of **Ex. 11** feature performance indications, such as bowings and fingerings, which may indicate that the copyist first wrote out the piano part and filled in the violin part at a later stage, possibly after the violin part had been annotated.

**Ex. 11: II Scherzo, bars 7-14 (RGALI 1929/1/193)**

The musical score for Ex. 11 consists of two systems. The first system shows the violin part (top staff) and the piano accompaniment (bottom staff). The piano part has a 'p' marking and a '10' marking. The second system shows the violin part with 'spiccato', 'pizz.', and 'arco' markings, and the piano accompaniment. The piano part has a '18' marking.

Ex. 12 illustrates a considerable difference in the handwriting between the piano and the violin parts. The violin part is written with less precision if we compare it to the darker and denser ink of the piano part.

**Ex. 12: II Scherzo, bars 347-358, coda (RGALI 1929/1/193)**

The musical score for Ex. 12 consists of two systems. The first system shows the violin part (top staff) and the piano accompaniment (bottom staff). The piano part has a 'p' marking and a '20' marking. The second system shows the violin part and the piano accompaniment. The piano part has a '20' marking.

The differences between the violin and the piano parts could be explained in different ways. Since the entire RGALI 1929/1/193 is 64 pages, the copyist could firstly have laid out the piano part in order to distribute homogeneously the musical material and added the violin part at a later stage. Also, taking into consideration the length of the manuscript, it would have been worked at different times. Moreover, the violin part could be written smaller deliberately to indicate a different instrument. However, **Ex. 10** of the Moderato has shown that the manuscript is written consistently in some parts. Additionally, the RGALI 1929/1/194, of 84 pages in length, exhibits no handwriting differences between the violin and the piano parts as evident in **Ex. 13** of the corresponding bars of the Scherzo.

**Ex. 13: The RGALI 1929/1/194 corresponding examples from the Scherzo**

**II Scherzo, bars 7-14**



**II Scherzo, bars 347-358, coda**



Similarly, the **Ex 14** is written consistently. Bars 49-54 from Moderato (RGALI 1929/1/194) illustrate a coherent handwriting. Moreover, bar 54 is being rewritten accordingly to Prokofiev's instructions on the RGALI 1929/1/193 (**Ex. 10**) with the last crotchet of the bar given its correct vertical distribution.

**Ex. 14: I Moderato, bars 49-54 (RGALI 1929/1/194)**

The image displays a musical score for 'Ex. 14: I Moderato, bars 49-54 (RGALI 1929/1/194)'. The score is written in G major and 3/4 time. It consists of three systems of staves. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with a treble clef and a piano (p) dynamic. The second system continues the piece with a piano (p) dynamic and a crescendo (cresc.) marking. The third system shows the end of the piece with a piano (p) dynamic and a crescendo (cresc.) marking. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, accidentals, and performance directions.

Consistency in manuscript writing was a characteristic of copyist quality writing during the 1940s. Atovmyan's 1946 handbook discusses in detail techniques of writing notes on the staff (chords, grouping of notes, accidentals), ornaments and performance directions. Score writing is discussed in the context of vertical distribution of musical material, which is of immense importance as it enables the copyist to write explicitly and fully each instrument's part.<sup>158</sup> **Ex. 15** is from Atovmyan's handbook, where the handwriting is consistent and none of the individual instruments appear to be written in a smaller font size.

<sup>158</sup> Atovmĭan, *Spravochnik po Tehnike Zapisi Not*, 37.

Ex. 15: Atovmyan, *Spravochnik po Tekhnike Zapisi Not*, p. 37



The RGALI 1929/1/194 and the copyist practice as outlined by Atovmyan strongly suggest that the handwriting differences in the RGALI 1929/1/193 between the violin and the piano parts, are more likely to be indicative of a manuscript which was a work in progress, rather than of a copyist's deliberate imprecision or lack of attention. Since some parts of the RGALI 1929/1/193 are written coherently and other parts indicate considerable handwriting differences exclusively in the violin part, it is likely that the violin part was written at a later stage by the copyist. Moreover, on many occasions the incorporated violin part features performance indications such as fingerings and bowing, which is indicative of the collaboration between Prokofiev and Oistrakh.

### 2.3 The Glinka Museum manuscripts: towards the first edition (Muzgiz 1946)

The remaining three primary sources of the Second Violin Sonata are located in the Glinka Museum (GM). These refer to the publication stage of the Second Violin Sonata, and are GM 33/12 (copyist manuscripts, score and violin part both annotated), GM 33/899 (copyist manuscript, violin part, annotated) and GM 33/13 (proof). GM 33/12 is a handwritten copyist's manuscript score with its violin part. On the title page of the violin part appears in Russian the instruction 'Engrave the violin part taking into account the page turns' (Ex. 16).<sup>159</sup> GM 33/12 is dated 1942-44 in the archival catalogue record; however, the manuscript belongs to 1945, as is evident from the date 3 July 1945 on the first page. On this date the manuscript was sent 'For Engraving' according to the handwritten note.

#### Ex. 16: title and first pages of the violin part (GM 33/12, violin part)

##### Title page: Engraving instruction



##### First page of the violin part



The first page of the violin part (Ex. 16) also contains autograph annotations 'Serge Prokofieff' and 'bis' next to the opus number. To this source is given a plate number 18214 of the first Muzgiz 1946 edition. Both the violin part and the score of

<sup>159</sup> The Russian text is: 'V gravirovku' and 'Pros'ba gravirovat' partiū skripki s uchetom perevorotov'.

GM 33/12 are stamped on each page with a seal ‘Verified by GURK’.<sup>160</sup> GURK was the state organisation responsible for control of repertory and performances. The organisation functioned under the patronage of the Council of People’s Commissars and the Ministers’ Council of the USSR. Therefore, the source GM 33/12 was the final verified copyist manuscript, which was sent for engraving i.e. for making the first edition of the Second Violin Sonata.

Moreover, it seems that the composer had annotated the violin part twice, in pencil and in light blue ink. Both score and violin part feature many annotations of different kinds: editorial, note corrections, addition of expression markings (e.g. *mp*) and performance indications (e.g. fingerings). Three sets of handwriting appear in this primary source: Prokofiev’s, the editor’s, and Oistrakh’s. The violin part is of immense interest, as it is the only one that features a high number of annotations in different handwritings and inks. In particular, there are many performance-related annotations (fingerings and slurs) in dark blue ink, which have been identified by Oleh Krysa as Oistrakh’s handwriting.<sup>161</sup> Also, the violin part shows in detail the last stage of the collaboration between Prokofiev and Oistrakh: two years after the work’s premiere.

In **Ex. 17** from the Moderato, the reader can notice the light blue ink on the second system (*> mf*) and the pencil indication (*cresc.*) on the fourth system that both belong to Sergei Prokofiev. In this example, in dark blue ink, there are bowing indications (II, V) on the third system and fingerings (1, 3, 4) and a bowing indication

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<sup>160</sup> The Russian text is: ‘Provereno GURK’. For GURK abbreviation see list of ‘Archival Abbreviations and Soviet Acronyms’.

<sup>161</sup> Interview with Oleh Krysa. See Appendices, p. 377-382.

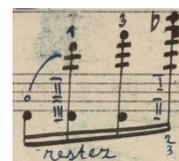
— on the fifth system that belong to Oistrakh. Also, on the right side of the manuscript the editorial numbering of the systems is evident:

**Ex. 17: I Moderato, bars 43-51 (GM 33/12, violin part)**



Other examples of performance indication in dark blue ink are:

**Ex. 18: I Moderato, bar 80 (GM 33/12, violin part)**



**Ex. 19: III Andante, bars 19-30 (GM 33/12, violin part)**



Thick pencil numbers 2 and 3 are editorial annotations

The following **Ex. 20** and **Ex. 21** from the last movement, Allegro con brio, support the argument that Prokofiev annotated the violin part twice. In **Ex. 20** the reader can notice some pencil indications of accents (>) and slurs in the first system. Also there

is Prokofiev's correction sign . Additionally, the light blue ink annotations belong to Prokofiev as here he marks only the accents and initial slurs but not fingerings and bowings, which are marked with a dark blue ink (e.g. in the third system). The copyist

wrote only a few slurs throughout the manuscript with dark black ink; thus, **Ex. 20** feature only three slurs in the first and second systems. The remaining slurs (i.e. bowing indications) were added by Prokofiev in pencil and corrected where appropriate in dark blue ink.

**Ex. 20: IV Allegro con brio, bars 3-10 (GM 33/12, violin part)**



Similar annotations in light blue and dark blue ink appear consistently in this primary source. The corrected fingerings and bowings are annotated only in dark blue ink and never in light blue ink, which is evident in **Ex. 21**:

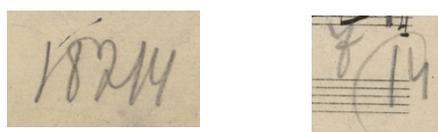
**Ex. 21: IV Allegro con brio, bars 44-60 (GM 33/12, violin part)**



The dynamic markings on a primary source could have been added only by the composer. On the other hand, it is unlikely that the dark blue ink annotations belong to Prokofiev, who was a pianist, as these require specific knowledge and deep understanding of violinistic fingerings that only a violinist can have.

In conclusion, it seems that Prokofiev annotated the violin part twice, firstly in pencil, writing the slurs and dynamics, and secondly in a light blue ink adding expression marks and additional dynamics. The dark blue ink, on the other hand, indicates clearly Oistrakh's annotations, which is supported firstly by the appearance of a dark blue ink above the pencil slurs and on all fingering indications and secondly by the recognition of Oistrakh's handwriting by Oleh Krysa. Editorial markings are written in a thick pencil which appears consistently throughout the source. Editorial annotations appear on every page of the primary source GM 33/12, indicating the plate number and the numbering necessary for the production process.

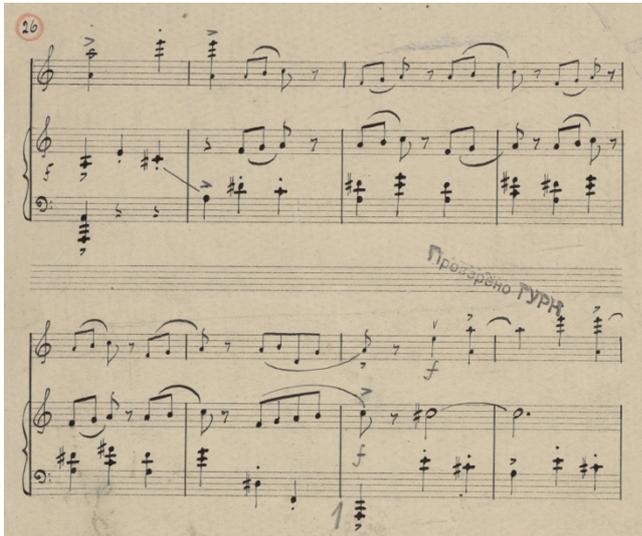
**Ex. 22: Plate number and editorial numbering (GM 33/12, violin part)**



Similarly the score of the GM 33/12 source is verified by GURK and features editorial markings (plate numbers, numbering of systems) and pencil annotations by Prokofiev. The score, like RGALI 1929/1/193, exhibits differences in handwriting between the piano and the violin parts. A comparison of the score and the violin part of GM 33/12 shows that the violin part of the score was added at a later stage, after it had been revised and edited separately (**Ex. 23**).

**Ex. 23: comparison of the score and the violin part, II Scherzo bars 348-354 (GM 33/12)**

**Score**



**Violin part**



**Ex. 24: Error in score, III Andante bars 90-91 (GM 33/12)**

**Ex. 24** shows an error in distribution of the musical material, which also supports a later addition of the violin part to the score.

The second source is the copyist manuscript GM 33/899. This manuscript features only the violin part, and according to the archival catalogue record is not dated. However, a careful examination and comparison of this violin part reveals that GM 33/899 is a rewritten version of the GM 33/12 violin part – compare **Ex. 25** with **Ex. 23**.

**Ex. 25: II Scherzo, bars 348-354 (GM 33/899, violin part)**



**Ex. 26: comparison between GM sources of bars 19-30 from the III Andante**

**Violin part (GM 33/12)**



**Score (GM 33/12)**

**Violin part (GM 33/899)**



Ex. 23, Ex. 25 and Ex. 26 suggest that after the annotation of the violin part GM 33/12 Prokofiev instructed another copyist to rewrite the manuscript more neatly, which resulted in the creation of GM 33/899. However, GM 33/899, despite featuring additional annotations, displays no verification seal by GURK. The yellow highlighted parts in the GM 33/12 violin part above show that the bowing correction by Oistrakh was rewritten in the GM 33/899, but was not followed to the GM 33/12 score (Ex. 26). The red highlighted parts in the GM 33/12 score (Ex. 26) show that some slurs were written more solidly in darker ink, whereas other slurs were written in lighter ink, possibly in pencil. The darker ink slurs indicate clearly the copyist's handwriting, whereas the slurs written in a lighter ink or pencil may indicate either

Prokofiev's or the copyist's handwriting at a different time. The first Muzgiz 1946 edition (Ex. 27) retains the bowings of the violin part from GM 33/12, which reinforces the argument that the dark blue ink on GM 33/12 belongs to Oistrakh.

**Ex. 27: III Andante, bars 11-29 (Muzgiz 1946, violin part)**



The third and final primary source of the Second Violin Sonata is GM 33/13, which is the proof sent to Prokofiev by Muzgiz for final corrections. On the first page of the score there is an autograph instruction ‘After detailed correction to be sent for print, Sergei Prokofiev, 16 May 1946’ (Ex. 28), which shows that Prokofiev monitored the violin adaptation process until the final pre-publication stage.

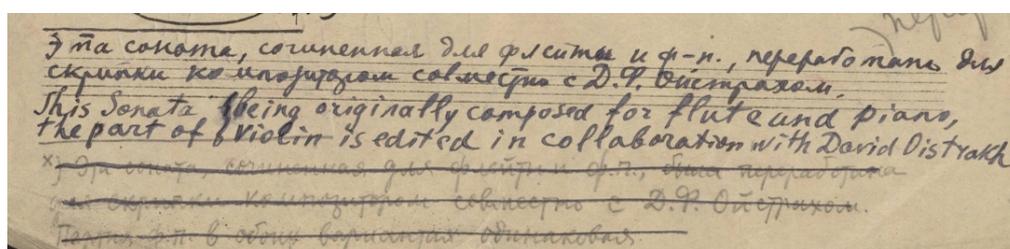
**Ex. 28: I Moderato (GM 33/13, score)**



This proof contains corrections of slurs, notes, accidentals, performance details, such as dots and accents, and the correction of the position of the dynamic markings. Also, there are some corrections of fingerings and bowings.

The GM 33/12 and GM 33/13 sources show the origin of the footnote that appears in the first Soviet edition by Muzgiz (1946). The footnote’s text reads – ‘This Sonata being originally composed for flute and piano. The part of violin is edited in collaboration with David Oistrakh’ – seems to come from the composer himself, who in GM 33/12 has written the same text in pencil. The pencil text is crossed out by the editor, who rewrote it above the original entry (Ex. 29).

**Ex. 29: I Moderato, bottom of the first page (GM 33/12, score)**



The Ex. 30 and Ex. 31 show how the footnote appears in the first proof (GM 33/13) and in the first edition by Muzgiz (1946).

**Ex. 30: I Moderato, bottom of the first page (GM 33/13, score)**



**Ex. 31: I Moderato, bottom of the first page (Muzgiz 1946, score)**

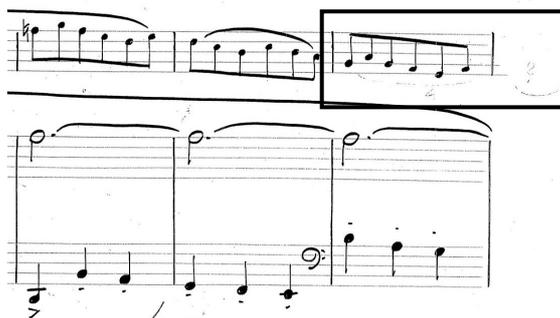
Эта соната, сочиненная для флейты и ф-п., переработана для скрипки композитором совместно с Д.Ф. Ойстрахом.  
 This sonata being originally composed for flute and piano, the part of violin is edited in collaboration with David Oistrakh.  
 М. 18214 г.

## 2.4 One example from the adaptation process

The example is from the second movement, Scherzo (bars 99-102 of the exposition and identical bars 320-323 of the recapitulation) and it depicts stages of violin bowing adaptation. In RGALI 1929/1/193 bar 101 is notated in detached bowings. However, on the right side of the page, there is a question mark and a punctuated slur underneath the bar. In the exposition, the identical bar (322) appears slurred in a different handwriting (Ex. 32).

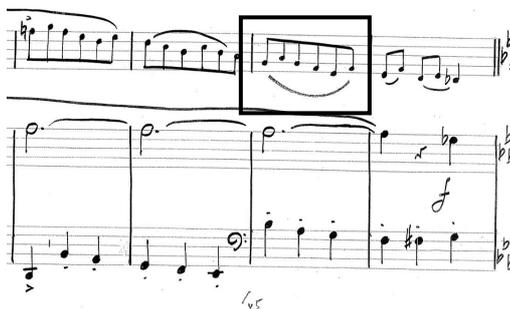
### Ex. 32: II Scherzo, bars 101, 322 (RGALI 1929/1/193)

#### exposition bar 101



Musical score for exposition bar 101. The top staff shows a violin line with a slur over the first four notes and a question mark under the fifth note. A box highlights the fifth note. The bottom staff shows the piano accompaniment.

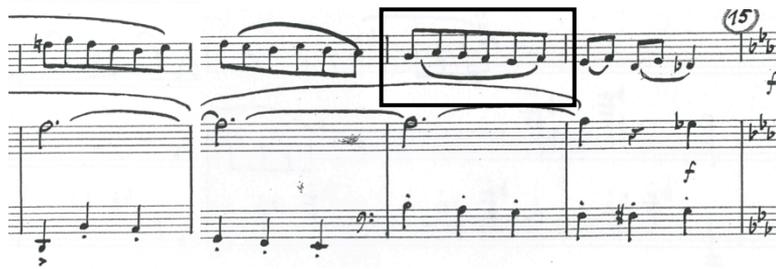
#### recapitulation bar 322



Musical score for recapitulation bar 322. The top staff shows a violin line with a slur over the first four notes and a slur under the fifth note. A box highlights the fifth note. The bottom staff shows the piano accompaniment with a forte (f) dynamic marking.

RGALI 1929/1/194 shows that it was subsequently decided to have a slur in both bars 101 and 322 (Ex. 33). In RGALI 1929/1/194 the exposition and recapitulation are identical. This suggests that the slur in RGALI 1929/1/193 was written by Prokofiev.

**Ex. 33: II Scherzo, bars 99-102 (RGALI 1929/1/194)**



The addition of the slur follows the original flute's breathing indication, whereas the removal of the slur changes the *legato* articulation to the detached articulation. However, in GM 33/12 the notes in bar 101 appear detached. Similarly, bar 322 from the recapitulation presents the notes as detached with the underlying slur being deleted (Ex. 34).

**Ex. 34: II Scherzo, bars 101, 322 (GM 33/12, violin part)**



The importance of the removal of the slur is that the passage (bars 99-102) becomes more suitable for violinistic technique. Bar 103 followed by the change of key (C minor) needs to come on the down bow (II) and the separation of the notes in bar 101 brings the bow in the right place i.e. the lower middle half, to execute the fast passage of C minor (bar 103). The removal of the slur in the bar 101 gives evidence of Oistrakh's violinistic advice to Prokofiev and thus, sheds light on their

collaboration. In GM 33/13 (Ex. 35) likewise shows the crossing out of a slur – possibly added by an editor – which reinforces the conclusion that the change came as a result of Oistrakh’s suggestion.

**Ex. 35: II Scherzo, bars 99-102 (GM 33/13, score)**



In the first Muzgiz edition (Ex. 36) bar 101 appears detached. Underneath the third system the reader can see the previously discussed plate number 18214. Ex 37 shows how the original flute slur (breathing) was adapted in the violin version.

**Ex. 36: II Scherzo, bars 99-113 (Muzgiz 1946, violin part)**

101

M. 18214 Г.

**Ex. 37: II Scherzo, bars 96-102 (Schirmer 1965, score)**

101 23

## 2.5 Differences between the flute and violin versions

The main differences between the flute and the violin versions, as published in the Schirmer 1965 edition (score)<sup>162</sup> are:

- Change of rhythmic patterns

In **Ex. 38** the rhythm is changed from four semiquavers to a quaver triplet with the fourth note being added as *acciaccatura*, which is the open A string on the violin.

### Ex. 38: I Moderato, bars 1-3 (Schirmer 1965)

**SONATA**  
For Flute or Violin and Piano

Sergei Prokofiev  
Op. 94

New Revised Version

The image shows a musical score for the first movement of Prokofiev's Sonata Op. 94. It features three staves: Flute Version, Violin Version, and Piano. The Flute and Violin parts are marked 'Andantino (♩=80)' and 'Moderato (♩=80)' respectively. The Piano part is marked 'mf'. A box highlights the first three bars of the Flute and Violin parts, showing the change in rhythm from four semiquavers to a quaver triplet with an acciaccatura.

Open strings are used in other sections of the Sonata facilitating rhythmic changes. In **Ex. 39** the open strings A, D and G, are also used for register alternation.

<sup>162</sup> Sergei Prokofiev, *Sonata Opus 94 for Flute or Violin and Piano*, Modern Russian Masterworks (New York: G. Schirmer, Inc (ASCAP), 1948, 1965). The edition is copyrighted in 1948 by ASCAP, the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers. During current research an edition identical in layout was located at the New York Public Library with copyright information '1946, 1965 by the Music Corporation of America' (Call No. JMG 75-903). Leeds Music was a division of the Music Corporation of America. Hence, the currently available for purchase G. Schirmer edition is a reprint of the 1940s edition by Leeds/Music Corporation of America.

**Ex. 39: II Scherzo, bars 171-177 (Schirmer 1965)**

- Octave register changes

The register changes in the violin part were introduced in accordance with differences in timbre between the flute and the violin. Thus, the passages where the violin's timbre is brighter than the flute's were transposed by Oistrakh an octave lower. Conversely, the passages where the violin could not recreate the flute's lower register were transposed an octave higher.<sup>163</sup> The second theme of the Moderato, **Ex. 40**, is transposed an octave lower in the violin version.

**Ex. 40: I Moderato, bars 19-26 (Schirmer 1965)**

<sup>163</sup> Soroker, 'David Oïstrakh – Interpretator Prokof'eva,' 26.

Ex. 41 is an example of a transposition an octave higher, where Oistrakh has also added double stops.

**Ex. 41: IV Allegro con brio, bars 159-160 (Schirmer 1965)**

- Addition of double stops

The addition of double stops is implemented either to support the harmonic structure or to underline the character of Prokofiev’s music. Accordingly to Soroker, double stops emphasise the ‘stormy character and festiveness’ of the Sonata.<sup>164</sup> On many occasions, double stops are created by simple addition of an open string. In Ex. 42 the addition of open E string allows an easy execution of the double stops and also supports the character of the music.

**Ex. 42: I Moderato, bars 45-47 (Schirmer 1965)**

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., 26–27.

In Ex. 43 the open D string creates the effect of double stopping, supports the melody by reinforcing the violin's register and creates an effect of sustained pedal.

**Ex. 43: IV Allegro con brio, bars 144-147 (Schirmer 1965)**

The musical score for Ex. 43 consists of three staves: two for the violin and one for the piano. The tempo is marked "Poco meno mosso". The violin part has a box around bars 144-147, and the piano part has a box around bars 144-147. The piano part features a sustained pedal effect on the open D string.

- Addition of the thematic material

Ex. 44 shows an alternation to the music with addition of motivic material and of a harmonic in the violin version.

**Ex. 44: I Moderato, bars 56-57 (Schirmer 1965)**

The musical score for Ex. 44 consists of three staves: two for the violin and one for the piano. The tempo is marked "mp marcato". The violin part has a box around bars 56-57, and the piano part has a box around bars 56-57. The piano part features a sustained pedal effect on the open D string.

- Introduction of single and double harmonics

The addition of single harmonics (natural or artificial) and of double harmonics is widely used in the Scherzo. The introduction of harmonics and the usage of additional open strings in the Sonata coincide with Prokofiev's intention, since the composer desired for the Flute Sonata to sound in 'bright and transparent classic tones'.<sup>165</sup> Additionally, harmonics resemble the flute's timbre.<sup>166</sup>

Ex. 45 indicates the introduction of double and single harmonics and bowing adaptation. In the violin repertoire, double harmonics are regarded as advanced left-hand technique. Nicolo Paganini used extensively combinations of natural and artificial harmonics in his compositions.<sup>167</sup> Their presence in the middle section of the Scherzo suggests specific evidence of collaboration between Prokofiev and Oistrakh, since the usage of double harmonics requires a deep understanding of violinistic technique.

**Ex. 45: II Scherzo, bars 193-199 (Schirmer 1965)**



<sup>165</sup> Shlifshtein, S.S. *Prokofiev*, 248.

<sup>166</sup> Soroker, 'David Oistrakh - Interpretator Prokof'eva,' 27.

<sup>167</sup> David D. Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing from its Origins to 1761: And its Relationship to the Violin and Violin Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 345, 384-385; Margaret Campbell, *The Great Violinists* (London: Granada Publishing, 1980), 44.

- Addition of chords

Ex. 46 features the addition of a *pizzicato* chord in the violin version.

**Ex. 46: II Scherzo, bars 366-370 (Schirmer 1965)**

- Bowing adaptation

At the beginning of the third movement Andante, Ex. 47, the reader can notice slurs which give breathing (flute part) and a bowing (violin part) instructions to performers.

**Ex. 47: III Andante, bars 1-7 (Schirmer 1965)**

III

Bowing adaptation is evident not only at passages which require the alteration of breathing instructions, but also at passages which suggest a specific bowing technique. Such an example is **Ex. 48** where the written bowing combination is widely used in violinistic repertoire of *scherzando* character.<sup>168</sup>

**Ex. 48: II Scherzo, bars 1-14 (Schirmer 1965)**

18

II  
(Scherzo)

*Allegretto scherzando* (♩ = 69)

Flute Version

Violin Version

Piano

*p stacc.*

*p*

*ppiccato*

*ppizz.*

- Alteration of notes

The alteration of notes in bar 69 of the Andante (**Ex. 49**) facilitates a smoother register change in the violin part by including additional notes on the D string. In **Ex. 50** is introduced a string crossing technique and simple harmonisation with the usage of open A and D strings.

<sup>168</sup> Soroker, 'David Oïstrakh – Interpretator Prokof'eva,' 28.

Ex. 49: III Andante, bars 68-71 (Schirmer 1965)

48

Ex. 50: IV Allegro con brio, bars 106-108 (Schirmer 1965)

- Rhythmic changes with the addition of notes

Change of rhythm by the addition of quavers in the second and third beats of bar 119 (Ex. 51). The additional notes are the violin open strings D and G.

Ex. 51: IV Allegro con brio, bars 119-120 (Schirmer 1965)

58

- Harmonisation of the main theme and of passages<sup>169</sup>

In Ex. 52, the main theme of the Allegro con brio appears harmonised in the recapitulation. Ex. 53 shows a complete alteration of notes in the violin part with harmonisation of passages and register changes.

**Ex. 52: IV Allegro con brio, bars 126-127 (Schirmer 1965)**

**Ex. 53: IV Allegro con brio, bars 159-160 (Schirmer 1965)**

<sup>169</sup> The word 'harmonisation' is here used to describe the implementation of harmony by using double stops and chords

In **Ex. 54** the harmonisation of the violin part with a fifth interval derives from the piano part. The interval of the fifth is executed by placing one finger on two strings. The fifth is the only possible interval, though technically ‘uncomfortable’, that works within the harmony and can be played at the required speed of the coda.

**Ex. 54: IV Allegro con brio, bars 169-174 (Schirmer 1965)**

The image shows a musical score for a piece in G major, 2/4 time, consisting of two systems of staves. The first system includes a violin part (top two staves) and a piano accompaniment (bottom two staves). The piano part features a complex harmonic structure with many chords and intervals. The violin part has a melodic line with some triplets and a coda section. A box highlights a specific interval in the piano part. The second system continues the piano accompaniment and the violin part, ending with a coda section. The score is in G major and 2/4 time.

## 2.6 Conclusions

Chapter 2 illustrated that the five surviving primary sources of the Second Violin Sonata at the RGALI and GM archives shed light upon different stages of collaboration between Prokofiev and the violinist Oistrakh. The first stages of collaboration have not survived, i.e. two of the three versions that Oistrakh submitted to Prokofiev. The middle stages of collaboration are presented in the RGALI sources: the RGALI 1929/1/193 (copyist manuscript score with autograph annotations, 1942-43) and the RGALI 1929/1/194 (corrected copyist manuscript score, 1944). The final stages of collaboration, which refers to the publication stage of the Second Violin Sonata, are evident in the GM sources: GM 33/12 (annotated copyist manuscript score and violin part, verified by GURK, 1942-44), GM 33/899 (annotated copyist manuscript violin part, undated), and GM 33/13 (proof, score, 1942-44). It appears that the RGALI and GM archival chronological record of the sources requires alteration since the violin variant of the Flute Sonata could not have been created earlier than December 1943. Only after the premiere of the Flute Sonata on 7 December 1943 did Oistrakh propose the violin adaptation. The dating 1942-44 of the Second Violin Sonata's sources can be partially justified because it coincides with the commission year (1942) of the Flute Sonata and with the completion year (1944) of the violin variant. Therefore, the chronological organisation of the Second Violin Sonata's primary sources is (**Table 4**):

- 1) RGALI 1929/1/193 (December 1943-44)
- 2) RGALI 1929/1/194 (1944)
- 3) GM 33/12 (1945, the source was sent for engraving on 3 July 1945)
- 4) GM 33/899 (1945, dated by the comparison with the GM 33/12 source)
- 5) GM 33/13 (July 1945 – May 1946, the source was sent for print on 16 May 1946)

**Table 4: Chronological organisation of primary sources of the Second Violin**

**Sonata**

<b>Title of composition</b>	<b>Primary Source</b>	<b>Abbreviation used in thesis</b>	<b>Archival Dating</b>	<b>Corrected dating</b>
<p><b>Key dates:</b></p> <p>Summer 1942 commission of the Flute Sonata            18 September 1942 – 12 September 1943 composition of the Flute Sonata            7 December 1943 premiere of the Flute Sonata at Moscow Conservatory</p>				
Second Violin Sonata	Copyist manuscript, score, annotated	RGALI 1929/1/193	1942-43	<b>December 1943–44</b>
Second Violin Sonata	Copyist manuscript, score, not annotated	RGALI f. 1929/1/194	1944	<b>1944</b>
<p><b>Key date:</b></p> <p>17 June 1944 premiere of the Second Violin Sonata at Moscow Conservatory by David Oistrakh (violin) and Lev Oborin (piano)</p>				
Second Violin Sonata	Copyist manuscript, score and violin part, both annotated	GM 33/12	1942-44	<b>1945</b> , the source was sent for engraving on 3 July 1945
Second Violin Sonata	Copyist manuscript, violin part, annotated	GM 33/899	Undated	<b>1945</b> , dated by comparison with GM 33/12
Second Violin Sonata	Proof, score	GM 33/13	1942-44	<b>July 1945 – May 1946</b> , the source was sent for print on 16 May 1946
<p><b>Key date:</b></p> <p>1946: publication of first edition of the Second Violin Sonata by Muzgiz (State Music Publishers), editor David Oistrakh</p>				

Additionally, the dating of the RGALI sources (RGALI 1929/1/193, RGALI 1929/1/194) could have been even more precise if solid evidence had been found to support the conclusion that these sources were prepared for the premiere of the Second Violin Sonata, which occurred on 17 June 1944. The score of the RGALI 1929/1/193 shows that the violin part was added at a later stage, possibly after being edited separately.

The creation of the violin version cannot be regarded as a simple adaptation of bowings and as a rapid and straightforward exercise. On the contrary, the revision was clearly a much longer process compared to the revision process described in the published literature. In the first surviving primary source (RGALI 1929/1/193) the violin part appears already revised, featuring bowings and some basic fingerings. However, the discussed example of the Scherzo, bars 99-103, suggests that the composer and the violinist might have different opinions on the adaptation of the violin part. The fact that the discussed bar 101 is published detached in the first Muzgiz edition shows clear evidence of Oistrakh's intervention.

The primary source GM 33/12 demonstrates the collaboration between Prokofiev and Oistrakh, as the indications in light and dark blue inks are consistent throughout the manuscript. A thorough examination of the source has shown that Prokofiev annotated the source twice: with a pencil, adding initial slurs and dynamics markings, and with light blue ink annotating dynamic markings and performance articulation markings (such as dots and accents). The dark blue ink belongs to Oistrakh as throughout the source the dark blue ink annotations indicate only fingerings and corrections of the initial pencil slurs (bowing markings). The differences in the copyist handwriting in GM 33/12 score prove that the violin part, after it had been edited by Oistrakh, was added to the score at a later stage.

GM 33/13 includes autograph corrections, which illustrate that Prokofiev monitored the entire adaptation process from the early stages of collaboration with Oistrakh (RGALI sources) to the final corrections of the proof, authorising on 16 May 1946 the printing of the first Muzgiz edition. It is clearly evident that the violin adaptation of the Flute Sonata was not a simple transcription, but a creation of an independent and new work, the Second Violin Sonata, which is a violin work in its own right and not merely adopted flute music. Moreover, the detailed autograph annotations are indicative of Prokofiev's work process, since the latter believed that 'meticulousness is good taste and high professionalism'.<sup>170</sup>

The dates of the primary sources of the Second Violin Sonata reveal a long-term collaboration: a collaboration that started in December 1943 and ended in July 1945 or even in May 1946. The comparison of the flute and the violin versions reveals some substantial differences: changes of rhythmic patterns, addition of extra notes in the violin part, addition of double harmonics, changes of notes in quick passages, register changes, addition of a *pizzicato* chord and harmonisation of themes and *arpeggio* passages. But the most important point is that this comparison proves that the collaboration between Prokofiev and Oistrakh was very intense and productive. Many of the changes are well suited to violinistic technique, such as the note changes in quick passages which suit violin fingering patterns. Also the harmonisation of many passages is derived from the instrument's construction: open strings E, A, and D are used extensively to create the effect of double stops. All the changes that occur in the violin part make the violin version more technically suitable for the instrument. Yet Soroker's characterisation of Oistrakh as co-author of the Sonata stands its ground only to the adaptation process of the violin solo part. During the adaptation,

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<sup>170</sup> Blok, *Metod Tvorcheskoj Raboty S. Prokofeva*, 86.

Oistrakh elaborated Prokofiev's thematic material according to violin construction and technique, but the main melodic and harmonic material of the Sonata remained the same. Hence, the collaboration produced a co-edition and not co-authorship of the Second Violin Sonata.

Finally, the surviving primary sources of the Second Violin Sonata, albeit incomplete, shed light not only on the collaboration between Prokofiev and Oistrakh, but also give valuable insights into copyist practice and the editorial stages in music publishing of the 1940s in the unique musical and political context of the Soviet Union.

## **Chapter 3**

### **First Violin Sonata:**

#### **Compositional process from sketches to the first performance edition**

#### **Introduction and primary sources of the First Violin Sonata**

Chapter 3 will examine the compositional process of the First Violin Sonata through the examination of surviving primary sources, i.e. sketches, Prokofiev's autograph manuscript and Muzfond's 1947 steklograph edition. With regards to the last, the technique of steklograph printing and how a steklograph edition relates to a manuscript will be addressed. The first editions of the work will be addressed in Chapter 4. The conclusions will consider its compositional process, as well as copyist practice and proofreading techniques as revealed by the examination of primary sources of the Violin Sonatas in Chapters 2 and 3.

The primary sources to the First Violin Sonata:

- 16 pages of sketches of the First Violin Sonata, abbreviated as the RGALI 1929/1/188 or 'the RGALI page 1'
- Sketchbook No. 10, few sketches of the First Violin Sonata (RGALI 1929/1/290), abbreviated as Sketchbook No. 10
- Sketchbook No. 11, few sketches of the First Violin Sonata (RGALI 1929/1/291), abbreviated as Sketchbook No. 11
- Autograph Manuscript of the First Violin Sonata in pencil, abbreviated as GM 33/380 or Autograph Manuscript

The succession of primary sources of the First Violin Sonata is depicted in **Table 5**.

**Table 5: Primary sources of the First Violin Sonata**

<b>Title of composition</b>	<b>Primary Source</b>	<b>Archival Reference</b>	<b>Archival Dating</b>	<b>Abbreviation used in thesis</b>
First Violin Sonata, sketches of movement III	Sketchbook No. 10	RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 290	2 October 1940 (start date)	Sketchbook No. 10
First Violin Sonata, sketches of movements I, II, III	Sketchbook No. 11	RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 291	mid 1940s	Sketchbook No. 11
First Violin Sonata, sketches of movements I, II, III, IV	Autograph sketches, 16 pages	RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 188	1938-46	RGALI 1929/1/188 or RGALI page 1 188
<b>Key dates:</b> End of 1938 initial sketching of the First Violin Sonata 1939-44 interruption of composition of the First Violin Sonata				
First Violin Sonata	Autograph Manuscript	GM f. 33, No. 380	1938-46, completion date: 3 Sept. 1946	Autograph Manuscript
<b>Key date:</b> 23 October 1946 premiere of the First Violin Sonata at Moscow Conservatory by David Oistrakh (violin) and Lev Oborin (piano)				
First Violin Sonata	Muzfond steklograph edition	n/a, steklograph edition copyrighted as manuscript	1947, approved for print in January 1947	Muzfond 1947

### 3.1 Sketches of the First Violin Sonata

Towards the end of 1938, between the composition of the film score to *Alexander Nevsky* and the opera *Semyon Kotko*, Prokofiev started composing the First Violin Sonata.<sup>171</sup> The initiative came from the composer and no traces of commission have been found in the existing literature, correspondence or in the *Diaries* of Mira Mendelson. Completed on 3 September 1946, the eight-year composition chronology can be established to some extent. According to Nestyev, the first sketches were composed in a few days in late 1938 and included ‘the opening of the first movement, the exposition of the second, and the principal themes of the third’.<sup>172</sup> However, in early 1939 the sketches were put aside until August 1941 when Prokofiev took the partially completed First Violin Sonata with him when he was evacuated to Nalchik.<sup>173</sup> Nevertheless, Prokofiev did not work on the Sonata during his evacuation. In his letter from Alma-Ata on 12 June 1943 to Myaskovsky, Prokofiev revealed that he could not find the way to accumulate his thoughts and continue his work on a violin sonata he started a long time ago: ‘it’s difficult’ he concluded.<sup>174</sup> In mid-September 1943 Prokofiev completed the Flute Sonata, and in October 1943 returned to Moscow from evacuation. It is only Mira Mendelson’s *Diaries* – which comprise the only documented diary source of Prokofiev’s Soviet years – that reveal that Prokofiev finished the First Violin Sonata after he had adapted his Flute Sonata for violin.<sup>175</sup> Thus, the First Violin Sonata, sketched in the late 1938, was put aside

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<sup>171</sup> Nestyev, *Prokofiev*, 298, 385.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 298.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, 328.

<sup>174</sup> D. B. Kabalevskii, ed., *S.S. Prokof'ev i N.Ī. Mĭaskovskĭi: Perepiska* (Moskva: Sov. kompozitor, 1977), 471.

<sup>175</sup> Rakhmanova, *Sergeĭ Prokof'ev*, 2004, 45; Mendel'son-Prokof'eva, *O Sergee Sergeeviche Prokof'ev: Vospominaniĭa. Dnevnik. 1938-1967.*, 286.

between early 1939 and mid-1944, since on 24 May 1944 Prokofiev announced the completion of the Second Violin Sonata with Oistrakh.<sup>176</sup> In contrast to the Second Violin Sonata, which was elaborated in close collaboration with Oistrakh, the First Violin Sonata was presented to Oistrakh by Prokofiev, at Nikolina Gora, at the end of summer 1946.<sup>177</sup> Thus, Oistrakh's assistance during the compositional process between the summers of 1944 and 1946 should be excluded.

The surviving primary sources of the First Violin Sonata include 16 pages of undated sketches of RGALI 1929/1/188, a sketched theme of the third movement of Sketchbook No. 10 and few pages of thematic materials from the first, second and third movements in Sketchbook No. 11. While it is difficult to further establish the compositional chronology, as all the surviving sketches are undated, the analysis and comparison of the RGALI 1929/1/188 sketches, the indicative dating of Sketchbooks Nos. 10 and 11 and Nestyev's comments on the composition of the 1938 sketches, indicate a plausible scenario of the compositional sequence of the Sonata's movements. Thus, the author will attempt to determine – by an analysis of Prokofiev's handwriting and evolution of ideas – which of the RGALI 1929/1/188 sketches belong to 1938 and which might have been composed after mid 1944.

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<sup>176</sup> See sub-chapter 2.2, p. 71.

<sup>177</sup> Ūzefovich, *David Oĭstrakh*, 203–204.

## Sketches and composition of I Andante assai

The numbering of the RGALI 1929/1/188 source is in accordance with the original pencil numbering of sheets (*list*) by the composer himself. Thus, the original numbering of sheets as 1, 1 verso, 2, 2 verso has been regulated according to the numbering of pages as 1, 2, 3, 4 by the RGALI archivist. The sketches for the Andante assai extend on pages 1-3 of RGALI 1929/1/188 and on two pages from Sketchbook No. 11, which is dated the mid 1940s (**Table 6**).

**Table 6: Sketches of I Andante assai, First Violin Sonata**

Abbreviated sources	Movement	Type of sketching	Closest relation to bars of the First Violin Sonata
RGALI page 1	I Andante assai	Neat sketching, a well marked handwriting	bars 1-11, 36-56
Sketchbook No. 11 pages 44-45	I Andante assai	Light sketching	New thematic material, bars 16-22
RGALI page 2	I Andante assai	Light sketching, less formal handwriting	Sketching of the piano part bars 54-56, abandoned thematic material
RGALI page 3	I Andante assai	Light sketching, less formal handwriting	bars 69-74, 99-107 (end of I movement) (bars 80-97 are absent: scales passages)

The three pages of RGALI 1929/1/188 outline an initial structure of the entire first movement, despite the fact that some sketched thematic material was not used in the Autograph Manuscript (**Ex. 55**) or is absent from the sketches (**Ex. 56**). An examination of the handwriting shows that page 1 is sketched with more solid handwriting (neat sketching), whereas pages 2 and 3 appear sketched more roughly (light sketching). This suggests that the RGALI 2 and 3 pages were probably composed at different times. Moreover, in Sketchbook No. 11 new thematic material was incorporated into the first movement (**Ex. 56**), which provide strong evidence that the RGALI page 1 was composed before the mid 1940s and thus belongs to the 1938 sketches. This also aligns with Nestyev's description of the 1938 sketches which states that only the opening of the first movement was sketched in 1938, suggesting that the RGALI pages 2-3 belong to the mid 1940s.

The following **Ex. 55** shows the RGALI 1929/1/188 page 1. The movement begins with a melodic theme, which is absent in the final Autograph Manuscript (GM 33/380). The *trill* contained within the pencilled motif was later given a more prominent role in a new violin solo entry as is evident from the included section of the Autograph Manuscript.

Ex. 55: I Andante assai, RGALI 1929/1/188 page 1

Andante assai

Absent thematic material

Pencilled motif

Absent bars 16-22, Ex. 56

bar 36

*express.*

*dim.*

*rit.*

*rit.*

*rit.*

This image shows a handwritten musical score for 'Andante assai' in 3/4 time. The score is annotated with several boxes and arrows. A box labeled 'Absent thematic material' points to a section of the score. A box labeled 'Pencilled motif' points to a specific musical phrase. A box labeled 'Absent bars 16-22, Ex. 56' points to a section of the score. A box labeled 'bar 36' points to a specific bar. The score includes various musical notations such as dynamics (*express.*, *dim.*, *rit.*) and articulation marks.

Autograph Manuscript (GM 33/380)

Andante assai  $\text{♩} = 60$

Pencilled motif

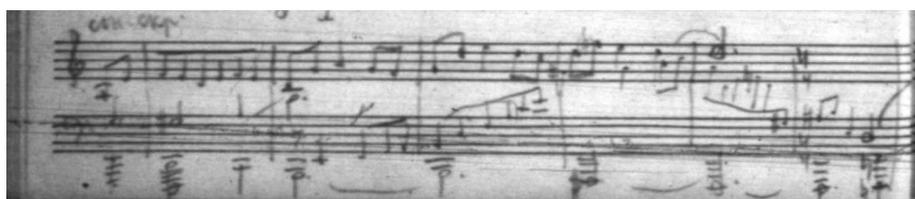
Op. 80, op. 80  
1938-1946.

This image shows a photograph of the autograph manuscript for 'Andante assai'. The manuscript is handwritten and includes the title 'Andante assai' and the tempo marking ' $\text{♩} = 60$ '. A box labeled 'Pencilled motif' points to a specific musical phrase. The manuscript also includes the text 'Op. 80, op. 80' and '1938-1946.'.

**Ex. 56** shows new thematic material from Sketchbook No. 11 (mid 1940s), which is absent from the RGALI page 1. This suggests that the RGALI page 1 was sketched before the 1940s, thus in late 1938 according to Nestyev's testimony.

**Ex 56: I Andante assai, bars 16-22, absent from RGALI page 1**

**New thematic material bars 16-22 (Sketchbook No. 11 page 44)**



**Corresponding bars 16-22 of Autograph Manuscript (GM 33/380)**



A comparison between **Ex. 55** (RGALI page 1) and the following **Ex. 57** (RGALI page 3) demonstrates that while page 1 appears written with solid ink, the page 3 is sketched in a less precise manner, as if in a pencil. The RGALI page 3 is a preliminary sketch in which the thematic material of the scale passages (bars 80-97), which Prokofiev described as 'wind in the graveyard', is totally absent.<sup>178</sup> Additionally, **Ex. 57** demonstrates that Prokofiev amended the ending of the Andante assai from a melodic violin solo tune to a non-melodic *pizz.* section with rests.

<sup>178</sup> See discussion of 'wind in the graveyard' scale passages in sub-chapters 3.2 and 6.3.

Ex. 57: I Andante assai, RGALI 1929/1/188 page 3

Bar 69

Absent bars 80-97, scale passages

Altered thematic material to *pizz*, bars 99-107

Autograph Manuscript (GM 33/380), bars 80-81

11 con sord.  
pp pizz.  
1/6

Autograph Manuscript, ending, *pizz.* section instead of thematic material from RGALI 1929/1/188 page 3

Pizz section instead of sketched thematic material, bars 99-107

116 pizz recitando  
mp  
Ped. x Ped.  
Ped. x Ped.

## Sketches and composition of II Allegro brusco

The sketches of the second movement Allegro brusco are the richest surviving from the composition of the entire First Violin Sonata. In total, the sketches extend over seven pages of RGALI 1929/1/188; pages 4-5, 8-9, 11-13.

Similar to the first movement, the first sketches of the second movement in pages 4-5 appear to be written with more solid ink (neat sketching) including occasionally thematic materials sketched in a lighter manner (light sketching). The pages 8-9 demonstrate a development of thematic material. Thematic material of page 8 is also found in Sketchbook No. 11 as a single line sketch, which suggests that the pages 8-9 were elaborated after the mid 1940s. It is only the pages 11-13 which disclose how Prokofiev arranged the structure of bars 167-197 in the Allegro brusco. Thus, these sketches belong to the structural sketches according to Blok's description.<sup>179</sup> In particular, the numbering of themes and their placing in numerical order reveal Prokofiev's rational abbreviated compositional practice. The surviving sketches of II Allegro brusco are depicted in the following **Table 7**.

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<sup>179</sup> Blok, *Metod Tvorcheskoï Raboty S. Prokof'eva*, 51.

**Table 7: Sketches of II Allegro brusco, First Violin Sonata**

Abbreviated sources	Movement	Type of sketching	Closest relation to bars of the First Violin Sonata
RGALI page 4	II Allegro brusco	Neat sketching progressing into light sketching	Beginning and main thematic materials: first theme bars 1-19, bridge bars 38-44, second theme bars 50-53 (piano part)
RGALI page 5	II Allegro brusco	Neat sketching progressing into light sketching	Second theme: bars 50-65
Sketchbook No. 11 page 69	II Allegro brusco	Single line sketch	bars 86-95
RGALI page 8	II Allegro brusco	Light sketching	Elaboration of thematic material (single line sketch) in layers: bars 86-95
RGALI page 9	II Allegro brusco	Light sketching	Elaboration of bars 38-44 of RGALI p. 4, bars 45-47
RGALI pages 11-13	II Allegro brusco	Light sketching	Structural sketching of bars 167-197; bars 139-141, 293-200 (end of II movement)

Sketches on pages 4-5, RGALI 1929/1/188:

These preliminary sketches include the sketching of the opening of the second movement and the main thematic materials. In particular, **Ex. 58** refers to the RGALI pages 4-5 and includes the sketch of first theme, the bridge (bars 38-44) between the first and second themes. The handwriting of the first theme appears more solid (neat sketching), than that of the transition (light sketching), which may indicate that the third system was composed at a different time from the first system.

**Ex. 58: II Andante brusco, RGALI 1929/1/188 pages 4-5**

**Page 4: first theme, bridge bars 38-44**

*Allegro brusco*

**First theme**

**Transition between first and second themes, bars 38-44**

**Page 5: second theme, bars 50-65**

*And*

Sketches on pages 8-9, RGALI 1929/1/188:

These sketches show a further development of thematic material, which was previously sketched. Thus, page 9 contains a further sketching of the bridge (bars 38-44), previously sketched on page 4. Similarly, page 8 contains the development of a single line sketch (bars 86-95), which was initially sketched in Sketchbook No. 11 (Ex. 59). Prokofiev usually imported the themes from Sketchbooks without

significant alteration; however, ‘Prokofiev subjected the sketchbook material to development, in the form of variation, repetitions, transpositions and backtracking’.<sup>180</sup> Such elaboration of thematic material is evident in three layers on the RGALI page 8 (Ex. 59). In the first layer the single line sketch is harmonised (highlighted in yellow); in the second layer the semiquavers become triplets, while Prokofiev transposes a fourth higher from E to A note and from D-sharp to G-sharp (highlighted in orange); the third layer displays changes of harmonisation with the adopted triplets of the violin solo part (highlighted in red). Finally, the corresponding passage of the Autograph Manuscript is included to demonstrate the final version of the sketching process. Since the Sketchbook No. 11 is dated mid 1940s, the RGALI page 8 should also have been elaborated in the mid 1940s.

**Ex. 59: II Allegro brusco, bars 86-95, development of thematic material**

**Sketchbook No. 11 page 69, single line sketch**



**RGALI 1929/1/188 page 8, development of single line sketch**

**Layer 1**

Transposition by perfect 4<sup>th</sup>: E → A

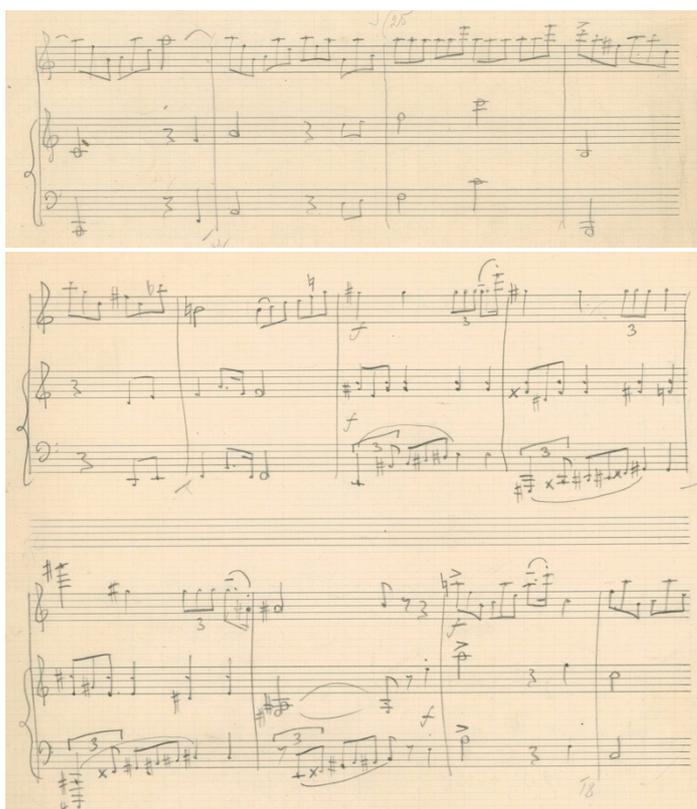
**Layer 2**

Transposition by perfect 4<sup>th</sup>: D sharp → G sharp

**Layer 3**

<sup>180</sup> Mark Aranovsky, 'Observations on Prokofiev's Sketchbooks,' in *Sergey Prokofiev and His World*, ed. Simon Morrison, trans. Jason Strudler (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008), 404.

**Final version: Autograph Manuscript (GM 33/380), bars 87-95**



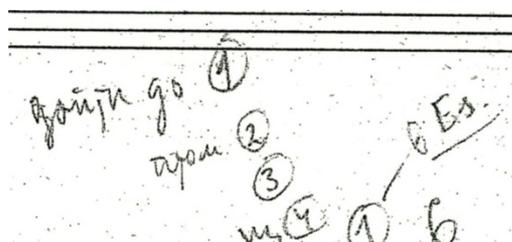
Sketches on pages 11-13, RGALI 1929/1/188:

The RGALI pages 11-13 display Prokofiev's structural sketching and contain scattered themes, which Prokofiev numbered on the page's left margin. These scattered themes correspond to bars 167-197 of the Allegro brusco. Prokofiev numbered each thematic idea and finalised the structure of the development section of the Allegro brusco. It is evident that the numbering followed the sketching, as RGALI page 11 contains numbered themes as well as other unnumbered sketches; RGALI page 12 contains theme No. 4 and RGALI page 13 contains themes No. 3 and No. 6 while theme No. 5 is totally absent.

The structure and succession of sections is worked out on the footnote of RGALI page 12 (**Ex. 60**). The abbreviated compositional instructions, which are characteristic of Prokofiev's compositional practice according to Blok, translate from Russian as follows: go until 1, then 2, 3, and 4, 1, 6. A fuller interpretation of the instruction reads as:

Compose the second movement until you reach theme No. 1, then compose the sections around themes No. 2, No. 3 and No. 4. After theme No. 4 return to the thematic material of theme No. 1 and finish by using thematic material of theme No. 6.

**Ex. 60: abbreviated compositional instructions, RGALI 1929/1/188 page 12, footnote**

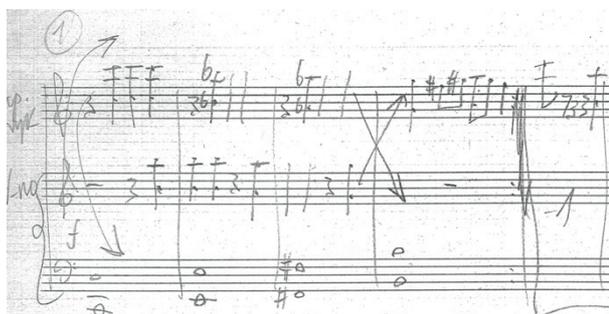


**Ex. 61** shows all numbered themes of the RGALI pages 11-13 and how they are interrelated in the Sonata's final version (bars 167-197). For convenience, the violin part of the ASMP 1947 edition (bars 166-205) is used instead of the Autograph Manuscript's score to illustrate the succession of numbered themes.

**Ex. 61: abbreviated themes and their succession (RGALI 1929/1/188 ASMP 1947)**

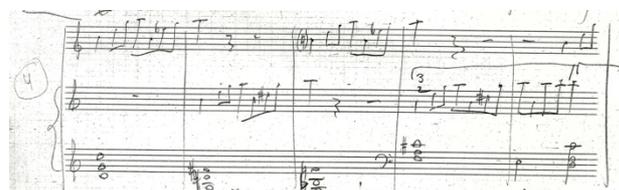
RGALI 1929/1/188 page 11, No. 1

RGALI 1929/1/188 p. 11, No. 2

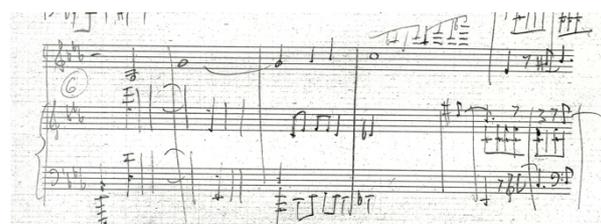


RGALI 1929/1/188 p. 13, No. 3

RGALI 1929/1/188 p. 12, No. 4



RGALI 1929/1/188 page 13, No. 6 →



ASMP 1947, violin part, bars 166-205

**No. 1**  
*ff*

**No. 2**  
*Poco più tranquillo*  
*p espress.* *mp*

**No. 3**  
*pizz. arco*

**No. 4**  
*Tempo I*  
*mf* *cresc.*

**No. 1**  
*ff*

**No. 6**  
*eroico*  
*ff*

*ord.* *espress.* *Gstr.*

### Sketches and composition of III Andante

The sketches of the Andante extend onto four pages of RGALI 1929/1/188: pages 6-7, 14 and 16. Additionally, another two pages of sketched material are found in Sketchbooks No. 10 (page 52) and No. 11 (page 39).

In contrast to the Andante assai and the Allegro brusco whose sketches reveal the structural details of movements, the sketches of the Andante are fewer, more scattered between RGALI 1929/1/188 and the two Sketchbooks, while any structural sketching can be grasped only by correlating the sketches with the corresponding bars of the Autograph Manuscript. RGALI pages 6-7 contain the beginning and the first theme of the movement. Thereafter, the Sketchbooks Nos. 10 and 11 should be inserted as they contain thematic material of bars 30-32 and bars 47-49. The RGALI page 14 displays the second theme and repetition of bars 47-49 of Sketchbook No. 10. Finally, the RGALI page 16 contains only the coda of the movement. Sketchbook No. 11 is dated mid 1940s, while Sketchbook No. 10 start date is 2 October 1940. However, considering that a sketch from the *Andante* is found on page 52 of Sketchbook No. 10, it is unlikely that Prokofiev sketched it in 1940 and it suggests that it was sketched in mid 1940s.

The surviving sketches of III Andante are depicted in the following **Table 8**.

**Table 8: Sketches of III Andante, First Violin Sonata**

<b>Abbreviated sources</b>	<b>Movement</b>	<b>Type of sketching</b>	<b>Closest relation to bars of the First Violin Sonata</b>
RGALI page 6	III Andante	Neat sketching progressing into lighter sketching	Beginning and main theme: bars 1-22
RGALI page 7	III Andante	Light sketching	Elaboration of bars 18-22
Sketchbook No. 11 page 39	III Andante	Piano score sketch	bars 30-32
Sketchbook No. 10 page 52	III Andante	Neat sketching	bars 47-49
RGALI page 14	III Andante	Light sketching	Elaboration of bars 1-3 of RGALI p. 6, bars 7-8 (second theme) bars 40-41, inclusion of bars 47-49 as in Notebook 10
RGALI page 16	III Andante	Light sketching	bars 90-95 (coda, end of III movement)

**Ex. 62** illustrates the beginning of the Andante (RGALI page 6) sketched with more solid handwriting and occasional light sketching between the systems. The first theme appears in the violin part towards the end of the first system, while the beginning of the piano part is reworked above the third system, where four semiquavers have been altered into 6 semiquavers (two pairs of triplets). Further development of the beginning (6 semiquavers) appears on the RGALI page 14.

**Ex. 62: Elaboration of thematic materials on RGALI pages 6, 14**

**RGALI 1929/1/188 page 6**

Handwritten musical score for RGALI 1929/1/188 page 6. The score is in 4/4 time and features a complex rhythmic pattern. A box highlights a section of the score, and a vertical arrow points from it to a similar section on page 14. Below the arrow, text reads "4 Semiquavers -> 6 semiquavers (triplets)". The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

**RGALI 1929/1/188 page 14**

**Further elaboration of 6 semiquavers (triplets)**

Handwritten musical score for RGALI 1929/1/188 page 14, showing a further elaboration of the 6 semiquavers (triplets) from the previous page. The score is in 4/4 time and features a complex rhythmic pattern.

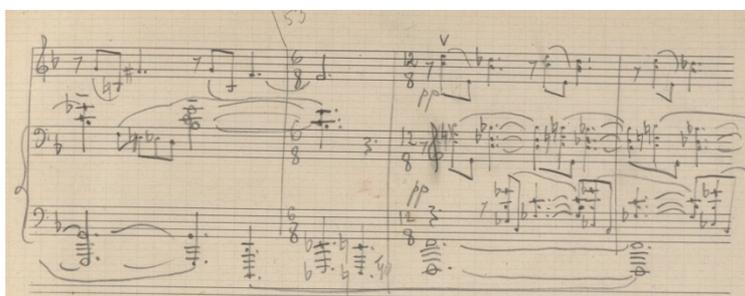
Ex. 63 is a sketch in piano scoring of bars 30-32 from Sketchbook No. 11, page 39. The final score voicing distribution is shown in the corresponding bars of the Autograph Manuscript.

**Ex. 63: III Andante, bars 30-32**

**Sketchbook No. 11 page 39**



**Autograph Manuscript (GM 33/380)**



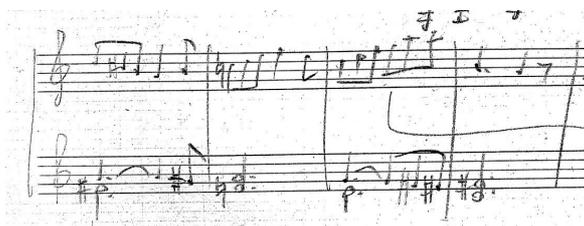
Ex. 64 demonstrates a connection between Sketchbook No. 10 and RGALI 1929/1/188 giving evidence that the RGALI page 14 was sketched no earlier than mid 1940s.

**Ex 64: III Andante, bars 47-49**

**Sketchbook No. 10 page 52**



**Corresponding RGALI 1929/1/188 page 14**



## Sketches and composition of IV Allegrissimo – Andante assai, come prima

The surviving sketches of the Allegrissimo extend only on two pages of RGALI 1929/1/188 – pages 10 and 15. These sketches include only a few initial ideas and display no structural thinking. It is the movement with the least surviving sketches. The beginning is totally absent in contrast to the three previous movements. The surviving sketches of IV Allegrissimo are depicted in the following **Table 9**.

**Table 9: Sketches of IV Allegrissimo, First Violin Sonata**

Abbreviated sources	Movement	Type of sketching	Closest relation to bars of the First Violin Sonata
RGALI page 10	IV Allegrissimo	Light sketching	Second theme bars 52-59, 73-79
RGALI page 15	IV Allegrissimo	Light sketching	bars 52-59 (second theme), 114-117, 128-131, 131-133 (piano part only), 144-150, 226-233 (end of IV movement), scales passages (b.213-222) are absent

Overall, Prokofiev sketched the second theme on page 10 (**Ex. 65**) and some ideas from the development and the coda on page 15 (**Ex. 66**). The sketches on the RGALI page 15 correspond to bars 114-117, 128-133, 144-150 and 226-233 of the Allegrissimo. Similarly to the first movement, Andante assai, the ‘wind in the graveyard’ scale passages are totally absent. Neither Sketchbooks Nos. 10 or 11 display any sketches of the Allegrissimo. Since the sketches are on the RGALI pages

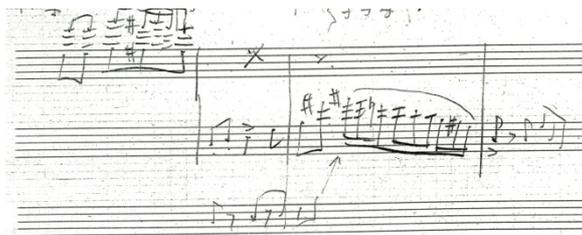
10 and 15 the Allegrissimo was initially sketched before the structural sketching of the Allegro brusco (discussed the RGALI pages 11-13) and after the sketching of the Andante. Thus, the sketches of the Allegrissimo ought to be placed no earlier than mid 1940s.

**Ex. 65: IV Allegrissimo, bars 52-59 (RGALI 1929/1/188 page 10), second theme**

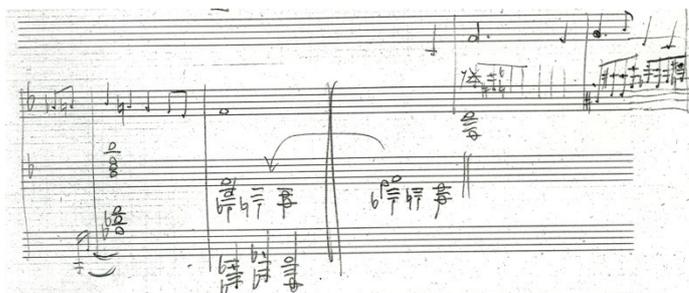


**Ex. 66: IV Allegrissimo, bars 128-131 & 226-233 (RGALI 1929/1/188 page 15)**

bars 128-131



bars 226-233, end of IV Allegrissimo

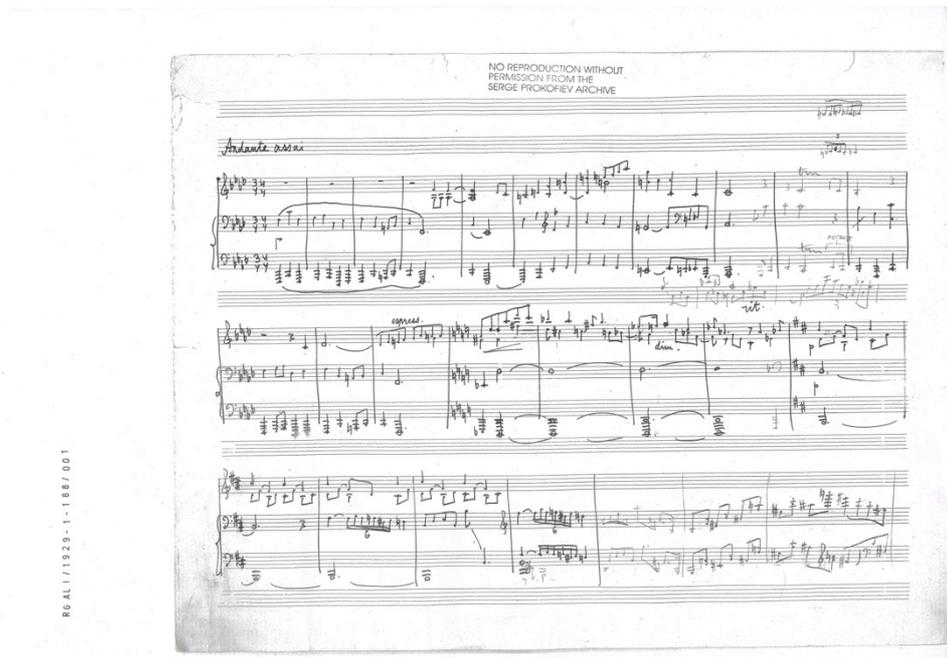


The 16 pages of sketches in RGALI 1929/1/188 are composed on two different types of manuscript paper. Pages 1-10 display a landscape page orientation, whereas pages 11-16 a portrait page orientation. In the course of this present research RGALI 1929/1/188 was accessed on a black and white microfilm. The portrait orientation of the RGALI 11-16 pages, despite being examined in black and white, is identical to the colourful manuscript pages of the Autograph Manuscript (GM 33/380). This can be established by the examination of the small seal (SN 412) in the bottom right corner of the manuscript paper (**Ex. 67**).

Thus, in 1938 Prokofiev had composed, according to Nestyev, preliminary sketches of the first three movements and had put aside some manuscript paper (landscape orientation) in order to continue his work. However, in the mid 1940s Prokofiev discovered that the landscape orientated manuscript paper was not sufficient and thus, he used the portrait orientated manuscript paper (SN 412) for both sketching and composing the final Autograph Manuscript. Since the manuscript paper of the RGALI 11-16 pages is identical with the paper of the Autograph Manuscript – i.e. seal of SN 412 – a definite conclusion can be made that the sketches of the RGALI's pages 11-16 belong to the years 1944-46. **Ex. 67** depicts the RGALI's landscape and portrait page orientation and their comparison to the Autograph Manuscript.

**Ex. 67: RGALI's page orientation and comparison to Autograph Manuscript**

**RGALI 1929/1/188 page 1, I Andante assai, landscape orientation, 1938 sketch**



**RGALI 1929/1/188 page 13, 1944-46 sketch**

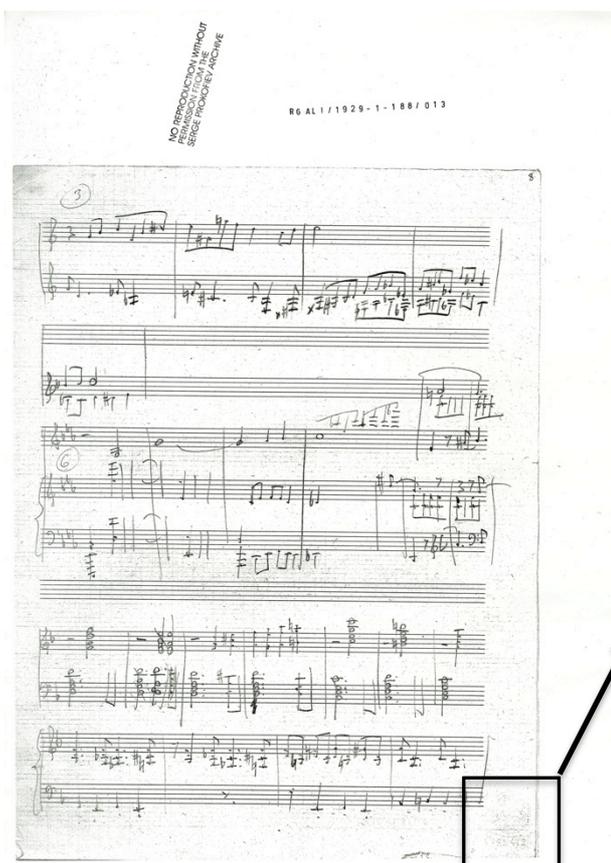
II Allegro brusco, portrait orientation

Microfilm copy in black and white

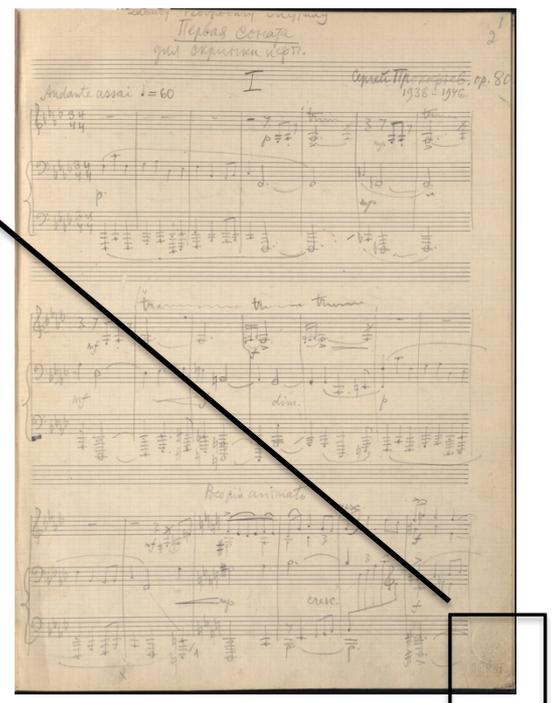
**Autograph Manuscript, 33/380**

I Andante assai

Colourful scan from the original



Identical Seal SN 412



A thorough analysis of the entire RGALI 1929/1/188 16 pages and correlation of thematic material from Sketchbooks Nos. 10 and 11 suggest that the majority of the RGALI sketches were composed after mid 1940s. Nestyev's description of the 1938 sketches – the opening of the first, the exposition of the second, and the principal themes of the third – correspond to the neat sketching of the RGALI page 1 (Andante assai), pages 4-5 (Allegro brusco) and page 6 (Andante).

The presence of thematic materials in Sketchbooks Nos. 10 and 11, which are dated mid 1940s, suggest that any elaboration and/or inclusion of the Sketchbooks' thematic material in either the RGALI 1929/1/188 or in the Autograph Manuscript took place in the middle of the 1940s, i.e. between the summers of 1944-46 according to Mira Mendelson's *Diaries*. A conjecture can be made that the light sketching found in RGALI 1929/1/188, i.e. pages 2-3, 7-16, ought to be positioned between 1944-46. However, only the RGALI pages which contain sketches of thematic materials which were copied or elaborated from Sketchbooks (e.g. RGALI page 8) or the sketches which were composed on the same manuscript paper (SN 412) as the Autograph Manuscript (e.g. RGALI pages 11-16) can be confidently placed between 1944-46.

Prokofiev's synchronous work on all four movements as evident on pages 8-16 of the RGALI 1929/1/188 further aligns with Prokofiev's general compositional practice of simultaneous work on several projects.

The overall surviving sketches of the First Violin Sonata in the RGALI 1929/1/188 and Sketchbooks Nos. 10 and 11 are shown in the following **Table 10**. Taking into consideration the aforementioned, Nestyev's description of the 1938 sketches is matched to the RGALI pages that are highlighted in yellow in the table. In green are highlighted the 1944-46 sketches (elaboration of thematic materials from

Sketchbooks, or identical manuscript paper SN 412). The RGALI pages 2, 3, 7, 9, 10 that are not highlighted most likely belong to the 1944-46 sketches as these depict light sketching; however, any further establishment of the dating is not feasible. The thematic material from the Sketchbooks of mid 1940s is highlighted in grey.

**Table 10: Chronological organisation of sketches of the First Violin Sonata**

Abbreviated sources/page orientation	Movement	Type of sketching	Closest relation to bars of the First Violin Sonata
RGALI page 1 /landscape	I Andante assai	Neat sketching, a well marked handwriting	bars 1-11, 36-56
Sketchbook No. 11 pages 44-45	I Andante assai	Light sketching	New thematic material, bars 16-22
RGALI page 2 /landscape	I Andante assai	Light sketching, less formal handwriting	Sketching of the piano part bars 54-56, abandoned thematic material
RGALI page 3 /landscape	I Andante assai	Light sketching, less formal handwriting	bars 69-74, 99-107 (end of I movement) (bars 80-97 are absent: scales passages)
RGALI page 4 /landscape	II Allegro brusco	Neat sketching progressing into light sketching	Beginning and main thematic materials: first theme bars 1-19, bridge bars 38-44, second theme bars 50-53 (piano part)
RGALI page 5 /landscape	II Allegro brusco	Neat sketching progressing into light sketching	Second theme: bars 50-65
RGALI page 6 /landscape	III Andante	Neat sketching progressing into lighter sketching	Beginning and main theme: bars 1-22
RGALI page 7 /landscape	III Andante	Light sketching	Elaboration of bars 18-22
Sketchbook No. 11 page 69	II Allegro brusco	Single line sketch	bars 86-95
RGALI page 8 /landscape	II Allegro brusco	Light sketching	Elaboration of thematic material (single line sketch) in layers: bars 86-95

RGALI page 9 /landscape	II Allegro brusco	Light sketching	Elaboration of bars 38-44 of RGALI p. 4, bars 45-47
RGALI page10 /landscape	IV Allegrissimo	Light sketching	Second theme bars 52-59, 73-79
RGALI pages 11-13 /portrait	II Allegro brusco	Light sketching	Structural sketching of bars 167-197; bars 139-141, 293- 200 (end of II movement)
Sketchbook No. 11 page 39	III Andante	Piano score sketch	bars 30-32
Sketchbook No. 10 page 52	III Andante	Neat sketching	bars 47-49
RGALI page 14 /portrait	III Andante	Light sketching	Elaboration of bars 1-3 of RGALI p. 6, bars 7-8 (second theme) bars 40-41, inclusion of bars 47-49 as in Notebook 10
RGALI page 15 /portrait	IV Allegrissimo	Light sketching	bars 52-59 (second theme), 114-117, 128-131, 131-133 (piano part only), 144-150, 226-233 (end of IV movement), scales passages (b.213-222) are absent
RGALI page 16 /portrait	III Andante	Light sketching	bars 90-95 (coda, end of III movement)

### **3.2 Autograph Manuscript: ‘work in progress’**

The Autograph Manuscript (GM 33/380) of the First Violin Sonata is written in pencil. This largely neat manuscript, however, reveals numerous corrections of notes and accidentals, insertion of notes and bars, extension of the printed stave into the page’s margins and even structural relocation of thematic material. All the above give strong evidence that the Autograph Manuscript remained a ‘work in progress’, which was revised, altered and refined before the composition date of 3 September 1946 was written on its last page by Prokofiev. In fact, the Autograph Manuscript was a draft and the final work at the same time, witnesses of which are the signs of the rubbed out pencil marks and indented pencil marking. Today the Autograph Manuscript is preserved bound in a hard cover book featuring a double page numbering by a sheet (1, 1 verso, 2, 2 verso etc.) and by page (1, 2, 3, 4, etc.). All these observations raise questions about the compositional process and even the compositional order of the Sonata’s movements. Was the Sonata composed on single separate sheets, which were bound together at a later stage? Could Prokofiev have composed the Sonata’s movements in a different order? Was the numbering of sheets and of pages determined after the composition was completed and what could have been lost and rubbed out during the composition? To these questions another observation needs to be added; the Autograph Manuscript includes performance annotations such as fingerings and bowings. This indication of Prokofiev’s collaboration with the Sonata’s dedicatee, Oistrakh, extends ‘the working stage’ of the Sonata beyond the official completion date of 3 September 1946.

The following examples (Ex. 68 – Ex. 73) of corrections and alterations demonstrate the evidence for characterising the Autograph Manuscript as ‘work in progress’. The listing of examples is not exhaustive and shows only some representative fragments from the Sonata’s movements. The main alterations are:

**Ex. 68: Correction of notes: signs of bolder pencil or signs of rubbed out notes**

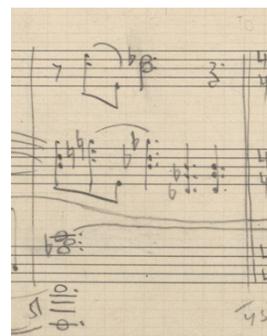
**I Andante assai, bars 52-55**

Notes above legato (piano’s right hand)



**III Andante, bar 57**

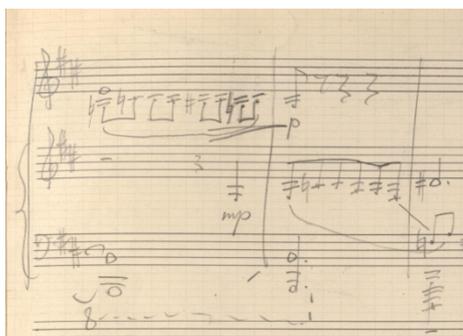
violin part:  
B-flat D-flat minims



**Ex. 69: Correction of accidentals**

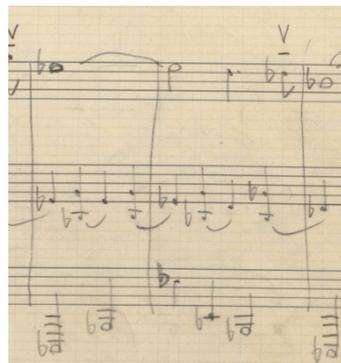
**I Andante assai, bars 65-66**

violin part: bar 65, G natural



**II Allegro brusco, bars 56-57**

piano’s left hand: bar 57, E-flat



**Ex. 70: Rubbed out signs**

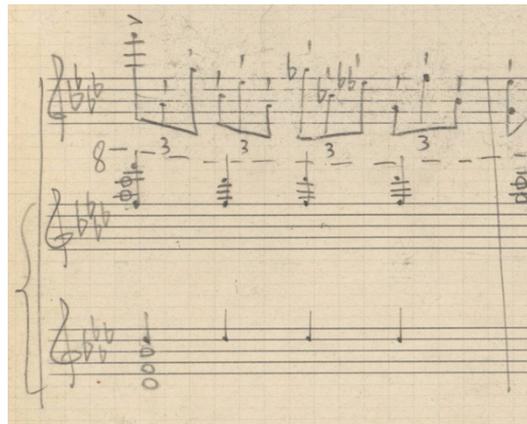
**I Andante assai, bars 103-105**

Rubbed out *pizz.* chord in bar 104



**IV Allegrissimo, bar 196, violin part**

rubbed out signs and altered notes



**Ex. 71: Extension of the manuscript's margins and inserted passages and notes**

**II Allegro brusco, bars 82-84**

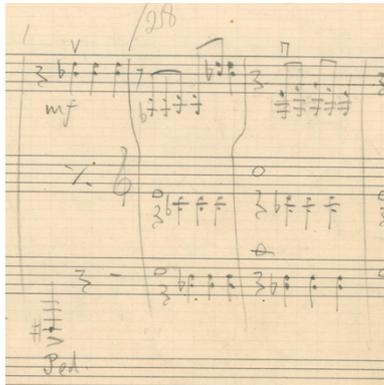
**IV Allegrissimo, bars 72-73**

**IV Allegrissimo, bar 195**

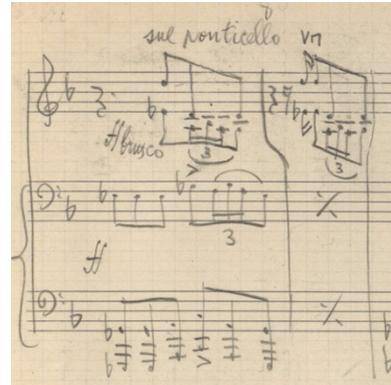


**Ex. 72: Irregularities with barlines**

**II Allegro brusco, bars 118-120**



**IV Allegrissimo, bars 191-192**



**Ex. 73: Revision of bars, addition of new material**

**II Allegro brusco, bars 122-125**

bar 124-125, piano's left hand shows  
irregular/asymmetrical distribution of quavers



**IV Allegrissimo, bars 168-70**

'invented' bar 169



#### IV Allegrissimo: ‘wind in the graveyard’ scale passages

Pages 54-57 or sheets 29-30 of the Autograph Manuscript show an alteration in the compositional course of the Allegrissimo, which resulted in the inclusion of the scale passages from the Andante assai. In the first catalogue of his works written in Mira Mendelson’s handwriting – *Notograficheskiĭ Spravochnik* – Prokofiev dictated: ‘It seems to the author that the passages of the finale are somewhat reminiscent of Chopin’s B flat minor sonata: a howling autumnal night wind on an abandoned tomb in a graveyard’.<sup>181</sup> The entire Sonata’s meaning and stylistic interpretation is associated with the aforementioned scale passages, which are commonly referred to as ‘wind in the graveyard’. However, their compositional conception remains unknown as no traces of these scale passages are found in the sketches. Moreover, Prokofiev ascribed the meaning to the scale passages of the Allegrissimo and not the Andante assai, where the scale passages firstly appear. The scale passages of the Allegrissimo (bars 213-222) are effectively the recapitulation of the correspondent scale passages of the Andante assai (bars 80-97). This repetition gives a cyclic quality to the Sonata, which is reminiscent of the trilogy of piano War Sonatas (Sixth, Seventh and Eight Piano Sonatas). The War Sonatas are united on thematic and motivic levels by bringing ‘material from their first movements in the finales’.<sup>182</sup>

The neatly composed scale passages of the Andante assai reappear in the Allegrissimo as glued above a page with signs of deleted musical material (**Ex. 74**). The determination of the abandoned underlying musical material had been attempted during the present research at the ‘Digital Restoration Workshop’ held at the

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<sup>181</sup> RGALI f. 1929, op. 3, ed. khr. 25, l. 40. See discussion of ‘wind in the graveyard’ violin passages in sub-chapter 6.3.

<sup>182</sup> William Henry Chapman Nyaho, ‘Cyclicism in the War Sonatas of Sergei Prokofiev’ (Ph.D. thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1990), 34.

University of Oxford on 29 April 2015. The methodology was digital analysis of layers and sub-layers of the scanned image by Adobe Photoshop software. However, the disclosure of the thematic material underneath the scale passages proved impossible due to the scan's poor quality and pencil's lead, which constitutes insufficient material for tracing the creation of sub-layers.<sup>183</sup>

**Ex. 74: comparison of scale passages from the Andante assai and Allegrissimo**

**I Andante assai, sheet 4 verso/page 6  
bars 80-85**

Neat scale passages

**IV Allegrissimo, sheet 30/page 56  
bars 213-216**

Glued scale passages above manuscript page with signs of deleted or abandoned thematic material in the subsurface

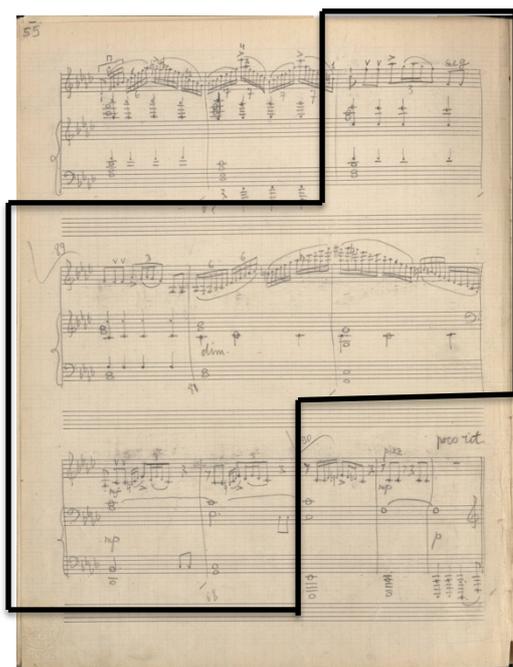


<sup>183</sup> The scan of scale passages was provided in a JPEG format, which quality is insufficient for layer analysis. The analysis of sub-layers requires an uncompressed TIFF format with High Resolution of at least 400 dpi size or higher. Also, a pencilled manuscript is advisable to be captured by technique used for watermarks i.e. a fiber optic sheet needs to be placed behind the manuscript page prior to the scanning/photographing.

Rather than examine the subsurface of sheet 30, which could unveil new sketched materials, it is more valuable to develop a conjectural compositional order of how the scale passages in the Allegrissimo were composed. Considering that the manuscript paper SN 412 (portrait orientation) was used for both the RGALI 1929/1/188 sketches and for the composition of the Autograph Manuscript, it could have been possible for sheet 30 to have been firstly used as a sketch, since sheet 30 verso contains deleted identical thematic materials to sheet 29 verso, as **Ex. 75** demonstrates. Thus, sheet 30 (recto, verso) could have been added at a late stage to the Autograph Manuscript in order to accommodate the scale passages (sheet 30 recto) as a result of a shortage of SN 412 paper.

**Ex. 75: Autograph Manuscript: identical thematic material**

The deleted part (sheet 30 verso) is identical to the neatly written part (sheet 29 verso)  
 sheet 29 verso/page 55, bars 202-212                      sheet 30 verso/page 57, bars 217-219

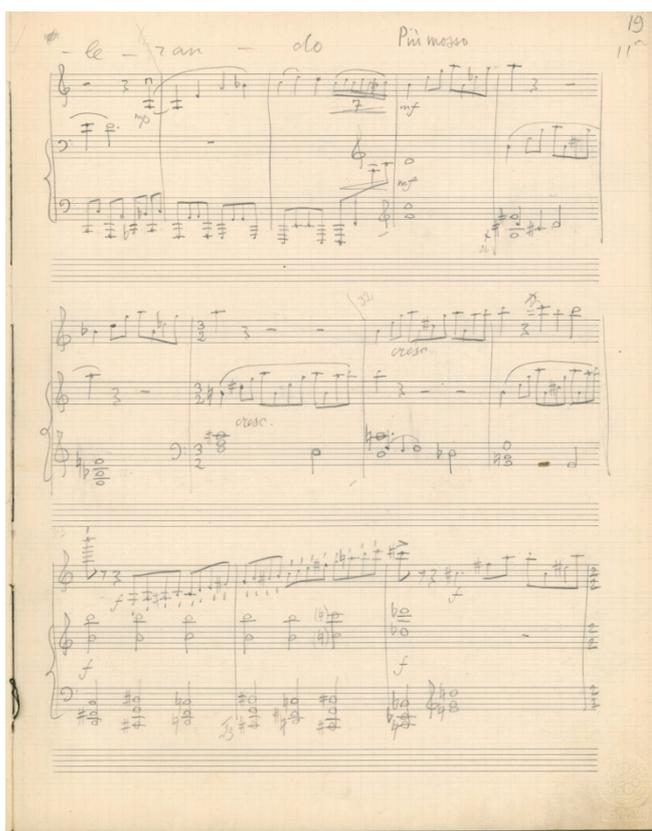


The binding and possibly the numbering of sheets of the Autograph Manuscript seem to have followed the compositional order of the Sonata. The binding as evident in **Ex. 76** is unlikely to have been made by the composer, while the sheet numbering (sheet 29) was evidently added after the page was revised with an extended passage.

**Ex. 76: binding and numbering of the Autograph Manuscript**

Binding: II Allegro brusco, bars 150-161  
sheet 11/page 19

Numbering: IV Allegrissimo, bar 195  
sheet 29/page 54



**54: Numbering by page (archivist)**  
**29: Numbering by sheet (Prokofiev)**



All the aforementioned observations such as numerous corrections, alterations, irregularities with barlines, extensions of the stave onto the page's margins, insertion of scale passages in the *Allegro*, the binding and numbering of sheet and pages, strengthen the argument that the sketching of Sonata extended well beyond the RGALI 1929/1/188 onto the Autograph Manuscript itself. Moreover, the Autograph Manuscript features a number of performance indications such as violinistic fingerings and bowings (Ex. 77), which give clear evidence of collaboration between Prokofiev and Oistrakh and of work beyond 3 September 1946, the date of Sonata's completion.

The handwriting of the fingerings and bowings of Ex. 77 has been identified by Oleh Krysa as belonging to Oistrakh<sup>184</sup> while the period of their collaboration can be positioned between early September and November 1946 according to Mira Mendelson's diary entry: '[On 21 November] we heard on radio the First Sonata, which apparently is already recorded on the tape. [...]. On 18 November Oistrakh and Oborin visited us and worked with Sergei for about two hours on the Sonata. They wrote down bowings and dynamics'.<sup>185</sup>

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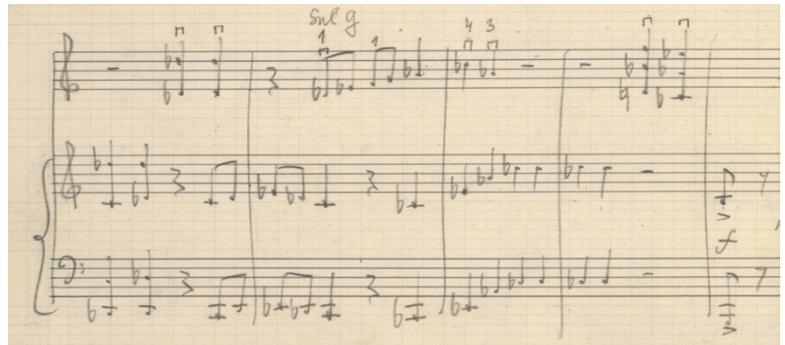
<sup>184</sup> Interview with Oleh Krysa. See Appendices, p. 383-384.

<sup>185</sup> Mendel'son-Prokof'eva, *O Sergee Sergeeviche Prokof'eva: Vospominaniia. Dnevnik. 1938-1967.*, 286. Author's translation.

**Ex. 77: Fingerings and bowings in the Autograph Manuscript**

I Andante assai, bars 52-53

II Allegro brusco, bars 16-19 (down II bowings)



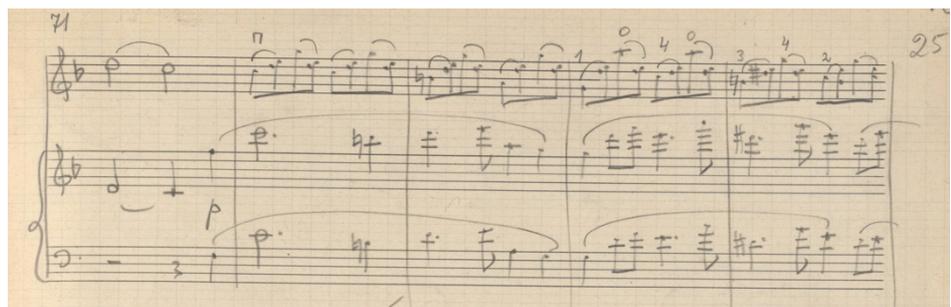
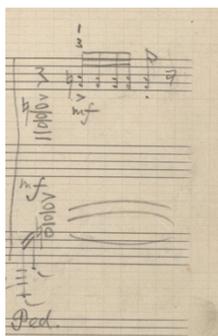
II Allegro brusco, bars 172-174

III Andante, bar 40

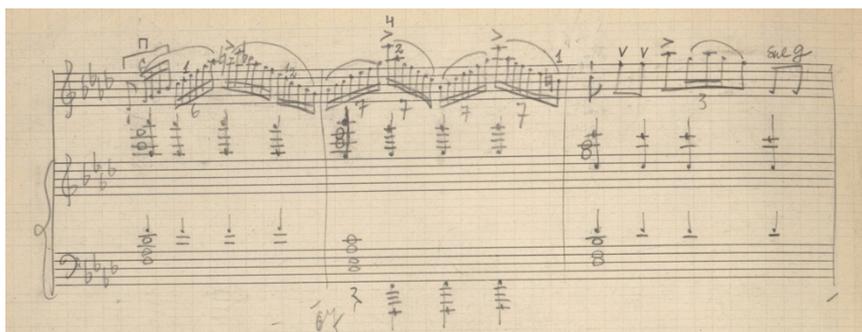


III Andante, bar 90

IV Allegrissimo, bars 59-63



IV Allegrissimo, bars 202-204



### 3.3 Steklograph technique and Muzfond 1947 edition

The printing technique used by the Union of Soviet Composers (SSK) for the reproduction of manuscripts in the 1940s was steklographia, a glass printing technique.<sup>186</sup> An exceedingly limited secondary literature on steklographia is available, but the Soviet encyclopaedia *Knigovedenie (Bibliology)* defines it as ‘reproduction of depictions with the method of lithography [printing from a flat surface] with the use of glass shape. The original [document] for steklographia is produced either in hand or by typewriter with the use of special ink. [...] [Steklographia] is used with restrictions, mainly for reproduction of a small-circulated documentation.’<sup>187</sup>

The 1938 *Instruktsiia dlia Steklografiĩ (Instruction for steklograph publications)* published by Moscow’s Mosoblgorlit articulates the rules for the duplication of documentation with the use of steklograph technique. The director of the organisation had the sole responsibility for the use of steklograph machine and every steklograph copying order had to be registered, approved, and filed for one year. The steklograph machine was required to be stored in an isolated room with restricted access for personnel. Without Mosoblgorlit’s permission the copying of documents such as newspapers, literary works, educational books, posters and other public materials was forbidden. The documentation which could be printed included all documents on business affairs (internal business correspondence, instructions for employers, statistic documentation, receipts), educational booklets and theses (professional development booklets, doctoral theses, scientific reports and papers). Approved steklograph publications for mass distribution required permission from

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<sup>186</sup> Steklografia: compound noun from Russian noun steklo (glass) and Greek verb grafo (to write).

<sup>187</sup> N. M. Sikorskii, ed., ‘Steklogragiia,’ *Knigovedenie, Èntsklopedicheskii Slovar’* (Sovetskaia Èntsklopediia, 1982), 519. Author’s translation.

Mosoblgorlit as well as submission of steklograph copies to Glavlit and the Soviet book's depository Central Book Chamber.<sup>188</sup> The steklograph technique was first used in the 1920s, reaching its peak in the decade 1938-48. It is also indicative that in 1938 Mosoblgorlit published its *Instruktsiia dlia Steklografiĩ*. Thus, steklographia's primary use was to copy internal documentation of state companies or of other educational or manufacturing organisations, having the equivalent role of today's office photocopiers.

The steklograph technique requires two flat glass surfaces, the original document (handwritten manuscript or typed on typewriter) written with special steklograph ink, chemical padding/grounding and a roller. The procedure is based upon chemical reactions and includes the following steps according to the 1935 manual of 'LITO' steklograph machine:<sup>189</sup>

1. Preparation of work (i.e. arrangement of glass surface and of all other materials)
2. Cleaning of the glass surface and applying chemical grounding on it with roller
3. Placing of the original document (manuscript or typed text produced with steklograph ink) on the prepared glass with chemical grounding.
4. Revealing the imprint on the chemically grounded glass with application of another chemical after the removal of pressing glass and the original document.
5. Printing from glass' imprint by placing on it new white paper.

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<sup>188</sup> Moskovskoe oblastnoe i gorodskoe upravlenie po delam literatury i izdatel'stv (Mosoblgorlit), *Instruktsiia dlia Steklografiĩ* (Moskva: Mosoblgorlit, 1938), 3, 5–7.

<sup>189</sup> N. A. Vinogradov and A. I. Ivanov, *Rukovodstvo po Rabote na Steklograficheskom Apparate «LITO»* (Moskva: Prom. Koop. T-va «LITO», 1935), 5, 8–9.

In music, the evidence for steklographia use comes from the early 1940s. In 1939, Muzfond was founded as a department within the Union of Soviet Composers.<sup>190</sup> One of Muzfond's main roles was to facilitate and fund the production of copyist manuscripts and their subsequent publishing. Levon Atovmyan, the Deputy Chairman and Chief editor of Muzfond between 1940-48, contributed significantly in establishing steklographia. In fact, it was Atovmyan who organised Muzfond's steklograph publishing in the very beginning of the Second World War – after the 1941 Nazi invasion – for the purposes of printing antifascist songs by Soviet Composers.<sup>191</sup>

Prokofiev in his 1942-43 correspondence often mentioned Atovmyan who printed his compositions on the glass. For instance, in his letter to Nestyev of 18 October 1942, Prokofiev wrote that 'Atovmyan proposed to publish on steklograph excerpts from the *War and Peace*',<sup>192</sup> and in his letter dated 1 November 1942 to Shlifshtein Prokofiev confirmed that he had sent ten numbers from the opera to Atovmyan for glass publishing.<sup>193</sup> The Union of Soviet Composers held committee meetings on steklographia as part of its meetings as the September's 1944 Calendar Plan instructs.<sup>194</sup> Despite the constant use of steklographia in the first half of the 1940s, the copying of the scores still required considerable improvement. It was in September 1945 when Prokofiev complained in his letter to Atovmyan about

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<sup>190</sup> Kiril Tomoff, *Creative Union: The Professional Organization of Soviet Composers, 1939-1953* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press; Bristol, 2006), 49–50.

<sup>191</sup> Kravets, *Riadam Velikimi*, 300.

<sup>192</sup> RGALI f. 1929, op. 3, ed. khr. 78, l. 1 verso.

<sup>193</sup> RGALI f. 1929, op. 3, ed. khr. 105, l. 6.

<sup>194</sup> RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 905, l. 119 verso.



Atovmyan's handbook is an example of a hand-made manual produced in a similar way to the music copyist manuscripts of the 1940s without the use of typewriter or music engraving/publishing techniques. The only exception was that copyists used blank manuscript paper with pre-printed staves, i.e. did not have to draw the staff lines with steklograph ink. Thus, Muzfond publications were printed copyist manuscripts on steklographia.

Shilifshēin, the editor of the first complete Prokofiev's work catalogue *Notograficheskiĭ Spravochnik*, recorded the entry of the first publication of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata as 'Muzfond (SSK) 1947, steklograph'.<sup>197</sup> Muzfond publications functioned in accordance with steklographia rules: small circulation numbers for internal use. Muzfond publications were registered internally within the Muzfond and the Union of Soviet Composers. The general function of the publication was to facilitate the performance of the newly composed work, before the work was published and engraved for the public use. The steklographia's rule was to maintain a copy for one year, after which a work's registration and any unused steklograph copies could be destroyed. Additionally, if the work was subsequently engraved and published, the purpose of existence of its corresponding Muzfond publication was entirely lost. The present research was able to locate only two 1947 Muzfond copies of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata in Moscow, Russia: one score located at the Taneyev music library of Moscow's Conservatory and a score and violin part located at the Library of Dom Kompozitor, the sole library of the Union of Soviet Composers. The 1947 Muzfond publication of the First Violin Sonata features a plate number 60-63 suggesting that this publication was registered in Muzfond and perhaps even

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<sup>197</sup> S. I. Shlifshēin, *Prokof'ev S. S.: Notograficheskiĭ Spravochnik* (Moskva: Sov. kompozitor, 1962), 78.

approved by Mosoblgorlit or Glavlit. 60-63 An important feature of any Muzfond steklograph publication was its consideration as a publication ‘on the rights of a manuscript’ (Rus: *na pravakh rukopisi*), i.e. a publication copyrighted as a manuscript. Therefore, steklograph publication had the same value and applicable restrictions to any other manuscripts, either autograph manuscripts or copyist manuscripts.

The music publications for public general use – involving engraved and full editorial work – were produced by Muzgiz from the 1940s. Thus, Shlifshtein’s *Notograficheskii Spravochnik* lists, after the Muzfond 1947 edition of the First Violin Sonata, that work’s subsequent Muzgiz 1951 publication.<sup>198</sup>

The 1947 Muzfond publication of the First Violin Sonata is a copyist manuscript copied from Prokofiev’s Autograph Manuscript. The copyist included all details of the Autograph Manuscript: dynamics, articulation and expression markings, bowings and fingerings. Moreover, according to the copyist practice of the 1940s, all irregularities with barlines, corrected notes/accidentals, inserted bars and passages on the page’s margins of the Autograph Manuscript have been corrected in the Muzfond 1947 publication. The 1947 Muzfond edition is a neat copy of the Autograph Manuscript with correct voice alignment as **Ex. 79** depicts. The only difference between the Autograph Manuscript and 1947 Muzfond publication was the production of a separate violin part alongside the score.

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<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

**Ex. 79: Corrected irregularities, Autograph Manuscript - Muzfond 1947, steklograph**

Autograph Manuscript

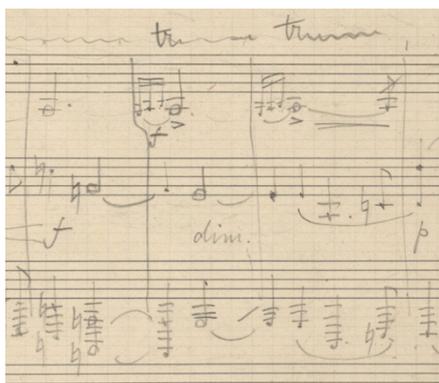
Muzfond 1947, steklograph

I Andante assai, bars 10-12

I Andante assai, bars 10-12

irregural barline of bar 11

aligned barline of bar 11



Autograph Manuscript

Muzfond 1947, steklograph

IV Allegrissimo, bar 195

IV, bar 195: correct lining of violin passage

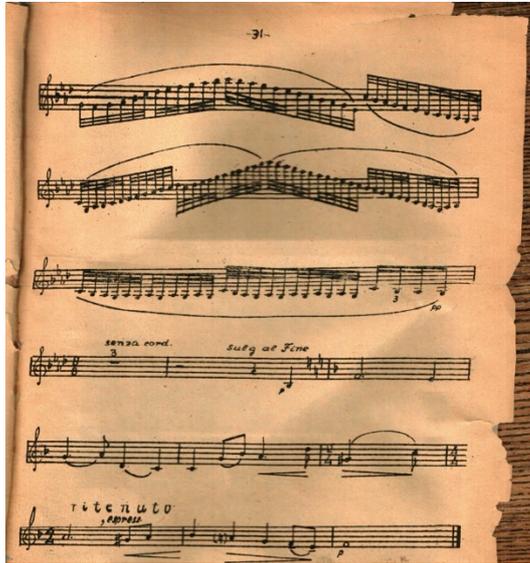


The staves of Muzfond 1947 steklograph edition of the First Violin Sonata were not pre-printed, but instead handwritten by ruler with steklograph ink. The evidence comes from Muzfond's 1947 violin part whose pages have different number of staves per page ranging between 6 and 10 stave systems (Ex. 80).

**Ex. 80: Muzfond 1947, Stave systems in the violin part (six to ten stave systems)**

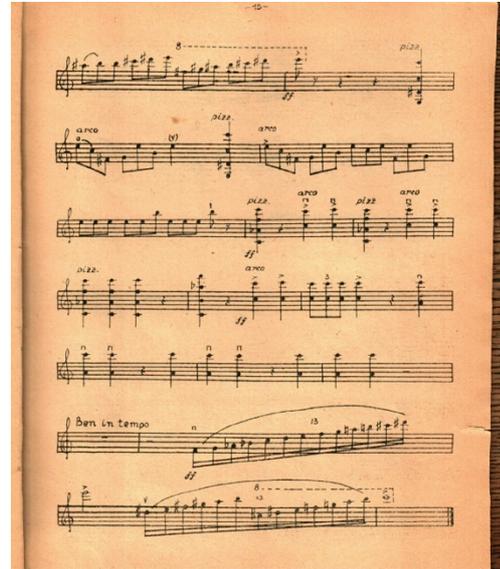
Six stave systems, p. 31

IV Allegrissimo, final bars 220-233



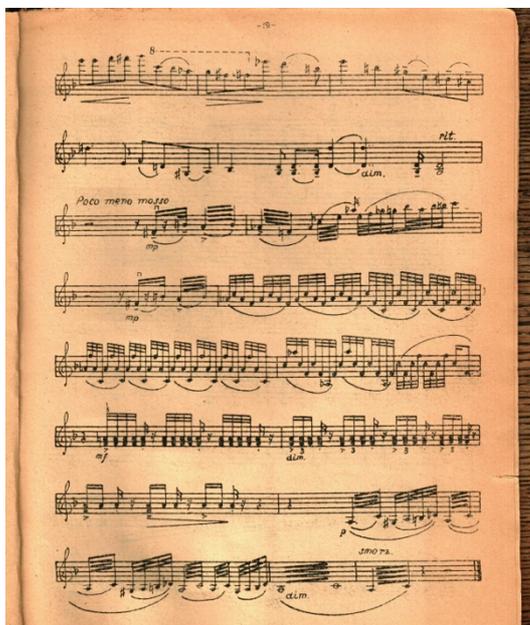
Seven stave systems, p. 15

II Allegro brusco, final bars 284-300



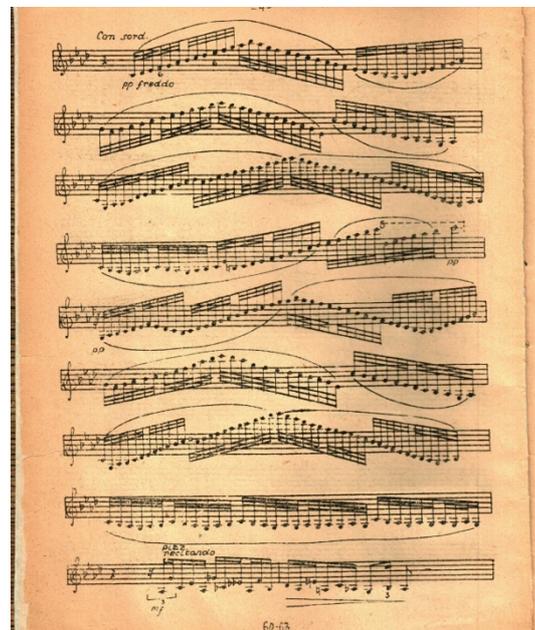
Eight stave systems, p. 19

III Andante, final bars 78-95



Nine stave systems, p. 4

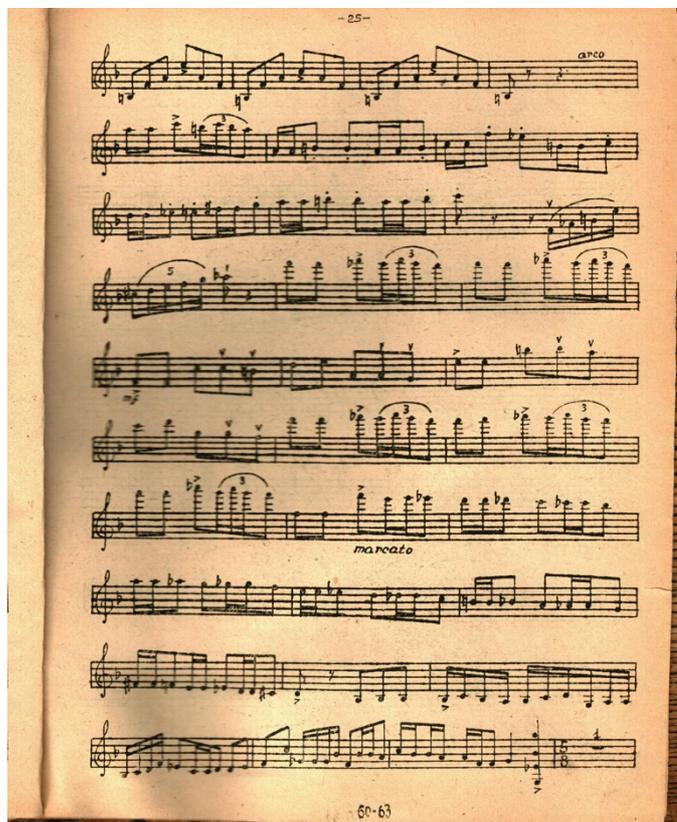
I Andante assai, bars 80-90



**Ex. 80: continuation...**

Ten stave systems, p. 25

IV Allegrissimo, bars 133-164



Finally, **Ex. 81** includes extracts with fingering and bowing annotations from Muzfond's violin part. The extracts are corresponding to the **Ex. 77** of the previous 3.2 sub-chapter 'Autograph Manuscript: 'work in progress''.

**Ex. 81: Fingerings of the violin part are identical with those on the Autograph Manuscript**

I Andante assai, bars 51-53



II Allegro brusco, bars 12-22



II Allegro brusco, bars 273-277



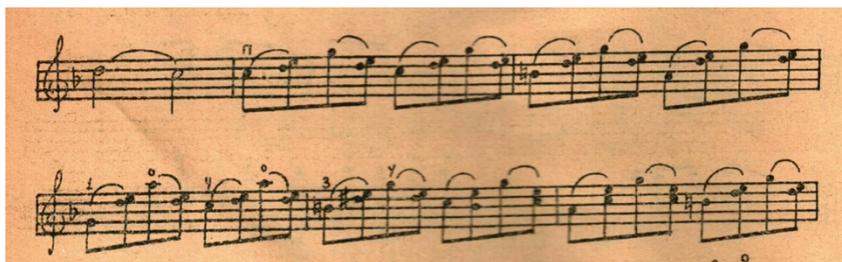
III Andante, bar 40



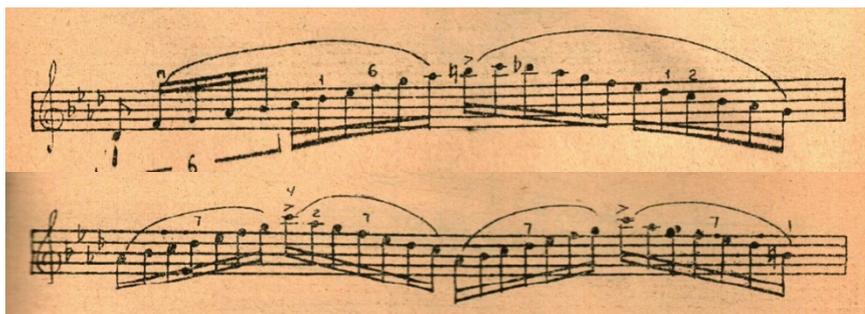
III Andante, bar 90



IV Allegrissimo, bars 59-64



IV Allegrissimo, bars 202-203



### 3.4 Conclusions

The discussion of the composition of the First Violin Sonata in Chapter 3 sheds significant light on Prokofiev's method of creative work. In accordance with Blok's classification of Prokofiev's sketches, the RGALI 1929/1/188 displays a variety of sketches, with the main emphasis on structural sketches, especially in the Allegro brusco, and preliminary sketches mainly in the sketching of the Allegrissimo. Sketchbook No. 10 contains mostly preliminary sketches, while Sketchbook No. 11 gives an example of a piano score sketch (**Ex. 63**). The sketching and numbering of the themes in the Allegro brusco give insight into Prokofiev's abbreviated numerical compositional process (**Ex. 61**). The juxtaposition of RGALI 1929/1/188 with Sketchbooks No. 10 and No. 11 and Nestyev's testimony made it possible to classify the dating of sketches in two categories: end of 1938 and 1944-46. Also, close analysis established that the manuscript paper with seal number SN 412 was used for both the RGALI pages 11-16 and the Autograph Manuscript, which reinforces the argument that the RGALI pages 11-16 belong to the 1944-46 sketches. The main observation on the pencilled Autograph Manuscript is in its dual function as a draft and final autograph, witnesses of which are numerous corrections and rubbed out marks. When considering Prokofiev's compositional practice in three stages – sketching, piano score and instrumentation (Blok) – the Autograph Manuscript represented the third and, possibly, partially the second stage. It was at the end of summer 1946 when Prokofiev firstly performed on the piano the First Violin Sonata at Nikolina Gora to Oistrakh and Myaskovsky. Perhaps the two stages of piano scoring and instrumentation in the composition of the First Violin Sonata were

incorporated in one final stage, which included writing in pencil the Autograph Manuscript and its constant revision.

The richness of surviving sketches of the First Violin Sonata contrasts with few surviving sketches of the Flute Sonata, the parental work of the Second Violin Sonata. In contrast, four copyist manuscript sources of the Second Violin Sonata, have survived in comparison to no copyist manuscript of the First Violin Sonata, excluding the Muzfond 1947 editions. By consolidating the information obtained from all sources – sketches, copyist manuscripts, autograph manuscripts and proofread engraving score – on the composition of both the Violin Sonatas, a deeper understanding of Prokofiev's compositional practice and the role of the Union of Soviet Composers emerges.

In both cases, the completion of composition was followed by the production of a copyist manuscript(s). The copyist was engaged by Prokofiev, albeit paid by Muzfond (so, in effect, by the Union of Soviet Composers). In the 1940s Muzfond also printed steklograph publications of newly composed works in limited circulation for internal use, mainly to satisfy the need for premieres and early performances. The Muzfond publication was a copyist manuscript produced with steklograph ink. However, the first edition of the work was published by Muzgiz, not by Muzfond. The Muzgiz publication required an approved GURK copyist manuscript, editorial engraving of score and parts, proofreading and approval of the engraved music by Prokofiev with the final approval by Glavlit. Particularly noteworthy in this respect is Prokofiev's active participation in stages beyond the composition.

**Table 11** depicts the chronological organisation of composition of the Violin Sonatas.

**Table 11: Chronological organisation of composition of the Violin Sonatas: from primary sources to the first editions (Muzgiz 1946, Muzfond 1947)**

Title of composition	Primary Source	Archival Reference	Archival Dating	Abbreviation used in thesis
<b>Key dates:</b>				
End of 1938 initial sketching of the First Violin Sonata				
First Violin Sonata, sketches of movements I, II, III	Autograph sketches	RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 188	1938-46	RGALI 1929/1/188 or RGALI page 1
<b>Key Dates:</b>				
1939-1944: interruption of composition of the First Violin Sonata				
18 September 1942 – 12 September 1943: composition of the Flute Sonata 7 December 1943: premiere of the Flute Sonata at Moscow Conservatory				
December 1943 – June 1944: violin adaptation of the Flute Sonata and creation of the Second Violin Sonata				
Second Violin Sonata	Copyist manuscript, score, annotated	RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr.193	December 1943-44	RGALI 1929/1/193
Second Violin Sonata	Copyist manuscript, score, not annotated	RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 194	1944	RGALI 1929/1/194
<b>Key dates:</b>				
17 June 1944: premiere of the Second Violin Sonata at Moscow Conservatory by David Oistrakh (violin) and Lev Oborin (piano)				
1944-1946: resumption of composition of the First Violin Sonata, further sketching				
First Violin Sonata, sketches of movement III	Sketchbook No. 10	RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 290	2 October 1940 (start date)	Sketchbook No. 10
First Violin Sonata, sketches of movements I, II, III	Sketchbook No. 11	RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 291	mid 1940s	Sketchbook No. 11

First Violin Sonata, sketches of movements I, II, III, IV	Autograph sketches, 16 pages	RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 188	1938-46	RGALI 1929/1/188 or RGALI page 188
<b>Key date:</b>				
1945-1946: preparation of the Second Violin Sonata for the first Muzgiz edition – further copyist manuscripts and Prokofiev-Oistrakh collaboration				
Second Violin Sonata	Copyist manuscript, score and violin part, both annotated	GM f. 33, No. 12	1945	GM 33/12
Second Violin Sonata	Copyist manuscript, violin part, annotated	GM f. 33, No. 899	1945	GM 33/899
Second Violin Sonata	Proof, score	GM f. 33, No. 13	July 1945 – May 1946	GM 33/13
First Violin Sonata	Autograph Manuscript	GM f. 33, No. 380	1938-46, completion date: 3 Sept. 1946	Autograph Manuscript
<b>Key dates:</b>				
23 October 1946: premiere of the First Violin Sonata at Moscow Conservatory by David Oistrakh (violin) and Lev Oborin (piano)				
1946: publication of first edition of the Second Violin Sonata by Muzgiz (State Music Publishers), editor David Oistrakh				
First Violin Sonata	Muzfond steklograph edition	n/a, steklograph edition copyrighted as manuscript	1947, approved for print in January 1947	Muzfond 1947, editor Atovmyan, violin part edited by David Oistrakh

## Chapter 4

### Music publishers, cultural exchange and diplomacy in the 1940s

#### 4.1 Muzgiz, Muzfond and the complexities of Prokofiev's publications in the 1940s.

In Chapters 2 and 3, examination of the primary sources gave insights into how each newly composed work progressed to publication supported by Muzfond and the Union of Soviet Composers. The Union facilitated and monitored every stage of this process, starting from each work's commission, to the production of copyist manuscripts, the first Muzgiz edition (Second Violin Sonata) and the Muzfond steklograph edition (First Violin Sonata). In the 1940s the state publishing house for publication of music works intended for mass circulation was Muzgiz. Though both Muzfond and Muzgiz were established during the period of Soviet rule, their respective history and functions were totally different.

On 19 December 1918, after the October 1917 Revolution, pre-revolutionary Russian publishing businesses, along with J. Jürgenson who published Prokofiev's works between 1911-16, were nationalised by order of the Committee of People's Commissars (SNK), forming a company known by the acronym Gosmuzizdat (State Music Publishing). After the Russian civil war (1917-22), Gosmuzizdat became known by the new acronym Gosizdat Muzsektor (Music Division of the Soviet State Publishing Company).<sup>199</sup> On 8 August 1930 the SNK decided to merge all Soviet music publishers into Muzgiz, the State Music Publishers. In 1933 Muzgiz started publishing the journal *Sovetskaïa Muzyka* (*Soviet Music*), which was the official

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<sup>199</sup> R. Maslovataïa, *Izdatel'stvo 'Muzyka'* (Moskva: Muzyka, 1987), 15–18.

journal of the Union of Soviet Composers. In 1936 the administration of Muzgiz was transferred to the newly created Committee of Arts Affairs, a body under the patronage of the SNK. On 20 September 1939 the SNK created Muzfond, as a department within the Union of Soviet Composers.<sup>200</sup> The start of the Second World War and the 1941 invasion of the Soviet Union prompted Muzfond to start publishing music – mainly mass antifascist songs – using the steklograph technique. During the war more than 5,000 songs were published, which were distributed throughout the Soviet army to improve morale.<sup>201</sup> However, Muzfond's publications were not to last for long. In 1949 Muzfond editions were liquidated and Muzfond's publication plan was transferred to Muzgiz.<sup>202</sup>

A prominent Russian music publisher was Serge Koussevitzky, who published Prokofiev's music between 1917 and 1939 under A. Gutheil and Russian Musical Publishing (RMP). Koussevitzky founded RMP in 1909, establishing its main office in Berlin to secure European and American copyright. RMP's music was printed in Leipzig. In 1914 Koussevitzky bought the publishing house of A. Gutheil, whose founder was of Austrian descent. Music publishing historically relied on German expertise, but during the First World War many music publishers with German surnames were forced to go out of business in Russia.<sup>203</sup> The 1917 Revolution forced Koussevitzky to emigrate to Paris, where he founded the 'Édition Russe de Musique'.

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<sup>200</sup> Georgii Konstantinovich Ivanov, *Notoizdatel'skoe Delo v Rossii: Istoricheskaia Spravka* (Moskva: Sov. kompozitor, 1970), 33; Maslovataia, *Izdatel'stvo 'Muzyka,'* 15, 20–23.

<sup>201</sup> Kravets, *Riadom Velikimi*, 300.

<sup>202</sup> Maslovataia, *Izdatel'stvo 'Muzyka,'* 23.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 6–14.

In Germany Koussevitzky's music continued to publish under 'Russischer Musikverlag'.<sup>204</sup>

The Second World War brought new difficulties for music publishing both in the Soviet Union and in Europe. However, wartime also created new circumstances for the dissemination of Russian music to the West, opening up new unprecedented possibilities.

The Anschluss in 1938 – invasion and incorporation of Austria into Germany – caused some of the most talented of Universal Edition's (UE) staff to migrate from Vienna to London's publishing firm Boosey & Hawkes. The arrival of UE staff from Vienna in 1939 gave Boosey & Hawkes the desired professional credibility. Prominent staff included the specialist editors Ernst Roth, Erwin Stein and the experienced publisher Alfred Kalmus; all three were Jewish. Kalmus was appointed as director managing the UE's London shares, which Boosey & Hawkes had acquired.<sup>205</sup> The 1943 bombing of Berlin and Paris destroyed most of the storehouse of Koussevitzky's RMP and A. Gutheil.<sup>206</sup> However, in 1946 Boosey & Hawkes bought Koussevitzky's Édition Russe de Musique for the phenomenal amount of \$300,000 and thus acquired Koussevitzky's invaluable catalogue, with major works by Rachmaninoff, Prokofiev and Stravinsky alongside the highly desirable copyright.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> Ibid., 15, 30 (f.31); Helen Wallace, *Boosey & Hawkes: The Publishing Story* (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 2007), 65.

<sup>205</sup> Wallace, *Boosey & Hawkes: The Publishing Story*, 17–19, 25–26.

<sup>206</sup> Viktor Aranovich Ūzefovich, *Sergeĭ Prokof'ev - Sergeĭ Kuseviĭskiĭ. Perepiska 1910-1953* (Moskva: Deko-VS, 2011), 439.

<sup>207</sup> Wallace, *Boosey & Hawkes: The Publishing Story*, 66; Harlow Robinson, ed., *Selected Letters of Sergei Prokofiev* (Boston, [Mass.]: Northeastern University Press, 1998), 173, f. 2; Ūzefovich, *Sergeĭ Prokof'ev - Sergeĭ Kuseviĭskiĭ. Perepiska 1910-1953*, 448.

During the Second World War the Soviet Muzgiz and Muzfond experienced tremendous shortages in manuscript paper, copyists, engravers, editorial and publishing infrastructure. The end of the Second World War, in March 1946, saw Muzgiz publishers return to Leipzig to use German publishing facilities. Between March and November 1946 more than 300 classical music works totalling above 5 million music sheets were published in Leipzig.<sup>208</sup>

However, the main events in the publishing of Soviet Russian music happened just at the end of the war. As the present research will discuss in 4.3, the year 1945 witnessed the establishment of the Anglo-Soviet Music Press, and also the signing of an agreement between Moscow and New York's Am-Rus Music and Literary Agency; the latter resulted in subsequent involvement of Leeds Music Corporation in the publishing of the Soviet music. These two significant events laid the foundation for the distribution of newly-composed Soviet music in the UK and the USA. For Prokofiev, the situation regarding his published music pre-1945 was as follows: his early works published in pre-revolutionary Russia by J. Jürgenson were nationalised and hence, the copyright remained in Russia, eventually incorporated into Muzgiz. However, those of Prokofiev's works that were published between 1917-39 by either A. Gutheil or RMP, both owned by Koussevitzky, retained their copyright outside Russia as Koussevitzky emigrated and founded the 'Édition Russe de Musique' in Paris and 'Russischer Musikverlag' in Germany. In 1946 Boosey & Hawkes, by acquiring Koussevitzky's catalogue, obtained international copyright for those of Prokofiev's works that had been published between 1917-39. However, Prokofiev's return to Soviet Russia in 1936 created a new order in the publication of his works, since under Soviet law the copyright of all newly composed Soviet works belonged to

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<sup>208</sup> Maslovataia, *Izdatel'stvo 'Muzyka,'* 23.

the Soviet State. The USSR communist system nationalised all pre-revolutionary businesses and created state companies, which were ruled by the central government and its numerous committees. This fundamentally contrasted with the liberally orientated and competitive Western business with which the Soviet rule needed to cooperate and build bridges. The Second World War and the battle against fascism tested the abilities of Soviet-Western co-operation and created new circumstances for an unprecedented 'cultural exchange' of musical scores between the two countries. However, this profound 'cultural exchange' lasted only a very short period, as the year 1946 signalled the beginning of the Cold War, while the year 1948 set its own anti-bourgeois parameters in the Soviet Russia.

## 4.2 VOKS and Cultural Relations between the USSR, the USA and the UK in the 1940s

During the war, cultural relations were fostered between the Soviet Union, the USA and the UK. Relevant communications were conducted via respective embassies – including the Soviet Embassy in London, the British Embassy in Moscow, the Soviet Embassy in Washington, the American Embassy in Moscow and the Soviet Consulates in the USA (e.g. New York) – and VOKS, a state organisation for disseminating the Soviet Union’s cultural and scientific achievements abroad. Formed in 1925 and dissolved in 1958, VOKS’s aim was to facilitate cultural exchanges internationally, but also to control and censor all cultural exchange.<sup>209</sup> Dissemination included distribution of Soviet journals, books, music, and any other Soviet propaganda materials abroad. Additionally, VOKS acted as the recipient of foreign cultural achievements such as foreign magazines, books, literature and music. Thus, the cultural exchange was effectively a reciprocal exchange: from and towards the Soviet Union.<sup>210</sup>

Existing literature on VOKS and cultural exchange is limited and predominantly addresses cultural exchange on a case study basis (e.g. Fairclough 2013, Johnson 2016).<sup>211</sup> Yet, archival correspondence from VOKS archive (GARF f. 5283) shows that the main administration of VOKS, located in Moscow on 17

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<sup>209</sup> In 1958 VOKS was restructured into the Union of Soviet Associations of Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (GARF f. 9576), which lasted until 1992.

<sup>210</sup> Morrison, *The People’s Artist*, 476; Pauline Fairclough, 'Detente to Cold War: Anglo-Soviet Musical Exchanges in the Late Stalin Period,' in *Twentieth-Century Music and Politics: Essays in Memory of Neil Edmunds*, ed. Pauline Fairclough (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 38.

<sup>211</sup> Fairclough, 'Detente to Cold War: Anglo-Soviet Musical Exchanges in the Late Stalin Period'; Oliver Johnson, 'Mutually Assured Distinction: VOKS and Artistic Exchange in the Early Cold War,' in *Music, Art and Diplomacy: East-West Cultural Interactions and the Cold War*, ed. Simo Mikkonen and Pekka Suutari (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016).

Bolshaya [sic] Gruzinskaya [sic] Street, was organised in departments and sections: enquiries from the USA were directed to VOKS American department, enquiries from the UK to VOKS English department. Apart from foreign departments, VOKS administration was also divided into scientific or cultural sections. For instance, all music enquiries were examined by VOKS Music Section, which was founded in 1939. The route of all cultural enquiries from abroad is rather ambiguous and contains significant bureaucratic obfuscation. However, if enquiries were received by the Soviet Embassies, the Soviet Ambassador would direct the enquiries towards the respective VOKS department (e.g. American) in Moscow. In Moscow, enquiries were directed to the relevant VOKS section, which for music was VOKS Music Section. Thereafter, according to Fairclough, those enquiries were passed onto the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (NKID), which subsequently would direct the enquiries to the Committee of Arts Affairs. The head of the Committee of Arts Affairs, Mikhail Khrapchenko (who occupied the post 1939-48), would transfer the enquiries to the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Hence, the decisions were taken at the highest Soviet level: these were communicated back to Khrapchenko, who would then report back via VOKS to the Soviet Embassies abroad. Khrapchenko could impose a veto on any cultural enquiry, but he was not able to authorise any enquiry without Central Committee approval.<sup>212</sup> Thus, VOKS was subordinate to the party's censorship.

The Committee of Arts Affairs was founded on 17 January 1936 by resolution of the SNK. The first head of the Committee of Arts Affairs was P. M. Kerzhentsev who set the Committee's work 'ethics' on the following lines: to support socialist realism against formalism, to impose control on artistic works, to satisfy enquiries for

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<sup>212</sup> Fairclough, 'Detente to Cold War: Anglo-Soviet Musical Exchanges in the Late Stalin Period,' 39.

art created for the masses, to 'break' the academic negative attitude of the music conservatories towards mass songs and folk instruments.<sup>213</sup>

Such a Soviet governmental system – bureaucratic and subject to censorship – required significant time to process any foreign cultural enquiry and thus created uncertainties and disappointments to Western organisations. The West was unaware of how the Soviet system operated, and on many occasions Western organisations had to wait for many months only to receive a negative reply.<sup>214</sup> It was not until 1947 that the American authorities began to understand the role VOKS might have played in hindering communications between themselves and Soviet cultural institutions. The evidence comes from a letter of 21 March 1947 sent by the American Ambassador in Moscow via the Foreign Service of the USA. The letter was received on 3 April 1947 by the Department of State (Office of Intelligence) and it reads:

The Ambassador has the honour to forward herewith an exchange of correspondence between the Publications Procurement Officer of the [American] Embassy and the Chief of the American Section of VOKS. This correspondence illustrates the effort of Soviet officials to restrict the freedom of Embassy officials to approach Soviet institutions directly, and the principle of Embassy has been seeking to establish, namely, that there should be free and direct relations between Americans and Russians in matters regarding cultural exchange.<sup>215</sup>

No single cultural enquiry could escape monitoring by VOKS, and even the Embassies and diplomacy had to adhere to its monitoring function, which made direct

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<sup>213</sup> V. Perkhin, ed., *Deiateli Russkogo Iskusstva i M.B. Khrapchenko, Predsedatel' Vsesoiuznogo Komiteta po Delam Iskusstv, April' 1939 - Ianvar' 1948: Svod Pisem* (Moskva: Nauka, 2007), 11–13.

<sup>214</sup> Fairclough, 'Detente to Cold War: Anglo-Soviet Musical Exchanges in the Late Stalin Period,' 39.

<sup>215</sup> NARA b. 4809, f. No 811.42761/3-2147, loc. 59.250.37.9.2.

communications between Western and Soviet organisations practically impossible. During the Second World War, the role of the American Embassy in Moscow was mainly administrative. A confidential report entitled the ‘Wartime History of United State Embassy at Moscow’ – written in 1945 by American Embassy staff – reveals that the American Embassy allocated 75% of their workforce to administration, investing only 25% in reporting and negotiating, while important issues had to be taken up in person with Stalin or the Commissar for Foreign Affairs:

In the Soviet Union minor officials have very little authority to deal decisively [...]. Issues taken up on any but the highest level are, under the Soviet system, customarily dealt with, if at all, in an unsympathetic and bureaucratic manner. Thus, in regard to matters of importance [...] it was incumbent upon the Ambassador to discuss them personally with Generalissimo Stalin or, more often, with the Commissar for Foreign Affairs.<sup>216</sup>

Moreover, the wartime history of the American Embassy reveals that the Soviet government disapproved any other American organisations or agencies to maintain American staff in Moscow. The only exception was made for the Office of War Information (O.W.I.), which, however, was only authorised as an integral part of the American Embassy. During the war years, O.W.I. developed contacts with over ‘sixty [Soviet] educational, geographical, medical, literary, musical and dramatic organisations’.<sup>217</sup>

However, present research has detected that in the 1940s there were other routes apart from the American Embassy in Moscow through which Western

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<sup>216</sup> NARA b. 96, f. AMERICAN EMBASSY-Moscow, loc. 84.350.70.6.2. Wartime History of United State Embassy at Moscow, p. 5.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid., p. 9-10

communications were sent to Soviet authorities. The Soviet Embassy in Washington and the Soviet Consulate General in New York also received and passed on American enquiries of cultural content. The route for both the Soviet Embassy and the Soviet Consulate General was, however, the same: the enquiry, upon arriving at the Soviet Embassy, was sent to VOKS's American department in Moscow. From VOKS, the enquiry would enter into the Soviet system and according to the nature of the enquiry would be directed to the appropriate VOKS section, e.g. Music Section. From that point, the censorship started. Similar were the procedures for all UK enquiries, which could have been passed to either the British Embassy in Moscow or to the Soviet Embassy in London. Subsequently, the enquiries were directed to VOKS's English department in order to be addressed within the Soviet system. A final possible route for Western enquiries was to bypass the Embassies and to write directly to Moscow's VOKS. This last route was used by some Western organisations, perhaps on the grounds for reducing their own paperwork. VOKS report of the year 1946 is particularly revealing:

In the year of 1946 VOKS American department received 106 enquiries from the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and other friendship USA organisations; 143 enquiries from various American organisations; 16 enquiries from the American Embassy in the USSR; 136 enquiries from private individuals, scientists and artists. In total were received 401 enquiries out of which 209 were satisfied, 16 were partially satisfied, 56 received negative replies, 24 were not addressed due to their inappropriate nature, 67 received no reply, 29 are being processed. 32 enquiries were invitations of Soviet scientists, musicians, artists, painters and public figures to the USA.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 361, l. 6-7. Author's translation.

The existing literature outlines the operation of the VOKS Music Section, which was founded in 1939, its committee consisting of Moscow's major composers and musicologists. The first head of VOKS Music Section was Prokofiev (1939-41) who willingly shared his knowledge on foreign international musical life. VOKS Music Section worked in close collaboration with the Foreign Bureau of the Union of Soviet Composers (SSK). Throughout the 1930s and the 1940s the collaboration between VOKS and the Union of Soviet Composers enabled the dissemination of Soviet music scores abroad. Grigory Shneerson held the post of secretary of the Foreign Bureau (SSK) from 1936, even before the VOKS Music Section was founded. From 1939 onwards, Shneerson was a consultant of VOKS Music Section. In 1941 Prokofiev was evacuated and subsequently, in 1942, Shneerson was appointed as Head of VOKS Music Section, a position he held until 1948. The main roles of VOKS Music Section were firstly to retain and facilitate contacts with foreign musicians and conductors, and secondly to act as mediator in library rental of Soviet music scores for abroad. VOKS Music Section was also the recipient of foreign musical journals, newspaper cuttings regarding Western performances of Soviet works, and of foreign music scores, which were passed to the Union of Soviet Composers.<sup>219</sup>

The succession of staff through both VOKS and the Embassies during the 1940s imposed further challenges to the present research in detecting the personnel responsible for dealing with musical enquiries. However, a careful examination of

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<sup>219</sup> Grigorii Mikhaïlovich Shneerson, *Stat'i O Sovremennoi Zarubezhnoi Muzyke: Ocherki, Vospominaniia* (Moskva: Sovetskii kompozitor, 1974), 333–336; Nest'ev and Edel'man, *Sergei Prokof'ev*, 1965, 263–266; Mendel'son-Prokof'eva, *O Sergee Sergeeviche Prokof'eva: Vospominaniia. Dnevnik. 1938-1967.*, 185 (f.102).

VOKS cultural music correspondence in the GARF archive suggests that VOKS Music Section's main contacts were:

- **In Moscow, within VOKS**

Chief of VOKS American Department: Ryessa D. Liberson (1944-1945) and I. Khmarsky (1947); Acting Chief of VOKS American Department: M. Urnov (1945)

Chief of VOKS English Department: M. Urnov (1946) succeeded by B. Bogatyrev by or before 1951.

- **In Moscow, with the British Embassy**

G. Reavey, Acting Press Attaché (1944), Horace White, Press Department (1945)

- **In Washington, with the Soviet Embassy**

First Secretary: V. Bazykin (1944), A. Gromov (1945); Second Secretary: F. Garanin (1946); Third Secretary: A. Ermolaev (1947)

From surviving archival correspondence, it is evident that musical enquires from abroad were addressed to Shneerson, Head of the Music Section, or to V. S. Kemenov, Chairman of VOKS, or to A.V. Karaganov, Vice-Chairman of VOKS, or to Miss Lydia Kislova from VOKS's Board of Directors. On 8 March 1944, G. Reavey from the British Embassy in Moscow sent to Kislova in VOKS a number of English music scores for the Union of Soviet Composers.<sup>220</sup> However, of most

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<sup>220</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 146 l. 29.

interest for this present research is Reavey's correspondence with Prokofiev. Reavey's letter of 7 March 1944 reads:

Dear Mr Prokofiev, It was a great pleasure to make your acquaintance at VOKS [...] as I have just received a recording of your Concerto in D major for Violin and Orchestra (Joseph Szigeti and London Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham), you might like to have it, and I am therefore sending it to your care of Miss Kislova.<sup>221</sup>

The record was indeed passed by Kislova to Prokofiev, who on 23 March replied:

Dear Mr Reavey, May I thank you for having sent me the recording of my violin concerto by Joseph Szigeti. Szigeti is an excellent violinist, and it is a great pleasure for me indeed to possess his records.<sup>222</sup>

With regard to the musical correspondence with the USA, Kazan'ev from New York's Consulate General sent in April 1945 to Kemenov three personal letters that were addressed to Prokofiev.<sup>223</sup> In February 1947 Ermolaev from the Soviet Embassy in Washington forwarded to Kemenov a letter addressed to Prokofiev from the Library of Congress regarding a commission of a chamber music piece which was declined by the composer on 29 March 1947.<sup>224</sup>

It seems from the surviving VOKS correspondence that all musical requests sent to VOKS Chairman Kemenov or to Vice-Chairman Karaganov, or to Kislova from the Board of Directors, eventually ended with Shneerson, the Head of VOKS

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<sup>221</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 217, l. 4-7.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid.

<sup>223</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 401, l. 23.

<sup>224</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 411, l. 46, 91.

Music Section. Shneerson and Prokofiev kept corresponding from Prokofiev's evacuation in 1941 until 1948, when Shneerson was dismissed from VOKS. In his letters, Shneerson informed Prokofiev about the latest developments in VOKS Music Section, the Western performance of Prokofiev's works and sent newspaper cuttings and records to the composer.<sup>225</sup> On 22 July 1943, Shneerson informed Prokofiev about the arrival of American records of his works under Koussevitzky and about Western interest in his music:

An enquiry for the music of War and Peace also came from Stockholm. For the time being I am sending to everyone 8 scenes of piano score (Muzfond edition). They [Muzfond] are promising to publish soon the remaining 3 [scenes]. [...] We sent the Second [String] Quartet to the USA – from there we have many enquiries. Yes, I forgot to inform you that we have started to multiply the music scores typographically. This is not much more expensive than writing out copyist manuscripts, but instead of 1-2 copies we can have 50-60. In this way we are printing the score of Alexander Nevsky, Second [String] Quartet, Seventh [Piano] Sonata especially for abroad. I am expecting a lot from this [printing method] for the promotion of the Soviet music abroad. Otherwise – despair, we can send nothing.<sup>226</sup>

It becomes clear that VOKS Music Section was not only connected to the Union of the Soviet Composers (SSK), but had also access to their Muzfond publications printed by Atovmyan on steklograph. However, the numerous enquires from abroad made it necessary to create a more efficient printing method, a typographical one, which created the VOKS editions for abroad.

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<sup>225</sup> Shneerson, *Stat'i O Sovremennoi Zarubezhnoi Muzyke: Ocherki, Vospominaniia*, 335–336.

<sup>226</sup> RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 750, l. 3, 3 verso. Author's translation.

Moreover, VOKS correspondence includes some letters where Shneerson is addressed not as Head of VOKS Music Section, but as responsible for the Literary-Musical Agency, abbreviated as Preslit.<sup>227</sup> Preslit is the key Soviet organisation that enabled in 1945 the creation of the Anglo-Soviet Music Press and the publication of Soviet music in New York under the Am-Rus Music Agency and Leeds Music Corporation.

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<sup>227</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 411, l. 130.

### **4.3 1945 and new directions in Soviet music publishing: Preslit, Am-Rus Music Agency, Leeds Music Corporation and Anglo-Soviet Music Press**

According to information sent by the American Embassy in Moscow to the USA Department of State in April 1947, Preslit was an agency which ‘procures and sends abroad works of Soviet authors at request of foreign writers.’ The letter then explains that the ‘Embassy does not believe that a distinction between ‘purely’ scientific literary agency and merely propaganda organisation [...] is valid since it is demonstrable fact that all Soviet organisations of whatever character are to greater and lesser degree propaganda agencies’.<sup>228</sup> Despite the aforementioned description, it remains unclear when Preslit was formed and to what Soviet committee it was attached. Furthermore, the present research did not find any information about Preslit in secondary literature for music. The only mention of Preslit was found in a collective publication (2013) in the context of literature studies. The relevant passage reads:

The policy shifts of the early 1930s were consolidated in the new Stalinist concept of socialist realism [...]. All the resources of state publishing, state libraries, and the new Union of Soviet Writers were devoted to the production of this literature and to its dissemination, at home and abroad. The organization known as VOKS [...] came under increasing pressure to manufacture support for the regime [...]. Although its origins are unclear, it seems [...] that a central literary agency to sponsor foreign publications was set up, and so the Press and Publisher Literary Service, Moscow, known by its ubiquitous Soviet shorthand as ‘PresLit’, came into being.<sup>229</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> NARA b. 4809, f. No 811.42761/4-147, loc. 59.250.37.9.2.

<sup>229</sup> Ian Patterson, ‘The Translation of Soviet Literature: John Rodker and PresLit,’ in *Russia in Britain, 1880-1940: From Melodrama to Modernism*, ed. Rebecca Beasley and Philip Ross Bullock, 1st ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 188–189.

The 1930s were crucial both for Soviet institutionalisation and Soviet censorship. In the music field, the equivalent to the Union of the Soviet Writers was the Union of Soviet Composers. The resolution of the Central Committee of 23 April 1932 banned all pre-revolutionary associations and instructed the creation of new organisations ‘creative unions’. In music, however, although Composer’s Unions were soon established in both Moscow and Leningrad, the creation of an all-embracing Union of Soviet Composers was achieved only in 1939 after the establishment of the Organizing Committee of Soviet Composers, which, in musical matters at least, largely superseded the Committee of Arts Affairs founded in 1936.<sup>230</sup> The GARF archive (VOKS f. 5283) can disclose some of Preslit’s functions and how it supported the Soviet music publishing during the 1940s.

The GARF archival correspondence indeed reveals that Preslit is abbreviated from the Press and Publisher Literary Service, but more often it is referred to as the Literary Agency or even as the Literary-Musical Agency. Despite the incoherence of its full name in the GARF archive, Preslit’s main address was same as VOKS - 17 Bolshaya [sic] Gruzinskaya [sic] Street - which suggest that either Preslit was a VOKS department or that it held its offices on VOKS premises. Though the circumstances of Preslit’s establishment remain unclear, the most plausible scenario was that Preslit was an independent agency, not VOKS department, which however worked in close collaboration with VOKS. What can be confidently established from the examined correspondence is that Preslit’s Director was M. Rosenzweig, and that by or in 1944 Preslit took the legal responsibility for representing all Soviet composers

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<sup>230</sup> Tomoff, *Creative Union*, 13–14, 19–21; Meri E. Herrala, *The Struggle for Control of Soviet Music from 1932 to 1948: Socialist Realism vs. Western Formalism* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2012), 46–56.

according to the telegram of 28 July 1944.<sup>231</sup> In fact, a 1945 contract reveals that Preslit was the sole owner of all musical works of any genre – chamber, symphonic instrumental, choir, songs, musico-dramatic works etc. – composed within the USSR.<sup>232</sup> Moreover, based on Preslit’s agreements with the Soviet composers, Preslit held all publication and rental rights of all produced Soviet music for all countries in the world.<sup>233</sup>

The GARF correspondence that involves or concerns Preslit is limited, and mainly consists of telegrams and cabled messages which usually include only the names of the recipient and sender; in some telegrams even the date is missing. However, Preslit’s function is certainly to be connected with VOKS as many Preslit telegrams are signed by both Rosenzweig (Preslit’s Director) and by A. Karaganov (VOKS Vice-Chairman). Despite the fact that most telegrams from abroad are addressed to ‘Rosenzweig, Preslit, Moscow’,<sup>234</sup> other telegrams are addressed to Shneerson as follows: Mr. Grigori Shneerson, Literary-Musical Agency, Preslit, Moscow, USSR.<sup>235</sup> This suggests that even if Preslit was a not a VOKS department, it functioned in close cooperation with the Union of Soviet Composers and VOKS Music Section.

The archival correspondence indicates that Preslit operated only in the 1940s, plausibly either between 1944-48 or 1943-51, as by December 1951 Preslit was

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<sup>231</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 165, l.13

<sup>232</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 176, l. 151.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid., l. 104

<sup>234</sup> GARF f.5283, op. 15, d. 176, l. 32, 111.

<sup>235</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 411, l. 129.

incorporated into Mezhdunarodnaïa Kniga (International Book) as the following letter of 24 December 1951 reveals.<sup>236</sup>

Please be advised that Literary-Musical Agency/Presslit/ has been incorporated in V/O 'Mezhdunarodaja Kniga' [sic] and the latter has obtained all the functions of Presslit as well as its rights, duties and property.

Preslit and V/O Mezhdunarodnaïa Kniga had very similar roles as both were Soviet agencies which administered copyright for Soviet works. The copyright system itself was also subject to changes in the 1930s. The central administration for copyright protection between the end of 1930s until the end of the Stalin period was VUOAP, which, however, 'did not decide all matters that related to the practical workings of the royalties system. On particularly touchy issues, VUOAP administration preferred to defer to other institutions'.<sup>237</sup> While the literature does not specify which 'other' Soviet institutions administered copyright protection, it is evident that Preslit and Mezhdunarodnaïa Kniga were two of them at least during the mid 1940s in the music sphere.

Mezhdunarodnaïa Kniga, founded in 1923, was the first agency to represent all Soviet literary and musical works.<sup>238</sup> It seems that Preslit, when created (probably, from the evidence discovered in this research, sometime around 1943-44), temporarily supplanted Mezhdunarodnaïa Kniga's remit for music, as during Preslit's existence Mezhdunarodnaïa Kniga retained and represented only the copyright for

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<sup>236</sup> AmRus (LC) b. 29, f. 5 'Mezhdunarodnaja [sic] Kniga 1951-1960'. Letter of 24 December 1951.

<sup>237</sup> Tomoff, *Creative Union*, 227-228.

<sup>238</sup> Until the foundation of VAAP in 1973 Mezhdunarodanaïa Kniga continued to represent the copyright of all Soviet works. VAAP, the All-Union Agency for Authors' Copyright, functioned between 1973-1991.

literary, non-musical, Soviet works.<sup>239</sup> The functions of both Mezhdunarodnaia Kniga and Presslit become apparent via the examination of the foundation and function of the Am-Rus Music Agency.

The Am-Rus Music Agency was an American private company based in New York, which represented Soviet music in the USA. In the early 1940s Mr and Mrs Rubin, Harriet L. Moore and David J. Grunes founded a private company entitled Am-Rus Corporation. The company signed a contract with Mezhdunarodnaia Kniga and by 1944 built a substantial rental library of Russian music as well as producing publications of Russian music. However, in 1942 the contract between Am-Rus and Mezhdunarodnaia Kniga expired and the latter denied a renewal. Thus, between 1942-44 the Am-Rus was not able to continue its work efficiently and the company was dissolved. In 1944 Miss Helen Black established contact with Preslit and achieved via negotiations the foundation of a second Am-Rus, entitled Am-Rus Literary Musical Agency. Helen Black became the company's director.<sup>240</sup> The new Am-Rus agency signed an agreement with Preslit, which empowered Black as the sole representative of the Soviet Music. The telegram of 28 July 1944 from Rozenzweig (Director of Preslit) to Helen Black reads:

Whereas Preslit accepted service of Soviet composers we hereby empower Miss Helen Black as Preslit representative to place hire et-authorise [sic] for public performance musical works by Soviet composers also to protect their copyright et-represent [sic] their interests in courts et-other [sic] state organs.<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> Exception to that were music records/matrices and published Soviet music (pre Preslit), both of which remained under Mezhdunarodnaia Kniga. GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 165, l. 20.

<sup>240</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 323, l. 37-53. History of Am-Rus.

<sup>241</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 165, l. 13.

Moreover, Black was authorised to collect all possessions from the first Am-Rus Corporation while Preslit arranged in Moscow all necessary transitional agreements between the first Am-Rus and Mezhdunarodnaïa Kniga. Extended rights were given to Black empowering her with all necessary copyright for publications and performances in the Western Hemisphere, excluding Canada. Preslit's second telegram to Black of 28 July 1944 confirms this:

We authorise Helen Black take possessions from Am-Rus files and materials unpublished music. Liquidation of relations cum [sic] Am-Rus concerning other music will be done par [sic] Mezh Kniga [sic]. We can offer you exclusive north et [sic] south American representation except Canada for hiring and publishing Sov [sic] Music including performance rights unpublished works already received and to be received futurewise.<sup>242</sup>

It becomes evident that Preslit would have been established in the mid 1940s, at some point between 1942-44, as the first Am-Rus held contract with Mezhdunarodnaïa Kniga and not with Preslit. In or by 1944, Preslit took the functions of Mezhdunarodanaïa Kniga for music works as the result of its agreement with the Union of Soviet Composers. The most valuable information in this telegram is that it reveals that Preslit published Soviet Music for distribution:

Preslit publishes in Soviet Union music in limited number of copies with English title pages for hire also for publishers, conductors, musicians et [sic] critics consideration. Will send you these publications pro-further [sic] distribution.<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>242</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 165, l. 20.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid.

However, Preslit's function survived historically for a very short period. In 1948 the contract between Preslit and Am-Rus expired and a new one was not signed. The year 1948 marked a governmental attack on Soviet composers and an intense governmental inspection of VOKS. The latter resulted in dismissal of Shneerson from his post and the closure of VOKS publications. On 5 August 1948 Shneerson wrote to Prokofiev that his work at VOKS brought him many troubles, especially the 'excessive' explanations about the conditions which were 'allowed by Muzfond for the distribution of musical scores [abroad] and for our VOKS publications which were published not quite under [correct] rules'.<sup>244</sup> The death of Helen Black in 1951 resulted in the liquidation of her entire estate and the creation of a 'new' third Am-Rus Agency. Notably, in 1952 Am-Rus signed a contract with Mezhdunarodnaïa Kniga.<sup>245</sup>

The Am-Rus history shows that Preslit was an organisation of a publishing nature which operated in the music sphere between 1944 and 1948 – or possibly more extensively between 1943-51 – based on agreement with the Union of Soviet Composers. Since Preslit worked in close collaboration with VOKS Music Section it is possible that it also collaborated with Muzfond and its steklograph editions. Preslit's incorporation into Mezhdunarodnaïa Kniga returned to Mezhdunarodnaïa Kniga its initial musical copyright representation.

Nevertheless, the short period of Preslit's function created new conditions for the dissemination and publication of the Soviet music to the USA. In 1944 Helen Black's Am-Rus acquired rights of Soviet music for all Western Hemisphere – south

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<sup>244</sup> RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 750, l. 21. Author's translation.

<sup>245</sup> AmRus (LC) b. 29, f. 5 'Mezhdunarodnaja [sic] Kniga 1951-1960'. Letter of 10 January 1952.

and north America – except Canada. In the autumn of 1944 Am-Rus established business relations with New York's publishing company Leeds Music Corporation (Leeds). Eventually on 24 November 1944 Helen Black signed a contract between Am-Rus and Leeds, which enabled Leeds to publish newly composed Soviet Music.<sup>246</sup> The newly formed collaboration was hailed in 1944 by the American press:

The Leeds Music Corporation, which recently acquired the exclusive rights in the Western Hemisphere for the publications and distribution of works by Soviet composers, will release these Russian compositions in what is to be known as the Am-Rus Edition, bearing the stamp of approval of the Union of Soviet Composers. One of the first compositions to be issued will be Prokofieff's sonata in D major for violin and piano, Op. 94, edited by Joseph Szigeti, to whom the work was submitted after it had been flown from Russia to the Leeds corporation. Mr. Szigeti is using the sonata on all of his recital programs and has made a recording of it for Columbia.<sup>247</sup>

Eugene Weintraub, the Director of Am-Rus Edition in Leeds Music Corporation, established direct contact with Shneerson, Head of Music Section VOKS, who by 1946 was sending directly to Leeds Music Corporation 'music and microfilms for hire for publication'.<sup>248</sup> It might be plausible that Leeds Music Corporation initially had established business relations with Am-Rus Music Agency after VOKS's suggestion. The telegram dated 5 October 1944 from Ryessa D. Liberson, Chief of VOKS American Department, to Eugene Weintraub, seems to suggest as much:

We regret to inform you that we are in no position to help you as all questions concerning Soviet Music are dealt with by the representative of Am-Rus Music

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<sup>246</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 165, l. 43-45; GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 302, l. 19

<sup>247</sup> JSA p. 3, loose newspaper cutting, (c. 1944), no newspaper title, no author.

<sup>248</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 368, l. 21.

Agency – Miss Helen Black, 11 West 42nd Street, New York, to whom we advise you to apply.<sup>249</sup>

Regardless of how the original contact between Am-Rus Music Agency and Leeds Music Corporation was established, an important detail of the contract between them, signed on 24 November 1944, was the extension of rights for the Western Hemisphere to include Canada. On 2 February 1945 Black sent the relevant telegram to Preslit:

Contract signed Leeds November 24<sup>th</sup> north et [sic] south American rights including Canada. Impossible musically separate Canada ex [sic] United States. Uni-States [sic] conductors, soloists, musical organisations tour Canada cum-music [sic] obtained Am Rus. Canadian orchestras, choruses, soloists regularly request ex [sic] Am Rus rental et [sic] published Sov [sic] Music.<sup>250</sup>

In 1945 the Leeds publishing plan included works by Glière, Khachaturian, Kabalevsky, Shostakovich and Prokofiev.<sup>251</sup> According to agreements between Am-Rus and Preslit, Am-Rus was obliged to send to Moscow examples of Leeds publications. The surviving GARF archival correspondence reveals that Prokofiev received the Leeds publications of his own works via VOKS. His letter of 15 February 1946 gives a detailed account:

In front of me are the American publications of my opuses 8, 65, 95. I think that they are produced very meticulously; the piano pedals and fingerings, which are added in these publications, are quite acceptable. Less acceptable is the situation with regard to the libretto's text, which appears a bit 'light' and at times is [positioned] imprecisely.

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<sup>249</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 205, l. 123.

<sup>250</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 302, l. 19.

<sup>251</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 323, l. 32-35.

Alexander Nevsky is published very elegantly, albeit the score looks paler than the scores of smaller format [...] The Seventh [piano] sonata is published very well. S. Prokofiev<sup>252</sup>

During 1945, Am-Rus Music Agency worked as mediator between Leeds, American conductors and VOKS passing all enquiries to Moscow. The year of 1945 also marked the beginning of an important collaboration, the one between Am-Rus Music Agency and Boosey & Hawkes. The telegram of 3 November 1945 sent from Black to Preslit reads:

Boosey Hawkes New York informs they signed contract pro [sic] handling Sov [sic] music England. Advice if correct. They consulting Leeds re [sic] cooperation helpful both firms. Boosey Hawkes says their pro [sic] rights British Empire. Leeds contract Western hemisphere includes Canada.<sup>253</sup>

While Preslit's reply does not appear to have survived, the GARF archive does contain the preliminary 1945 agreement between Preslit and Boosey & Hawkes. The preliminary contract was signed in early summer of 1945, with an expiry date of 30 September 1945 should the parties not sign a longer-term contract. Preslit gave to Boosey & Hawkes sole representation rights of Soviet music – hire and publishing – for the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland.<sup>254</sup>

In the 1940s Boosey & Hawkes's policy and vision for Russian music was very clear: solid contacts with Moscow's Preslit and Koussevitzky would establish Boosey & Hawkes as the sole publisher in the UK of all Russian music. Thus, the

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<sup>252</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 323, l. 58. Author's translation.

<sup>253</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 331, l. 83-84.

<sup>254</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 176, l. 151-154. Preliminary contract between Preslit and Boosey & Hawkes, 1945.

1945 Preslit contract gave Boosey & Hawkes rights for all Prokofiev's works composed in the USSR, while the purchase of Koussevitzky's *Édition Russe de Musique* in 1946 gave Boosey & Hawkes 'the publishing rights throughout the world for the most important of Prokofieff's works, written before his return to the USSR'.<sup>255</sup>

However, it was only in 1946 that the agreement was reached between Preslit and Boosey & Hawkes, which resulted in the establishment of the Anglo-Soviet Music Press (ASMP). Alfred Kalmus was appointed its Director. The project was regarded as optimistic and opportunistic as the approaching 'political frost of the Cold War' would have made such a business collaboration impossible to set up.<sup>256</sup> Additionally, the agreement allowed Boosey & Hawkes to publish newly composed Soviet works in the UK on the same day they appeared in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the negotiations of the agreement were time-consuming and difficult. GARF's correspondence reveals that the communication between Boosey & Hawkes and Preslit was conducted via the bureau *The Soviet War News*, located at London's Trafalgar Square in 819-812 Grand Building. Rostovsky appears to have been either its owner or Director according to the surviving titles in GARF telegrams: ELT Rostovsky Sovietwarnews. Rostovsky's bureau played a key mediator role as both Preslit and Boosey & Hawkes cabled their requests. Kalmus's letter of 13 February 1946 reveals the negotiation process:

The draft of the agreement which we sent to you in September [1945] (the first copy of which has been lost) has been in Moscow now for more than 6 weeks and we should be grateful if a reaction of some kind or other were available before long.

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<sup>255</sup> Anthony Pool, 'Prokofieff's Publishers,' *Three Oranges* 1 (January 2001): 27.

<sup>256</sup> Wallace, *Boosey & Hawkes: The Publishing Story*, 56–57.

In the same letter Kalmus complained that Moscow underestimated the significance of copyright, while the material that Moscow had sent to London was of unsuitable format, which imposed unnecessary expenses:

Although it is now one year since we started our negotiations and we made it clear right from the beginning how very important the question of copyright is, we regret to see that (it) has not had a slightest effect. [...] We do not understand why a copy of the microfilm has been sent to us and caused us the very unnecessary expense [...] for photographic enlargement. [...] Preslit and the composers and the various publishers do not seem to care whether a work can be copyright, but it is impossible for us to do without copyrights [...]. You have to make it clear to Preslit that with a few exceptions we are not able to get back the expenses if we only print non-copyright works.<sup>257</sup>

The copyright 'law' which Boosey & Hawkes adhered to was the Berne Convention. Under the Berne Convention, 'in order for the work to be protected by copyright at all, it must be published first or simultaneously in a country that had signed up to the convention. Russia was not a signatory'<sup>258</sup> and hence, Boosey & Hawkes had to request a copy of the score from Russia and to work on the production line in time, so that it would be published simultaneously in the Soviet Union and the UK. Otherwise, Boosey & Hawkes would not be able to secure the copyright. Boosey & Hawkes informed Preslit that the only procedure to ensure copyright protection was a registration of the newly composed work at the British Museum before its publication in the USSR. As soon as the registration would be secured, Boosey & Hawkes would telegraph Preslit to inform that the music can be published in the

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<sup>257</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 313, l. 25-25 verso.

<sup>258</sup> Wallace, *Boosey & Hawkes: The Publishing Story*, 89.

USSR. The telegraph of 13 August 1945 sent from Rosenzweig to Rostovsky shows the reluctance of Preslit to cooperate: ‘Cannot [sic] undertake detain appearance publication Sov [sic] music before their registration British-wise [sic] Museum.’<sup>259</sup> However, after consideration Preslit agreed for registration of works at the British Museum on the terms that for every work there would be a special agreement regarding the title of composition.<sup>260</sup>

Despite the fact the Soviets understood the system, obtaining scores from Moscow was a ‘regular nightmare’.<sup>261</sup> Perhaps, but for Boosey & Hawkes’s persistence, the Anglo-Soviet Press would have not been successfully established. In the event, it took another year for Kalmus to settle all details of the agreement with Preslit. Preslit’s Director Rosenzweig in his letter of 31 January 1947 to Kalmus – Director of the Anglo-Soviet Music Press – wrote:

Mr Rostovsky [Soviet War News] has already all material necessary for the final (as we hope) settling of all questions connected with the general agreement. [...] We readily agree to all your arguments concerning the necessity of adopting a firm system of supplying you with music works so as to enable you to ensure the copyright for these works in time. When sending to you new compositions we mean in future to inform you about: 1) the contemplated date of their publications – if MS and 2) the date of publication if the work has been published in the USSR. Microfilms will be sent seldom and only in exceptional cases after first settling the

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<sup>259</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 176, l. 135.

<sup>260</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 176, l. 139.

<sup>261</sup> Wallace, *Boosey & Hawkes: The Publishing Story*, 89.

question with you. Six copies of each new publication (whether VOKS publications or Muzgiz) will be sent to you.<sup>262</sup>

In conclusion, the year 1945 created the fertile ground for the dissemination of newly-composed Soviet works to both the UK and the USA. The two key agreements between Moscow's Preslit and New York's Am-Rus Music Agency and London's Boosey & Hawkes opened a new chapter for musical score exchanges between the three countries. Moreover, the war allies – the USA, the UK and the Soviet Union – formed military and cultural partnerships that however, lasted effectively only until the year 1946 as sub-chapter 4.4 will demonstrate. Nevertheless, the historical and political circumstances enabled the cultivation and dissemination of the Soviet music in the West in the 1940s and the establishment in 1945 of new publishing possibilities for Soviet music. Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas marked both the beginning and the end of a new liberal music score exchange, as these were disseminated in manuscript between 1944-47, just before the pivotal 1948 attack on Soviet composers and the onset of the Cold War.

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<sup>262</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 384, l. 56-56 verso.

#### 4.4 Political Agenda: Allies at War

During the Second World War the allied nations used cultural propaganda as an instrument of governmental control and influence in order to strengthen their military ties. Music, perceived as a common language, was to unite the nations and raise their fighting spirit. In May 1942 the League of Composers received an enquiry from the American War Department to assemble musical compositions with inspirational effect for the military forces.<sup>263</sup> Moreover, in 1942 the Soviet Composers cabled their American colleagues – the League of Composers – informing of their readiness to join in the cultural fight against fascism. The telegram, signed by Myaskovsky, Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Muradeli, Khachaturian, Shaporin, Glière and others reads:

Composers of the USSR considering themselves mobilized for the relentless struggle against bloody fascist barbarity which has plunged half of Europe into utter gloom and desolation appeals to American composers with friendly greetings and ardent call to muster still closer the international ranks of defenders of culture in the joint struggle against the common foe by means of the great art of music.<sup>264</sup>

In December 1942 the League of Composers sent a list of American military music to Bazykin in the Soviet Embassy in Washington for VOKS's interest.<sup>265</sup> In addition to these governmental efforts, Soviet-American musical exchanges were considerably supported by various friendship organisations. The first of these organisations was The Friends of the Soviet Union, formed in 1929. The year 1941 saw the establishment of the National Council on Soviet Relations (NCSR), which in 1942 was restructured into the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship

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<sup>263</sup> LC/ISCM (NYPL) b. 7, f. 66 'War Department', Letter of 14 May 1942.

<sup>264</sup> LC/ISCM (NYPL) b. 6, f. 73 'Myaskovsky, Shostakovich and others'.

<sup>265</sup> LC/ISCM (NYPL) b. 7, f. 60 'USSR, Embassy, Washington, D.C'. Letter of 14 December 1942.

(NCASF). Koussevitzky, the Russian émigré conductor, chaired the Musicians Committee of NCASF, which in 1943 was renamed the Music Committee of NCASF. Eminent American musicians such as Aaron Copland, Roy Harris and Dmitri Mitropoulos served as vice-chairmen, while Joseph Szigeti was one of the Music Committee's many members. The work of the Music Committee (NCASF) was to stimulate and strengthen the exchange of musical scores, radio broadcasts, and to build a programme of reciprocal activities and interchanges between American and Soviet musicians.<sup>266</sup>

However, it is important to acknowledge that Soviet-American cultural exchanges in the 1940s were carefully planned on a governmental level, with VOKS and the Embassies among the chief executives. Thus, since the early 1940s, Koussevitzky established contact with the Soviet Embassy in Washington and on 14 July 1943 he wrote to Bazykin, 'Please, dear Vladimir Ivanovich, keep me in contact with Russian musical life and the new works by Soviet composers'.<sup>267</sup> In 1942 Bazykin sent a telegram to Szigeti asking him to join a protest, coordinated by VOKS, against Nazi destruction of Russian cultural memorials, to which Szigeti consented. In summer 1942 they corresponded again on the matter of a Szigeti's photograph from Szigeti's Soviet tours of the 1920s.<sup>268</sup> In November 1942 Glière from the Union of Soviet Composers sent to Szigeti scores of the newly composed Soviet works for

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<sup>266</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 205, l.161-163.

<sup>267</sup> Ūzefovich, *Sergeĭ Prokof'ev - Sergeĭ Kusevitskiĭ. Perepiska 1910-1953*, 410-412.

<sup>268</sup> JSA b. 8, f. 'Article material, PM letter stb, Article on Music & Politics etc.' Western Union telegram from Bazykin 1942; letter of 10 March 1942; Letter re. *Persymphans* n.d.; Letter of 4 August 1942

violin alongside the cordial wishes from the Soviet musicians who still vividly recollected Szigeti's Soviet concerts of the 1920s.<sup>269</sup>

VOKS coordinated two concerts of English-Soviet and American-Soviet music on 20 and 21 May 1944 in the Great Hall of Moscow's Conservatory. The audience included representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (NKID), Soviet and foreign journalists, composers and Moscow's artistic elite. On 27 May Schneerson wrote an extended article on both concerts in *Literatura i Isskustvo* (*Literature and Art*) hailing the concerts as a 'brilliant manifestation of the friendship and the strength of cultural relations between great democratic nations, combating fascistic aggression'.<sup>270</sup>

In the summer of 1944 two American initiatives reached Moscow's VOKS. In June, the Musicians Congress Committee in collaboration with the University of California invited Shostakovich and Prokofiev to their September conference under the 'view of the enormous role that Soviet music and musicians are playing in the fight against fascism'.<sup>271</sup> On 24 August 1944, Helen Harrison informed the Union of Soviet Composers of a formation of the International Post-War Music Council requesting two Soviet composers to represent the USSR.<sup>272</sup> The cultural collaboration between the USA and the Soviet Union was extended to equipment aid. In 1944 manuscript paper was sent from USA to VOKS for distribution to Soviet composers.<sup>273</sup> On 23 September 1944 Prokofiev and Oistrakh, representing VOKS

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<sup>269</sup> JSA b. 7. Letter of 25 November 1942.

<sup>270</sup> RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 964, l. 29-31; GM f. 385, No. 5222, l. 6. Author's translation.

<sup>271</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 205, l. 53.

<sup>272</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 205, l. 69-70.

<sup>273</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 205, l. 133.

Music Section, thanked the Musical Committee of Philadelphia's Symphony Orchestra for the postage of strings, bow hairs and bows:

We highly value the help from American musicians towards their Soviet brothers in art in these days, when the allied democratic nations are inflicting the final strokes to German fascism. That day is close, when the music of our victory will sound around the world.<sup>274</sup>

While VOKS was the main link in the Soviet censored governmental chain, its American counterpart was the Division of Cultural Relations, part of the State Department in Washington. The enquiries from American organisations to the Soviet Union were mostly transmitted to Moscow via the Soviet Embassy in Washington. However, the USA Department of State's cultural exchange route was via the American Embassy in Moscow. In 1942 New York's Metropolitan Opera enquired for the score and American performance rights of Prokofiev's *War and Peace*. The performance rights were acquired only by December 1943,<sup>275</sup> but delays to the project continued until 1945 when on 15 March the US Department of State cabled the American Embassy in Moscow:

Metropolitan Opera Company desires to produce in the United States the Prokofieff opera 'War and Peace'. The Leeds Music Corporation, which controls American performance rights to this opera, has reached agreement with Metropolitan Opera [...] You are requested to contact authorities concerned and if possible secure permission

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<sup>274</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 261, l. 10. Author's translation.

<sup>275</sup> Malcolm H. Brown, 'Prokofiev's 'War and Peace': A Chronicle,' *The Musical Quarterly* 63, no. 3 (1977): 306, 310.

to forward opera score to Department for transmission to Leeds Music Corporation.<sup>276</sup>

The American Embassy replied on 20 April informing that they learnt from VOKS that ‘When material is ready it will be turned over to Embassy for forwarding.’<sup>277</sup>

While the American premiere of *War and Peace* remained unrealised in the 1940s – the first complete Soviet premiere was on 31 March 1955 in Leningrad<sup>278</sup> – the aforementioned correspondence gives evidence of American government facilitating cultural exchange. In fact, the USA government since the 1930s started stimulating a development of cultural relations and exchanges, firstly with their Latin-American neighbours. A. A. Berle, the Assistant Secretary of State, during the Inter-American Music Conference of 18-19 October 1939 at the Library of Congress, stated: ‘On our side we may perhaps be able to create conditions under which you can accomplish something for all of us and for the benefits of the civilization in which we serve.’<sup>279</sup> This was part of a broader plan of the American Administration to enhance its relations with other countries in the Western Hemisphere especially after the Second World War was declared in Europe in September 1939.<sup>280</sup> Carleton Sprague Smith, the chief of the Music Division in the New York Public Library, who had attended the Conference, was stressing the necessity for the US government to develop strategically their cultural propaganda. Smith wrote:

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<sup>276</sup> NARA b. 4689, f. No. 811.4061/3-1545, loc. 59.250.37.6.6.

<sup>277</sup> Ibid., f. No 811.4061/3-1045.

<sup>278</sup> Nestyev, *Prokofiev*, 511. The premiere of Prokofiev’s *War and Peace* by the Metropolitan Opera took place on 14 February 2002.

<sup>279</sup> John Shepard, 'The Legacy of Carleton Sprague Smith: Pan-American Holdings in the Music Division of the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts,' *Notes* 62, no. 3 (2006): 635.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid., 633.

Incidentally, the German and Italian ministries of cultural propaganda and the publishing houses (especially Breitkopf & Härtel, Simrock and Ricordi) send review copies of their latest orchestral publications to practically all conductors in Latin America. Performance fees and charges for material are about a third of what is asked by U.S. publishers<sup>281</sup>

In the UK, the strengthening of music cultural ties with the Soviet Union was achieved via the British Embassy and VOKS. For instance, on 13 March 1944 Kislova from VOKS thanked D. Reavey at the British Embassy in Moscow for the postage of records, music magazines and music scores.<sup>282</sup> Reciprocally, in December 1945 Schneerson sent posters of an Anglo-American concert in Leningrad to Horace White at the British Embassy.<sup>283</sup> It was also in 1945 that the Royal Philharmonic Society awarded the Gold Medal to Prokofiev as ‘sincere respect not only to the composer but to all Russian musicians who are taking part in the development of the culture of their country’, as Reavey wrote to Kemenov, on 2 May 1945.<sup>284</sup> The award ceremony was held on 18 June 1945 at a special meeting of VOKS Music Section. Among the guests were the British Ambassador Sir Archibald C. Kerry, VOKS Chairman Kemenov and Alexander Solodovnikov representing the Soviet Committee of Art Affairs.<sup>285</sup> Prokofiev in his speech said: ‘I regard my being decorated with the Gold Medal as an expression of the mutual sympathy and cordial feelings which our victorious peoples have for each other.’<sup>286</sup>

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<sup>281</sup> Ibid., 642.

<sup>282</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 217, l. 8.

<sup>283</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 221, l. 53, 56.

<sup>284</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 235, l. 25. Author’s translation.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid., l. 15.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid., l. 24.

The cooperative mood between the war allies continued through 1945 until early 1946. On 16 February 1946 in New York at a meeting of 350 musicians Koussevitzky founded the American-Soviet Music Society, a successor of the Music Committee (NCASF).<sup>287</sup> But despite the fact that the Union of Soviet Composers welcomed the newly founded American-Soviet Music Society and corresponded with it via VOKS in the summer of 1946,<sup>288</sup> the political atmosphere in the United States and the USSR after 1946 drastically changed. Ephraim F. Gottlieb – an insurer from Chicago who with Koussevitzky undertook supervision of Prokofiev’s American royalties – wrote on 4 June 1946 to Prokofiev:

It has been almost thirteen months since its [war’s] termination and [...] the entire world is still in a turmoil. [...] You will appreciate how meagre is President Truman’s knowledge of international politics. [...] I’m certain his Secretary of State, Mr Brynes, has as little knowledge of diplomacy as does his boss, Mr Truman. [...] I am convinced he [Mr Brynes,] is completely dominated by the hideous personality of the Tory, Churchill and other evil personalities – and unfortunately there are plenty in the States. Had President Roosevelt lived I am sure that [...] he would never have permitted Churchill to have made such an idiotic speech as he did in Missouri while our ‘Little Harry’ Truman applauded him.<sup>289</sup>

The Cold War rhetoric was the result of Churchill’s speech of 5 March 1946 at the Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, USA. The speech introduced the term ‘Iron Curtain’ and signalled the division between Western English-speaking powers

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<sup>287</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 401, l. 29.

<sup>288</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 401, l. 99-100.

<sup>289</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 401, l. 91-92.

and the Soviet Union.<sup>290</sup> Following this political shift, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (NCASF) and Koussevitzky's newly founded American-Soviet Music Society fell under governmental investigation for anti-American activity and conspiracy. As a result, the President of NCASF Richard Morford spent three months in prison in 1950, and by 1947 Koussevitzky was forced to abandon the American-Soviet Music Society, whose last concert was organised on 5 December 1947.<sup>291</sup>

The polarised Cold War rhetoric is also evident in the letter of 14 May 1947 sent to Prokofiev by the pianist Harry Cumpson who encountered difficulties while editing Prokofiev's Eighth Piano Sonata for Leeds Music Corporation:

We have cabled VOKS (or Preslit) [...] and their reply for us was to follow the VOKS edition [...] [which] does not contain the desired information [...] Dear Mr Prokofieff, the money power which controls the press and radio here shout loudly and hatefully about Russia but please believe me there are many good folks in the U.S.A. who are full of friendliness and admiration of the Soviet Union.<sup>292</sup>

The USA press and media uproar were the result of the establishment of two antagonistic systems and cultures; Western capitalism and Eastern communism. In the Soviet Union the anti-formalist campaign began in 1946. The campaign was focused on 'formalist' composers who had Western music education, which could negatively influence their Soviet compositions. Among Western cultural influences was considered the bourgeois culture and ideology, while the aim of the campaign was to

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<sup>290</sup> Simo Mikkonen and Pekka Suutari, eds., *Music, Art and Diplomacy: East-West Cultural Interactions and the Cold War* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016), xi, 1–9.

<sup>291</sup> Īuzefovich, *Sergeĭ Prokofev - Sergeĭ Kuseviŭskiĭ. Perepiska 1910-1953*, 413, 416–418.

<sup>292</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 411, l. 118.

create a new post-war Soviet socialist system. On 9 February 1946 in the Bolshoi Theatre Stalin gave a speech to justify the campaign, stressing that ‘the Soviet Union had returned to an era like the one that had preceded the war and stood alone in the hostile world where outside threats are real, and an even more destructive war is possible’.<sup>293</sup> The anti-formalist campaign has become widely named *Zhdanovshchina* after Andrei Zhdanov, the Second Secretary of the Central Committee, who was responsible for ideological and cultural policies. In the field of music, *Zhdanovshchina* began in August 1946 with the third resolution of the Central Committee and culminated in February 1948 with Central Committee’s attack on the Union of Soviet Composers, the Committee of Arts Affairs and the Bolshoi Theatre.<sup>294</sup> The initial attack started in January 1948, when Zhdanov characterised the Soviet composers as ‘artistic spivs, un-Soviet [...], ‘anti-People’, formalist, divorced from reality’.<sup>295</sup> January’s attack was principally aimed at Muradeli’s opera *Velikaia Druzhiba* (*The Great Friendship*), which provoked the Central Committee’s resolution of 10 February published in *Pravda* on 11 February.<sup>296</sup> The 10 February Resolution, entitled ‘About opera ‘The Great Friendship’ by Muradeli’, accused Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Khachaturian, Shebalin, Popov and Myaskovsky of supporting formalistic and antidemocratic tendencies in their music which were against the artistic taste of the Soviet people. The Resolution found such tendencies in the complexity of their instrumental symphonic music and in their neglect of musical genres such as opera,

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<sup>293</sup> Herrala, *The Struggle for Control of Soviet Music from 1932 to 1948*, 147.

<sup>294</sup> Tomoff, *Creative Union*, 98.

<sup>295</sup> Alexander Werth, *Musical Uproar in Moscow* (London: Turnstile, 1949), 19.

<sup>296</sup> E. S. Vlasova, *1948 God v Sovetskoi Muzyke* (Moskva: Klassika-XXI, 2010), 265–269.

choral music, popular and folk music.<sup>297</sup> The news about Soviet governmental attack on their composers reached London and Washington. An incoming telegram from London to the USA Department of State, sent on 17 February 1948, reads:

Some weeks ago we heard [...] musical authorities in Moscow were dissatisfied with way some Russian composers were addressing their works to [a] small set of sophisticated listeners instead of writing music with appeal to mass of people. [...] Most of leading Soviet composers Prokofiev, Shostakovich, Myaskovsky, Khachaturian, Popov are severely censured for indulging in formalistic perversions and anti-democratic tendencies in music alien to Soviet people and its artistic taste. [...] A curious aspect of grim determination to make Soviet culture independent of all western influence and traditions!<sup>298</sup>

As Chapter 5 will examine, the dissemination of Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas between 1944-47 was encouraged, but also affected, by the outlined Soviet-Western relations. Moreover, the American perception of the First Violin Sonata in 1948 echoed the news of the 10 February Resolution.

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<sup>297</sup> L. V. Maksimenkov, *Muzyka Vmesto Sumbura: Kompozitory I Muzykanty v Strane Sovetov 1917-1991* (Moskva: Mezhdunarodnyĭ fond 'Demokratiĭa,' 2013), 300–301. The full text of 10 February Resolution is available in Russian on p. 299-304.

<sup>298</sup> NARA b. 6658, f. No. 861.4038/2-1748, loc. 59.250.38.11.7.

## Chapter 5

### Publication, dissemination and premieres of the Violin Sonatas

#### 5.1 Western dissemination and the first editions of the Second Violin Sonata

The Western dissemination of Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas reflects a complex story of international collaboration and political influence. The Second Violin Sonata was disseminated in the USA even before its Moscow premiere by Oistrakh and Oborin on 17 June 1944. On 23 May 1944 Ryessa Liberson from VOKS American Department sent an enquiry to Glavlit requesting the approval for transmission of Soviet music scores to the USA. In the attached list of scores, the manuscript of Prokofiev's Flute Sonata was included.<sup>299</sup> The request was approved and signed by Glavlit representative Mr Pel'ŭs on the same day according to the stamp of 23 May 1944 that is imprinted on the attached list. Moreover, GARF archival correspondence reveals that in 1944 the music scores were sent from Moscow's VOKS to the Soviet Embassy in Washington.<sup>300</sup> Though it remains unclear exactly when in 1944 the manuscript of Prokofiev's Flute Sonata was sent from Washington to New York's Am-Rus, Helen Black's telegram of 29 October 1944 to Rosenzweig, Preslit, speaks of Leeds Music Corporation's plans to publish Prokofiev's Flute Sonata:

Leeds proposes to start immediately publishing the new March by Prokofiev, [...] Prokofiev's Romeo and Juliette's overture, [...] Prokofiev's sonata for flute, children

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<sup>299</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 205, l. 144, 145, 145 verso.

<sup>300</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 205, l. 142-142.

pieces, First Violin Concerto, 3rd piano sonata, opuses 77, 95, 96 and Prokofiev's last violin concerto with fingerings by [Joseph] Szigeti<sup>301</sup>

The aforementioned passage gives evidence of Szigeti's professional involvement with New York's Am-Rus Music Agency since at least October 1944. In fact, just in the next coming month, in November 1944, Szigeti premiered Prokofiev's Second Violin Sonata in Boston.

Back to Leeds's 1945 publishing plan, on 7 April Helen Black telegraphed Preslit an amended list of Prokofiev's works: 'Leeds publishing programme coming months includes Prokofieff Music pro-children, three pieces Op. 95, piano sonatas one et two, violin sonata, march Opus 99'.<sup>302</sup> Notably, in the amended version the Flute Sonata is replaced by the Violin Sonata. Moreover, the 1945 Leeds's 'List of Publications in Work' deposited in the GARF archive includes both Prokofiev's Flute Sonata as well as the violin part of Prokofiev's Violin Sonata.<sup>303</sup> Both Sonatas refer to Op. 94/94bis. However, the publication of Prokofiev's Op. 94/94bis was destined for delays. In the letter of 6 December 1945 Helen Black explained to Rosenzweig in Preslit, the reasons:

Publications of new music will now be coming much more quickly than they have in the past year. Leeds Music Company had a great deal of difficulty with printers and getting a supply of paper and many other technical details. At present the following compositions are at the printers and will be published very soon: Prokofieff – 3 pieces Op. 9, March Op. 99, Violin Sonata Op. 94, Cinderella Suite-piano, Concerto No 3.<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 165, l. 43-45.

<sup>302</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 302, l. 78-79, 84.

<sup>303</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 323, l. 22-23.

<sup>304</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 323, l. 32.

Moreover, in the same letter of 6 December 1945, Black informed that Szigeti has recently recorded Prokofiev's Violin Sonata for Columbia.<sup>305</sup> Indeed, the newly established contacts between Am-Rus, Moscow's VOKS and Preslit alongside the on-going Second World War, caused delays in both communications and publications. During the year of 1945 Szigeti wrote several letters to Prokofiev, but only one has survived. Szigeti's letter of 25 May 1945 to Prokofiev reads:

Dear Friend, I wonder whether you have received my messages through Am-Rus and VOX [sic], and the many programs and clippings I asked your publishers to forward to you. Correspondence under these uncertain conditions is so unsatisfactory! Today I only want to recapitulate briefly my 'doings' with your Sonata, which was – I can assure you – a joy every time I played it: a joy both for me and for the public! I did it in New York at my Carnegie recital, in Boston, Ottawa, Chicago, San Francisco Opera House, Los Angeles, Oakland Cal. and intend putting it on my programs throughout my entire next season. The records didn't turn out to my satisfaction but I intend re-recording the work this summer. [...] Is the rumour about your working on a Violin sonata true? Do let me have some news about this to me very important question!! The Embassy in Washington will be good enough to forward me your message.<sup>306</sup>

Prokofiev received Szigeti's letter via VOKS on 29 July and replied on 24 August 1945:

My dear friend, I was very happy to receive your letter of 25 May and to learn that you are well. Thank you so much for the programs and for your excellent performances of my compositions. I am working on another sonata for violin.

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<sup>305</sup> Ibid., l. 33

<sup>306</sup> RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 689, l. 1, 1 verso, 2.

However, this sonata had been interrupted by one symphony<sup>307</sup>... I hope to resume it after the New Year. [...] I embrace you strongly, my dear friend! Serge Prokofieff<sup>308</sup>

The Prokofiev-Szigeti correspondence reveals not only their cordial friendship, but also that the communication between them was conducted via the Soviet Embassy in Washington, Am-Rus and VOKS. Moreover, Szigeti was clearly curious about the composition of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata whose composition the composer confirmed recommencing in 1946.

It was only in 1946 that Prokofiev's Second Violin Sonata came out of Leeds's press with the violin part edited by Joseph Szigeti. The Leeds 1946 edition contains a preface written by Szigeti where the violinist claims that 'The present work was flown to Leeds Music in manuscript. It was given to me at the request of Mr Prokofieff for its first performance in the United States, and I played it at my concert in Boston on November 26, 1944.'<sup>309</sup> Taking into account the cordial tone of the surviving Szigeti-Prokofiev correspondence and the evidence of Sonata's postage form GARF archive, this statement can be regarded as trustworthy.

The original Flute Sonata was also published by Leeds albeit much later, in 1953. The separate flute part was edited by Carleton Sprague Smith, but the score was published featuring the violin (ed. Szigeti) and piano scoring, not the original flute and piano scoring.

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<sup>307</sup> The symphony in question is Prokofiev's *Sixth Symphony* Op. 111, which Prokofiev sketched during the 1945. Nestyev, *Prokofiev*, 375, 399, 512.

<sup>308</sup> RGALI f. 1929, op. 2, ed. khr. 269, l. 1, 1 verso; GARF f. 5283 op. 14, d. 368, l. 126. Author's translation.

<sup>309</sup> Serge Prokofieff, *Sonata for Violin and Piano, Op. 94*, ed. Joseph Szigeti (New York: Leeds Music Corporation, 1946), preface.

Carleton Sprague Smith was a flautist and Chief of Music Division (1931-59) at the New York Public Library. Smith studied flute at the Institute for Musical Art, today's Juilliard School, with a student of Georges Barrère. Prokofiev composed his Flute Sonata after repeated requests from French flautists during his Western years. It was the 'heavenly sound' of Georges Barrère, whose performances Prokofiev often attended that largely inspired Prokofiev to compose a work for flute. Though Barrère resided predominantly in the USA, in his playing he always retained the tradition of the Paris Conservatoire. Prokofiev and Barrère met several times in New York at the salons organised by dancer and choreographer Adolph Bolm. Moreover, Barrère performed in Franco-American Music Society concerts organised in Prokofiev's honour. Among other French flautists who influenced Prokofiev were Philippe Gaubert and Roger Désormière.<sup>310</sup> Smith's connection with Barrère would have given a solid grounding for Leeds to involve him as the editor of Prokofiev's Flute Sonata.

Also notable, as discussed in sub-chapter 4.4, was Smith's involvement in the facilitation of cultural relations in collaboration with the USA government and thus, his edition of Prokofiev's Flute Sonata can be viewed as one part of his cultural disseminative work. The Leeds 1953 edition of the Flute Sonata contains, as with violin version, a preface by Smith that gives some enlightening performance details:

Curiously enough the version for violin and piano, played so successfully by David Oistrakh and Joseph Szigeti, is much better known than the original. In Prague, during the 1947 Music Festival, I had an opportunity to discuss the two settings with Dimitri Shostakovich. The latter in slow but clear English stated that he considered the flute version better suited to the music than the violin arrangement. [...]  
Obviously the sonata sounds differently on the two instruments, the flute being less

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<sup>310</sup> Vladimir Kachmarchik, 'Inspired by 'Heavenly Sound',' *Three Oranges* 27 (July 2014): 31.

declamatory and more mellifluous, the violin more rugged and varied with its pizzicato and double stop passages. The composer himself must have felt there was a distinction for even the tempi indications are changed, the opening movement being Andantino, not Moderato and the second movement Allegretto Scherzando rather than *Scherzo Presto* in the Flute version. Violinists tend to perform the sonata a good deal faster than flutists, again giving an altered feeling to the work.<sup>311</sup>

Despite Smith's interesting observation about the different tempi between the flute and violin versions, I Andantino and II Allegretto Scherzando are incorrect as in the 1945 copyist manuscript of the Flute Sonata deposited in the Taneyev Library of Moscow Conservatory the first two movements are marked as I Moderato, II Scherzo Presto.<sup>312</sup> The only difference in the Flute Sonata's description of movements is recorded in Shlifshtein's *Notograficheskiĭ Spravochnik* – the first published catalogue of Prokofiev's works – where the second movement is recorded as II Scherzo. Presto. Poco più mosso, Presto.<sup>313</sup> However, Smith is correct in his observation that violinists tend to perform the work faster than flautists. Shostakovich's opinion about the Flute Sonata coincides with that of Sviatoslav Richter, according to whom the Flute Sonata was rewritten because the flautists did not hasten to perform it, but 'in the original flute form the work is incomparably better'.<sup>314</sup>

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<sup>311</sup> Sergey Prokofiev, *Sonata for flute and piano, or violin and piano, Op. 94; Score is a reprint of the version for violin and piano, 1946; separate part for flute, 1953*, ed. Carleton Sprague Smith (New York: Leeds Music Corporation, 1953), preface to flute part.

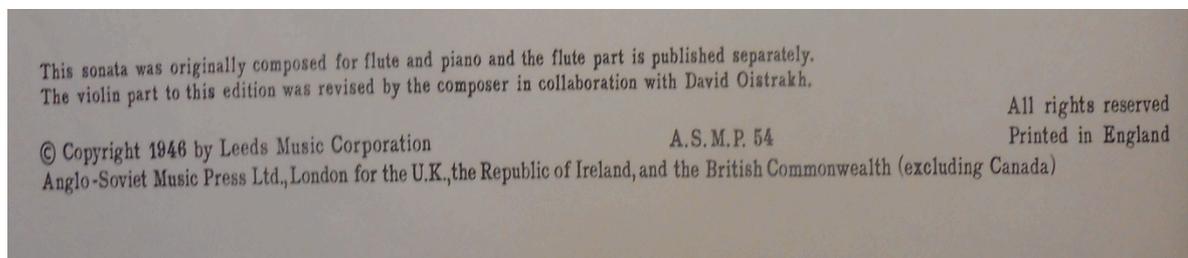
<sup>312</sup> Prokof'ev, 'Sonata D-Dur Op. 94 Dliã Fleity i F-P. Rukopisnyĭ Kzempliãr. Partitura i Partiã Fleity. (copyist manuscript).' The autograph manuscript of the Flute Sonata (GM f. 33 No. 384) was not accessed due to its unknown location within the depository.

<sup>313</sup> Shlifshtein, *Prokof'ev S. S.: Notograficheskiĭ Spravochnik*, 103–104.

<sup>314</sup> Shlifshtein, *S.S. Prokof'ev*, 467.

Apart from the Leeds 1946 publication, both the violin and flute versions were published in 1946 by the Anglo-Soviet Music Press in London.<sup>315</sup> The 1946 Anglo-Soviet Music Press edition, with plate number A.S.M.P. 54, features a separate flute part and a score with violin and piano scoring. Neither of the flute or violin parts give credits to editors. Notably, the 1946 A.S.M.P. 54 edition gives copyright credits to Leeds in the bottom of the first page of the violin-piano score (**Ex. 82**):

**Ex. 82: ASMP 1946, copyright**



This gives the direct evidence that Leeds Music Corporation and Boosey & Hawkes indeed established business collaboration beneficial for both parties via the Am-Rus Music Agency in 1945, as discussed in 4.3 sub-chapter. The ASMP 1946 publication of Prokofiev's Second Violin Sonata copyrighted by Leeds demonstrates that Boosey & Hawkes published the Sonata on the copyright that was secured by Leeds in 1945. The year 1945, albeit of immense importance for the Western disseminative history of the Soviet music, was very transitional as the contracts between Boosey & Hawkes and Moscow's Preslit were redrafted and constantly finalised. Thus, in 1945 Boosey & Hawkes had not yet established an effective copyright protection of the Soviet music in the UK to comply with the Berne Convention. Before the Boosey & Hawkes – Preslit agreement, the British publishing company was requesting Prokofiev's music scores from Mezhdunarodnaïa Kniga,

<sup>315</sup> Sergey Prokofiev, *Sonata No. 2, Op. 94, Violin or Flute and Piano* (London: Leeds: Anglo-Soviet Music Press, 1946).

which at the end of 1945 was not possible any more, according to Rostovsky's telegram of 27 November 1945.<sup>316</sup> It was only by the end of 1945 that Boosey & Hawkes established effective business relations with Moscow, at least regarding the transmission of VOKS publications and manuscripts. This is demonstrated by Rosenzweig's (Preslit) telegram, signed by Karaganov (VOKS) to Rostovsky of 6 December 1945:

Can send works pro-chamber [sic] orchestra: Miaskovsky serenade, lyrical concerto Knipper. Please cable if necessary. Prokofieffs piano compositions II [sic, (will)] be photographed et [sic] sent ad [sic] you [...] Please confirm receipt following microfilms sent earlier [...] Cum [sic] first opportunity II [sic] send five copies each followings VOKS publications: Miaskovsky 13 symphony [...]. Please send boosey publication plan sov [sic] music, what II [sic] appear near future? Non-receiving [sic] news re [sic] performances Sov [sic] music England-wise [sic].<sup>317</sup>

Thus, the Western dissemination of Prokofiev's Second Violin Sonata followed the following route: in May 1944 Moscow's VOKS American Department requested from Glavlit the authorization of transmission of the manuscript to the Soviet Embassy in Washington. Subsequently, the manuscript was sent to New York's Am-Rus Music Agency and passed onto Leeds Music Corporation for publication in 1946. In 1945 the manuscript was transmitted from Moscow to London's Boosey & Hawkes for the ASMP 1946 publication via Rostovsky (London's *Soviet War News*). Despite the fact that the present research was not able to locate the letter confirming the manuscript's postage, the transmission of the manuscript seems to have happened no earlier than mid 1945. On 12 September 1945

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<sup>316</sup> Ibid., l. 38.

<sup>317</sup> Ibid., l. 34.

Rostovsky telegraphed Preslit informing them that Boosey & Hawkes were planning to publish Prokofiev's Flute Sonata and Eighth Piano Sonata if the works had not yet been published in the Soviet Union.<sup>318</sup> On 22 September Karaganov from VOKS telegraphed a reply to Rostovsky confirming that 'Prokofieffs flute et [sic] eight piano sonatas non-printed [sic] score et [sic] parts'.<sup>319</sup>

The transmission in different years of the manuscript from Moscow to the USA and the UK explains why the ASMP 1946 edition is not edited. The Leeds 1946 publication of Prokofiev's Second Violin Sonata was edited by Joseph Szigeti – with whom Am-Rus established professional relations in 1945 – and hence, the separate violin part features detailed bowing and fingering markings by its editor. Szigeti premiered the Sonata in the USA in November 1944, which allowed enough time for the preparation of his edition in 1946. In contrast, the ASMP 1946 edition does not feature a separate violin part, but instead, a separate flute part. Effectively, the ASMP 1946 is an edition of the Flute Sonata, not of the Second Violin Sonata. The violin part is incorporated in the score and none of the flute or violin parts appear to be edited. Instead, the violin part – as it appears on the score with bowings but no fingering markings – is clearly produced by a Soviet copyist.

While the year 1945 saw the establishment of contacts between London, New York and Moscow, the first Soviet publication of Prokofiev's Second Violin Sonata was also published in 1946. The edition was the 1946 Muzgiz edition – plate number M. 18214 G. – with the violin part edited by David Oistrakh.<sup>320</sup> The violin part appears elaborated in detail with bowing and fingering markings. Apart from the 1946

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<sup>318</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 176, l. 92.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid., l. 80.

<sup>320</sup> Prokofieff, *Second Sonata Op. 94bis for Violin and Piano*.

Muzgiz edition, the present research has identified a card catalogue entry ‘E 484’ in the Dom Kompozitor library, the former library of the Union of Soviet Composers. The ‘E 484’ entry reads: ‘Prokofieff, S. Op. 94bis, Sonata No 2 for Violin and Piano. M[oscow]:VOKS, 1946’. However, the actual VOKS publication was absent from the library and appears (after many enquiries) to be lost. The examination of VOKS 1946 edition could have shed more light on the Western dissemination of Prokofiev’s Second Violin Sonata. Nevertheless, the main fact is that Prokofiev’s Second Violin Sonata was published almost simultaneously in the year 1946 in New York by Leeds, in London by Boosey & Hawkes (ASMP) and in Moscow by Muzgiz. All copyrights were negotiated via Moscow’s Preslit and VOKS.

As for the publication story of the Flute Sonata in the Soviet Union, it was very much over-shadowed by its violin relative. In 1961 the Flute Sonata was still recorded by Shlifshtein as ‘In Manuscript’, elaborating in a footnote that the Autograph is preserved by Atovmyan. Shlifshtein recorded the Second Violin Sonata as published in 1946 by Muzgiz.<sup>321</sup> The original flute version was never published separately in the USSR and featured only as a supplement to the violin and piano version. All Soviet editions of Op. 94 were destined to the title ‘Sonata for violin or flute’.<sup>322</sup> Prokofiev’s *Collected Works* published between 1955-67 in Moscow by Muzgiz and Muzyka in 20 Volumes follow this tradition. Volume 18 (1966) features Prokofiev’s chamber music compositions, with Op. 94 categorised into ‘works for solo violin and violin with piano’. The title remains unchanged: ‘Sonata No 2 for violin (or flute) and piano Op. 94’ (plate number 3007), while the supplemented separate flute part was incorrectly entitled as ‘SECOND SONATA for flute and piano,

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<sup>321</sup> Shlifshtein, S.S. *Prokofiev*, 594.

<sup>322</sup> Kachmarchik, ‘Inspired by ‘Heavenly Sound,’ 33, 34 f. 27.

Op. 94' only to match the main violin part 'SECOND SONATA for violin and piano.<sup>323</sup> Hence, the Soviet publication history of the Flute Sonata is rather paradoxical: the original flute part appears as a violin variation.

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<sup>323</sup> All 20 volumes of Prokofiev's *Collected Works* (Muzgiz, Muzyka: 1955-1967) are available at the Russian State Library, Moscow.

## 5.2 Western dissemination and the first editions of the First Violin Sonata

While the international publication story of Prokofiev's Second Violin Sonata is largely comprehensible, the dissemination and publication story of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata is more convoluted. The rumours about Prokofiev composing a new violin sonata, of which Szigeti so impatiently asked in his letter to the composer of 25 May 1945, were indeed spread through the USA and in London. Rostovsky's London telegram of 18 July 1945 to Rosenzweig, Preslit, provides the details:

Prokofiev Fifth Symphony microfilm, Kulikovo field score not yet received. Please confirm postage. Has Prokofiev written new violin sonata, if so is it being published? Boosey desires obtain copyright here for this work.<sup>324</sup>

In the USA, Szigeti's 1944 performances of the Second Violin Sonata resulted in new interest in Prokofiev's violin music. On 11 January 1944 in New York, on the occasion of Vladimir Horowitz's performance of Prokofiev's Seventh Piano Sonata, Ephraim F. Gottlieb met Vladimir Bazykin from the Soviet Embassy in Washington. Bazykin kindly assisted Gottlieb in his correspondence with Prokofiev via the Embassy Pouch and thus, on 7 April 1944 Gottlieb wrote an extensive letter to Prokofiev. Among letter 'news' was a performance of Prokofiev's First Violin Concerto with Szigeti and the Chicago Symphony alongside his interests in new violin music:

In your reply, please inform me what new works you have completed, as I am eager to know. How about a Violin Sonata for Heifetz? If not a Sonata – a work for violin and piano. He is anxious to get something from your pen.<sup>325</sup>

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<sup>324</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 176, l. 111-112.

<sup>325</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, yed. khr. 261, l. 1, 1 verso.

Since the late 1930s Heifetz was favoured by Koussevitzky, who had chosen him as the soloist for Prokofiev's Second Violin Concerto. The American premieres of the Concerto took place on 17 and 18 December 1937 in Boston with Heifetz performing under Koussevitzky.<sup>326</sup> Despite the fact that Heifetz never performed Prokofiev's First Violin Concerto – which remained attached to Szigeti's pioneering triumph – throughout his life he performed Prokofiev's Second Violin Concerto 29 times with orchestra and made, by 1971, 16 recordings.<sup>327</sup> Heifetz's interest in Prokofiev's music dates from the mid 1930s. In 1935 Heifetz transcribed Prokofiev's *Gavotta* from *Four Pieces*, Op. 32, for violin and piano. The year 1937 saw Heifetz make further such transcriptions of Prokofiev's *Larghetto* and *Gavotta* from the *Classical Symphony* and the famous *March* from the opera *The Love for Three Oranges*. Moreover, In 1941 Heifetz transcribed *Masks* from the ballet *Romeo and Juliet*.<sup>328</sup> Prokofiev was well aware of Heifetz's violin-piano transcriptions and on 24 February 1938 sent him a letter asking Heifetz to transcribe a dance from his ballet the *Steel Step*. Unfortunately, this request was never realised.<sup>329</sup>

Heifetz indeed desired to become a dedicatee of Prokofiev's new violin composition. Having Koussevitzky's support this seemed very plausible, but Prokofiev was in no haste either to complete his new Violin Sonata or to decide on the violinist who would give the work its American premiere. It was again Gottlieb's letter to Prokofiev, which had put the names of both Heifetz and Szigeti on the table. On 4 June 1946 Gottlieb wrote:

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<sup>326</sup> Ūzefovich, *Sergei Prokofiev - Sergei Kusevitskiĭ. Perepiska 1910-1953*, 376–377.

<sup>327</sup> Dario Sarlo, *The Performance Style of Jascha Heifetz* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 73–76.

<sup>328</sup> Ayke Agus, *Heifetz as I Knew Him* (Pompton Plains, New Jersey: Amadeus, 2005), 255–256.

<sup>329</sup> Ūzefovich, *Sergei Prokofiev - Sergei Kusevitskiĭ. Perepiska 1910-1953*, 378.; SKA b. 234, f. 21.

Dear Serge, Many thanks for the cable of May 18th. [...]. I am looking forward, with much eagerness, to hearing your Sixth Symphony and your new Violin Sonata. I hope you have in mind Szigeti or Heifetz, only, to interpret your new Violin Sonata.<sup>330</sup>

It was Koussevitzky who wanted to premiere Prokofiev's Sixth Symphony, but Moscow was in no hurry. It was only on 12 May 1947 that VOKS telegraphed Helen Black in New York's Am-Rus with their reply:

Prokofiev abstains from his promised premiere of Sixth Symphony until the Symphony is premiered in Moscow. He asks for the First Violin Sonata to be given to Szigeti. Preslit, Rozenzweig.<sup>331</sup>

As for the reasons for passing the First Violin Sonata to Szigeti, a preceding VOKS telegram to Helen Black of 4 May 1947 may offer an explanation:

Agreeing give first performance right my first violin sonata adheifetz [sic] on condition he pay three thousand dollars. Serge Prokofieff<sup>332</sup>

If considering a yearly inflation of 3,5%, \$ 3,000 in 1947 are equivalent to \$ 33,000 in 2016. However, Prokofiev's correspondence of 1946-47 with the American violinist Joachim Chassman from Los Angeles, California, reveals that the composer was committed in promoting his own music without financial gain. As for Heifetz, his well-known fixation with his self-importance combined with his, perhaps, unwillingness to transcribe Prokofiev's music from the *Steel Step* alongside other speculative reasons, may all have contributed to Prokofiev's response.

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<sup>330</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 401, l. 90-91.

<sup>331</sup> Пүзefovich, *Sergeĭ Prokof'ev - Sergeĭ Kuseviĭskiĭ. Perepiska 1910-1953*, 434. Author's translation.

<sup>332</sup> RGALI f. 1929, op. 3, ed. khr. 127, l. 3.

Joachim Chassman and his violin colleague Oscar Wasserberger from Los Angeles, California, performed Prokofiev's Sonata for Two Violins Op. 56 with great success on 9 December 1945 in their city. On 4 September 1946 Chassman wrote to Prokofiev expressing their 'everlasting gratitude' and enclosing a copy of concert's programme, excerpts from the press and their recording of the work. Chassman concluded his letter by saying:

It is too much for us to hope that someday in near future you will find the desire to write another composition for two violins. [...] We salute your great art and your inestimable contribution, through your music, to a greater understanding between the people of the world.<sup>333</sup>

It might have been the internationalist tone of Chassman's last words that convinced the Soviet Consulate in Los Angeles to forward the letter with its attachments via diplomatic circles to Moscow's VOKS. Thus, with many delays, all these materials reached Prokofiev, who on 12 March 1947 replied:

Dear Mr. Chassman, It is only in March that I received your kind letter of Sept. 4th. Thank you for the good news about the Sonata for two violins. I send you a copy of my Sonata No 1 for violin and piano (a very poor edition, a temporary one, a better one will appear in few months). This sonata was started before No 2, played by Szigeti, but finished only lately. [...] If you have more programs and clippings, please send me them. Please accept my best greeting and transfer my kind regards to Mr. Wasserberger.<sup>334</sup>

Prokofiev's letter provoked Chassman's thrilled reply of 25 June 1947, which expressed even more gratitude to the composer than his initial letter of September

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<sup>333</sup> RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 732, l. 1-2.

<sup>334</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, ed. khr. 411, l. 73.

1946.<sup>335</sup> The postage of the First Violin Sonata to Los Angeles shows that Prokofiev was genuinely committed in disseminating his music. The ‘very poor edition’ can only be the steklograph Muzfond 1947 edition, which was the only Soviet edition of the work available at that time.

Szigeti’s uncertainty regarding the matter of Prokofiev’s First Violin Sonata led him to visit the Soviet Embassy in Washington on 28 February 1946 and to enquire about his letter to Prokofiev dated June 1945, which he sent via the Embassy. The letter contained Szigeti’s request to Prokofiev to send him the score of the new violin sonata.<sup>336</sup> However, Szigeti had to wait until May 1947 when Helen Black was instructed by Preslit to pass to Szigeti the score of the First Violin Sonata. Helen Black from New York’s Am-Rus had established good contacts with Koussevitzky, Bazykin at the Soviet Embassy in Washington and with Shneerson in Moscow’s VOKS. In 1946 she visited Moscow where she met Bazykin and his wife. Her Moscow visit occurred just prior to Bazykin’s scheduled return to the USA. On 3 July 1946 Black wrote to Koussevitzky a detailed letter of her Moscow’s trip:

Of course I saw a good deal of Gregory Schneerson and I gave him your various messages. [...] Schneerson said that the Soviet people after their terrible years of war hardships, are eager to hear more of their own artists and are loathe to let any of them leave for long tours. [...] I discussed the matter of copyright very often and I was assured that by the end of this year they confidently expected to have the copyright settled. [...] Mr. and Mrs. Bazykin, [...] sent you their warmest greetings.<sup>337</sup>

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<sup>335</sup> RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 732, l. 3-4.

<sup>336</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 368, l. 98.

<sup>337</sup> SKA b. 7, f. 1 ‘Helen Black’. Letter of 3 July 1946.

The unsettled copyright agreement with Moscow hindered and caused delays to the American dissemination of the Soviet Music. Despite the fact that Prokofiev's Second Violin Sonata was published in 1946, being one of the first works issued from Leeds 'Soviet' press (Am-Rus Edition), with the end of the Second World War Soviet-Western cultural relations became chilly. While this research was not able to trace the letter with the exact date when the manuscript of the First Violin Sonata was transmitted from Moscow's VOKS to New York's Am-Rus, from contextual correspondence it can be concluded that the transmission happened before May 1947. Helen Black should have received the score and passed it to Koussevitzky, who yet had to choose between Heifetz and Szigeti. Heifetz relied on Koussevitzky's support, whereas Szigeti was relying on his 'unsatisfactory long' correspondence with Prokofiev via the Soviet Embassy in Washington. With the copyright regulations and the cooling of Soviet-American relations in 1946-47, Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata was published by Leeds only in 1948. The performance edition, edited by Szigeti, contrasts vastly with the Leeds 1946 edition of the Second Violin Sonata. Szigeti's 1948 First Violin Sonata features minimum performance annotations. Thus, by examining the Leeds 1948 edition, it is not possible to understand Szigeti's interpretation style. The questions to be raised are: did Szigeti ever edit this work? Or did Leeds decide to reprint the manuscript adding Szigeti's name to boost its authenticity? Leeds' preface to the 1948 edition, written by Szigeti, strongly emphasizes its authenticity:

As in the case of the D Major Sonata, op. 94, the first American performance and the editing of the present work, the Sonata in F Minor, op. 80, has been entrusted to me by the composer. [...] It was my pleasure and privilege to give this Sonata its first

performance in the Western Hemisphere at the San Francisco Opera House on January 2nd, 1948.<sup>338</sup>

While the extent of Szigeti's editorial work for Leeds remains debatable, the dissemination and publication of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata in the UK may offer some answers. On 31 January 1947 Kalmus, Director of the Anglo-Soviet Music Press, received a telegram from Rosenzweig, Preslit, which apart from copyright negotiations notified about the posting of the Soviet Music from Moscow to London:

In the beginning of January the following works were sent to you:

1. Kabalevsky – Third Piano Sonata (MS) will be published in the USSR not earlier than April 1947
2. S. Prokofiev – Sonata for Violin and Piano, novelty in MS premier 23 October 1946. Will be published in the USSR not earlier than April 1947<sup>339</sup>

The First Violin Sonata indeed arrived in London in manuscript (MS). Moreover, it was published by the Anglo-Soviet Music Press in 1947 adhering to all copyright rules of the Berne Convention. Today the manuscript, which was transmitted in January 1947, is deposited at the British Library.<sup>340</sup> Examination of the manuscript reveals that the manuscript was actually the Muzfond 1947 steklograph edition. The Muzfond 1947 edition was sent with the score and a separate violin part. The plate number for both the score and violin part is 60-63 and the manuscript

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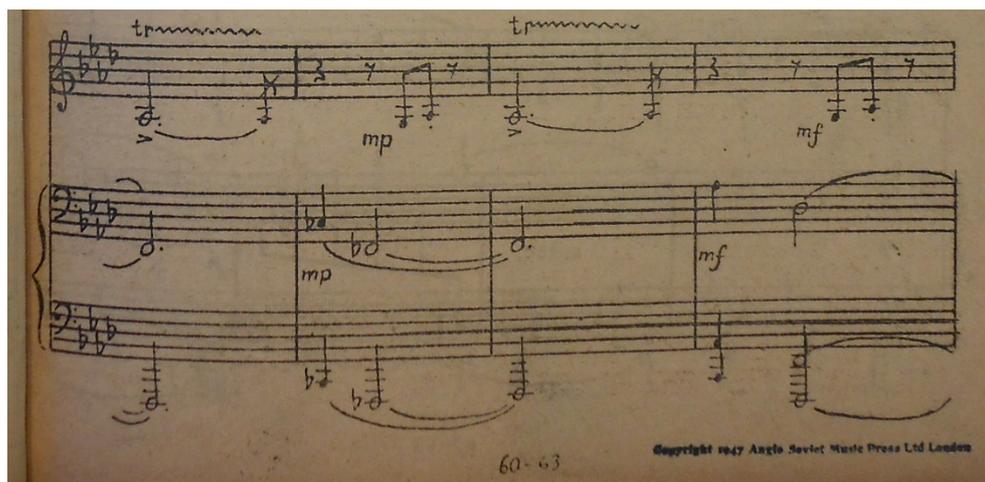
<sup>338</sup> Serge Prokofieff, *Sonata in F Minor for Violin and Piano: Op. 80*, ed. Joseph Szigeti (New York: Leeds Music Corporation, 1948), Preface.

<sup>339</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 15, yed. khr. 384, l. 56, 56 verso.

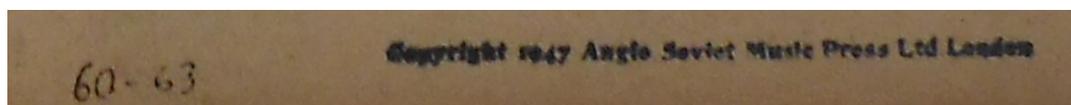
<sup>340</sup> Sergeĭ Prokof'ev, *Sonata № 1 dlĭa skripki i fortep'iano: op. 80*, ed. Levon Tadevosovich Atovm'ian (Moskva: Soiuz Sovetskikh Kompozitorov, 1947).

displays a blue stamp 'Copyright 1947 Anglo Soviet Music Press Ltd London' in the bottom right corner (Ex. 83).

**Ex. 83: ASMP stamp on Muzfond 1947, score: I Andante assai, bars 5-8**



**Enlargement of the stamp:**



Moreover, the manuscript features a round seal of the British Museum with the registration date 31 March 1947, which is before the scheduled first Soviet publication of April 1947 (Ex. 84, Ex. 85). This round seal i.e. registration with the British Museum, enabled Kalmus to secure the copyright of the work in the UK according to the Berne Convention.

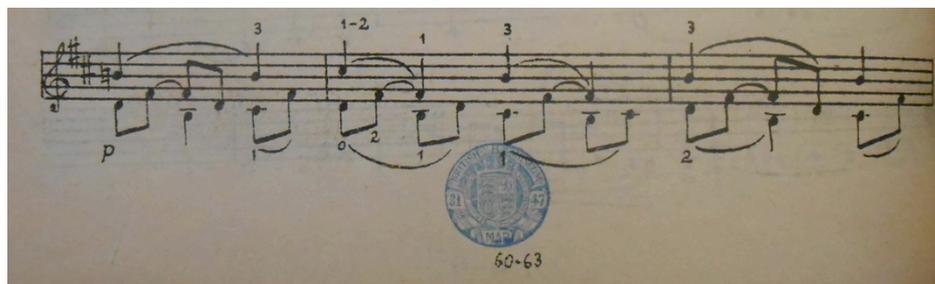
**Ex. 84: BL seal on Muzfond 1947, score: I Andante assai, bars 17-20**



**Enlargement of the seal:**



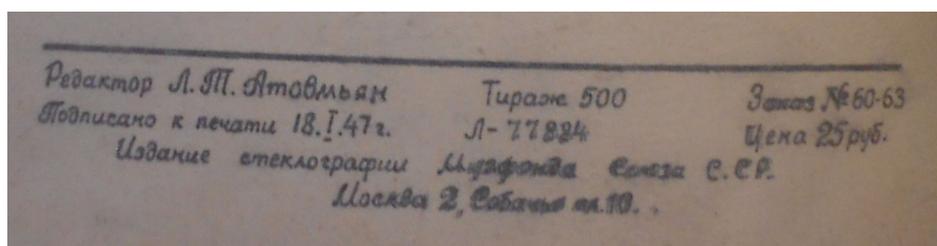
**Ex. 85: BL seal on Muzfond 1947, violin part: I Andante assai, bars 51-53**



The last pages of Muzfond's score and the violin part (Ex. 86, Ex. 87) reveal all publication details such as editor (Atovmyan), Number of copies, Order No. that is effectively the plate number and the type of publication (steklograph).

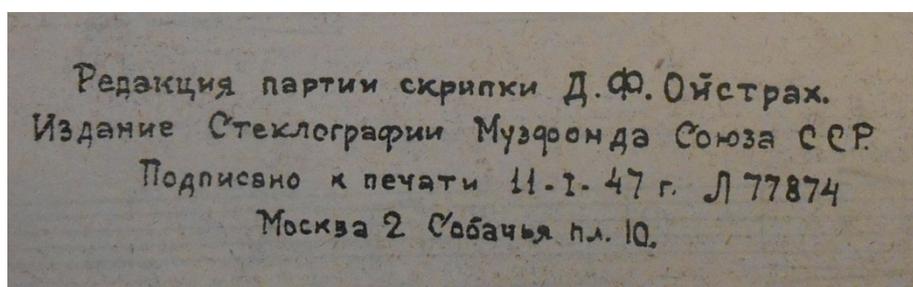
**Ex. 86: Publication information in Muzfond 1947, score, last page**

Editor L.T. Atovmyan, Number of copies: 500, Order No.: 60-63, Approved for print:  
18 January 1947, Price: 25 roubles. Steklograph Edition by Muzfond, Union of  
Socialist Soviet Republics.



**Ex. 87: Publication information in Muzfond 1947, violin part, last page**

The edition of violin part is by D.F. Oistrakh. Steklograph Edition by Muzfond,  
Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Approved for print on 11 January 1947.



The title page of Muzfond 1947 (Ex. 88) demonstrates that the Union of Soviet Composers is acknowledged as the publisher, which gives direct evidence between the Muzfond's steklograph edition and the Union of Soviet Composers.

**Ex 88: Publication information in Muzfond 1947, title page**

S. Prokofiev, Op. 80, Sonata No. 1 for Violin and Piano, f moll, 1938-1946  
Union of Soviet Composers, Moscow 1947



Taking into account all the aforementioned evidence, it is clear that the manuscript which was transmitted from Moscow to London in January 1947 was the steklograph Muzfond edition with the plate number 60-63, which was discussed in Chapter 3 of the present thesis. All steklograph publications were considered ‘manuscripts’ as their function was to satisfy the in-house needs of an organization, i.e. Muzfond’s. Thus, despite the plate number 60-63, the Muzfond 1947 edition was considered a publication ‘copyrighted as a manuscript’ and had the same value as a manuscript. Notably, the violin part, edited by Oistrakh, was printed one week earlier before the score. However, despite Oistrakh’s editorial work on Muzfond 1947 edition, the Anglo-Soviet Music Press published Prokofiev’s First Violin Sonata under Szigeti’s accreditation. Perhaps the lack of Russian knowledge and scrutiny were among the decisive factors. The main observation is that the ASMP 1947 edition, with plate number A.S.M.P. 56, is a direct reproduction of the Muzfond’s edition, which calls into question the extent of Szigeti’s editorial input. The business

collaboration between Boosey & Hawkes and Leeds Music Corporation and Am-Rus might have been the decisive factor for the Anglo-Soviet Music Press to accredit its edition to Szigeti. Szigeti's highly successful interpretation of Prokofiev's First Violin Concerto in the 1920s and his recent (1944) successful performances of the Second Violin Sonata in the USA made him a highly acclaimed Prokofiev interpreter in the West. In contrast, in the 1940s Oistrakh was virtually unknown in the Western music scene.

The publication of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata in the Soviet Union was abandoned after the 1947 Muzfond edition. The first Soviet edition of the work was published only in 1951 by Muzgiz with plate number 19201. Thus, paradoxically, the Western editions of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata by ASMP (1947) and Leeds (1948) preceded significantly their Soviet counterpart. The 1951 Muzgiz edition, edited by Oistrakh, follows the tradition of reprinting performance markings from Muzfond's 1947 edition and thus, contains only few annotations. The first Soviet fully comprehensive Oistrakh's edition with numerous performance annotations was the second Muzgiz edition published in 1957. The Muzgiz 1957 edition, despite displaying a significantly different distribution of the music on the engraved page, has the same plate number 19201.

It can be concluded that the Western dissemination of Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas was realized as a result of the contracts signed between Moscow's Preslit, with New York's Am-Rus and London's Boosey & Hawkes. Moreover, the publications by ASMP and Leeds show evidence of business agreements between London's Boosey & Hawkes and New York's Leeds and Am-Rus. The manuscripts of both the Violin Sonatas were sent from Moscow to New York and to London prior to their publications.

In the case of the Second Violin Sonata, the manuscript was sent from Moscow first to New York, which enabled Leeds to secure Western copyright for the work earlier than it could be secured in London by Boosey & Hawkes. Thus, Boosey & Hawkes in their ASMP 1946 edition relied on Leeds' Western copyright. In the case of the First Violin Sonata, the manuscript was sent from Moscow first to London, which enabled Boosey & Hawkes to register the work at the British Library according to the Berne Convention. The First Violin Sonata was published by ASMP in 1947. The beginning of the Cold War in the USA caused delays in communication between Moscow and New York in 1946-47, and thus Leeds was able to publish the First Violin Sonata only in 1948.

Archival research proves that the manuscript of the First Violin Sonata that was disseminated to London was the Muzfond 1947 edition, currently deposited at the British Library. Research was not able to identify the manuscripts of the Violin Sonatas in the Am-Rus archive (LC), possibly due to the liquidation of Helen Black's estate in 1952.<sup>341</sup> None of the manuscripts of Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas were found in the Joseph Szigeti Archive in Boston University nor in the Joseph Szigeti Score Collection in the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. In 1964 Leeds Music Corporation was bought by Universal Music and the Leeds archive, after enquiries, could not be located.

Prior to examining and comparing the Oistrakh-Szigeti performance traditions as seen through their editions, it is important to discuss the premieres and perception of the Violin Sonatas by Oistrakh and Szigeti in the Soviet Union and the USA within the historical context of the 1940s.

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<sup>341</sup> AmRus (LC) b.29, f. 5 Mezhdunarodnaja [sic] Kniga 1951-1960'. Letter of 10 January 1952.

### 5.3 Premieres and interpretations of the Second Violin Sonata by Oistrakh and Szigeti: perception and critiques from the press

This present research was not able to discover in archives the concert programme or any newspaper cuttings of the Soviet premiere of the Second Violin Sonata of 17 June 1944 by David Oistrakh and Lev Oborin in the Small Hall of the Moscow's Conservatory.<sup>342</sup> Thus, the Soviet press perception of the work in the 1944 remains unclear. Nor do the *Diaries* of Prokofiev's second wife Mira Mendelson, published in 2012, refer to the premiere of the Second Violin Sonata. The only mention of the work's performance in Mendelson's *Diaries* is dated 24 April 1946, when Oistrakh brilliantly interpreted Prokofiev's Second Violin Sonata on the occasion of a special celebration of Prokofiev's 55<sup>th</sup> birthday at the Union of Soviet Composers.<sup>343</sup>

It was only in the 1946 Soviet press that the present research was able to identify newspaper cuttings with short statements about Oistrakh-Oborin performances of Prokofiev's Second Violin Sonata. However, these cuttings unexpectedly speak about Prague. Between 11 May and 4 June 1946 in Prague was inaugurated the first post-war international music festival known as the Prague Spring International Music Festival. 'After the enforced seven-year stagnation of Czech culture in the darkness of fascism, the programme concept was looking towards the open door to the world.'<sup>344</sup> The main participating countries were the Czech Republic, the Soviet Union, the USA, the UK and France while the main cultural idea was to

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<sup>342</sup> Shlifshsteĭn, *Prokof'ev S. S.: Notagraficheskiĭ Spravochnik*, 104.

<sup>343</sup> Mendel'son-Prokof'eva, *O Sergee Sergeeviche Prokof'eva: Vospominaniĭa. Dnevnik. 1938-1967.*, 263–264.

<sup>344</sup> Zdeněk Vokurka, *Pražské jaro: stručný pohled do historie a současnosti mezinárodního hudebního festivalu = Prague Spring : brief review of the history and present of the international music festival* (Praha: Sekretariát mezinárodního hudebního festivalu Pražské jaro, 1988), 28.

demonstrate that ‘the music was able not only to be an encouragement, but also to speak out and convey humanistic ideas’.<sup>345</sup> The initial idea of the Prague Spring 1946 was to mark the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Czech Philharmonic, but the Festival’s success was such that the Prague Spring Festival established itself as one of Europe’s most significant international music festivals even in our own day.<sup>346</sup>

In 1946 the Soviet Union participated with three concerts on 31 May, 1 and 2 June. It was the first international tour for Oistrakh who performed on 31 May Tchaikovsky’s Violin Concerto under Yevgeny Mravinsky.<sup>347</sup> Oistrakh and Oborin performed Prokofiev’s Violin Sonata on 2 June during the recital of Soviet chamber music.<sup>348</sup> Though the Soviet press reviews do not specify which of Prokofiev’s violin sonatas Oistrakh performed, it is clear that it was Prokofiev’s Second Violin Sonata, as the First Violin Sonata was completed only on 3 September 1946 according to its Autograph Manuscript. The review of Prague’s Festival in *Vecherniia Moskva* (*Evening Moscow*) on 23 July 1946 proclaimed that the recital of Soviet chamber music on 2 June was so successful that there was a necessity to organise a second concert of Oistrakh and Oborin on 6 June. That concert was as successful as the first and was followed by a reception organised by the Soviet Ambassador Mr. Zorin for all Soviet artists who took part in Prague’s Festival.<sup>349</sup> David Oistrakh wrote an article in the *Sovetskoe Iskusstvo* (*Soviet Art*) on 12 July 1946 summarising the Festival:

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<sup>345</sup> Ibid.

<sup>346</sup> 2016 Prague Spring International Music Festival was held between 12 May 2016 – 4 June 2016 featuring 98 music ensembles, orchestras and soloist from 23 countries.

<sup>347</sup> GM f. 285, No. 5222, l. 18 verso. *Vechernaia Moskva* by Aleksander Baulin, 23 July 1946.

<sup>348</sup> GM f. 385, No. 5222, l. 17 verso. *Vechernaia Moskva* 5 June 1946; *Izvestiia* 9 June 1946; *Sovetskoe Iskusstvo* 24 May 1946.

<sup>349</sup> GM f. 385, No. 5222, l. 18 verso. *Vechernaia Moskva* 23 July 1946; GM f. 385, No. 5222, l. 17 verso. *Izvestiia* 9 June 1946.

The post-war International Festival in Prague was an anthology of musical culture of creative and interpretative powers of the allied nations. [...] Unfortunately, we, Soviet performers, festival participants, (E. Mravinskiĭ, L. Oborin, D. Oistrakh, and A. Makarov), were unable to attend all concerts [...] but what we heard, has made a big impression on us. [...] During the festival we met with Czech composers, musicians and journalists. We told them about [...] the work of the Soviet composers and Soviet concert life. The international Music Festival will continue to strengthen Soviet cultural relations with democratic countries of America and Europe and especially with our brotherly Czechoslovakia.<sup>350</sup>

In contrast to the scarce factual statements regarding Oistrakh-Oborin's interpretation of Prokofiev's Second Violin Sonata, the USA premiere of the work by Szigeti received more generous press coverage. Despite the fact that all secondary sources speak of 26 November 1944 as the date of Western Hemisphere premiere of Prokofiev's Second Violin Sonata by Szigeti in Boston, present research was able to identify that this information is incorrect.<sup>351</sup> Szigeti premiered the work on 22 November 1944 at the Capitol Theatre in Ottawa, Canada, as part of the Tremblay Concerts. The Tremblay Concerts series were founded by Antonio Tremblay and lasted from 1929 until 1971. The series presented solo recitalists, orchestras, chamber music groups, Broadway musicals, operas and ballets. Between 1942-69 the Tremblay Concerts were held at the Capitol Theatre.<sup>352</sup> The Capitol Theatre was built in 1920 as a gigantic movie palace, but was demolished in 1970 as the building lost its purpose and financial sustainability. Its main purpose was to stage silent movies with

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<sup>350</sup> GM f. 385, No. 5222, l. 18. *Sovetskoe Isskustvo* by D. Oistarkh, 12 July 1946. Author's translation.

<sup>351</sup> 26 November 1944 is published in: Raaben, 'Īozhef Sigeti,' 204; Nestyev, *Sergei Prokofiev*, 166; Nest'ev and Ēdelman, *Sergeĭ Prokof'ev*, 1965, 398.

<sup>352</sup> Helmut Kallmann, Gilles Potvin, and Kenneth Winters, 'Tremblay Concerts/Les Concerts Tremblay by A. Elizabeth Baird,' *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 1313.

orchestral or chamber music accompaniment ‘in exciting, expensive and up-to-date surroundings at competitive prices.’<sup>353</sup> The Capitol’s Theatre was extravagantly embellished with provision of luxury and comfort with an impressive grand foyer and ‘2,580 air-cushioned, upholstered seats in the orchestra, balcony and boxes’.<sup>354</sup>

According to the concert programme of 22 November 1944, Prokofiev’s Second Violin Sonata was premiered at the Capitol Theatre from the manuscript and for the first time in the Western Hemisphere (**Ex. 89**).<sup>355</sup> However, this premiere has been lost in the secondary literature, or perhaps, purposefully silenced. As discussed in Chapter 4, in the autumn of 1944 the contract between New York’s Am-Rus and Moscow’s Preslit was under negotiations. Am-Rus had secured representation of Western Hemisphere including only South and North America, but excluding Canada. However, it was on 24 November 1944 that Am-Rus signed a contract with Leeds Music Corporation, which extended the Western Hemisphere’s rights onto Canada. Moscow was informed only in 1945, when Helen Black justified the contract’s terms in her telegram to Preslit.<sup>356</sup> Thus, the Western Hemisphere premiere of Prokofiev’s Second Violin Sonata on 22 November 1944 in Ottawa remained unpublicised.

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<sup>353</sup> Hilary Russell, *All That Glitters: A Memorial to Ottawa’s Capitol Theatre and Its Predecessors*, Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History; No. 13 (Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Indian and Northern Affairs, 1975), 7, 9.

<sup>354</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>355</sup> RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 911, l. 125

<sup>356</sup> GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 302, l. 19.

Ex. 89: Concert programme, 22 November 1944, RGALI 1929/1/911, l. 125

125

**TREMBLAY CONCERTS**  
SIXTEENTH SERIES                      SECOND CONCERT

CAPITOL THEATRE  
Wednesday, November 22nd, 1944

**JOSEPH SZIGETI**

ASSISTED BY  
**HARRY KAUFMAN AT THE PIANO**

**PROGRAMME**

I. \*Sonata in D minor, Opus 108 \_\_\_\_\_ *Brahms*  
Allegro — Adagio  
Un poco presto e con sentimento  
Presto agitato

II. \*Concerto in E minor, Opus 64 \_\_\_\_\_ *Mendelssohn*  
Allegro molto appassionata — Andante  
Allegro ma non troppo — Allegro molto vivace

**INTERMISSION**

III. Sonata in D major, Opus 94 (1943-44) \_\_\_\_\_ *Prokofieff*  
(manuscript—First time in the Western Hemisphere)  
Moderato — Scherzo  
Andante—Allegro con brio

IV. Chant-poème \_\_\_\_\_ *Khachaturian*  
(Dedicated to the Caucasian bards—"ashugs")

Eclogue I \_\_\_\_\_ *Stravinsky*  
Polka from "Golden Age" \_\_\_\_\_ *Shostakovich-Grunes*  
Jeune fille au jardin \_\_\_\_\_ *Mompou-Szigeti*  
Buncomb County (M.C.) \_\_\_\_\_ *Ernst Bacon*  
(Manuscript, Dedicated to Joseph Szigeti)

\*Zephyr \_\_\_\_\_ *Hubay*

\*Columbia Records.  
Steinway Piano supplied by C. W. Lindsay, Ltd.  
Management: National Concert and Artists Corporation, 711 Fifth Ave., New York City.  
Marks Levine, Managing Director.

**NEXT REGULAR CONCERT OF SERIES**  
Wednesday, January 24th, 1945                      Capitol Theatre

**ALEXANDER UNINSKY**  
RUSSIAN PIANIST

"Grand style pianism." (N. Y. World-Telegram)  
"An exciting performance." (N. Y. Post)  
"Exuberant vitality." (N. Y. Times)

Similarly, in the preface of 1946 Leeds edition Szigeti did not mention Ottawa's Western Hemisphere premiere. 'It was given to me at the request of Mr. Prokofieff for its first performance in the United States, and I played it in my concert

in Boston on November 26, 1944'.<sup>357</sup> However, *The Ottawa Journal* in its issue of Thursday November 23 1944 reviewed Szigeti's premiere of 22 November:

Violinist Joseph Szigeti offered a violin recital of rare distinction to a capacity audience which overflowed onto the stage of the Capitol Theatre Wednesday evening for the second concert of the current Tremblay series. Assisted by Harry Kaufman at the piano, he was given an enthusiastic reception. [...] From the news standpoint, the first performance in the Western Hemisphere of Prokofiev's Sonata in D major, recently completed and played by Mr. Szigeti in manuscript at composer's request, was of prime interest. The work was Prokofieff in calmer mood than usual, the first movement being rather a melancholy moderato, the second a dance-like scherzo. The andante at first hearing, was its chief beauty while one phrase of the final allegro recalled, but dimly, a phrase from his 'Love of Three Oranges'.<sup>358</sup>

Ottawa's premiere was followed by the US premiere of Prokofiev's Second Violin Sonata in Boston on 26 November 1944 with Szigeti and Kaufman. The *Boston Herald's* review summarised Prokofiev's *Sonata* as 'Immediate appeal ... attractive and effective', while the *Boston Post* in its review of 27 November 1944 wrote:

One eminent violinist who does not keep abreast of the times is Joseph Szigeti. [...] Prokofieff recently completed Sonata in D major, op. 94, which was being played for the first time in America, and from manuscript. [...] his new Sonata hints at an open bid for popularity. It is full of good tunes and frank appeal, though thanks to the

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<sup>357</sup> Prokofieff, *Sonata for Violin and Piano*, preface.

<sup>358</sup> *The Ottawa Journal* 'Notable Artistry Revealed', 23 November 1944, p. 15. Available online on the database <https://www.newspapers.com/newspage/48560507/>

composer's rhythmic and harmonic cleverness and resourcefulness it never lapses into commonplace.<sup>359</sup>

Boston's premiere was followed by Szigeti-Kaufman recital at New York's Carnegie Hall on 11 December 1944. Prokofiev's Second Violin Sonata was advertised on the concert programme as 'M.S. – First Performance', while the recital was promoted as Szigeti's 'Only New York Recital This Season'.<sup>360</sup> The *New York Times* reviewed Prokofiev's Sonata as 'comprehension and mastery, exceptional interest, exceptional cogency. A Sonata which is going to be popular and receive welcome everywhere'; the *New York Journal-American* characterised the work as having 'dash and sweep ... [with] impassioned melody'; and the *New York Post* noted its 'catchy rhythms, effective melodies', commenting that it was written '... in a quite merry vein and in a light-hearted popular mood'. The *New York Herald Tribune* on 12 December wrote:

The Prokofieff Sonata in D major, opus 94, which received its first performance, has been transcribed by the author for this violinist from a flute sonata. Full of double stops and of dynamic bowings, it sounds in this version as little like flute music as anything could. It is a handsome piece, objective, and brilliant and graceful in which song and dance alternate constantly.<sup>361</sup>

Considering the profound press promotion that Szigeti's premiere enjoyed in the Carnegie Hall, it became possible for some information to be misinterpreted. The present research has demonstrated that Prokofiev did not transcribe his Flute Sonata

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<sup>359</sup> JSA b. 11, f. 'Bach, Prokofiev, etc.'. *Boston Post* on 27 November 1944; *Boston Herald* n.d.

<sup>360</sup> JSA b. 11, f. 'Press Circular'. Carnegie Hall concert programme, 11 December 1944.

<sup>361</sup> JSA b. 11, f. 'Bach, Prokofiev, etc.'. Reviews of 12 December 1944: *The New York Times*, *New York Herald Tribune*, *New York Journal-American*, *New York Post*.

for Szigeti, but the transcription was made at Oistrakh's request and with Oistrakh's assistance.

The main observation concerning the perception of Prokofiev's Second Violin Sonata premieres by Oistrakh and Szigeti is the disproportion of the surviving newspaper cuttings in the Soviet and American press, and particularly the absence of information about the perception of the work in the Soviet Union. The disproportion is quantitative, but also qualitative: the few factual surviving Soviet press cuttings contrast with the diverse American cuttings, which give a much clearer musical description and perception of Szigeti's performances in several American cities. Finally, despite the fact that the European premieres of Prokofiev's Second Violin Sonata are beyond of the scope of the present research – as it is focused solely on interpretations by Oistrakh and Szigeti as main historical figures who knew the composer personally – the Prague's 1946 premiere of the Second Violin Sonata is significant to the historical perception of the work as it was discussed in the Soviet press and also, Prague was Oistrakh's first international tour, which inaugurated his international career as a violinist.

## 5.4 Premieres and interpretations of the First Violin Sonata by Oistrakh and Szigeti: perception and critiques from the press

In contrast to the lack of information on the Soviet premiere of the Second Violin Sonata, the premiere of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata left its imprint in the Soviet press. The premiere took place on 23 October 1946 in the Small Hall of Moscow's Conservatory with Oistrakh and Oborin.<sup>362</sup> Mira Mendelson described the premiere in her diary entry on 25 October:

In the Small Hall of Conservatory Oistrakh and Oborin performed Serezha's new Sonata. They played remarkably, especially Oistrakh. [...]. The Sonata made a very strong impression on me. When I was listening I thought that the impossible became possible. [...] Popov<sup>363</sup> told Serezha after the performance: '[...] the Sonata is truly ingenious'. Serezha came several times to bow on the stage. The success was big. [...] The green room [...] was filled with congratulations [...] Rabinovich<sup>364</sup> took from Oistrakh his copy of the Sonata, evidently with intention to write an article about it. Oistrakh parted with it reluctantly, saying that he loves the Sonata so much that it is difficult for him to be separated from it. Serezha today was truly anxious. When he listened to the Sonata his face became red, in the green room he even smoked, despite doctors' strict prohibitions. In the hall were representatives of the Stalin Prize Committee.<sup>365</sup>

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<sup>362</sup> Shlifshteĭn, *Prokof'ev S. S.: Notagraficheskiĭ Spravochnik*, 78; Nestyev, *Prokofiev*, 510; Varunĭs, *Prokof'ev O Prokof'eva*, 215. Author's translation.

<sup>363</sup> Gavriil Nikolaevich Popov (1904-1972): Soviet composer and laureate of Stalin prize (1946).

<sup>364</sup> David Abramovich Rabinovich (1900-1987): Soviet musicologist and music critic.

<sup>365</sup> Mendel'son-Prokof'eva, *O Sergee Sergeeviche Prokof'eva: Vospominaniia. Dnevnik. 1938-1967.*, 284-285. Author's translation.

Rabinovich indeed wrote an article in English about the premiere of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata. His article, 'The Week in Music', was published in *Moscow News* on 30 October 1946:

Sonata Op. 80 belongs in the category of Prokofieff's capital works. As far as violin compositions are concerned I would go so far as to call it a remarkable phenomenon. [...] Grandeur indeed is descriptive of Prokofieff's Sonata No. 1 both as regards to the size of the work (the manuscript score is 90 pages long!) and the significance of the content. The grim years of war have clearly laid their imprint on this powerful music. The first movement is slow and profoundly reflective [...] the composer's thoughts are concentrated on important objective phenomena of life. This lends the andante both solemnity and emotional complexity. [...] the second movement, which abounds in pungent, acerbic harmonies, [...] hammer-blow rhythms, and abrupt, stormy paroxysms. [...] The third movement transports us to a different world, [...] of the delicate, lyrical nocturne. If the second movement might be likened to an autumn hurricane, the third evokes images of a magic night in spring. [...] The finale [...] is definitely Russian in character, indicating the strong ties binding Prokofieff to Russian classical music, and, primary, with the 'bogaty' quality of Borodin. The magnificent coda echoes the music of the first movement and serves to round out the conception. The premiere of the sonata was a tremendous success, to which the superb performance of Lev Oborin (piano) and David Oistrakh (violin) contributed in no small measure.<sup>366</sup>

Notwithstanding this very detailed review by Rabinovich, the present research was not able to identify many other reviews. Nestyev's review of the premiere was published in *Pravda* only on 21 November 1946, in an article entitled 'Compositions

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<sup>366</sup> GM f. 385, No 5222, l. 19 verso. *Moscow News*, 'The Week in Music' by D. Rabinovich, 30 October 1946.

of Sergei Prokofiev'. Nestyev's review partly contrasts with Rabinovich's as Nestyev perceived the Sonata as programme music; a portrait of war, Russian braveness and patriotic character.

The new violin sonata [...] is infused with Russian national spirit: it breathes the severe nobility of epic epos. The music [...] is a painting. The first movement is perceived as a reflection on the Motherland's fate [...] The militant and severe second movement paints the violent battle of combatant forces. More heartfelt and poetic is the third movement – a sorrowful lyrical song. Finally, the finale, resplendent with majestic tunes and whimsical rhythms of heroic 'bogaty' tale, portrays in our imagination figures of Russian knights clothed in warlike glory. [...] The new sonata was wonderfully performed by the violinist David Oistrakh and the pianist Lev Oborin.<sup>367</sup>

As in the case of Prokofiev's Second Violin Sonata, the First Violin Sonata was performed by Oistrakh in Prague's Spring Festival of 2-28 May 1947. On 19 May Oistrakh and Rafael Kubelík performed Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata.<sup>368</sup> *Sovetskoe Isskustvo* (*Soviet Art*) remarked on 23 May 1947 that 'the next day Prague's newspapers wrote that no one is equal to the Soviet violinist. The press highly acclaimed works of the Soviet composers, especially, the new sonata by Prokofiev'.<sup>369</sup> On 23 May *Moscow News* published Prague's review, which featured a short interview with Oistrakh who said:

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<sup>367</sup> GM f. 385, No 5222 l. 23 verso; RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 968, l. 69. *Pravda* 'Compositions of Sergei Prokofiev' by I. Nestyev, 21 November 1946. Author's translation.

<sup>368</sup> The programme of Prague Spring 1947 Festival included two days of Soviet musicians soloists: 15 May and 19 May. Mezinárodní Hudební Festival, *Pražské jaro. Пражская весна. Prague Spring. Printemps à Prague. 1947. Mezinárodní hudební festival, International Music Festival 8-28.5.1947.* (Praha, 1947), 87, 100, 118.

<sup>369</sup> GM f. 385, No 5230, l. 4. *Sovetskoe Isskustvo*, 'Prague's Spring 1947', 23 May 1947.

This year they are enjoying even greater success than last year [...] Eugene Mravinsky [...] is considered one of the leading conductors in the world. [...] I played Prokofiev's sonata for violin and piano, some of Khachaturyan's violin pieces and some classical works. My accompanist was the Czech orchestra conductor Rafael Kubelik who is an excellent pianist.<sup>370</sup>

Oistrakh was acknowledged as 'one of the most important artists of the twentieth century' and since his 1946 magnificent performance he 'became the darling of the Prague public. His performances were always a Festival highlight'.<sup>371</sup> It was also a result of Oistrakh's 1946 performance that Victor Hochhauser, the UK's concert impresario, invited him in March 1954 to give a concert at the Royal Albert Hall. Hochhauser recalled that 'it was particularly after Stalin's death in 1953 that I heard about Oistrakh's great reputation. I was already aware of his performance in Prague in 1946, during which he had played Prokofiev's Violin Sonata among other works, and I had a recording of his performance and I liked it very much'.<sup>372</sup> The secondary literature on Oistrakh also acknowledges that Oistrakh's international career was launched only after Stalin's death and in particular during the 1950s,<sup>373</sup> although he had already been a sought-after artist since he had won the first prize at the Queen Elisabeth Competition in 1937. On 20 November 1955 Oistrakh first

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<sup>370</sup> GM f. 385, No 5230, l. 4 verso. *Moscow News*, 'Soviet Musicians Get Warm Welcome Abroad' by G. Karlov, 23 May 1947.

<sup>371</sup> International Music Festival Prague Spring, *Šedesát Pražských jar*, Vyd. 1.. (Praha: Vydalo Pražské jaro opsve vydavatelství Togga, 2006), 417.

<sup>372</sup> Interview with Victor Hocchhauser, 3 July 2014. See Appendices, p. 410.

<sup>373</sup> I. Īāmpol'skiĭ, *David Oĭstrakh* (Moskva: Muzyka, 1964), 38; Viktor Aranovich Īūzefovich, *David Fēdorovich Oĭstrakh (1908-1974): 100 Let so Dnĭā Rozhdeniā* (Moskva: Moskovskaĭa gosudarstvennaĭa konservatoriā imeni P. I. Chaĭkovskogo, 2008), 33; Kiril Tomoff, *Virtuosi Abroad: Soviet music and imperial competition during the early Cold War, 1945-1958* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015), 114-176.

performed in New York's Carnegie Hall.<sup>374</sup> In 1953 Oistrakh made his first visit to Paris, then in February 1954 he toured West Germany, and in 1958 Oistrakh with Szigeti, Milstein and Francescatti participated in the celebrations of the centenary of the birth of Eugène Ysaÿe in Liège, Belgium.<sup>375</sup> Thus, Oistrakh's appearances during the Prague Spring Festivals in 1946-47 are highly significant in the dissemination history of Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas.

In the USA, Szigeti premiered Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata on 2 January 1948 with Joseph Levine on the piano in San Francisco Opera House. The Sonata was introduced as the 'first performance in the Western Hemisphere'.<sup>376</sup> The beginning of the Cold War in 1946-47 resulted in Szigeti being unable to receive the desired manuscript via the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

The recital was reviewed in a number of newspapers. *San Francisco News* on 3 January 1948 wrote:

The real tour de force and most exciting episode of the evening was the premiere of Prokofieff's Sonata in F, opus 80, played from manuscript. It was a wondrously wrought composition, seemingly written in a rebellious mode. [...] But the first two movements seemed to express a restless seething and rebellion of an imprisoned soul, and after a slow movement with a beautiful, hopeful sounding little melody, the work culminated in a spirit of bitter resignation without so much as a hint of sardonic laughter. It seemed as if Prokofieff had lost his sense of humor [sic].<sup>377</sup>

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<sup>374</sup> Āmpol'skiĭ, *David Oĭstrakh*, 46.

<sup>375</sup> Ūzefovich, *David Fĕdorovich Oĭstrakh (1908-1974): 100 Let so Dniā Rozhdeniĭa*, 33, 38, 40.

<sup>376</sup> Raaben, 'Īozhef Sĭgeti,' 204.; JSA p. 2, concert program: Opera House, San Francisco California. 2 January 1948.

<sup>377</sup> JSA p. 2, *San Francisco News* 'Szigeti Scores Ovation with Fine Program' by Marjory M. Fischer, 3 January 1948.

Szigeti's own relation to the Sonata was captured by *Time* on 12 January 1948. The journal wrote that Szigeti had been letting the Sonata run through his head for four months, adding Szigeti's performance impressions: 'It is the ugliest thing doing. It is terrific. [...] I think it got under their skins. I could feel it taking hold of them. This music – it is inescapable. A German composer could have diluted this sonata into enough material for a couple of symphonies'.<sup>378</sup> A perhaps more 'traditional' review of San Francisco's premiere was published in *The Argonaut* on 9 January 1948:

The most important work of the program was the manuscript of Prokofieff's Sonata in F, Opus 80. This performance [...] was said to be the first performance in the Western Hemisphere. Szigeti was perhaps the ideal person to introduce this sonata. His grasp and understanding were admirable. The sonata moves from an andante assai of somber, basso-continuesque undertones, but with exciting, electric phrases, to a more boisterous allegro. This is rich with fantasy, and luminous poetry playing through harmonic tensions. The third movement gives an impression of space, sweeping havannahs [sic], and stark, Daliesque perspective. In this landscape of reflections one hears a sad, tranquil soliloquy. [...] This mood is beautifully balanced by the last movement which sparkles like sun-darts at first, becomes reflective, and ends in profound introspectivity.<sup>379</sup>

However, not all reviews of San Francisco's premiere contain historically correct information. The *Tribune* of Oakland, California, in its review on 3 January 1948 claimed that 'The Prokofieff sonata in F, Opus 80, was played for the first time in the Western Hemisphere [...] since his [Szigeti's] return from a five months tour of Europe. He played it from the manuscript which he brought with him, after

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<sup>378</sup> JSA p.2, *Time* 'Music', 12 January 1948.

<sup>379</sup> JSA p. 2, *The Argonaut* San Francisco, 'Music' by Patricia Marcus, 9 January 1948.

introducing it with outstanding success at the festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music in Edinburgh'.<sup>380</sup> The 21<sup>st</sup> International Society for Contemporary Music Festival (ISCM) was held in Copenhagen between 29 May and 4 June 1947, not in Edinburgh. In Copenhagen's ISCM 1947 programme Szigeti's name is totally absent.<sup>381</sup> The mistake could have arisen due to the fact that in 1947 was organised the first Edinburgh International Festival. Edinburgh's Festival was held between 24 August and 13 September 1947 as a gesture of a post-war international musical collaboration. The highlight of the Festival was the appearance of German émigré conductor Bruno Walter with the Vienna Philharmonic: 'The presence of Bruno Walter would also serve to 'de-Nazify' the orchestra and guarantee freedom from the inevitable political demonstrations if it appeared with an Austrian or German conductor'.<sup>382</sup> Joseph Szigeti performed during the Edinburgh's 1947 Festival, but not Prokofiev's music. Szigeti performed works by Mozart, Brahms among others in daily concerts on 28-31 August and 1 September.<sup>383</sup>

However, it might be possible – though speculative – that Szigeti received the manuscript of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata during his Edinburgh concerts instead of from New York's Am-Rus. This would also allow Szigeti to 'run through his head' the music for four months i.e. September-December 1947, before the January 1948 American premiere. The manuscript of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata reached London's Anglo-Soviet Music Press (ASMP) in January 1947, but was registered

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<sup>380</sup> JSA p. 2, *Tribune* Oakland Calif., 'Szigeti Earns High Plaudits in Recital' by Clifford Gessler, 3 January 1948.

<sup>381</sup> Ernst Isler et al., *Prospectuses and programmes of festivals, and proceedings of congresses organised by the Society 1923-1948*, n.d., Part 22 'The 21st Festival Copenhagen 1947': 14.

<sup>382</sup> Eileen Miller, *The Edinburgh International Festival, 1947-1996* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1996), 6.

<sup>383</sup> *Ibid.*, 159–160; International Festival of Music and Drama, 'Festival News.,' *Edinburgh*, 1947, 8.

with the British Museum only on 31 March 1947 to comply with copyright rules of the Berne Convention. Thus, the 1947 ASMP edition was published in the second half of 1947, and perhaps the ASMP representatives indeed had met Szigeti in Edinburgh and hence, Szigeti's name appears as editor in the 1947 ASMP edition. However, this possibility is based on conjecture and needs to be approached with caution, because, as discussed in sub-chapter 5.2, the manuscript of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata appeared to have been sent to Koussevitzky via the Am-Rus and in May 1947 Helen Black was instructed to pass the manuscript to Szigeti.

Another newspaper cutting published by *Camera*, Boulder Colorado, on 10 January 1948 mentions that Szigeti brought the manuscript from Europe. The city of ISCM Festival i.e. Copenhagen, is correctly acknowledged, but the performance of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata remains incorrect:

Joseph Szigeti, world famous violinist, who returned from months of extensive concert tours of Europe this month [...] will also play the eagerly-awaited Prokofieff Sonata in F, Opus 80, which the violinist brought back with him from Europe. It was one of the highlights of the Copenhagen Festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music. [...] As is the case of the D major Sonata, the first performance and editing of this major work by the Russian master has been entrusted to Szigeti [...] Szigeti's Carnegie Hall premiere of Prokofieff's D major Sonata on Dec. 11 1944, his recording and subsequent performances of this work in 40 concerts led to its becoming one of the most played and popular in violin repertory.<sup>384</sup>

If Prokofiev's Violin Sonata was indeed a Festival highlight, then this was Prokofiev's Second Violin Sonata, which was performed in Copenhagen by the

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<sup>384</sup> JSA p. 2, *Camera* Boulder Colorado, 'Szigeti Repertoire Includes Newest Work of Prokofieff, Russian Master', 10 January 1948.

Danish violinist Charles Senderovitz and the pianist Brita Hjort Kaström on 1 June 1947.<sup>385</sup>

After Szigeti's premiere of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata in San Francisco, the violinist toured the USA introducing the work in other cities. On 11 February Szigeti introduced the First Violin Sonata in Washington's Constitution Hall and on 17 February in New York's Carnegie Hall. An interesting insight comes from Szigeti archive where New York's *Herald Tribune* of 25 January 1948 states that the first New York performance of the First Violin Sonata was by Yehudi Menuhin. The passage reads:

Serge Prokofieff's sonata for violin and piano, Op. 80, will have its first public performance here by Yehudi Menuhin and Adolph Paller in Mr. Menuhin's recital in the Hunter College series on Friday night, Feb. 6. The first American performance was given earlier this season in California by Joseph Szigeti. The work is in four movements and takes twenty-seven minutes to play; it was completed in 1946.<sup>386</sup>

While it remains unknown under which circumstances Menuhin performed New York's premiere of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata, this performance is unlikely to have been from manuscript, as the First Violin Sonata was published in London by the ASMP in 1947.

It was in February 1948 that the news about Zhdanov's attack on Soviet composers reached the USA. In particular, the impact caused by the 10 February Resolution 1948 which was published in *Pravda* on 11 February, the same day as

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<sup>385</sup> Ernst Isler et al., *Prospectuses and programmes of festivals, and proceedings of congresses organised by the Society 1923-1948*, Part 22 'The 21st Festival Copenhagen 1947': 14.

<sup>386</sup> JSA p. 2, *Herald Tribune* New York, 'Prokofieff Sonata: Menuhin to Introduce It a Hunter College', 25 January 1948.

Szigeti's Washington premiere in the Constitution Hall. The *Washington Times-Herald* article-review of 12 February 1948 is indicative:

The news of Serge Prokofieff's fall from Soviet favor came just in time to make the best kind of publicity for the performance here last night in Constitution Hall, of his latest and yet unpublished Sonata for violin and piano. Joseph Szigeti and Joseph Levine were the artists who presented this American premiere and 3,000 bourgeois Americans heard this new Sonata with close attention and applauded cordially. [...] The Sonata begins with a mood and melody which might aptly be called a Russian 'Dies Irae'. This 'Day of Wrath, Day of Judgment' mood [...] pervades the whole work [...] sardonic inflection of feeling that permeates the second movement. The third movement is a quiet but eloquent dirge, infinitely pathetic and infinitely beautiful. The finale has a few bright and aggressive moments but sinks back again into the mood of the dirge and the 'Dies Irae'. This, as the Soviet Central Committee suggests, may not be proletarian music.<sup>387</sup>

Reception of Prokofiev's work was inevitably coloured by the news of Zhdanov's attack on Soviet composers. Among the musicians who defended Prokofiev's reputation was Yehudi Menuhin. Himself born in New York, Menuhin was the first Western musician to visit the Soviet Union in 1945 after the end of the war in May 1945. Met in Moscow by Oistrakh and Shneerson, Menuhin joined Oistrakh to perform Bach's Double Violin Concerto during his five-day visit. In 1945 'Yehudi was particularly excited about his meeting with David Oistrakh [...] and] felt they were brothers in spirit, both Russian-Jewish violinists'.<sup>388</sup> Subsequently, Oistrakh

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<sup>387</sup> JSA p. 2, *Washington Times-Herald*, 'Prokofieff's Unpublished Opus Applauded at Constitution Hall' by Glenn Dillard Gunn, 12 February 1948.

<sup>388</sup> Humphrey Burton, *Menuhin: A Life* (London: Faber and Faber, 2000), 259.

and Menuhin met in 1947 during the Prague Spring Festival.<sup>389</sup> Thus, it comes as no surprise that Menuhin defended Prokofiev and by implication his First Violin Sonata: ‘This latest attempt by the Soviet government to coerce its artists represents a completely wrong attitude toward the one group of people it can never coerce – the creative composer.’<sup>390</sup>

Similarly, Szigeti stood against Prokofiev’s ‘bourgeois’ accusations in the *Newark News*’s review of 12 January 1948:

Szigeti said: ‘It sounds like a sort of warning to come back to large forms intelligible to the masses of people who hear music. All music has to communicate something – to reach people. The message always has to be intelligible. That is the only sort of criticism that can be leveled against such a great artist. We use that sort of criticism just as often and just as cruelly in the United States when evaluating new music. [...] In the case of such a master as Prokofiev there must be some misunderstanding.’<sup>391</sup>

All reviews of Szigeti’s performance of the First Violin Sonata in Washington bear the political sub-context of Zhdanov’s attack. The *Washington News* on 12 February, in a review entitled ‘Szigeti Found Beauty in Prokofieff Not Propaganda’, wrote that Prokofiev’s Sonata was received ‘as being pretty much on the revolutionary side. The word “revolutionary” [...] means [...] that the sonata possessed strengths and daring imagination – all the qualities associated with a pioneering spirit.’ The *Washington News* continued focusing on the political side remarking that ‘It was a coincidence that the first Washington performance of this

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<sup>389</sup> Āmpol’skiĭ, *David Oĭstrakh*, 39–40; Burton, *Menuhin: A Life*, 257.

<sup>390</sup> JSA p. 2, *The Hartford Times*, ‘Soviet Composers Get Their Orders Again’ by Carl E. Lindstrom, 16 February 1948.

<sup>391</sup> JSA p. 2, *Newark News*, N.J., 12 February 1948.

work – from manuscript, in fact – came on the day that not only Prokofieff, but Shostakovich and Khachaturian, were censured by the Central Committee for writing ‘anti-people’s’ music.’<sup>392</sup>

Despite the political atmosphere, the First Violin Sonata was appreciated and well received in Washington. A positive review came from the *Washington Post* on 12 February, which wrote that ‘Washington heard for the first time the latest violin sonata of Sergei Prokofieff, who was only yesterday rebuked in his native land for writing ‘formalistic’ music. [...] The Prokofieff sonata turned out to be a work of unique beauty, [...] having a quality of newness he always infuses into his masterworks [...] Szigeti played it as if every subtlety was an open book to his illumned [sic] mind. We deeply appreciate Szigeti’s giving us this fine opus.’<sup>393</sup>

Szigeti’s Carnegie Hall reviews of Prokofiev’s First Violin Sonata are mostly concerned with the music rather than with politics and bring out Prokofiev’s outstanding compositional practice. Szigeti’s Carnegie Hall recital was held on 17 February 1948 with Joseph Levine at the piano. Prokofiev’s First Violin Sonata was promoted on the programme as the ‘First New York performance from the manuscript’ and the recital as the ‘Only New York Recital This Season’. On the concert programme, Copenhagen’s ISCM Festival appears again:

The eagerly awaited Sonata, still in manuscript, was one of the highlights of the Copenhagen Festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music. As in the case of the D major Sonata, the first performance and the editing of this major work by the Russian master has been entrusted to Szigeti [...]. Szigeti’s Carnegie Hall

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<sup>392</sup> JSA p. 2, *Washington News*, ‘Szigeti Found Beauty in Prokofieff Not Propaganda’, 12 February 1948.

<sup>393</sup> JSA p. 2, *Washington Post*, ‘Szigeti’s Recital Wins High Praise’ by Paul Hume, 12 February 1948.

premiere of Prokofieff's D major Sonata on December 11, 1944, his recording and subsequent performances of this work in forty countries led to its becoming one of the most played and popular in the violin repertory.<sup>394</sup>

The reader may notice that the aforementioned passage is the exact quotation from the *Camera* newspaper, Boulder Colorado, of 10 January 1948. Thus, the information might have just been copied verbatim without being carefully examined or juxtaposed with other sources. Nevertheless, reviews of the Carnegie Hall concert speak of a masterpiece. The *New York Times* on 18 February reviewed Prokofiev's First Violin Sonatas as follows:

Sonata Op. 80 of Serge Prokofieff, who proves in its pages that he can compose a superb sonata with or without the permission of the Moscow Government [...] We find this sonata a beauty, from the beginning to end; original in every movement, fresh and melodic, approaching at times the folk-style in its invention, full of musical ideas and imagination, and often uncommon scoring of the two instruments. This we believe to be not only one of Prokofieff's finest pieces of chamber music, but one of the best piano and violin sonatas to have appeared in many years. It is owing to Mr. Szigeti to say that without doubt a large measure of its success was due to his magnificent performance.<sup>395</sup>

Also positive was the review of *Herald Tribune* of 18 February:

Prokofiev's Sonata, Opus 80, [...] is the most continuously interesting single piece of music [...] by that author in many years. [...] All through, the piece is clearly conceived, characteristic of its author's best qualities and consequently original. It

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<sup>394</sup> JSA p. 2, Concert Program: Carnegie Hall New York, 17 February 1948.

<sup>395</sup> JSA p. 2, *New York Times*, 'Szigeti features Diamond's Sonata: Violinist Introduces Composer's Work at Carnegie Hall – Prokofieff Piece Played' by Olin Downes, 18 February 1948.

recalls by its stylistic integrity and wealth of invention the same composer's Third Piano Concerto.<sup>396</sup>

However, not all reviews were appreciative of Prokofiev's new Violin Sonata. The *New York Post* on 18 February commented that 'the new piece may be a musician's sonata: but I am afraid it has little to say to us common folk. I found it a trite, routine affair, full of mechanical figurations that went round and round without arriving anywhere'.<sup>397</sup> In the same lines was *New York Journal-American's* review of 18 February: 'the Prokofieff is more for musicians than for general consumption. It could hardly be labelled as a product of the Bourgeois influence of western culture'.<sup>398</sup>

Generally, the perception of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata in the 1940s, both in the Soviet Union and in the USA, was of a magnificent and superb composition, a composition in which, as Mendelson noticed, the impossible became possible: one of the finest Prokofiev's compositions characterised as 'ingenious' by Myaskovsky and Popov.<sup>399</sup> It was thus regarded as a masterpiece, which was praised for its originality, invention and clarity of conception, and whose success was not overshadowed by the Soviet 10 February Resolution of 1948. Both Oistrakh and Szigeti presented the work's best qualities, but their interpretation of Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas was different. The violinists perceived Prokofiev's violin music from different angles, because they had a different conception about the violin technique and the performance style of the Violin Sonatas.

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<sup>396</sup> JSA p. 2, *Herald Tribune* New York, 'Music' by Virgil Thomson, 18 February 1948.

<sup>397</sup> JSA p. 2, *New York Post*, 'Joseph Szigeti Plays Carnegie Hall Recital' by John Briggs, 18 February 1948.

<sup>398</sup> JSA p. 2, *Journal American* New York, 'Szigeti Hits Heights' by Miles Kastendieck, 18 February 1948.

<sup>399</sup> Ūzefovich, *David Oĭstrakh*, 203; Mendel'son-Prokof'eva, *O Sergee Sergeeviche Prokof'eva: Vospominaniĭa. Dnevnik. 1938-1967.*, 284.

## Chapter 6

### Performance practice of the Violin Sonatas

#### 6.1 Comparative study of performance editions by Oistrakh and Szigeti: Second Violin Sonata

The comparison of performance editions edited by Oistrakh and Szigeti exhibits differences in interpretative approaches. The comparative study of performance editions is possible only with regard to Prokofiev's Second Violin Sonata, which was edited by both violinists in detail. In contrast, the study of performance editions of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata requires a careful approach, since as discussed in sub-chapter 5.2 Szigeti's editorial work on the First Violin Sonata remains questionable and debatable.

In the Leeds Music Corporation 1946 edition of the Second Violin Sonata Szigeti offers new versions to some violin passages, which are indicated with *ossia* markings. Thus, it appears that Szigeti created his own reading, a revised 'transcription', of Prokofiev's Flute Sonata. Some *ossia* suggestions are simple rhythmic alterations; some include recommendation of the notes played originally *arco* (with bow) to be played *pizz.* (plucked). In the IV Allegro con brio Szigeti even suggests harmonisation of violin passages into a single chord and further harmonisations of notes.

**Ex. 90: I Moderato, bars 120-130 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)**

The triplet in bar 121 is rewritten into quintuplet, which suggests a *fingered tremolo* technique.

In Ex. 91 Szigeti specifies which *pizz.* notes need to be performed with R.H. (right hand) and which with L.H. (left hand). In bar 336 the D-flat note, marked with an *Ossia (a)* footnote, is originally played *arco* (with bow), but Szigeti proposes that the D-flat is performed as a *pizz.* note. In bar 345 Szigeti suggests that the violin passage marked *Ossia (b)* be performed as a chord. Oistrakh's Muzgiz 1946 edition of the same passage is simpler. The + above the A-flat note in bar 343 indicates left hand *pizz.* Thus, for Oistrakh there is no necessity to specify the performance of the remaining *pizz.* notes in bar 343, as these will be all performed with the right hand. *Restez* instructs the violinist to remain in the same position.

**Ex. 91: II Presto, bars 335-346 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)**

- \* *Ossia<sup>(a)</sup>* - L. H. Pizz.
- \* *Ossia<sup>(b)</sup>* - quasi accord

II Presto, bars 335-346 (Muzgiz 1946 ed. Oistrakh)

In Ex. 92, for the opening theme of IV Allegro con brio, Szigeti suggests chords instead of *arpeggio* violin passages. The chords are marked with Ossia (a) and Ossia (b). Oistrakh's edition follows the original music from the Flute Sonata and exhibits a much more detailed fingering annotation compared to Szigeti's edition.

Ex. 92: IV Allegro con brio, bars 1-6 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)

IV Allegro con brio, bars 1-7 (Muzgiz 1946 ed. Oistrakh)

In Ex. 93 Szigeti suggests with *Ossia (c)* for the notes G in bar 9 to be played as harmonics, which changes the colour of notes to a lighter timbre. In bar 10, Szigeti suggests a *balzato* bowing technique with the *Ossia (d)* marking. The *balzato* technique requires the violinist to throw the bow between adjacent G and D strings, creating an effect of a ‘bounced off the string’ slur. On the contrary, Oistrakh keeps all chromatic triplets of bar 10 on the same D string in second position in a non-bouncing slur.

**Ex. 93: IV Allegro con brio, bars 9-10 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)**

**IV Allegro con brio, bar 10 (Muzgiz 1946 ed. Oistrakh)**

The VI Allegro con brio offers more harmonisations by Szigeti (Ex. 94, Ex. 95) and in Ex. 96 Szigeti replaces *acciacature* grace notes with double stops (fingers and open strings) in third position.

Ex. 94: IV Allegro con brio, bars 24-27 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)

The musical score for Ex. 94 consists of three staves. The first two staves show the main melodic line with various ornaments and slurs. The third staff is an 'Ossia' alternative, marked with a star and the word 'Ossia'.

Ex. 95: IV Allegro con brio, bars 111-117 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)

The musical score for Ex. 95 consists of three staves. The first two staves show the main melodic line with various ornaments and slurs. The third staff is an 'Ossia' alternative, marked with a star and the word 'Ossia'.

Ex. 96: IV Allegro con brio, bar 156 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)

The musical score for Ex. 96 consists of two staves. The first staff shows the main melodic line with various ornaments and slurs. The second staff is an 'Ossia' alternative, marked with a star and the word 'Ossia'.

Apart from Szigeti's aforementioned performance alterations to the music of the Second Violin Sonata, Szigeti's fingerings and bowings suggest a different interpretation of the work from Oistrakh's. A comparison between Oistrakh's and

Szigeti's editions indicates that Oistrakh's interpretative approach leans towards a lyrical timbre and the use of simpler, more 'conventional' fingerings. Oistrakh's edition suggests a balanced sound with singing lyricism and articulated virtuosity. In contrast, Szigeti's edition of the Second Violin Sonata is more colourful, with lighter bouncing bows and a more breathy and delicate sound that is the result of harmonics and the use of higher violin positions. Thus, in the author's opinion, Szigeti's edition inclines towards a lighter sound with off string virtuosic bowings, whereas Oistrakh's edition suggests more melodiousness, clear articulation and a more defined, settled, technical violin command. Szigeti's edition could also suggest a looser vibrato and generally, a smoother left-hand technique especially during the shifts. Szigeti's use of natural harmonics adds a lighter tone to the sound, which resembles more the flute. However, Szigeti's chord harmonisation in IV Allegro con brio results in a heavier texture which disregards the character of the music as it was originally composed. Oistrakh's alterations to the notes, discussed in Chapter 2, were written in consultation with Prokofiev, who closely monitored the transcription. Therefore, Oistrakh's alterations bear Prokofiev's approval and need to be considered as more authentic. It remains debatable whether Szigeti, who received the manuscript from Moscow of the already adapted violin version, was entitled to suggest further changes to the musical text with his *ossia* markings. The Leeds 1946 edition specifies that the Sonata was 'edited with special annotations by Joseph Szigeti' which suggests that the *ossia* markings belong to Szigeti.

In **Ex. 97**, figure 1, Szigeti chooses fingerings that require frequent string crossing between adjacent A and E strings. Szigeti indicates the use of open strings and harmonics in semiquavers to contrast with the E note (finger 2) played in third position in bar 10. Open strings, harmonics and frequent string crossings create a

lighter sound texture. In contrast, Oistrakh offers a simpler and more logical fingering, which purposefully avoids string crossings and aims to maintain the semiquavers for longer on one string, thus producing a more grounded and rounder sound.

**Ex. 97: I Moderato, bars 9-10 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)**

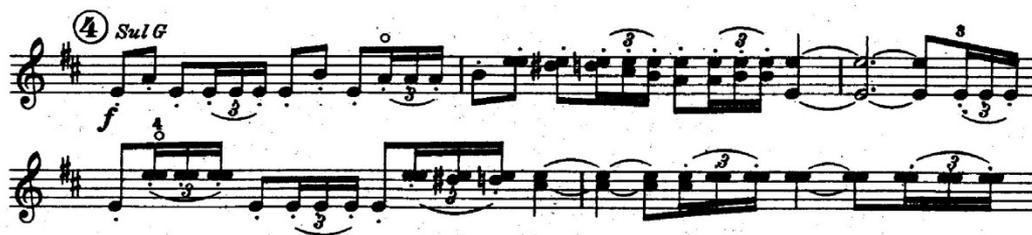


**I Moderato, bars 9-10 (Muzgiz 1946 ed. Oistrakh)**

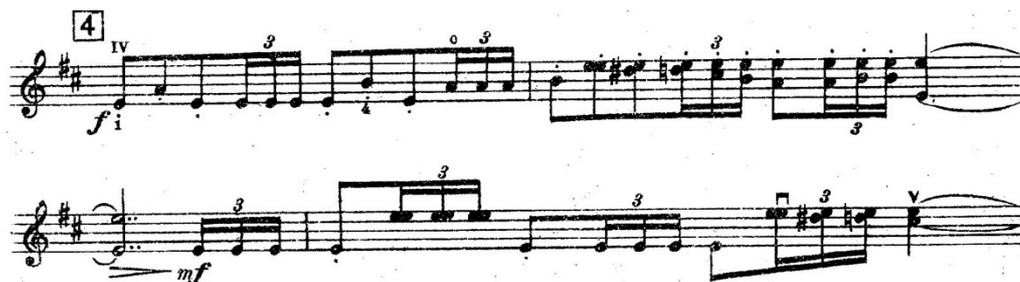


Szigeti's fingerings, which produce a lighter texture, are also matched with his bowing suggestions. In Ex. 98 Szigeti slurs the triplet semiquavers that results in a bouncing *ricochet* bowing technique, which is executed with a lighter touch on the string. In contrast, Oistrakh's edition maintains the triplets as separate detached notes, which gives to the triplets a more defined and articulated character.

**Ex. 98: I Moderato, bars 42-46 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)**



**I Moderato, bars 42-46 (Muzgiz 1946 ed. Oistrakh)**



In **Ex. 99**, Szigeti indicates clearly on which violin strings the melody has to be performed. Szigeti's string indications translate into the use of high positions and position jumps on the same string. In contrast, Oistrakh's approach is towards simpler fingerings that start from the first position. Oistrakh's shifting aims in choosing neighbouring positions and, thus in reducing position jumps.

**Ex. 99: I Moderato, bars 21-28 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)**

**I Moderato, bars 19-28 (Muzgiz 1946 ed. Oistrakh)**

Szigeti's positional jumps are very evident in **Ex. 100**, where he instructs a jump from the first position on A string to the fifth position on G string. Considering the Presto tempo and coda's momentum, Szigeti's acrobatic jumps are technically challenging. Oistrakh keeps the coda mostly in the first position. Oistrakh's student Oleh Krysa considers Szigeti's jumps as superfluous to the music.<sup>400</sup> The fast tempo of the coda leads the II Scherzo to an intense and effective conclusion and thus, any position jumps may disadvantage the dynamic course of the coda.

<sup>400</sup> Interview with Oleh Krysa. See Appendices.



Oistrakh's fingerings are also more detailed in the middle section of the III Andante.

**Ex. 102: III Andante, bars 68-71 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)**

**III Andante, bars 68-71 (Muzgiz 1946 ed. Oistrakh)**

Szigeti's use of high position and of full colour of G string is evident in **Ex. 103**. Szigeti's fingering choice contrasts with Oistrakh's who fingers figure 34 on lower positions of D string. The dynamics indications of  $\text{>}$  and *mp* in bars 39-40 are absent in Szigeti's edition.

**Ex. 103: IV Allegro con brio, bars 38-42 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)**

**IV Allegro con brio, bars 38-42 (Muzgiz 1946 ed. Oistrakh)**

Oistrakh indicates the violin strings with the roman numbers I, II, III, IV, whereas Szigeti uses the *Sul A* indications. In Ex. 104, figure 37, Szigeti offers alternative bowings and indicates the violin strings. Oistrakh's edition is more detailed in fingering markings and it includes a *mezzo piano* and  $\overline{\hspace{1cm}}$  in bar 90, which are absent from Szigeti's edition.

**Ex. 104: IV Allegro con brio, bars 72-92 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)**

**IV Allegro con brio, bars 73-92 (Muzgiz 1946 ed. Oistrakh)**

Taking into account the aforementioned examples, one can observe that Szigeti offers an interpretation of Prokofiev's Second Violin Sonata that produces a more delicate and airy sound texture. Szigeti's fingerings and bowings signpost towards a lighter bowing technique, off string articulation and towards a mellow and looser use of the left hand's shifting and vibrato techniques. Szigeti's sound is more sophisticated with textual complexity of alternating harmonics, string crossings, open strings and position jumps. In contrast, Oistrakh's interpretative approach is based on more simple 'conventional' fingerings that tend to use neighbouring positions instead of position jumps and a more articulated bowing technique, which all result in a focused sound. Oistrakh's sound reflects more simple melodiousness and broadness in both tone and character.

## **6.2 Comparative study of performance editions by Oistrakh and Szigeti: First Violin Sonata**

The comparison of performance editions of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata reveals many similarities not only in performance annotations, but also in editorial page layouts. The first edition of the work is the Anglo-Soviet Music Press 1947 edition with plate number A.S.M.P. 56, in which Szigeti is credited as the editor. Leeds Music Corporation published Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata in 1948 with Szigeti again credited as editor (**Ex. 105**).

### **Ex. 105: Copyright information, First Violin Sonata: ASMP 1947, Leeds 1948**

#### **ASMP 1947 ed. Szigeti**

Copyright 1947 by Anglo-Soviet Music Press Ltd. London

A.S.M.P. 56

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Printed in England

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British Commonwealth (excluding Canada), Eire and South Africa. A.S.M.P. 56

#### **Leeds 1948 ed. Szigeti**

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The first Soviet edition was published in 1951 by Muzgiz with plate number 19201 attributing Oistrakh as editor. The second Soviet edition was published by Muzgiz 1957 with the same plate number and editor (19201 ed. Oistrakh). However, a careful comparison of the two Soviet Muzgiz editions shows that these editions, despite having the same plate number and editor, are different in editorial layout and performance annotations. However, the editorial layouts of ASMP 1947 (ed. Szigeti), Leeds 1948 (ed. Szigeti) and Muzgiz 1951 (ed. Oistrakh) are identical and all feature

the same performance annotations. The Muzgiz 1951 and Muzgiz 1957 editions have different editorial layouts (Ex. 106).

**Ex. 106: comparison of editorial layouts, First Violin Sonata**

**ASMP 1947 ed. Szigeti**

**Leeds 1948 ed. Szigeti**

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To David F. Oistrakh  
**SONATA No. 1**  
VIOLINO I  
S. PROKOFIEV, Op. 80

Edited by J. SZIGETI

*Andante assai*  $\text{♩} = 60$

*Poco più animato*

*cresc.*

*poco rit.*

*Tempo I*

*cresc.* *V*

*G str.*

*ord.*

*poco rit.*

*G & D str.*

*a tempo*

*cresc.*

*molto rit.*

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To David Oistrakh  
**SONATA**  
Op. 80  
(IN F MINOR)  
VIOLIN I

Edited with special annotations by  
**JOSEPH SZIGETI**

By  
**SERGE PROKOFIEFF**

*Andante assai*  $\text{♩} = 60$

*Poco più animato*

*cresc.*

*poco rit.*

*Tempo I*

*cresc.* *V*

*G str.*

*ord.*

*poco rit.*

*G & D str.*

*a tempo*

*cresc.*

*molto rit.*

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**Muzgiz 1951 ed. Oistrakh**

**Muzgiz 1957 ed. Oistrakh**

**СОНАТА №1**  
для скрипки и фортепиано

Редакция партитры скрипки  
Д. ОЙСТРАХА

**Violino**

*Andante assai* ( $\text{♩} = 60$ )

*Poco più animato*

*cresc.*

*poco rit.*

*Tempo I*

*cresc.* *V*

*G*

*ord.*

*poco rit.*

*G & D*

*a tempo*

*cresc.*

*molto rit.*

19201

**СОНАТА №1** **SONATA**  
для скрипки и фортепиано. for Violin and Piano

**Violino**

Редакция Д. Ойстраха  
Edited by D. Oistrakh

*Andante assai* ( $\text{♩} = 60$ )

*Poco più animato*

*cresc.*

*poco rit.*

*Tempo I*

*cresc.* *V*

*G*

*ord.*

*poco rit.*

*G & D*

*a tempo*

*cresc.*

*molto rit.*

19201

The main observation from the above examples is that Szigeti's editions of ASMP 1947 and Leeds 1948 are identical, not only in editorial page layout but also in performance annotations, such as fingerings and bowings. The ASMP 1947 and Leeds 1948 editions of the First Violin Sonata feature very few performance annotations such as fingerings and bowing, which contrasts with Szigeti's detailed edition of the Second Violin Sonata (Leeds 1946). Thus, in Szigeti's ASMP 1947 and Leeds 1948 editions *ossia* markings are absent, i.e. Szigeti's performance suggestions, as well as Szigeti's indications such as *Sul A*, *L.H* (left hand), *R.H* (right hand) and *pizz.* that are found in great detail in Szigeti's edition of the Second Violin Sonata. Overall, Szigeti's edition of the First Violin Sonata appears predominantly 'empty' of performance annotations, featuring entire pages without even a single fingering. Thus, in the I Andante assai, of the 107 bars distributed over three pages there are fingerings only in bars 51-53, 55, 60 and 83; in the II Allegro brusco, of the 300 bars distributed over six pages, there are fingerings only in bars 17-18, 28, 39, 43, 46-47, 84-85, 90, 103, 106, 142, 165, 204, 241-242 and 272-278; in the III Andante, of the 96 bars distributed over approximately three pages, there are only two fingering annotations in bars 40 and 90; and finally, in the IV Allegrissimo, of the 233 bars distributed over seven pages, there are fingerings only in bars 12, 62-63, 65-68 and 202-203, the third, fourth, fifth and seventh pages of the violin part being essentially unedited as these have no fingerings at all. Thus, considering the modest and limited performance annotations, it is not possible to form an opinion about Szigeti's stylistic approach or performance style from his predominantly scarce editing (ASMP 1947 or Leeds 1948).

The most significant observation is that the performance annotations of Szigeti's ASMP 1947 and Leeds 1948 are identical with Muzgiz 1951 edition, which was edited by Oistrakh. This observation challenges not only the authenticity of

Szigeti's editorial work, but also the trustworthiness of factual existence of Szigeti's edition. The comparison of Szigeti's ASMP 1947 edition with Oistrakh's Muzgiz 1951 edition, Muzfond 1947 steklograph edition and the First Violin Sonata's Autograph Manuscript, reveal that the fingerings on Szigeti's ASMP 1947 edition are identical with the fingerings written on the Muzfond 1947 edition and on the Autograph Manuscript, i.e. identical with Oistrakh's fingerings (Ex. 107).

**Ex. 107: I Andante assai, bars 51-53: Comparison of fingerings**

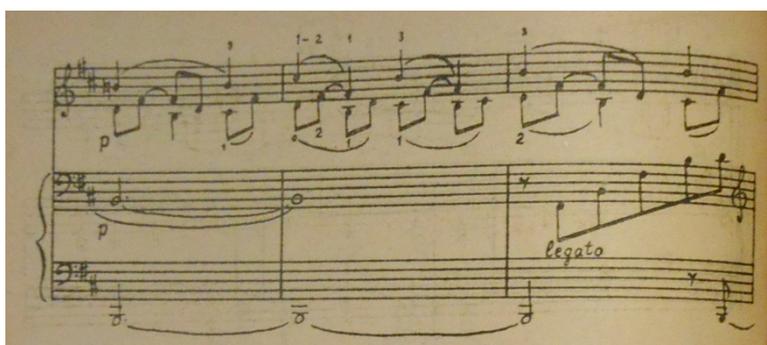
**ASMP 1947 ed. Szigeti**



**Muzgiz 1951 ed. Oistrakh**



**Muzfond 1947 sent to ASMP ed. Oistrakh**



**Autograph Manuscript, bars 52-55**



Ex. 108, Ex. 109 and Ex. 110 demonstrate that the fingerings in Szigeti's ASMP 1947 are likewise identical to Oistrakh's fingerings written on the Autograph Manuscript, the Muzfond 1947 and Muzgiz 1951 editions.

**Ex. 108: II Allegro brusco, bars 172-174: Comparison of fingerings**

ASMP 1947 ed. Szigeti, bars 166-175

bar 172 ↓



Muzgiz 1951 ed. Oistrakh, bars 166-175

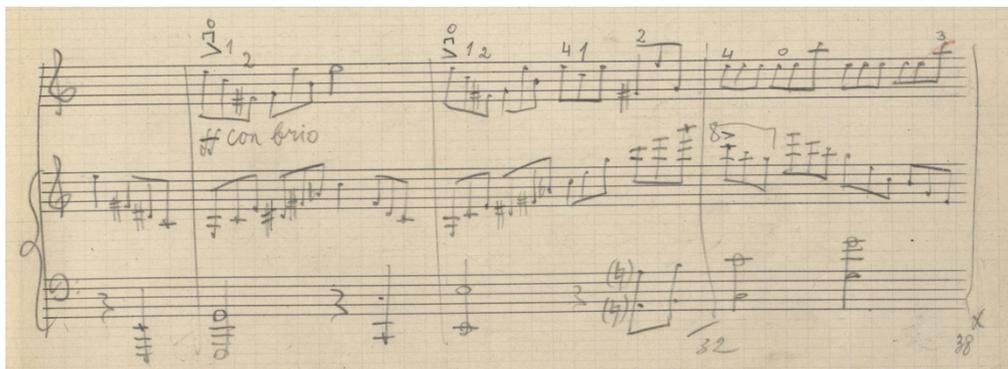
bar 172 ↓



Muzfond 1947 sent to ASMP ed. Oistrakh, bars 172-173



Autograph Manuscript, bars 172-174



In Ex. 109, the string indication appears with roman number II in Szigeti's ASMP 1947 edition. This contradicts Szigeti's editorial practice, since he would edit this as *Sul A*: 'II' is Oistrakh's annotation.

**Ex. 109: III Andante, bar 40: Comparison of fingerings**

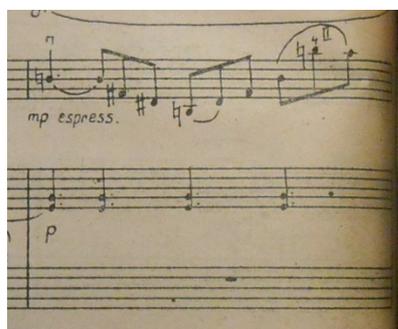
ASMP 1947 ed. Szigeti

Muzgiz 1951 ed. Oistrakh



Muzfond 1947 sent to ASMP ed. Oistrakh

Autograph Manuscript



**Ex. 110: IV Allegrissimo, bars 59-63: Comparison of fingerings**

ASMP 1947 ed. Szigeti, bars 56-63

bar 59 ↓



Muzgiz 1951 ed. Oistrakh, bars 56-63

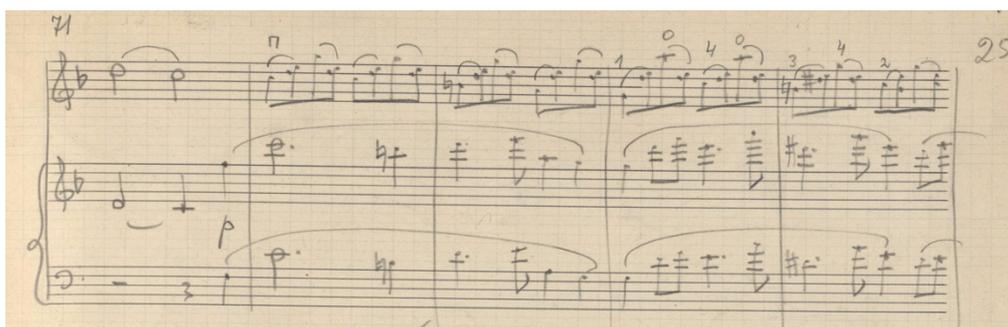
bar 59 ↓



**Muzfond 1947 sent to ASMP ed. Oistrakh, bars 59-64**



**Autograph Manuscript, bars 59-63**



The overall comparison of fingerings and bowing annotations between the ASMP 1947, Muzgiz 1951, and Muzfond 1947 editions and the Autograph Manuscript reveals that all performance annotations are identical. The only exception to this observation are the fingerings of bars 45-47 of the II Allegro brusco. As **Ex. 111** demonstrates, the fingerings do not match across Szigeti's and Oistrakh's editions and the Autograph Manuscript. However, it is more likely that Oistrakh suggested two different fingerings for these bars, rather than that these fingerings belong to Szigeti, as in this case, Szigeti edited only three bars from the entire First Violin Sonata of 736 bars in total.

Ex. 111: II Allegro brusco, bars 45-47: Comparison of fingerings

ASMP 1947 ed. Szigeti



Muzgiz 1951 ed. Oistrakh



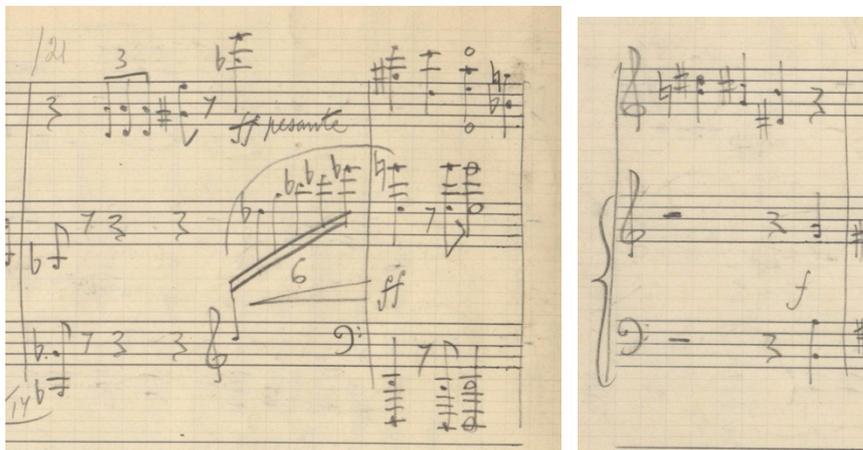
Muzgiz 1957 ed. Oistrakh, different fingerings



Muzfond 1947 sent to ASMP ed. Oistrakh



Autograph Manuscript, bars 45-47



From **Ex. 107 – Ex. 110** it is evident that Szigeti never edited the work, but instead the Anglo-Soviet Music Press simply reproduced the Muzfond 1947 edition, which they received from Moscow. Furthermore, the Muzfond 1947 edition sent to ASMP in 1947 is different from the Muzfond 1947 currently deposited in the Dom Kompozitor library, Moscow. The ‘ASMP Muzfond’ 1947 edition appears to be an earlier version of the Muzfond 1947 edition, as in that copy’s IV Allegrissimo (bar 84) the notes E A are absent, but are present in the Muzfond 1947 edition located at Dom Kompozitor library (**Ex. 112**). Thus, the first Soviet edition of Muzgiz 1951 was published upon the revised and corrected Muzfond 1947 edition, not upon the ‘ASMP Muzfond’ 1947 edition.

**Ex. 112: IV Allegrissimo, bars 82-85. Notes E A, two last quavers of bar 84 are belatedly inserted in the Autograph Manuscript and absent in ‘ASMP Muzfond’ 1947 edition**

**Autograph Manuscript      Muzfond 1947 steklograph sent to ASMP, bars 82-84**



**Muzfond 1947 deposited in Dom Kompozitor, corrected bar 84**



Thus, as **Ex. 112** reveals, Prokofiev's belated insertion of notes E and A resulted in their absence in the first Western editions of ASMP 1947 and Leeds 1948, which both acknowledge Szigeti as the editor. It is only in the edition edited by Oistrakh, Muzgiz 1951, that these notes appear published (**Ex. 113**).

**Ex. 113: IV Allegrissimo, bars 82-85: Comparison of editions**

**ASMP 1947 ed. Szigeti**



**Leeds 1948 ed. Szigeti**



**Muzgiz 1951 ed. Oistrakh**



Final observations in the comparison of editions of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata are that the Muzgiz 1951 and Muzgiz 1957 editions, despite having the same plate number 19201, have different layouts. Moreover, the Muzgiz 1957 is much richer in fingering and bowing annotations to Muzgiz 1951. This was a Soviet publishing practice of the time, according to which it was frequent for the first edition of the newly composed work to bear the minimum of annotations. Only with the work's accreditation and establishment in the repertoire, have editions with detailed performance annotations been published in the Soviet Union.<sup>401</sup> The comparison of

<sup>401</sup> Soroker, 'David Oistrakh - Interpretator Prokof'eva,' 21.

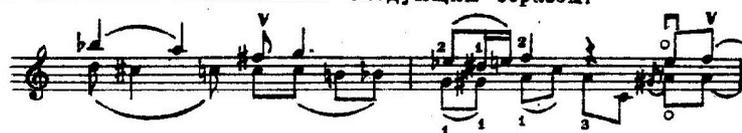
Muzgiz 1957 and Muzgiz 1951 editions (**Ex. 114**) shows that Muzgiz 1957 is edited in more detail and contains in addition to detailed fingerings, also explanatory ‘*ossia*’ performance markings.

**Ex. 114: I Andante assai, bars 40-43: Comparison of Muzgiz 1951 and 1957 editions**

**Muzgiz 1957 (translation of \*: these two bars to be performed as following)**



\*) Эти два такта исполняются следующим образом:



19201

**Muzgiz 1951: a much simpler edition with absence of fingerings**



In conclusion, the comparison of editions of the First Violin Sonata demonstrates that Szigeti never edited the work, as both the ASMP 1947 and Leeds 1948 editions feature very few performance annotations, all of which are direct reproductions of Muzfond 1947 that was sent to the Anglo-Soviet Music Press in January 1947. The only exception to this are bars 45-47 of the II Allegro brusco discussed in **Ex. 111**. Thus, Szigeti’s editorial work to the First Violin Sonata has not been proved, and hence the Leeds 1948 preface in which Szigeti claims that ‘the first American performance and the editing of the present work, the Sonata in F Minor, Op. 80, has been entrusted to me by the composer’ is partially misleading.<sup>402</sup> Szigeti was the first interpreter of the Sonata in America, but his edition of the work was not

<sup>402</sup> Prokofieff, *Sonata in F Minor for Violin and Piano*, preface.

realised. However, the preface to Leeds 1948 edition was written by Szigeti and reveals his interpretative intentions, which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

To the discussion of the first and early editions of the Violin Sonatas another clarification needs to be added. During this research the author located Sikorski editions of the Violin Sonatas, which attribute their copyright to the Leeds Music Corporation (Second Violin Sonata) and to the Anglo-Soviet Music Press (First Violin Sonata). As Ex. 115 illustrates, the copyright is to the years 1946 and 1947. However, after research enquiry to the publisher Sikorski, it was established that these editions were published in the 1960s and 1970s, not in the 1940s. Thus, the copyright years are misleading.

**Ex. 115: Copyright information on Sikorski editions of the ‘1946’ and ‘1947’**

**Sikorski ‘1946’ Op. 94bis © Leeds, violin part: I Moderato, bars 34-41**



Copyright 1946 by Leeds Music Corp., Toronto/Canada  
 Musikverlag Hans Sikorski, Hamburg, für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland und West-Berlin,  
 Griechenland, Israel, Niederlande, Portugal, Schweiz, alle skandinavischen Länder, Spanien und Türkei

**Sikorski ‘1947’ Op. 80 © ASMP, violin part: I Andante assai, bars 36-39**



Copyright 1947 by Anglo-Soviet Music Press Ltd., London H. S. 2215 All international rights secured  
 Musikverlag Hans Sikorski, Hamburg, für die Bundesrepublik  
 Deutschland und West-Berlin, Griechenland, Israel, Nieder-  
 lande, Portugal, Schweiz, alle skandinavischen Länder, Spanien  
 und Türkei

The explanation for the ‘misleading copyright’ is that in the 1960s and 1970s when the publisher Sikorski first published Prokofiev’s Violin Sonatas, Sikorski had to refer to the Western copyright of these works which had been secured back in 1946

and 1947 by Leeds and ASMP. Hence, as the Soviet Union was not signatory of the Berne Convention, Sikorski had to acknowledge in its 1960s-70s editions the publishers Leeds and ASMP who had secured Western copyright protection for Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas. Nowadays, Sikorski editions of the Violin Sonatas display the correct year of publication. The 'Sikorski 1946' edition of the Second Violin Sonata, edited by Oistrakh, is the 1960 publication (plate number H.S. 2108) and the 'Sikorski 1947' edition of the First Violin Sonata, edited by Oistrakh, is the 1977 publication (plate number H.S. 2215) **Ex. 116**. Both of these editions are currently available for purchase.

**Ex. 116: Copyright information on Sikorski editions of 1960 and 1977**

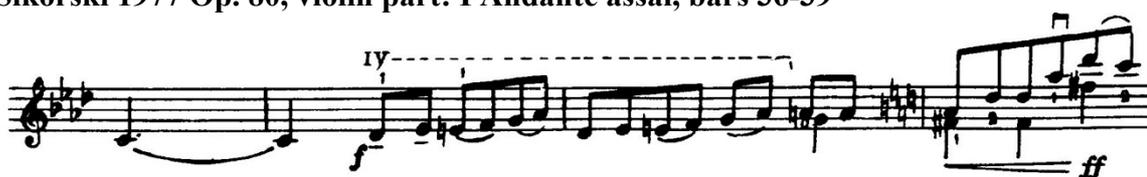
**Sikorski 1960 Op. 94bis, violin part: I Moderato, bars 34-41**



© 1960 by Musikverlag Hans Sikorski GmbH & Co. KG, Hamburg, for Germany, Denmark, Greece, Iceland, Israel, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey

H.S. 2108

**Sikorski 1977 Op. 80, violin part: I Andante assai, bars 36-39**



© 1977 by Musikverlag Hans Sikorski GmbH & Co. KG, Hamburg, for Germany, Denmark, Greece, Iceland, Israel, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey

H.S. 2215

The Sikorski editions of the Violin Sonatas were based on the Soviet editions and thus, the layouts between Sikorski ('1946'/1960, '1947'/1977) and Muzgiz (1946, 1951) editions are identical (**Ex. 117**). The 1960 Sikorski edition of the Second Violin Sonata, currently available for purchase, appears to have been revised as the addition of bar numbers and different font for the notes suggest (**Ex. 115**, **Ex. 116**). The revision produced two misprints discussed in **Ex. 118**, **Ex. 119**.

Ex. 117: comparison of editorial layouts: Muzgiz and Sikorski editions

Second Violin Sonata

Sikorski '1946' ed. Oistrakh

Violine

Sonate  
für Violine und Klavier

I

Sergej Prokofjew op. 94  
(1891-1953)

Moderato (♩ = 60)

Copyright 1946 by Leeds Music Corp., Toronto/Canada  
Musikverlag Hans Sikorski, Hamburg, für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland und West-Berlin,  
Großbritannien, Israel, Niederlande, Portugal, Schweden, alle skandinavischen Länder, Spanien und Türkei

Muzgiz 1946 ed. Oistrakh

Violino

СОНАТА №2 SONATA

I

Сергей ПРОКОФЬЕВ  
Sergej PROKOFIEFF Op.94 bis.  
1891-1953

Moderato (♩ = 60)

М. 19214 P.

First Violin Sonata

Sikorski '1947' ed. Oistrakh

Violine

David Oistrach gewidmet  
To David Oistrakh

Sonate Nr. 1  
für Violine und Klavier

Sonata No. 1  
for Violin and Piano

I

Violinpart von D. Oistrach redigiert  
Violin Part edited by D. Oistrakh

Sergej Prokofjew, op. 80  
(1891-1953)

Andante assai (♩ = 60)

Poco più animato

Tempo I

Copyright 1947 by Anglo-Soviet Music Press Ltd, London  
Musikverlag Hans Sikorski, Hamburg, für die Bundesrepublik  
Deutschland und West-Berlin, Griechenland, Israel, Nieder-  
lande, Portugal, Schweiz, alle skandinavischen Länder, Spanien  
und Türkei

All international rights secured

Muzgiz 1957 ed. Oistrakh

Violino

СОНАТА №1 SONATA

для скрипки и фортепиано for Violin and Piano

I

Редакция Д. Ойстраха  
Edited by D. Oistrakh

С. ПРОКОФЬЕВ  
S. PROKOFIEV  
(1891-1953)

Andante assai (♩ = 60)

Poco più animato

Tempo I

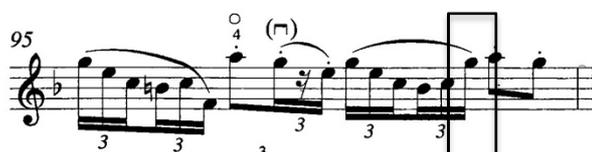
19201

There are four misprints in performance editions across the Violin Sonatas: two misprints in the Sikorski 1960 edition of the Second Violin Sonata and two misprints in the ASMP 1947, Leeds 1948 and Muzgiz 1951 editions of the First Violin Sonata.

The first two misprints of the Second Violin Sonata are in the Sikorski 1960 edition, in bars 95 and 99 of the IV Allegro con brio. In bar 95, the note G should be F (Ex. 118). The note is correct (F) in all other editions: Sikorski 1946, ASMP 1946 and Leeds 1946 editions. Similarly, in bar 99, the quaver D on third crotchet of the bar 99 should be C (Ex. 119). The note is correct (C) in all other editions: Sikorski 1946, ASMP 1946 and Leeds 1946 editions.

**Ex. 118: Misprint in the Second Violin Sonata: IV Allegro con brio, bar 95**

**Sikorski 1960 ed. Oistrakh: Misprint**



**Sikorski '1946' ed. Oistrakh: Correct**



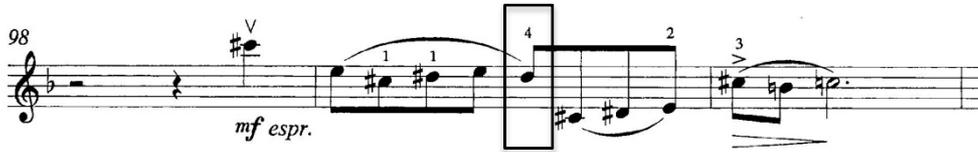
**Copyist Manuscript GM 33/12, violin part, bar 95**

**The fingerings are in Oistrakh's handwriting**



**Ex. 119: Misprint in the Second Violin Sonata: IV Allegro con brio, bars 98-100**

**Sikorski 1960 ed. Oistrakh: Misprint**



**Sikorski '1946' ed. Oistrakh: Correct**



**Copyist Manuscript GM 33/12, violin part, bars 99-100**

**The fingerings are in Oistrakh's handwriting**



The remaining two misprints are in the First Violin Sonata in ASMP 1947, Leeds 1948 and Muzgiz 1951 editions in bars 90 and 122 of the IV Allegrissimo.

In bar 90, the note G, third quaver of the bar, should have been F (**Ex. 120**). The note is correct (F) in all other editions: Sikorski 1947 and Muzgiz 1957. Similarly, the first semiquaver of bar 122 B sharp should have been B natural, as the accidental is necessary to cancel the B flat of the key signature (**Ex. 121**). The note is correct (B natural) in all other editions: Sikorski 1947 and Muzgiz 1957.

**Table 12** displays all first and early performance editions discussed in the thesis and includes a column of used abbreviations (e.g. ASMP 1947).

**Ex. 120: Misprint in the First Violin Sonata: IV Allegrissimo, bars 89-91**

**Misprints:**

**ASMP 1947 bar 90 ↓**

A.S.M.P. 56

**Leeds 1948**

**Muzgiz 1951**

19201

**Correct editions:**

**Sikorski '1947' bar 90 ↓**

H. S. 2215

**Muzgiz 1957**

19201

**Autograph Manuscript, bars 89-91**

Ex. 121: Misprint in the First Violin Sonata: IV Allegrissimo, bars 119-122

Misprints:

bar 122 ↓

ASMP 1947



Leeds 1948



Muzgiz 1951



Correct editions:

bar 122 ↓

Sikorski '1947'



Muzgiz 1957



Autograph Manuscript, bars 119-122



**Table 12: first and early performance editions of the Violin Sonatas**

Title of composition	Publishers	Editor	Publication Place/Date	Abbreviation used in thesis
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Key dates:</b></p> <p>17 June 1944 Soviet premiere of the Second Violin Sonata at Moscow Conservatory by David Oistrakh (violin) and Lev Oborin (piano)</p> <p>22 November 1944 Western Hemisphere premiere of the Second Violin Sonata at Capitol Theatre, Ottawa, Canada, by Joseph Szigeti (violin), Harry Kaufman (piano)</p> <p>26 November 1944 USA premiere of the Second Violin Sonata at Boston, USA by Joseph Szigeti (violin) and Harry Kaufman (piano)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>First and early performance editions of the Second Violin Sonata are:</b></p>				
Second Violin Sonata	Muzgiz (State Music Publishers)	David Oistrakh	Moscow, Leningrad: 1946	Muzgiz 1946
Second Violin Sonata	Leeds Music Corporation	Joseph Szigeti	New York: 1946	Leeds 1946
Second Violin Sonata	Anglo-Soviet Music Press (ASMP), Boosey & Hawkes	Unspecified	London: 1946	ASMP 1946
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Key dates:</b></p> <p>23 October 1946 Soviet premiere of the First Violin Sonata at Moscow Conservatory by David Oistrakh (violin) and Lev Oborin (piano)</p> <p>2 January 1948 USA premiere (Western Hemisphere) of the First Violin Sonata at San Francisco Opera House, California, by Joseph Szigeti (violin), Joseph Levine (piano)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>First and early performance editions of the First Violin Sonata are:</b></p>				
First Violin Sonata	Muzfond steklograph edition, copyrighted as a manuscript	L. Atovmyan, David Oistrakh	Moscow: 1947	Muzfond 1947
First Violin Sonata	Anglo-Soviet Music Press (ASMP), Boosey & Hawkes	Joseph Szigeti, research indicates David Oistrakh	London: 1947	ASMP 1947

First Violin Sonata	Leeds Music Corporation	Joseph Szigeti, research indicates David Oistrakh	New York: 1948	Leeds 1948
<b>Other performance editions of the Violin Sonatas discussed in thesis:</b>				
Second Violin Sonata (or Flute Sonata)	G. Schirmer (ASCAP)	Unspecified	New York: 1948, 1965	Schirmer 1965
First Violin Sonata	Muzgiz (State Music Publishers)	David Oistrakh	Moscow: 1957	Muzgiz 1957
Second Violin Sonata	Musiverlag Hans Sikorski	David Oistrakh	Hamburg: 1960	Sikorski 1960/ Sikorski '1946'
First Violin Sonata	Musiverlag Hans Sikorski	David Oistrakh	Hamburg: 1977	Sikorski 1977/ Sikorski '1947'

### 6.3 Performance practice, style and interpretation of the Violin Sonatas

In discussing the performance practice of Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas it is important to articulate the differences between the two Violin Sonatas. The Second Violin Sonata is a bright, transparent and expressive work, eloquent in its neo-classical compositional form and style. Rich in its melodiousness, refined lyricism and tenderness, it is also a work of articulated rhythms and sarcastic and dissonant harmonies. The work is musically highly comprehensible. The Sonata demonstrates Prokofiev's conceptual clarity of musical forms (I Moderato – sonata form; II Presto – scherzo and trio; III Andante – ternary; and IV Allegro con brio – rondo-sonata), while the use of melodic thematic material defines the organisation of the Sonata's movements.<sup>403</sup> The Sonata's themes are complementary rather than dramatically contrasting. Overall, the work is balanced both in the form and character with the I and III movements composed in more melodious and moderate speed, while the II and IV movements are composed in more virtuosic style with lively and brisk tempos. Thus, the USA perception of the work, as captured in press reviews, naturally characterised Prokofiev's Second Violin Sonata as comprehensive and masterly, a 'handsome piece' which is objective, brilliant and graceful. The 1944 reviews outlined the Sonata's catchy rhythms, effective melodies, harmonic cleverness, resourcefulness and popular mood, which granted the Sonata's popular welcome everywhere.

The main performance debate is whether the Second Violin Sonata is best performed as violin or flute music. Richter, who premiered the Flute Sonata in December 1943, considered the violin adaptation unnecessary and for him, the violin

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<sup>403</sup> Rebecca Sue Kaufman, 'Expanded Tonality in the Late Chamber Works of Sergei Prokofiev', 128–129. See Chapter IV (p. 126-224) for complete musical analysis of Op. 94, Flute Sonata.

version remained music for flute.<sup>404</sup> Similarly, Shostakovich considered that the work sounded better on the flute, rather than on the violin.<sup>405</sup> Szigeti's performance markings, such as fingered *tremolos* and *pizz.* markings in his Leeds 1946 edition, stand closer to a sophisticated French sound, which inspired Prokofiev to compose the Flute Sonata. Nevertheless, the American reviews perceived the Second Violin Sonata as a violin work and Szigeti's suggestions of further double stops in the IV Allegro con brio indicate that Szigeti perceived the work as a violin composition. In the USA the work was introduced as the Violin Sonata Op. 94 and paradoxically, the Western and Soviet performance and publication history of the work is connected mostly to the violin version, with the original flute version often published aside to the violin version. Oistrakh clearly heard violin music in the Flute Sonata:

After I first heard it in 1944, I understood that it will sound wonderfully on the violin, but adaptation of the flute part was necessary. [...] As a result, the Sonata became more of a concert work, less chamber in style, in comparison to its original version. In particular, the Scherzo, in my opinion, became more virtuosic. In the finale occurred minor changes: a lot, even slurs, remained untouched. I was happy because of this, as the closer it was to the author's text – the better. [...] Sergei Sergeevich helped me greatly during the learning of the newly edited Sonata. He was not only a great composer, but also a great musician-interpreter: he sat on the piano, played, commented, played again, and demonstrated how, in his opinion, his compositions should be interpreted. He always knew exactly what he wanted.<sup>406</sup>

Oistrakh's simpler fingerings and performance annotations as compared to Szigeti's result in broader melodic lines and suggest a more lyrical and fuller violin

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<sup>404</sup> Soroker, 'David Oistrakh - Interpretator Prokof'eva', 16.

<sup>405</sup> See sub-chapter 5.1 discussion of preface from Leeds 1953 edition to the Flute Sonata.

<sup>406</sup> Soroker, 'David Oistrakh - Interpretator Prokof'eva,' 16. Author's translation.

sound. The virtuosity in Oistrakh's interpretation of the Second Violin Sonata is pronounced with clear articulation of accentuated bowings and of more catchy, clear and well-defined bouncing bowing technique. Taking into account Prokofiev's compositional practice as outlined by Blok and the numerous transcriptions which Prokofiev himself adapted, every new transcription needs to be considered as a new work created for a new performance context.<sup>407</sup> Aranovsky has made a similar observation when he discussed Prokofiev's reuse of musical material: 'through recontextualization, the music acquires new expressive properties'.<sup>408</sup> Therefore, the Second Violin Sonata is a work in its own right and possesses its own performance style and a different expressivity to the Flute Sonata. Although the sound of the work has changed from a lighter flute sound to a fuller, more ear-catching, and virtuosically accentuated violin sound, the gracefulness and the bright character of the work have remained the same.

In contrast to the bright Second Violin Sonata in D major, the First Violin Sonata in F minor is a dark and tragic work that provokes grim thoughts and speaks even of death. Prokofiev himself attributed to this composition a sorrowful meaning, characterising the violin scale passages of the Andante assai as 'a howling autumnal night wind on an abandoned tomb in a graveyard'.<sup>409</sup> Notable is the fact that Prokofiev attributed this meaning to the violin scale passages of the Sonata's IV movement in his *Notograficheskiĭ Spravochnik* and not to the I movement, where these passages are firstly introduced: 'it seems to the author [Prokofiev] that the passages in the finale of

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<sup>407</sup> See Chapter 1, sub-chapter 1.3.

<sup>408</sup> Aranovsky, 'Observations on Prokofiev's Sketchbooks,' 405.

<sup>409</sup> RGALI f. 1929, op. 3, ed. khr. 25, l. 40.

the Sonata are somewhat reminiscent of b-moll Chopin's sonata: a howling autumnal night wind on an abandoned tomb in a graveyard'.<sup>410</sup>

Chopin's 'b-moll sonata' is the Piano Sonata No. 2 in B flat minor Op. 35, which Prokofiev had studied in 1913-14 with his piano Professor Anna Nikolaevna Esipova at the Saint Petersburg Conservatory. Chopin's Sonata was part of his exam programme in March 1914, alongside works by Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Schumann and Liszt.<sup>411</sup> Prokofiev's *Diaries* include predominantly short statements about his systematic practice of Chopin's Sonata.

During the 1880s and 1890s Anton Rubinstein, the founder of the Saint Petersburg Conservatory, was firmly associated with Chopin's B flat minor Sonata.<sup>412</sup> Rubinstein's interpretation of that Sonata's finale was first captured in print in 1884 by Ferruccio Busoni in a Viennese journal, where he wrote that 'Rubinstein's excellent performance evoked the image of 'autumnal wind blowing across an endless plain and whistling in tree crowns''. Years later, Rubinstein himself described the finale of Chopin's Sonata as 'a night gust of wind blowing over the graves'.<sup>413</sup>

Both the above quotations contain all elements – autumnal night wind blowing over graves – which Prokofiev adopted in his description of the finale of the First Violin Sonata in *Notograficheskiĭ Spravochnik*. However, according to Oistrakh's recollections, Prokofiev during their rehearsal instructed him to play the violin scale

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<sup>410</sup> Ibid., See discussion of violin scale passages 'wind in the graveyard' in sub-chapter 3.1.

<sup>411</sup> Prokofiev, *Sergey Prokofiev Diaries 1907-1914*, 367–368, 618–620.

<sup>412</sup> Irena Poniatowska, ed., *Chopin and His Critics. An Anthology (up to World War I)*. (Warsaw: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute, 2011), 151.

<sup>413</sup> Ibid., 150–151, 175–176.

passages of the opening movement as a ‘wind in the graveyard’.<sup>414</sup> While the connection between Rubinstein’s description of the finale in Chopin’s B flat minor Sonata and Prokofiev’s instruction to the violin scale passages in the finale of the First Violin Sonata has to be honoured, this connection might have been post-compositional.

On 1 October 1946 Mira Mendelson wrote in her *Diaries* Prokofiev’s comment on Heinrich Gustavovich Neuhaus’s broadcasted interpretation of Chopin’s piano music:

Nevertheless, Chopin has very good themes. His is a composer, whom I did not like all my life, but whom now I have appreciated. I was irritated by the tenderness, by his *fioriture*, but now I appreciate his artifice, his invention.<sup>415</sup>

The following two diary entries of 4 October and 25 October, both speak about the First Violin Sonata, its dedication to David Oistrakh and its premiere. Moreover, the diary entry of 21 November is devoted to the First Violin Sonata: here Mendelson reported that on 18 November Oistrakh and Oborin spent two hours with Prokofiev rehearsing the First Violin Sonata and putting in bowings and dynamics, mentioned the first broadcasted recording by Oistrakh-Oborin and quoted Nestyev’s press review in *Pravda*.<sup>416</sup>

Following the chronology of events, it has to be noted that *Notograficheskiĭ Spravochnik* was dictated by Prokofiev to Mendelson in 1951-52 and hence, significantly later after the completion of the First Violin Sonata (3 September 1946),

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<sup>414</sup> Soroker, 'David Oĭstrakh - Interpretator Prokof'eva,' 20.

<sup>415</sup> M.A. Mendel'son-Prokof'eva, *O Sergee Sergeeviche Prokof'eva: Vospominaniia. Dnevnik. 1938-1967*. (Moskva: Kompozitor, 2012), 282. Author’s translation.

<sup>416</sup> *Ibid.*, 283-287.

its premiere (23 October 1946) and its first Muzfond steklograph edition (January 1947). Prokofiev's description of the violin scale passages might well have been post-compositional, as no other direct evidence has been found in primary sources of the 1940s. Moreover, Prokofiev instructed that the scale passages are 'somewhat reminiscent' (Rus: *neskol'ko napominaiūt*) of the finale of Chopin's Sonata. Yet, future research into currently undisclosed archival correspondence in the RGALI archive, Prokofiev fund 1929, might shed further light on the origins of the 'wind in the graveyard' scale passages.

In the literature only a very brief description of the work by Prokofiev has survived, which however, does not mention the 'wind in the graveyard' scale passages.

The First Sonata is consisted of four movements. In its mood it is more serious than the Second [Sonata]. The first movement – the Andante assai, is severe in character and provides a kind of extended introduction to the developed sonata form of the Allegro, which is the second movement, assertive and vigorous, but with a broad adverse theme. The third movement – is slow, gentle, and tender. The finale – is rapid and written in complex rhythms.<sup>417</sup>

The 'wind in the graveyard' scale passages unify structurally the whole work and give the work its cyclic form, which is reflected in the naming of the Sonata's movements: I Andante assai, II Allegro brusco, III Andante, IV Allegrissimo – Andante assai, come prima. Despite the Sonata's cyclic form, the musical comprehension of the forms and harmonic styles is more complex. The First Violin Sonata is composed in a more pronounced expanded tonality and is organised around

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<sup>417</sup> Varuñts, *Prokofiev O Prokof'ev*, 213. Author's translation.

tonal areas with rich harmonic and chromatic progressions. The harmonic language is a combination and a mixture of diatonic and chromatic minor and majors, which results in a much more complex harmonic perception if compared to the neo-classical Second Violin Sonata. The I movement is a 'modulating rondo', with reoccurring episode-sections and refrains; the II movement is sonata form with four main themes; the III movement is ternary, and the IV movement resembles a sonata-rondo form, which ends with the reoccurring 'wind in the graveyard' scale passages.<sup>418</sup>

The performance style and musical perception of the First Violin Sonata is predominantly associated with the 'wind in the graveyard' scale passages. However, the conception and composition of these violin scale passages have not been discussed in the literature. Prokofiev began composing the First Violin Sonata in 1938, but from early 1939 the work was put aside until 1944 or even until the early 1946 according to Prokofiev's letter to Szigeti of 24 August 1945.<sup>419</sup> However, it remains unclear whether the interruption of the composition is to be connected with the war and Prokofiev's evacuation, or simply with Prokofiev's compositional inability to proceed with the work, which Prokofiev confessed to Myaskovsky in his letter of 12 June 1943.<sup>420</sup>

As discussed in Chapter 3, the sketches of the I Andante assai and IV Allegrissimo reveal that the scale passages are totally absent. It is only in the Autograph Manuscript that these appear for the first time, neatly written in the I Andante assai, but belatedly inserted in the IV Allegrissimo as glued upon a page

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<sup>418</sup> Kaufman, 'Expanded Tonality in the Late Chamber Works of Sergei Prokofiev,' 231–233, 249–250, 278, 295–296. See Chapter V (p. 225–323) for complete musical analysis of op. 80.

<sup>419</sup> See sub-chapter 5.1; RGALI f. 1929, op. 2, ed. khr. 269, l. 1, 1 verso

<sup>420</sup> Kabalevskii, S.S. *Prokofiev i N.ĪA. Miaskovskii*, 471.

which had previously unknown material. Thus, the analysis of the Sonata's sketches and its Autograph Manuscript indicates that the 'wind in the graveyard' scale passages were composed in 1946 and not earlier. However, the dramaturgical conception of the 'wind in the graveyard' scale passages still remains mysterious, underlying even more dramatically their enigmatic and tragic meaning. The years 1938-46 marked the disappearance of Prokofiev's colleagues and the grim experience of the Second World War. In those events the meaning of autumnal wind and abandoned tomb might be encrypted.<sup>421</sup>

The purges of the late 1930s were a constant threat to the Soviet artistic elite. Prokofiev's colleagues were disappearing, but Prokofiev, according to Morrison, remained mostly indifferent: 'Prokofiev did not consider his well-being at risk at the time, but most of his colleagues, Shostakovich included, lived in a state of apprehension'.<sup>422</sup> During the purges the NKVD arrested its suspects during the night and their subsequent destiny usually remained unknown for years to come. For instance, two of Prokofiev's colleagues simply vanished. Nataliya Sats, the director of the Moscow Children's Theatre who commissioned *Peter and the Wolf*, was arrested on 21 August 1937 and sentenced to Siberia camp for five years; Vsevolod Meyerhold, the director of Stanislavsky Theatre who collaborated with Prokofiev on *Semyon Kotko*, was arrested on 20 June 1939, tortured for seven months and then executed.<sup>423</sup> Prokofiev kept his indifference and confidence perhaps because of his recent 1936 relocation to Moscow. Moreover, between these two arrests Prokofiev was permitted to organise his last Western 1938 tour (January – April) of Europe and

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<sup>421</sup> Morrison, *The People's Artist*, 277.

<sup>422</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>423</sup> *Ibid.*, 69, 90, 96.

the USA.<sup>424</sup> Perhaps Prokofiev's apparent indifference to the disappearance of his colleagues lies partially in his own relation to death and immortality. Prokofiev's 'ultimate reward' from the Christian Science was 'the ability to overcome not only the fear of his own death but any guilt of having failed those who had died'.<sup>425</sup> Death in Christian Science is expressed through 'eternal life and the immortality of the soul': 'mortals waken from the dream of death with bodies unseen by those who think they bury the body'.<sup>426</sup> However, it is still remains unclear whether the calmness and the mysterious flow of the 'wind of the graveyard' violin scale passages in the First Violin Sonata are reflection of the Christian Science in music or just of Prokofiev's own reading of the times: of war's consequences and human suffering. The sombre and melancholic character of the 'wind in the graveyard' scale passages, which are composed with a step-like accompaniment and plain harmony, contrasts with the compositional traditions around death, such as *requiems* and *dance macabre* (dance of death).

Likewise, it would have been very unlikely for Oistrakh to be arrested during the purges, as in April 1937 he won the first prize in the Ysaÿe competition in Brussels. However, the years 1937-38 were turbulent for Oistrakh who in 1938 remained the only remaining habitant on his floor on Chakolova street while all his neighbours, from the three adjacent apartments, disappeared without leaving a single trace.<sup>427</sup> Moreover, in 1937 many of his fellow musicians were arrested. Among those were musicians from the Bolshoi Theatre and in particular, the concertmaster violinist

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<sup>424</sup> Ibid., 71, 77.

<sup>425</sup> Leon Botstein, 'Beyond Death and Evil: Prokofiev's Spirituality and Christian Science,' in *Sergey Prokofiev and His World*, ed. Simon Morrison (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008), 546.

<sup>426</sup> Ibid., 537.

<sup>427</sup> Artur Shtil'man, *Muzyka i Vlast'* (Moskva: Agraf, 2013), 226.

Pinke, the principal cellist Adamov and the harpist Parfenov. The conductor of Moscow's Opera Theatre, Evgeniy Mikeladze was arrested in 1937, tortured for forty days and executed in prison. Oistrakh knew all the happenings, but remained silent and immersed himself into work. It was only in the 1960s that he shared his experiences with Rostropovich in Vienna.<sup>428</sup>

Despite the fact that in 1942 Oistrakh became the member of the communist party, his name appeared in G. Alexandrov's report to the Communist Party in August 1942. Alexandrov, the head of Agitprop, wrote that the conservatories do not teach devotion to the Russian music and the Russian song and that major instrumentalists, including Oistrakh, have in their repertoires music of predominantly Western composers.<sup>429</sup> The Russianness, which was paramount for the Soviet authorities, was a quality that Oistrakh identified in Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata:

This work seems to answer all demands. It has everything: lyricism as well as tragedy, legend and Russian history (so it appears to me) and humour. [...] I know that this is a favourite composition of D.D. Shostakovich and S. Richter.<sup>430</sup>

The perception of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata in the Soviet Union in 1946 was associated with the value of human life, the Second World War and the Russian patriotism. A powerful music with war imprint, work of emotional complexity, music definitely in Russian character and tradition, profoundly reflective and concentrated on the important objective phenomena of life, were some of Rabinovich's review comments. Nestyev went even further in his patriotic review, characterising the First

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<sup>428</sup> Ibid., 226–227.

<sup>429</sup> Ibid., 230–232.

<sup>430</sup> Soroker, 'David Oistrakh - Interpretator Prokof'eva,' 18; Soroker, *David Oistrakh*, 86. Author's translation.

Violin Sonata as a work that is infused with Russian national spirit, severe nobility, militant violent battle, heroic ‘bogatyř’ tale and Russian knights clothed in glory.<sup>431</sup>

The Soviet authorities were satisfied with the message that the Sonata was conveying to them: a Russian music both in form and in content, or ‘music that was national in form, socialist in content’.<sup>432</sup> The broad, epic melody of the III Andante, the folk-style melodies and the asymmetrical time signatures of 5/8, 7/8 in the IV Allegro undolbtedly gave a nationalistic tone to the Sonata. The asymmetrical time signatures, which are typical of Russian folk music, were used by Russian composers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to create music with national flavour.<sup>433</sup> Moreover, the epic and heroic ‘bogatyř’ tone of reviews clearly connects to the Stalinist doctrine, which ‘held Russia’s greatness to be an essential part of the nation’s character’.<sup>434</sup> Nestyev’s knights and Russian warriors connect Russian people to their ‘heroic traits’. The combative mood of the II Allegro brusco may well have been perceived by the Soviet authorities as the battle of Russian people against fascism.

The First Violin Sonata was not censored nor were any revisions of it requested, but instead the work was awarded the Stalin Prize first class in 1947. Oistrakh and Oborin played the Sonata at the audition on 4 April 1947, after which a positive description was sent to the Politburo Commission: ‘An outstanding work. The imagery of the Sonata is vivid, sincere and emotional. The music of the Sonata is

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<sup>431</sup> For reviews see sub-chapter 5.4

<sup>432</sup> Marina Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism: From Glinka to Stalin* (New Haven, Conn. ; London: Yale University Press, 2007), 313.

<sup>433</sup> Boris Berman, *Prokofiev’s Piano Sonatas: A Guide for the Listener and the Performer* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2008), 14; Īakov L’vovich Soroker, *Skripichnoe Tvorchestvo S. Prokofeva* (Moskva: Muzyka, 1965), 76.

<sup>434</sup> Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism*, 339.

steeped in Russian national colouring.<sup>435</sup> As Frolova-Walker noted, the award of the first class Stalin prize was made on Prokofiev's reputation. 'The Prokofiev of the mid-1940s needs no discussion: he is a Soviet classic who can be nodded through by the KSP without the need for careful listening.'<sup>436</sup> The award of the Stalin Prize of first class for the First Violin Sonata came on 7 June 1947.<sup>437</sup> Prokofiev's joy, remarked by Mendelson in her *Diaries*, was complemented by another three Stalin Prize awards of second class for stage productions of *Romeo and Juliet*, *Cinderella* and *War and Peace*.<sup>438</sup>

Oistrakh considered the dedication of the First Violin Sonata as the most memorable event in his musical life. According to Soroker, the dedication followed the performance, not before as was usual.<sup>439</sup> However, this is only partially correct. Prokofiev did not revealed the dedication in the summer of 1946 when he first performed the Sonata informally on the piano to Oistrakh and Myaskovsky. According to Mendelson's *Diaries* Prokofiev was hesitant to reveal the dedication in the event Oistrakh would not like the Sonata, but on 4 October 1946, which was before the premiere of 23 October, Mendelson wrote that 'people say that Oistrakh is enthusiastic about the new Sonata, which is dedicated to him.'<sup>440</sup> As with the Second

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<sup>435</sup> Marina Frolova-Walker, *Stalin's Music Prize: Soviet Culture and Politics* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2016), 78.

<sup>436</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>437</sup> Morrison, *The People's Artist*, 282.; Vishnevetskii, *Sergei Prokofiev*, 572.; Mendel'son-Prokof'eva, *O Sergee Sergeeviche Prokof'eva: Vospominaniia. Dnevnik. 1938-1967.*, 299.

<sup>438</sup> Mendel'son-Prokof'eva, *O Sergee Sergeeviche Prokof'eva: Vospominaniia. Dnevnik. 1938-1967.*, 299.

<sup>439</sup> Soroker, *David Oistrakh*, 86.

<sup>440</sup> Mendel'son-Prokof'eva, *O Sergee Sergeeviche Prokof'eva: Vospominaniia. Dnevnik. 1938-1967.*, 283. Author's translation.

Violin Sonata, Prokofiev assisted Oistrakh in learning the First Violin Sonata.

Oistrakh recalled that:

Oborin and I repeatedly visited Sergei Sergeevich and benefited from his extremely valuable advice. One could feel that the piece was dear to him. Every time he was glad to study it together with us. Sometimes he would make remarks on the character of the movement, at other times, on the inner meaning of the music itself.<sup>441</sup>

Oistrakh's interpretation of the First Violin Sonata, as guided by Prokofiev, is sublime, calm and measured. It is a monumental interpretation full of nobility, pride, lyricism, strength, conviction and refined expressivity.<sup>442</sup> However, Prokofiev wished for the II Allegro brusco and IV Allegrissimo to be interpreted by Oistrakh and Oborin with more intensity and fire (Rus: *goriachei*) and thus, during rehearsals Prokofiev encouraged them with repeated gestures. According to Prokofiev, Oistrakh and Oborin played the Allegro brusco like two old professors: accurately and neatly.<sup>443</sup>

American reviews concentrated mostly on the qualities of the work, rather than on its Russianness and the war, despite the fact that some reviews identified the Sonata's folk-style and its 'rebellion of the imprisoned soul' mood. Even the news of the 10 February Resolution 1948 did not overshadow this perception of the Sonata in America, but instead had the opposite defensive effect. This music may not be proletarian, but neither could it be labelled a product of bourgeois influence; 'Szigeti

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<sup>441</sup> Soroker, *David Oistrakh*, 86.

<sup>442</sup> Soroker, 'David Oistrakh - Interpretator Prokof'eva,' 19; I.A. Soroker, 'O Pervoĭ Skripichnoĭ Sonate Prokof'eva,' in *Voprosy Muzykal'no-Iсполnitel'skogo Iskusstva*, vol. Piatyĭ sbornik stateĭ (Moskva: Muzyka, 1969), 243.

<sup>443</sup> Mendel'son-Prokof'eva, *O Sergee Sergeeviche Prokof'eva: Vospominaniia. Dnevnik. 1938-1967.*, 286.

found beauty in Prokofieff not propaganda’ and Prokofiev can write a ‘superb sonata with or without Moscow’s permission’ were some American press comments. The First Violin Sonata was characterised as beautiful from beginning to end, original, written in a pioneering spirit with a wealth of invention, stylistic integrity and clarity of conception. Its character was perceived as reflective and introspective, while the melodies were characterised as fresh, rich in fantasy, hopeful and at times aggressive.<sup>444</sup> The comment that the Sonata is ‘a work for musicians rather than for a more general audience’ demonstrates that the comprehension and appreciation of the work’s form and harmonic language requires musical education.

Szigeti’s description of the work as ‘the ugliest thing doing, it is terrific’ and of the music as ‘inescapable’ indicates that the violinist might have perceived the First Violin Sonata as a more eccentric composition, rather than a noble and monumental work. However, the Leeds 1948 preface reveals that he understood the sorrowful nobility of the work. In the preface Szigeti wrote that ‘sombre epic quality of this [...] opening and apothecotic conclusion is, I believe, [...] more a key ‘to’ the work than merely a key ‘of’ the work’.<sup>445</sup> Szigeti pointed out the ‘heroic drive of the Allegro’ and ‘the magical atmosphere of the muted slow movement’, and his interpretative approach to the ‘wind in the graveyard’ scale passages is most notable:

I find a correspondence between the scale passages that Prokofieff uses both in the first movement and in the ‘peroration’ of the last and between the similar passages of the early First Violin Concerto, Op. 19 (conclusion of the third movement). Partial to the First Violin Concerto, as I am, I was intrigued to find several elements of this very early composition in this Sonata. [...] The pastoral lyricism of the slow

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<sup>444</sup> See sub-chapter 5.4.

<sup>445</sup> Prokofieff, *Sonata in F Minor for Violin and Piano*, preface.

movement to my mind has a very similar feeling to that of the beginning of the First Concerto.<sup>446</sup>

The scale passages of the First Violin Concerto appear in rehearsal marks 53 and 60 of the final III Moderato – Allegro Moderato movement. In the Concerto the violin is not muted and the Concerto's scale passages are composed in a higher register than the scale passages of the First Violin Sonata. Thus, the scale passages of the Concerto give a brighter feeling in comparison to a more sorrowful and mysterious feeling that the Sonata conveys, which is further reinforced with the step-like piano accompaniment. A similar observation can be made to the beginning of the Concerto's I Andantino, where the violin part is composed un-muted in high register. The opening theme of the Concerto sounds overall much brighter than the introspective theme of the Sonata's III Andante, despite the fact that Prokofiev marked the beginning of the Concerto with *sognando* ('dreaming').

Szigeti's observations, which connected the First Violin Concerto with the First Violin Sonata, reveal that he perceived the Sonata as a composition of similar quality and character. Szigeti's interpretation of the Concerto is associated with inventions of timbre, new textual sounds, reinforcement of violinistic sound effects, lightness, uses of *glissandi*, varied left and right hand *pizz.* and virtuosic bouncing or 'hammered' bowings. Indicative are Szigeti's comments from his book *Szigeti on the Violin*:

Prokofiev willingly accepted my suggestion of reinforcing certain hammered out notes in his Concerto No. 1 (Scherzo), by doubling them (*Unisono*) and I quite

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<sup>446</sup> Ibid.

naturally used this same brash-sounding device at the end of the first movement of his Solo Sonata Op. 115.<sup>447</sup>

It becomes apparent that Szigeti employed the techniques from the First Violin Concerto throughout Prokofiev's violin compositions. Szigeti underlines the 'unusual', the grotesque, the sarcastic character and the rhythmical extravagancy of the Concerto. In contrast, Oistrakh's interpretation of the First Violin Concerto underlined the Russian traits of the music, aiming for a deeply poetic and lyrical sound. Oistrakh changed the sarcastic Scherzo to a fairy-tale colouring with lightness and flying direction (Rus: *polët*).<sup>448</sup> Oistrakh's fingerings of the First Violin Concerto are simpler, practical and more natural than Szigeti's. Oistrakh avoids both higher positions and jumps between positions.<sup>449</sup>

As to the First Violin Sonata, Szigeti's varied and imaginative use of right-hand *pizz.* is his only interpretative suggestion that has survived:

I often find that a certain adventurousness is needed to bring off some *pizzicato* effects [...] So nine bars before the end of the *Allegro brusco* of Prokofiev's Sonata in F minor Op. 80, the climactic *pizzicato* chord will not sound sufficiently biting because the plucking first finger will naturally have given more power to the lower strings than to the F on the E string. I try to remedy this by arpeggiating the *pizzicato*, using the four plucking fingers in the succession: 4, 3, 2, 1. In this way F is assured of sufficient sound and the effect is more that of a simultaneous chord than of an arpeggiated one.<sup>450</sup>

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<sup>447</sup> Joseph Szigeti, *Szigeti on the Violin* (New York: Dover Publications, 1979), 184.

<sup>448</sup> Āmpol'skiĭ, *David Oĭstrakh*, 85–86.

<sup>449</sup> Soroker, 'David Oĭstrakh - Interpretator Prokof'eva,' 22.

<sup>450</sup> Szigeti, *Szigeti on the Violin*, 187–188.

Despite Szigeti's inventive suggestion, this right-hand *pizz.* is impractical, as the tempo of the coda in II Allegro brusco does not allow for such an arpeggiated right-hand fingering effect.

Szigeti's inventive approach to fingerings in the First Violin Sonata, and generally to Prokofiev's violin works, is entirely different from Oistrakh's melodiousness and monumental sound. Szigeti's innovative nature derives from his musical background and the Hungarian violin school. Born in Budapest in a family of strings players and surrounded by gypsy violin playing, Szigeti showed an early interest in the music of Bartók and Kodály.<sup>451</sup> Interestingly, Szigeti in his book *Szigeti on the Violin*, first published in 1969, considered Bartók and Prokofiev as the 'two pianist-composers who [...] with a generous sprinkling of their own compositions in the 1920s and 1930s [...] were active on the concert platform'.<sup>452</sup> Perhaps Szigeti found common lines in the music of Bartók and Prokofiev which, combined with his interpretative approach to Prokofiev's First Violin Concerto, resulted in a more innovative approach to the Violin Sonatas.

Szigeti's musical approach is very individualistic, the fingerings and bowings convey his own ideas and mental concepts as 'he uses his material as his mental perception tells him it should be used.'<sup>453</sup> As a result, Szigeti's performance suggestions and fingerings are often very inconvenient to replicate. In his BBC interview Szigeti said:

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<sup>451</sup> Margaret Campbell, *The Great Violinist* (London: Faber and Faber, 2011), 120.

<sup>452</sup> Szigeti, *Szigeti on the Violin*, 12.

<sup>453</sup> McDonnell Carpenter, *Mischa Elman and Joseph Szigeti: A Study of Their Art through Cheirology*. (New York: Vantage Press, 1955, 1955), 46.

Fingerings compel certain expression. And it is this faculty of drawing out of our musical treasures the maximum of expressiveness, and of character and of eloquence that seems to me to be missing nowadays in the superb playing we are surrounded by [...] But what I miss is precisely this element of risk, the element of having convictions and daring to convey them.<sup>454</sup>

Szigeti's element of risk contrasts with Oistrakh's more conventional and melodically orientated fingerings. It is exactly this melodiousness which Alexander Treger, Oistrakh's student, thinks differentiates Oistrakh from Szigeti: 'In Oistrakh's interpretation the violin sings, he had the gift of phrasing. Szigeti's interpretation is a bit different, his playing is also remarkable, but this is a different style.'<sup>455</sup> The differences in the violin playing and musicianship are the characteristics that Michael Vaiman observed: 'Oistrakh and Szigeti were very different musicians and had a different approach to violin playing', proof of which are their editions and recordings.<sup>456</sup> Oleh Krysa, Oistrakh's student, described the differences between Szigeti and Oistrakh's interpretation to the First Violin Sonata:

Oistrakh's is more epic which is missing in Szigeti's reading. [...] Szigeti was a phenomenal violinist, but [...] some things in his playing are not suited to the epic unfolding and development of this work. [...] his vibrato and bowing technique are not as precise and his interpretation lacks finesse; this absolute polish. Nevertheless, Szigeti's sense of rubato is admirable [...] I think that in his interpretations of the Violin Sonatas, Szigeti could not grasp the epoch, the Second World War, Stalin's system. All these had an impact on Prokofiev's music. The life of those days was tragic and difficult. [...] Only a composer who lived in such a country could write

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<sup>454</sup> BBC interview with Joseph Szigeti and John Amis. See Appendices, p. 415.

<sup>455</sup> Telephone interview with Alexander Treger. See Appendices, p. 397.

<sup>456</sup> Email interview with Michael Vaiman. See Appendices, p. 403.

this music, and that is why Oistrakh [...] could convey the meaning of that music only because [...he] lived that life. [...] I think this [First] Sonata is a Russian chronicle. From the darkness and the ‘wind on the graveyard’ of the first movement, a battle follows. The third movement is a lyrical moment, it represents calmness after battle, while the finale is a Russian dance with squats. This is exactly how David Fedorovich taught me this chord at the end of bar 4 ‘Do you see how Russians are dancing? Tam-taram-tam-tam, then squat, after which they would stand up while raising the hand!’ he used to tell me. [...] This is difficult to explain to Szigeti.<sup>457</sup>

To the interpretation of Prokofiev’s Second Violin Sonata, Krysa added that Szigeti was ‘in search of timbre, [and the] possibility of more warmth [...] whereas Oistrakh was in search of simplicity; after all Russian melodies are very simple and singing in nature’.<sup>458</sup> Szigeti interpreted Prokofiev’s works with a masterly invention of techniques and sounds. His imaginativeness and artistic innovation has been praised in the literature.

Szigeti’s art is the reflection of an intellect highly sensitive and acutely perceptive [...] Szigeti is so overwhelmingly concerned with what he has to say that, shall we say, punctuations, crossing of t’s, and grammar must wait, if need be, in the urgency of the story that is being told. [...] ‘It matters not to me if I hear some extraneous sounds at a Szigeti concert, and what if sometimes I don’t hear some notes! Szigeti is such a great musician.’ Szigeti most certainly is a highly distinguished analytical mind, and a forceful intellect.<sup>459</sup>

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<sup>457</sup> Interview with Oleh Krysa. See Appendices, p. 385-386.

<sup>458</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 388.

<sup>459</sup> McDonnell Carpenter, *Mischa Elman and Joseph Szigeti*, 29.

In contrast, Oistrakh's interpretative practice is divided into three components: the musical text, which represents the composer's intentions, the historical context of the epoch and the sub-context of the composition. Oistrakh defined the sub-context as the realisation of the composition during live performance i.e. the addressing of the composition to its audience. Oistrakh's interpretative approach is a performer's commentary on the composition, but Oistrakh warned against an over-liberal interpretation.<sup>460</sup> Thus, the commitment to the musical text was paramount for Oistrakh. Oistrakh, writing about the interpretation of Prokofiev's violin music, speaks of precision and accuracy with respect to the musical text:

I would like to tell about the difficulties entailed by the performance of S. Prokofiev's music, in particular his violin music. Nothing can be omitted there, not a single melodic curve, not a single modulation. This music requires a subtle and detailed expression, but not overly refined; a careful, keenly felt reproduction of each separate intonation, like with good recitative singing. And above all, it does not allow for any artistic arbitrariness.<sup>461</sup>

In the discussion of the differences between Szigeti's and Oistrakh's interpretations of Prokofiev violin music, one needs to take into the account the experiences that each of the violinists had during their creative association with the composer. Is Prokofiev of the 1940s the same young and probably eccentric composer that Szigeti met in the 1920s? How might have Prokofiev's compositional practice changed with his relocation to the Soviet Russia in 1936, the Soviet doctrines and censorship, repressions and the Second World War? Did Szigeti understand the

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<sup>460</sup> V. Grigor'ev, 'Nekotorye Cherty Pedagogicheskoi Sistemy D. F. Oistrakha,' in *Muzykal'noe Iсполnitel'stvo i Pedagogika* (Moskva: Muzyka, 1991), 19.

<sup>461</sup> Soroker, *David Oistrakh*, 86.

encrypted historical meanings behind the First Violin Sonata, or has it remained a musical text for experiment and innovation?

One observation cannot be overlooked. It was with Oistrakh that Prokofiev transcribed and rehearsed the Violin Sonatas and Oistrakh's recordings were the first ones to champion and disseminate these works. Szigeti's recordings were made after he received and evaluated the Soviet recordings against each other.<sup>462</sup> Despite the fact that the analysis of recordings is outside the scope of the thesis, a short discussion of recordings by Oistrakh and Szigeti may assist the reader in drawing their own conclusions about the performance practice of the Violin Sonatas.

Oistrakh and Szigeti each recorded the Violin Sonatas throughout their careers with different pianists.<sup>463</sup> Szigeti recorded the Second Violin Sonata with Leonid Hambro in December 1945 and with Artur Balsam in December 1959 (© 1960/1961). Oistrakh recorded the Second Violin Sonata with Vladimir Yampolsky in 1956 and with Lev Oborin in 1958. After enquiries, research was unable to locate the Oistrakh-Oborin recording. Nevertheless, the three aforementioned recordings show differences in phrasing and in tempi. In the Szigeti-Hambro 1945 recording the violin is more projected over the piano and the recording occasionally lacks spontaneity and sound direction, which comes in contrast with Szigeti's imaginative editorial work on the Leeds 1946 edition. However, in the Szigeti-Balsam 1959 recording Szigeti's sound is more imaginative and his tone and tempi are more varied. In the Szigeti-Balsam recording the instruments are more balanced, the tempi are generally faster and the recording has more brisk character in comparison to the Szigeti-Hambro

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<sup>462</sup> BBC interview with Joseph Szigeti and John Amis. See Appendices, p. 415.

<sup>463</sup> See Bibliography 'Recordings of the Violin Sonatas by Oistrakh and Szigeti', p. 367-371.

recording. The only exception is the III Andante which is performed slower and in a more melodious style in the Szigeti-Balsam recording.

In the Szigeti-Hambro recording Szigeti performed his own new alterations to the violin passages marked with *ossia* in his Leeds 1946 edition, which were discussed in 6.1 sub-chapter. In the II Scherzo Szigeti performed the left-hand *pizz.* in bars 335-340 (**Ex. 91**). In the IV Allegro con brio Szigeti replaced the arpeggiated violin passages with chords (bars 1, 6 **Ex. 92**), performed the *balzato* bowing technique (bars 9-10 **Ex. 93**) and the harmonised chords (bars 113-114 **Ex. 95**). Despite the fact that in the I Moderato Szigeti did not slur the *staccato* triplets (bars 42-46 **Ex. 98**) in his 1945 recording with Hambro, the same *staccato* triplets are performed slurred with a bouncing *ricochet* technique in the Szigeti-Balsam 1959 recording.

Oistrakh-Yamposky 1956 recording is faster in tempi than both the Szigeti 1945 and 1959 recordings, with the exception of the III Andante. In the III Andante, Oistrakh's phrasing is more pronounced and expressive with the use of varied dynamics and rubato. In the remaining movements (I, II, IV) Oistrakh's interpretation is more regular in pulse and has a clearer melodic phrasing than Szigeti's. Oistrakh performed the themes and sections of the Second Violin Sonata with more defined character and in consistently similar speeds, which gave more stability to the form and the character of the Second Violin Sonata.

The tempi of the recordings by Oistrakh and Szigeti are very varied. Prokofiev indicated only two metronome markings in the entire Second Violin Sonata: I Moderato ( $\text{♩} = 80$ ) and III Andante ( $\text{♩} = 69$ ). However, Szigeti and Oistrakh recordings display a wide range of metronome speeds. The metronome range of the I Moderato is  $\text{♩} = 81-93$  and its development section (bars 42-88) is performed considerably faster at  $\text{♩} = 89-106$  than the exposition and recapitulation. The II Scherzo is indicated as Presto by Prokofiev with no specific metronome marking. Similarly, Szigeti and Oistrakh recordings display a wide range of metronome speeds of  $\text{♩}$  ( $3/4$  bar) = 82-100, with the trio section performed generally slower around ( $3/4$  bar) = 75-94. The III Andante, indicated as  $\text{♩} = 69$  by Prokofiev, is performed within the range of  $\text{♩} = 60-77$  in Oistrakh and Szigeti recordings. Finally, Oistrakh and Szigeti perform the IV Allegro con brio within the range of metronome markings of  $\text{♩} = 104-117$  with the poco meno mosso sections (e.g. bars 30-53) performed in the range of  $\text{♩} = 80-107$ . **Table 13** shows the range of metronome markings for each of the Sonata's movements observed acoustically with the aid of a manual metronome.

Szigeti recorded the First Violin Sonata with Joseph Levine in March 1949 and with Artur Balsam in 1959 (© 1960/1961). Oistrakh recorded the First Violin Sonata with Lev Oborin in 1946, with Vladimir Yampolsky in 1955, with Frida Bauer in 1969 and with Sviatoslav Richter in 1972.<sup>464</sup> The recordings of the First Violin Sonata, as recordings of the Second Violin Sonata, significantly vary in interpretation and tempi.

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<sup>464</sup> See Bibliography 'Recordings of the Violin Sonatas by Oistrakh and Szigeti'; JSA b. 2, f. 1 'Printed items', *The Recorded Legacy of Joseph Szigeti* by Ronald C. MacDonald, p. 18-19.

**Table 13: Second Violin Sonata, range of metronome markings in recordings by Szigeti and Oistrakh**

<b>Title of composition</b>	<b>Performers/Year of recording</b>	<b>Movements with Prokofiev's metronome markings</b>	<b>Approximately observed range of metronome markings</b>
Second Violin Sonata	Szigeti-Hambro 1945	I Moderato ♩ = 80  II Scherzo, Presto  III Andante ♩ = 69  IV Allegro con brio	♩ = 81-85 ♩ = 89-94 (development)  ♩ (3/4 bar) = 82-87 ♩ (3/4 bar) = 75-85 (trio)  ♩ = 74-77  ♩ = 111-113 ♩ = 104-107 (poco meno mosso, bars 30-53) ♩ = 100-106 (bars 87-112)
Second Violin Sonata	Szigeti-Balsam Recorded in December 1959  ©1960/1961	I Moderato ♩ = 80  II Scherzo, Presto  III Andante ♩ = 69  IV Allegro con brio	♩ = 81-90 ♩ = 94-99 (development)  ♩ (3/4 bar) = 92-95 ♩ (3/4 bar) = 89-94 (trio)  ♩ = 65-71  ♩ = 104-111 ♩ = 90-93 (poco meno mosso, bars 30-53) ♩ = 86-91 (bars 87-112)
Second Violin Sonata	Oistrakh- Yampolsky 1956	I Moderato ♩ = 80  II Scherzo, Presto  III Andante ♩ = 69  IV Allegro con brio	♩ = 86-93 ♩ = 94-106 (development)  ♩ (3/4 bar) = 92-100 ♩ (3/4 bar) = 91-94 (trio)  ♩ = 60-67  ♩ = 114-117 ♩ = 80-85 (poco meno mosso, bars 30-53) ♩ = 82-90 (bars 87-112)

Szigeti-Levine 1949 recording of the First Violin Sonata displays a wide range of tempi, wide vibrato and extended use of rubato, especially in the I Andante assai and the III Andante movements. Even the II Allegro brusco is performed with less regular pulse, which gives to this *marcatissimo e pesante* movement a rather looser character. The *eroico* second theme (bars 50-83) lacks sound direction and heroic character as Szigeti uses a slow and wide vibrato and a less defined bow articulation. In the IV Allegrissimo Szigeti maintains the pulse throughout the movement. Szigeti's bow articulation leans towards off the string bow technique. In particular, in bars 138-142, 153-159 and 175-176 of the IV Allegrissimo Szigeti performs with a *ricochet* bouncing (off the string) bow technique. The Szigeti-Balsam 1959 recording is different to the Szigeti-Levine 1949 recording. In the author's opinion, the Szigeti-Balsam recording is a more logical and coherent interpretation. Szigeti's sound is more focused with his vibrato less wide. The pulse is maintained with more consistency throughout the Sonata and the tempi changes between sections are more consistent. Szigeti's phrasing is matched with good flexibility in tempo and beautiful rubato. Szigeti performed the *eroico* theme of the II Allegro brusco with focused sound and well-matched vibrato. The III Andante is slower than Prokofiev's metronome marking, but here Szigeti's tone is warm, expressive and imaginative while displaying a great variety of nuances. The IV Allegrissimo is performed with a combination of on the string and off the string bow strokes: the bars 138-140 and 175-176 are performed off the string, but the bars 153-159 are performed on the string. The bars 184-185 of the IV Allegrissimo sound as played *sul ponticello*. Generally, Szigeti performs the IV Allegrissimo staccato notes more off the string rather than on the string.

In the author's opinion, Szigeti's recordings of the Violin Sonatas with Balsam (1959, © 1960/1961) are more stylistically coherent in relation to the tempi and the tone production than Szigeti's recordings with Hambro and Levine (1945, 1949). Prokofiev would have received the Szigeti-Levine 1949 recording of the First Sonata as Mendelson in her diary entry of 6 November 1953 confirms that she passed on Szigeti's recording of the First Violin Sonata to Oleg, Prokofiev's son.<sup>465</sup>

Oistrakh recordings of the First Violin Sonata, which spanned over twenty-five years (1946-1972), also differ significantly in tempi, tone and phrasing. The Oistrakh-Oborin 1946 recording has the slowest pulse of all subsequent Oistrakh recordings, especially in the slow movements (I, III). In the I Andante assai the tempo suddenly drops to  $\text{♩} = 44-51$  in bars 51-66 and the III Andante is performed slower than Prokofiev's metronome marking. Moreover, in bars 26 and 85 of the III Andante Oistrakh plays different notes to those written on the score by Prokofiev. The II Allegro brusco and IV Allegrissimo are maintained in pulse and performed with effective sound direction to match the character of the movements. Oistrakh performed the *eroico* theme of the II Allegro brusco (bars 50-83) with a broad and articulated sound. Here, Oistrakh's vibrato is more focused and intense in comparison to Szigeti's wider and looser vibrato. Oistrakh's bow articulation is more grounded on the string with a clearer sound direction than Szigeti's.

Oistrakh and Oborin rehearsed the First Violin Sonata with Prokofiev in 1946. Mendelson's *Diaries* reveal that Prokofiev asked Oistrakh and Oborin to perform the II Allegro brusco and IV Allegrissimo with intensity and fire as opposed to the accuracy and neatness, which they had demonstrated during rehearsals. Mendelson's

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<sup>465</sup> Mendel'son-Prokof'eva, *O Sergee Sergeeviche Prokof'eva: Vospominaniia. Dnevnik. 1938-1967.*, 511.

*Diaries* also reveal that for the same reason Prokofiev was somewhat dissatisfied with the Oistrakh-Oborin 1946 recording of the First Violin Sonata, and that he hoped that Oistrakh-Oborin interpretation would not become ‘a tradition and that this Sonata will be interpreted in different ways’.<sup>466</sup> Moreover, Mendelson’s diary entry of 21 November 1946 reveals that Prokofiev wished for the piano part to be played by Richter,<sup>467</sup> who had premiered works such as the Flute Sonata and the Seventh Piano Sonata.

There are two recordings by Oistrakh and Richter of the First Violin Sonata: the live recording of 20 August 1972 recorded during the Salzburg Festival and the studio recording by Melodiya [sic] recorded in Moscow in March-April 1972. The Oistrakh-Richter 1972 recordings contrast with Oistrakh-Oborin 1946 recording. Despite the fact that the Oistrakh-Richter 1972 live recording has been highly acclaimed, this recording exhibits significant deviations from Prokofiev’s metronome markings. In this live recording, Richter starts the first theme of I Andante assai at  $\text{♩} = 72$  and repeats the theme at  $\text{♩} = 66$  in bar 13. Both of these tempi are significantly faster from Prokofiev’s metronome marking indication of  $\text{♩} = 60$ . In contrast, the III Andante is played slower than Prokofiev’s metronome marking indication of  $\text{♩} = 66$ . Richter starts the III Andante at  $\text{♩} = 56$ - $57$  and the tempo gradually speeds to  $\text{♩} = 61$ - $63$ . Despite the fact that the maximum speed of the movement is  $\text{♩} = 64$ , the III Andante as played by Oistrakh and Richter is, in the author’s opinion, the most beautiful and expressive III Andante of all Oistrakh recordings.

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<sup>466</sup> Mendel’son-Prokof’eva, *O Sergee Sergeeviche Prokof’ev: Vospominaniia. Dnevnik. 1938-1967.*, 286. Author’s translation.

<sup>467</sup> Ibid.

In contrast, the metronome markings in the 1972 Oistrakh-Richter studio recording (Melodiya [sic], Western release by EMI) are close to Prokofiev's metronome instructions. In the I Andante assai Richter starts at  $\text{♩} = 60$  and the movement is generally maintained at a tempo of  $\text{♩} = 58-60$ . Similarly, in the III Andante Richter plays the opening at  $\text{♩} = 65$ . Nevertheless, the main theme played by Oistrakh, is at  $\text{♩} = 61-62$ , still slower than Prokofiev's metronome indication of  $\text{♩} = 66$ . If comparing the live and studio recordings, the latter is generally more regulated and coherent in the tempi and in stylistical interpretation. The II Allegro brusco and IV Allegrissimo both have tremendous energy, direction and monumental sound and are performed by Oistrakh-Richter at the same tempi in both live and studio recordings.

Oistrakh's and Szigeti's recordings of the First Violin Sonata cover a wide variety of tempos. The I Andante assai is performed between  $\text{♩} = 53-72$  as compared to Prokofiev's metronome instruction of  $\text{♩} = 60$ . The II Allegro brusco is performed in the range of  $\text{♩} = 94-109$  as compared to Prokofiev's metronome instruction of  $\text{♩} = 96$ . The metronome range for the III Andante is  $\text{♩} = 54-76$ , where Prokofiev's metronome indication of  $\text{♩} = 66$  seems to be the medium. Finally, both Oistrakh and Szigeti perform the IV Allegrissimo steadily at  $\text{♩} = \text{♩} + \text{♩} = 134-135$  and  $\text{♩} = \text{♩} + \text{♩} + \text{♩} = 110-112$  in the complex time signatures of  $5/8$  and  $7/8$  where Prokofiev has simply instructed  $\text{♩} = \text{♩}$ . However, the Szigeti-Oistrakh metronome range of the remaining indications is generally slower. Prokofiev's metronome marking of  $\text{♩} = 120$  (bar 50) falls in the range of  $\text{♩} = 104-121$  (bars 50-82); the metronome marking of  $\text{♩} = 112$  (bar 195) falls in the range of  $\text{♩} = 81-111$  (bars 195-210) and the Andante assai, come prima section [ $\text{♩} = 60$  (bar 213)] is performed in the range of  $\text{♩} = 56-68$  (bars 213-

222). **Table 14** shows the range of metronome markings for each of the Sonata's movements observed acoustically with the aid of a manual metronome.

To conclude the discussion on the performance style of the Violin Sonatas, the examined literature, press reviews of the 1940s premieres, performance markings and fingerings on editions edited by Oistrakh and Szigeti, interviews and recordings indicate significant differences between Szigeti's imaginative interpretation of the Violin Sonatas and Oistrakh's melodiousness and monumental interpretation of the Violin Sonatas. Szigeti's premieres and interpretation of the Violin Sonatas are more reflective of a Western than a Soviet perception of Prokofiev's music.

**Table 14: First Violin Sonata, range of metronome markings in recordings by Szigeti and Oistrakh**

Title of composition	Performers/Year of recording	Movements with Prokofiev's metronome markings	Approximately observed range of metronome markings
First Violin Sonata	Szigeti-Levine 1949	I Andante assai ♩ = 60  II Allegro brusco ♩ = 96  III Andante ♩ = 66  IV Allegrissimo ♩ = ♩  ♩ = 120 (bar 50) ♩ = 112 (bar 195) [♩ = 60 (bar 213)]	♩ = 60-66  ♩ = 95-101  ♩ = 84-86 (poco più tranquillo, bars 139-152)  ♩ = 66-73 ♩ = 60-62 (poco meno mosso, bars 84-96)  ♩ = ♩ [♩ = ♩ + ♩ = 134-135 ♩. = ♩ + ♩ + ♩ = 110]  ♩ = 112-121 (bars 50-82) ♩ = 102-105 (bars 195-210) [♩ = 64-66 (bars 213-222)] [♩ = 55-60 (bars 223-230)]

<p>First Violin Sonata</p>	<p>Szigeti-Balsam Recorded in December 1959</p> <p>©1960/1961</p>	<p>I Andante assai ♩ = 60</p> <p>II Allegro brusco ♩ = 96</p> <p>III Andante ♩ = 66</p> <p>IV Allegrissimo ♪ = ♪</p> <p>♩ = 120 (bar 50) ♩ = 112 (bar 195) [♩ = 60 (bar 213)]</p>	<p>♩ = 54-63</p> <p>♩ = 96-102</p> <p>♩ = 82-85 (poco più tranquillo, bars 139-152)</p> <p>♩ = 59-63 ♩ = 55-59 (poco meno mosso, bars 84-96)</p> <p>♪ = ♪ [♩ = ♪ + ♪ = 134-135 ♩. = ♪ + ♪ + ♪ = 110]</p> <p>♩ = 113-119 (bars 50-82) ♩ = 99-102 (bars 195-210) [♩ = 56-60 (bars 213-222)] [♩ = 48-50 (bars 223-230)]</p>
<p>First Violin Sonata</p>	<p>Oistrakh-Oborin 1946</p>	<p>I Andante assai ♩ = 60</p> <p>II Allegro brusco ♩ = 96</p> <p>III Andante ♩ = 66</p> <p>IV Allegrissimo ♪ = ♪</p> <p>♩ = 120 (bar 50) ♩ = 112 (bar 195) [♩ = 60 (bar 213)]</p>	<p>♩ = 53-60 (♩ = 44-51, bars 51-66)</p> <p>♩ = 94-105</p> <p>♩ = 85-87 (poco più tranquillo, bars 139-152)</p> <p>♩ = 57-66 (average = 60-63) ♩ = 47-51 (poco meno mosso, bars 84-96)</p> <p>♪ = ♪ [♩ = ♪ + ♪ = 135 ♩. = ♪ + ♪ + ♪ = 110-113]</p> <p>♩ = 104-119 (bars 50-82) ♩ = 106-111 (bars 195-210) [♩ = 61-65 (bars 213-222)] [♩ = 50-53 (bars 223-230)]</p>

First Violin Sonata	Oistrakh-Yampolsky 1955	<p>I Andante assai ♩ = 60</p> <p>II Allegro brusco ♩ = 96</p> <p>III Andante ♩ = 66</p> <p>IV Allegrissimo ♪ = ♪</p> <p>♩ = 120 (bar 50) ♩ = 112 (bar 195) [♩ = 60 (bar 213)]</p>	<p>♩ = 53-60 (average = 56-59)</p> <p>♩ = 93-105(108) ♩ = 86-89 (poco più tranquillo, bars 139-152)</p> <p>♩ = 60-76 ♩ = 49-56 (poco meno mosso, bars 84-96)</p> <p>♪ = ♪ [♩ = ♪ + ♪ = 134-137 ♩. = ♪ + ♪ + ♪ = 112-113]</p> <p>♩ = 111-121 (bars 50-82) ♩ = 85-99 (bars 195-210) [♩ = 64-66 (bars 213-222)] [♩ = 49-60 (bars 223-230)]</p>
First Violin Sonata	Oistrakh-Bauer 1969	<p>I Andante assai ♩ = 60</p> <p>II Allegro brusco ♩ = 96</p> <p>III Andante ♩ = 66</p> <p>IV Allegrissimo ♪ = ♪</p> <p>♩ = 120 (bar 50) ♩ = 112 (bar 195) [♩ = 60 (bar 213)]</p>	<p>♩ = 54-63 (average = 59-61)</p> <p>♩ = 94-108 (110) ♩ = 84-87 (poco più tranquillo, bars 139-152)</p> <p>♩ = 63-74 (average = 68-70) ♩ = 51-56 (poco meno mosso, bars 84-96)</p> <p>♪ = ♪ [♩ = ♪ + ♪ = 133-134 ♩. = ♪ + ♪ + ♪ = 109-110]</p> <p>♩ = 108-118 (bars 50-82) ♩ = 87-99 (bars 195-210) [♩ = 62-65 (bars 213-222)] [♩ = 54-59 (bars 223-230)]</p>

<p>First Violin Sonata</p>	<p>Oistrakh-Richter 1972  (Live recording Salzburg Festival)</p>	<p>I Andante assai ♩ = 60</p> <p>II Allegro brusco ♩ = 96</p> <p>III Andante ♩ = 66</p> <p>IV Allegrissimo ♩ = ♩</p> <p>♩ = 120 (bar 50) ♩ = 112 (bar 195) [♩ = 60 (bar 213)]</p>	<p>♩ = 55-72</p> <p>♩ = 94-109 (112) ♩ = 85-87 (poco più tranquillo, bars 139-152)</p> <p>♩ = 54-64 ♩ = 50--52 (poco meno mosso, bars 84-96)</p> <p>♩ = ♩ [♩ = ♩ + ♩ = 134 ♩. = ♩ + ♩ + ♩ = 111-112]</p> <p>♩ = 106-115 (bars 50-82) ♩ = 81-83 (bars 195-210) [♩ = 65-68 (bars 213-222)] [♩ = 50-56 (bars 223-230)]</p>
<p>First Violin Sonata</p>	<p>Oistrakh-Richter 1972  (LP: Melodiya &amp; EMI)</p>	<p>I Andante assai ♩ = 60</p> <p>II Allegro brusco ♩ = 96</p> <p>III Andante ♩ = 66</p> <p>IV Allegrissimo ♩ = ♩</p> <p>♩ = 120 (bar 50) ♩ = 112 (bar 195) [♩ = 60 (bar 213)]</p>	<p>♩ = 55-60</p> <p>♩ = 95-106 ♩ = 85-87 (poco più tranquillo, bars 139-152)</p> <p>♩ = 57-61 ♩ = 50--55 (poco meno mosso, bars 84-96)</p> <p>♩ = ♩ [♩ = ♩ + ♩ = 134 ♩. = ♩ + ♩ + ♩ = 111-112]</p> <p>♩ = 105-114 (bars 50-82) ♩ = 81-82 (bars 195-210) [♩ = 60-62 (bars 213-222)] [♩ = 50-56 (bars 223-230)]</p>

## Conclusion of research on the Violin Sonatas

This research has examined the compositional process of Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas and has established that the transcription of the Flute Sonata into the Second Violin Sonata was not a simple and rapid adaptation, as is often described in the literature. The existing literature clearly states that the adaptation of the Flute Sonata was realised at Oistrakh's request and that Oistrakh submitted three versions of the flute passages to Prokofiev, who chose the version he considered the most suitable. Thus, the creative compositional process is attributed to Prokofiev. However, Chapter 2 demonstrated that Oistrakh's influence on the adaptation is generally underestimated in the literature. Nevertheless, Soroker's characterisation of Oistrakh as co-author of the Second Violin Sonata is exaggerated.<sup>468</sup> Perhaps, Nestyeva gives the most accurate description of the collaboration in stating that Oistrakh contributed to the Second Violin Sonata with textural innovations.<sup>469</sup> A careful comparison of the violin and flute parts demonstrates that Oistrakh significantly contributed to the reshaping of the flute part, as many of these changes require a deep understanding of violin technique and of violin fingering patterns. All note alterations and elaborations of the violin part with double stops and harmonics represent editorial violinistic alterations, rather than compositional alterations to the musical text. Thus, the collaboration between Prokofiev and Oistrakh on the Second Violin Sonata can be described as a genuine co-edition of the work, rather than as a co-authorship. The footer in the score of the first Muzgiz 1946 edition supports that: 'This sonata being originally composed for flute and piano, the part of violin is edited in collaboration with David Oistrakh'.

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<sup>468</sup> Soroker, 'David Oistrakh - Interpretator Prokof'eva,' 25.

<sup>469</sup> Nest'eva, *Sergei Prokofiev*, 172.

The five primary sources of the Second Violin Sonata (RGALI 1929/1/193, RGALI 1929/1/194, GM 33/12, GM 33/899 and GM 33/13) demonstrate that Prokofiev monitored every stage of the adaptation process. Thus, all the violinistic textural elaborations or bowing adaptation that could change the musical phrasing of the work were approved by Prokofiev. The present research has deduced the chronological sequence of the five primary sources of the Second Violin Sonata between December 1943 and May 1946, and has thus shown that the collaboration between Prokofiev and Oistrakh lasted certainly from December 1943 until July 1945 and possibly until May 1946. The two-year period of editorial collaboration does not suggest that the collaboration was without interruption, as any further chronological delineation of the adaptation process is not possible. Nevertheless, the collaboration certainly covered all stages of the adaptation, from its early and middle stages to the publication of the first Muzgiz 1946 edition.

The adaptation process can indeed be said to have produced a new work, the Second Violin Sonata, which needs to be perceived as a work in its own right with new performance and stylistic characteristics. The latter conclusion is also supported by Prokofiev's compositional practice as outlined by Blok and by the composer's numerous autograph transcriptions. Oistrakh's significance lies predominantly in determining the performance practice of the work. The classically transparent Flute Sonata thus became a virtuosic and more dynamic Second Violin Sonata. The consequent change in performance style is certainly to be attributed to Oistrakh who envisaged the Second Violin Sonata as a more *concertante* virtuosic piece and less as a chamber music piece. Thus, a performance of the Second Violin Sonata has to follow violin playing tradition and to avoid the imitation of the flute's sound. Clarity of sound and articulation, rounded melodiousness, articulated bow technique,

especially in the Scherzo, and more festiveness in overall tone should be prioritised over lightness of flute sound and timbre. The presence of detailed fingerings and bowings in the primary sources of the Second Violin Sonata further indicates that Prokofiev and Oistrakh themselves rehearsed the Sonata and thus, the corresponding testimonies in the literature that this was the case have been verified.

Analysis of the compositional process of the First Violin Sonata has established that this work was mainly finalised in the Autograph Manuscript, which was written in pencil. Numerous corrections of notes, rubbed out signs, inserted bars and extensions of the stave onto the page's margins suggest that the First Violin Sonata was finalised during 1946. In particular, the composition of the celebrated 'wind on the graveyard' violin scale passages should be attributed to 1946. The interruption of compositional process (1939-44) is evident in the sketches of the RGALI 1929/1/188, which feature two different manuscript papers (portrait and landscape orientation) and differences in handwriting (neat sketching and light sketching). The sketches demonstrate examples of Prokofiev's preliminary sketching, structural sketching and Prokofiev's numerical abbreviated compositional method. This research organised the sketches into two categories: the end of 1938, and 1944-46. Mendelson's *Diaries* suggest the possibility of Oistrakh's influence as the *Diaries* state that Prokofiev recommenced the First Violin Sonata after he had transcribed the Second Violin Sonata. The knowledge that Prokofiev had acquired about violinistic technique during the adaptation of the Second Violin Sonata could well have contributed to Prokofiev's disposition to complete the unfinished First Violin Sonata, which he had started in 1938. However, despite that fact that Prokofiev composed the First Violin Sonata for Oistrakh any collaboration between them has to be excluded. Yet, the presence of fingerings in the Autograph Manuscript proves that Prokofiev

and Oistrakh rehearsed the work before its premiere and thus, Oistrakh's corresponding testimony is accurate. Additionally, the examination of the primary sources of the Violin Sonatas in Chapters 2 and 3 has shed light on the Soviet copyist practice, the Muzfond steklograph editions, which were considered copyrighted as a manuscript, and on the production of the first Muzgiz editions created from the copyist manuscripts verified by GURK.

The main contribution of the present research is to establish Szigeti's close involvement with the American dissemination of the Violin Sonatas in the 1940s. The research demonstrated that Szigeti was entrusted by Prokofiev to the Western Hemisphere premieres of the Violin Sonatas; it also has articulated the routes which enabled the postage of the manuscripts from Moscow's Preslit (VOKS) to the USA (Soviet Embassy in Washington and Am-Rus Music Agency). Thus, the Western dissemination history of the Violin Sonata has been highlighted, and the few sporadic citations of Szigeti's American performances in the literature have been placed in their wider historical context. The research has also established that Prokofiev himself was highly aware of cultural exchange during the Second World War and corresponded with Western musicians via VOKS, including the violinists Szigeti, Chassman and Heifetz.

The research concludes that the Western dissemination and interpretation history of the Violin Sonatas occurred significantly earlier than it is generally acknowledged in the literature. This sheds new light on the performance history of the Violin Sonatas, which is predominantly connected with Oistrakh and the Soviet premieres of the works. Especially in the case of the First Violin Sonata, the research challenges the published notion that the work was realised only after Stalin's death: 'The score, which would not be published until 1951, remained a work in progress,

with Prokofiev adding more accents and dynamic markings in the effort to prevent Oistrakh and Oborin's interpretation from becoming standardized. [...] In a sense the Violin Sonata [...] would not be realised until 1953, when Oistrakh played the first and third movements at the composer's funeral'.<sup>470</sup> The Muzfond 1947 edition contains all the accents and dynamic markings of the Autograph Manuscript and the research has found no archival evidence (correspondence or other copyist manuscripts) to suggest that Prokofiev continued to work on the First Violin Sonata beyond 1946. Instead, it has demonstrated that the First Violin Sonata was fully realised before Stalin's death, not only with Szigeti's numerous performances of the work in the USA in 1948, but also with Oistrakh's performance of the work in the Prague Spring Festival in 1947. The first Soviet edition was indeed published in 1951 by Muzgiz, but the Western editions preceded it; the First Violin Sonata was published in the late 1940s by the Anglo-Soviet Music Press (ASMP 1947) and the Leeds Music Corporation (Leeds 1948).

The early Western and Soviet publication history of the Violin Sonatas i.e. in the 1940s and 1950s, demonstrated that from the outset the Second Violin Sonata significantly overshadowed its parental Flute Sonata. Hence, historically, Op. 94 remained mainly associated with the Second Violin Sonata while the original flute part was, paradoxically, often published as a supplement to the Second Violin Sonata. The only exception was London's ASMP 1946 edition, published as a Flute Sonata with a separate flute part. The violin part was incorporated in the score, which is acknowledged in the title of the ASMP 1946 edition: 'Sonata No. 2, Op. 94, flute and piano'.

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<sup>470</sup> Morrison, *The People's Artist*, 278.

Moreover, the Western publication of the Violin Sonatas in the 1940s by the Leeds Music Corporation in New York and by the Anglo-Soviet Music Press in London has given insights into the operation of musical exchanges and music publishing during the Second World War. In particular, the research has articulated the importance of 1) the Am-Rus Music Agency under Helen Black; 2) the new ‘Soviet music series’ (Am-Rus Edition) of the Leeds Music Corporation; 3) the establishment of the Anglo-Soviet Music Press; and 4) the operation of Preslit. One of the challenges of the research was the absence or profoundly limited information in the literature about the aforementioned organisations, as well as the incomplete and fragmented understanding of VOKS’s structural organisation in terms of its departments and sections. The existing literature on VOKS is limited and is mainly focused on case studies and the cultural exchange of delegations (artists, theatres etc.). In particular, the author was unable to locate publications on Soviet-Western exchange of music scores before Stalin’s death. Rev. Canon Dr Michael Bourdeaux, who visited the USSR in 1959 as part of the first student exchange between the UK and the USSR recalled that:

It is important to remember that before Stalin’s death there were simply no cultural exchanges and it was only under the Khrushchev ‘thaw’ in the second half of the 1950s that this began to change. [...] I was not aware of the existence of VOKS and of the role it played in cultural exchanges. The British Council provided our visas, whilst all other aspects were coordinated by the respective Foreign Offices. [...] The Embassies in fact had a very modest output culturally. [...] I don’t recall that people in Moscow were aware of the existence of the Anglo-Soviet Music Press.<sup>471</sup>

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<sup>471</sup> Interview with Rev. Canon Dr Bourdeaux. See Appendices, p. 404, 406, 407.

Certainly, the institutional operations of VOKS, Preslit and cultural exchanges before Stalin's death remain areas of a further research inquiry, particularly during the years of the wartime alliance and its immediate aftermath.

The examination of the first editions by Szigeti and Oistrakh revealed significant stylistic interpretative differences in the performance practice of the Violin Sonatas. Szigeti interpreted Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas similarly to the First Violin Concerto and thus employed new textual innovations and new sounds in the musical text of the Violin Sonatas. Szigeti's interpretation sparkles with effects, lightness and innovative ideas. Indicative are Szigeti's *ossia* markings in the Leeds 1946 edition of the Second Violin Sonata. Szigeti's interpretative approach contrasts with Oistrakh's melodiousness, simple and 'singing' interpretation of the Second Violin Sonata. Szigeti's 1949 recording of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata does not capture the epic unfolding and the monumental character of the work, qualities which both characterise Oistrakh's interpretation of the First Violin Sonata. The research also concluded that it is very unlikely that Szigeti ever edited the First Violin Sonata (ASMP 1947, Leeds 1948).

However, the author believes that a modern interpretation of Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas can benefit from both approaches. Oistrakh's student Michael Vaiman in his 2016 interview observed that 'Prokofiev's music, with its diverse characters and melodiousness, gives the interpreter opportunities for fantasy, imagination and experimentation'.<sup>472</sup> Moreover, today's interpreters benefit from the detachment of time and can evaluate Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas in a more objective way. A modern interpretation is free from a possible impact of governmental censorship or from a

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<sup>472</sup> Email interview with Michael Vaiman. See Appendices, p. 402-403.

personal association with the grim historical events such as war or repressions, which shaped Oistrakh's entire generation in the Soviet Union.

Hence, the author concludes that a modern interpretation of the Second Violin Sonata needs, above all, to follow the violin playing tradition of melodiousness and virtuosity. In this interpretation the elements of fantasy and experiment can be employed to underline the sarcastic character of some passages; yet, the overall character of the piece needs to reflect the classical style and melodic transparency that Prokofiev clearly envisaged during the composition of the work. In contrast, a modern interpretation of the First Violin Sonata needs to capture the introspective mood and dramatic and monumental unfolding of the work, which is represented in Prokofiev's own performance markings (*marcatissimo e pesante, tenero ed espress., tranquillo, con brio, feroce* etc.) and in the expanded harmonic language of the work. The author concludes that applying innovative ideas and, thus, enriching the texture of sounds, is superfluous to the character of the First Violin Sonata. Instead, the interpretation needs to address the dramatic evolution of the work and to emphasize the stylistic contrasts, especially between the tranquillity and calmness of the I Andante assai and III Andante and the accentuated fearful character of the II Allegro brusco. With regard to the tempi of the Violin Sonatas, the wide range of tempi observed in the recordings by Oistrakh and Szigeti show that modern performers can vary the tempi in the quest for their own interpretations of Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas.

The present PhD thesis was supplemented by a 90-minute recital, in which the author performed Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas. The contrast between Oistrakh's and Szigeti's (Eastern and Western style) interpretations has led the author to examine, analyse and appreciate more the Western performance tradition of Prokofiev's violin music. In particular, the author critically examined the performance editions by

Oistrakh and Szigeti and listened to a variety of recordings including Szigeti's two contrasting recordings of the Violin Sonatas from the 1940s and 1959 (© 1960/1961). Also revealing was Prokofiev and Szigeti's 1940s correspondence, the fact that Prokofiev considered Szigeti's playing exceptional and was open to different interpretations of his violin music. The author had studied the violin under Professor Lydia Mordkovitch, who trained under Oistrakh at the Moscow Conservatory. Hence, Oistrakh's influence on the author's interpretation is much more prominent. Yet, during the PhD recital the author attempted to incorporate sporadically Szigeti's imaginative tone in the Second Violin Sonata and in the III Andante of the First Violin Sonata.

As for the tempi of Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas, the author decided to follow the performance tradition established by the recordings of Oistrakh and Szigeti, rather than to diligently follow Prokofiev's metronome markings. Thus, with regards to the Second Violin Sonata, the author intended to perform the I Moderato slightly faster than  $\text{♩} = 80$ , while the III Andante slower than  $\text{♩} = 69$ . The II Scherzo, Presto, was performed with the intention of a 'roller coaster' effect, brisk and impulsive, whereas the IV Allegro con brio was intended as festive and victorious in a fast Allegro tempo ( $\text{♩} = 118-120$ ). With regards to the First Violin Sonata, the I Andante assai and II Allegro brusco were intended to be performed at Prokofiev's metronome markings of  $\text{♩} = 60$  and  $\text{♩} = 96$  respectively, while the III Andante was intended to be performed slower than  $\text{♩} = 66$  and close to the tempi observed in Oistrakh-Richter 1972 recordings. The IV Allegro molto was intended to be performed at the median tempo observed in the recordings by Oistrakh and Szigeti ( $\text{♩} = \text{♪} + \text{♪} = 135$ ,  $\text{♩} = \text{♪} + \text{♪} + \text{♪} =$

111) excluding the slower sections (*poco più tranquillo, poco meno*) where the author followed Oistrakh's tempi.

Despite the above description of a modern interpretation of Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas, the author expects that her interpretation of the works will change in the future. No genuine interpretation can be repeated twice at the same tempi, tone and character, while any artistic reading produces new combinations of imagination, intentions and ideas. In the author's opinion, the interplay between technical command and artistic creativity of the musical text creates the individual interpretation. Hence, no two genuine artists may be identical, which is evident in Oistrakh's and Szigeti's recordings. Moreover, their recordings clearly indicate that both Oistrakh and Szigeti revisited and evolved their own interpretations of Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas over the course of the years and during their collaborations with different pianists.

Oistrakh and Szigeti were the first interpreters of Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas and were the violinists who personally knew the composer very well. Their interpretations and approaches to the musical text of the Violin Sonatas are different; yet, these differences can enrich and complement a modern interpretation of these works. Szigeti himself acknowledged that:

When I recorded the two Prokofiev Sonatas, which I was the first to play in America, I got the Soviet recordings of those two Sonatas and I wanted of course to evaluate the two against each other. [...]

Recordings [...] have a rather short life in our times as you know, when you were a young musician, student, you could count on recordings remaining in circulation for 8, 10, 15 years. [...] but now they come and go, it is so ephemeral that one should seek

a more direct depositing and this depositing is really only possible by word of mouth [i.e. teaching] and example [i.e. performance].<sup>473</sup>

Oistrakh's and Szigeti's 'depositing' of the Violin Sonatas has survived through their performance editions and recordings, which teach us two different interpretative approaches to Prokofiev's violin music. The author of this thesis outlined only the early performance history of the Violin Sonatas, i.e. the performance history associated with Oistrakh and Szigeti. However, the author hopes that the outlined wealth of Szigeti-Oistrakh interpretations – the two different approaches that have resulted in stylistically coherent interpretations – give many creative ideas to any performer who critically approaches the interpretation of Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas. A rich performance tradition beyond the interpretations by Oistrakh and Szigeti has also survived in numerous recordings by a wide range of professional musicians. Yet, Oistrakh's and Szigeti's personal acquaintance with Prokofiev provides an example of interpreters who had the qualities to be entrusted by Prokofiev to the premieres and dissemination of the Violin Sonatas, but also an example by which a modern interpreter can gain valuable knowledge and insights.

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<sup>473</sup> BBC interview with Joseph Szigeti and John Amis. See Appendices, p. 415, 422.

## Bibliography

### Archival Material

#### I Correspondence and other materials by archive

**AmRus: Am-Rus Literary Agency Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress**

Abbreviations: b. (box) and f. (folder)

**Ref. No: AmRus (LC) b. 29, f. 5 ‘Mezhdunarodnaja [sic] Kniga 1951-1960’.**

**Title:** Letter from V/O Mezhdunarodnaja [sic] Kniga to Am-Rus Music Agency. 24 December 1951.

**Title:** Letter from Harry Freeman (Am-Rus Music Agency) to Mezhdunarodnaja [sic] Kniga. 10 January 1952.

**GARF: State Archive of the Russian Federation (*Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii*)**

Abbreviations: f. (*fond* or collection), op. (*opis* or file or register), d. (*delo*, item) and l. (*list*, page or sheet)

VOKS archive: fond (f.) 5283

Opis’ (op.) 14: American Department

Opis’ (op.) 15: English Department

**VOKS American Department: GARF f. 5283, op. 14**

**Ref. No: GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 165**

**Title:** Correspondence with Helen Black about the publication of Soviet compositions in the USA.

**Rus.:** Peregiska s Amerikanskoï korrespondentkoï Khèlen Blék ob izdaniï Sovetskikh proizvedeniï v SShA.

**Date:** 19 December 1942 - 25 November 1944

**Sheets:** l. 13 telegram from Rosenzweig (Preslit) signed by Karaganov (VOKS) to Helen Black (Am-Rus) 28 July 1944; l. 20. Telegram from Soboleva (Preslit) signed by Karaganov (VOKS) to Helen Black (Am-Rus) 28 July 1944; l. 43-45 telegram from Helen Black (Am-Rus) to Rosenzweig (Preslit) 29 October 1944. Russian translation by VOKS of 30 October 1944.

**Ref. No: GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 205**

**Title:** Correspondence of Soviet composers with foreign composers and other musicians about the exchange of opinions on music compositions.

**Rus.:** Peregiska Sovetskikh kompozitorov s inostrannymi kompozitorami i drugimi muzykal'nyimi deiateliami po voprosu obmena mneniiami o muzykal'nykh proizvedeniakh.

**Date:** 18 June 1943 - 25 April 1945

**Sheets:** l. 53 letter from Kathryn Becker (Musicians Congress Committee) to Bazykin (Soviet Embassy in Washington) 15 June 1944; l. 69-70 letter from Helen Harrison Mills (International Post War Music Council) to the Union of Soviet Composers 24 August 1944; l. 123 telegram from Ryessa D. Liberson (VOKS Chief American

Department) to Eugene Weintraub 5 October 1944; l. 133 telegram from Ryessa D. Liberson (VOKS Chief American Department) to Helen Elken 30 September 1944; l. 142-142 telegram from R. Liberson to Glavlit for approval of transmission of music scores to the Soviet Embassy in Washington 27 July 1944; l. 144-145 verso telegram from R. Liberson to Glavlit with attached list of Soviet music compositions signed by Pel'ts 23 May 1944; l. 161-163 letter from the Music Committee National Council of American-Soviet Friendship to Shneerson (VOKS Music Section) 4 April 1945.

**Ref. No: GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 261**

**Title:** Correspondence between the Soviet and American musicians about the establishment and strengthening of cultural musical ties between the USSR and the USA.

**Rus.:** Perepiska mezhdû Sovetskimi i Amerikanskimi muzykal'nymi deiatel'iami po voprosam ustanovleniia i uprochneniia kul'turnykh muzykal'nykh sviazei mezhdû SSSR i SShA.

**Date:** 7 April 1944 - 16 March 1945

**Sheets:** l. 1, 1 verso letter from Ephraim F. Gottlieb to Prokofiev 7 April 1944; l. 10 letter from S. Prokofiev and D. Oistrakh to Gilzberg (VOKS) 23 September 1944.

**Ref. No: GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 302**

**Title:** Correspondence with Helen Black about the publication of Soviet compositions in the USA.

**Rus.:** Perepiska s Amerikanskoï korrespondentkoï Khelen Blék po voprosam izdaniia Sovetskikh proizvedenii v SShA.

**Date:** 2 January 1945 - 29 May 1945

**Sheets:** l. 19 telegram from Helen Black to Preslit 5 February 1945; l. 75 telegram from Soboleva (Preslit) to Helen Black (Am-Rus) n.d.; l. 78-79, 84 telegram from Helen Black to Preslit 7 April 1945, original in English and its Russian translation.

**Ref. No:** GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 323

**Title:** Correspondence with Helen Black about the publication of Soviet compositions in the USA.

**Rus.:** Peregiska s Amerikanskoï korrespondentkoï Khêlen Blêk po voprosam izdaniia Sovetskikh proizvedeniï v SShA.

**Date:** 5 April 1945 - 9 February 1946

**Sheets:** l. 22-23 'List of Publications in Work' of the year 1945 (Leeds Music Corporation); l. 32-35 letter from Helen Black to Rosenzweig (Preslit) 5 December 1945; l. 37-53 history of the Am-Rus sent from Helen Black to Rosenzweig (Preslit); l. 58 telegram from Prokofiev to VOKS 15 February 1946.

**Ref. No:** GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 331

**Title:** Correspondence with Helen Black about the publication of Soviet musical compositions and popularization of Soviet music in the USA.

**Rus.:** Peregiska s Amerikanskoï korrespondentkoï Khêlen Blêk po voprosam izdaniia Sovetskikh muzykal'nykh proizvedeniï, populiârizatsii Sovetskoï muzyki v SShA.

**Date:** 1 June 1945 - 27 December 1945

**Sheets:** l. 57, 63 telegram from Helen Black to Preslit 28 September 1945, and responding telegram from Rosenzweig (Presli) to Black 10 October 1945; l. 78, 83-84

telegram from Helen Black to Preslit 3 November 1945, original in English and its Russian translation.

**Ref. No: GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 361**

**Title:** Materials of activities about the improvement of VOKS American department work for the year 1946.

**Rus.:** Materialy o meropriiatiakh po uluchsheniū raboty Amerikanskogo otdela VOKSa za 1946 god.

**Date:** 1946

**Sheets:** l. 6-7 report on American enquiries to VOKS American Department 1946.

**Ref. No: GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 368**

**Title:** Correspondence between the Soviet and American musicians about cultural relations.

**Rus.:** Perepiska mezhdū Sovetskimi i Americanskimi muzykal'nymi deiateliami po voprosam kul'turnykh sviāzei.

**Date:** 2 January 1946 - 2 April 1946

**Sheets:** l. 21 telegram from Shneerson (VOKS) to Weintraub (Leeds Music Corporation) 25 January 1946; l. 98 letter from Garanin (Soviet Embassy in Washinton) to Kemenov (VOKS) 28 February 1946; l. 126 telegram from Prokofief to Szigeti in French 24 August 1945.

**Ref. No: GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 401**

**Title:** Correspondence between the Soviet and American musicians about cultural relations

**Rus.:** Perepiska mezhdû Sovetskimi i Americanskimi muzykal'nymi deiateliâmi po voprosam kul'turnykh sviâzei.

**Date:** 2 April 1946 - 27 June 1946

**Sheets:** l. 23 telegram from Kazan'ev (New York Soviet Consulate) to Kemenov (VOKS) 10 April 1945; l. 29-31 letter from Koussevitzky (American-Soviet Music Society) to VOKS Music Section 12 April 1946; l. 90-92 letter from Ephraim F. Gottlieb to Prokofiev 4 June 1946; l. 99-100 letter from the Union of Soviet Composers to American-Soviet Music Society n.d. 1946; l. 101-101 verso telegram from Eugene Weintraub (Am-Rus Edition, Leeds Music Corporation) to Shneerson (VOKS Music Section) 14 June 1946.

**Ref. No: GARF f. 5283, op. 14, d. 401**

**Title:** Correspondence between the Soviet and American musicians about the exchange of opinions, scores and literature.

**Rus.:** Perepiska mezhdû Sovetskimi i Americanskimi muzykal'nymi deiateliâmi po voprosam obmena meniâmi, notami, literaturoi.

**Date:** 4 June 1946 - 20 December 1947

**Sheets:** l. 46 telegram from A. Ermolaev (Soviet Embassy in Washington) to Kemenov (VOKS) regarding commission of Prokofiev's music by the Library of Congress 5 February 1947; l. 73. Letter from Prokofiev to Joachim Chassman 12 March 1947; l. 91, letter from Prokofiev to Spivacke (Library of Congress) about rejection of commission 29 March 1947; l. 118 telegram from Harry Cumpson to

Prokofiev 14 May 1947; l. 130 letter from Helen Black to Sheerson 12 June 1947; l. 132, letter from Lomakin (New York Soviet Consulate) to Kemenov 19 June 1947.

**VOKS English Department: GARF f. 5283, op. 15**

**Ref. No: GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 146**

**Title:** Correspondence with the British Embassy [in Moscow] about the exchange of scores and music records.

**Rus.:** Perepiska s Britanskim Posol'stvom ob obmene notami i plastinkami.

**Date:** 17 August 1943 - 18 October 1944

**Sheets:** l. 29 telegram from G. Reavey (Acting Press Attaché British Embassy in Moscow) to Kislova (VOKS) 8 March 1944.

**Ref. No: GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 176**

**Title:** Telegrams of VOKS representative in England about the postage of scores, articles and literature.

**Rus.:** Telegrammy upolnomochennogo VOKS v Anglii o posylke not, stat'eĭ, literatury.

**Date:** 12 November 1944 - 30 December 1945

**Sheets:** l. 32 telegram from Rostovsky (Soviet War News) to Schrinskaia (Preslit) 18 October 1945; l. 34 telegrame from Rosenzweig (Preslit) signed by Karaganov (VOKS) to Rostovsky (Soviet War News) 6 December 1945; l. 38 telegram from Rostovsky (Soviet War News) to Rosenzweig (Preslit) 27 November 1945, Russian translation; l. 80 telegram from Rosenzweig (Preslit) signed by Karaganov (VOKS) to

Rostovsky (Soviet War News) 22 September 1945; l. 92 telegram from Rostovsky (Soviet War News) to Rosenzweig (Preslit) 12 September 1945, Russian translation; l. 104 telegram from A. Karaganov (VOKS) to Rostovsky (Soviet War News) 24 August 1945; l. 111-112 telegram from Rostovsky (Soviet War News) to Rosenszweig (Preslit) 18 July 1945, original in English and its Russian translation; l. 135 telegram from Rosenzweig (Preslit) to Rostovsky (Soviet War News) 13 August 1945; l. 139 Telegram from Rosenzweig (Preslit) to Rostovsky (Soviet War News) n.d.; l. 151-154. Preliminary contract between Preslit and Boosey & Hawkes, n.d.1945.

**Ref. No: GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 217**

**Title:** Correspondence between the Soviet and English musicians about the exchange of scores and records.

**Rus.:** Peregiska mezhky Sovetskimi i Angliiskimi muzykal'nymi deiatel'iami ob obmene notami, plastinkami.

**Date:** 31 August 1944 - 12 November 1944

Sheets: l. 4-7 four telegrams between Reavy (British Embassy in Moscow), Prokofiev and Kislova (VOSK) regarding the postage of Szigeti's recording of the First Violin Concerto under Sir Thomas Beecham 7 March, 23 March and 7 April 1944; l. 8 telegram from Kislova (VOKS) to Reavy (British Embassy) 13 March 1944.

**Ref. No: GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 221**

**Title:** Correspondence between the Soviet and English musicians about the exchange of scores, records and articles.

**Rus.:** Perepiska mezhky Sovetskimi i Angliiskimi muzykal'nymi deiatel'iami ob obmene notami, plastinkami, stat'iami.

**Date:** 6 November 1944 - 31 March 1945

**Sheets:** l. 52-53 telegrams from Horace White (Press Department, British Embassy) to G. Shneerson (VOKS Music Section) 20 December 1945; l. 56 telegram from Shneerson (VOKS Music Section) to Horace White (Press Department, British Embassy) 19 December 1945; l. 59 telegram from White to Shneerson 4 December 1945.

**Ref. No:** GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 235

**Title:** Materials from the ceremony of VOKS Music Section about the presentation of the Royal Philharmonic Society gold medal to S. Prokofiev.

**Rus.:** Materialy torzhestva zasedaniia muzykal'noi sektsii VOKS posviashchennogo vrucheniia S. S. Prokof'evu zolotoi medali Korolevskogo Filarmonicheskogo Obshchestva.

**Date:** 28 May 1945 - 10 October 1946

**Sheets:** l. 15 report on the 'Presentation of the Royal Philharmonic Society Gold Medal to Serge Prokofieff' n.d.; l. 24 Prokofiev's speech during the ceremony in English; l. 25 telegram from Reavy (British Embassy in Moscow) to Kemenov (VOKS) 2 May 1945, Russian translation.

**Ref. No:** GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 313

**Title:** Correspondence between the Soviet and English musicians about the exchange of scores, photographs and records.

**Rus.:** Peregiska mezhky Sovetskimi i Angliiskimi muzykal'nymi deiateliami ob obmene notami, fotografiiami, plastinkami.

**Date:** 17 December 1945 - 12 January 1946

**Sheet:** l. 25-25 verso telegram from A. Kalmus (Anglo-Soviet Music Press) to Layton (Soviet News) 13 February 1946.

**Ref. No: GARF f. 5283, op. 15, d. 384**

**Title:** Correspondence between the Soviet and English musicians about the exchange of scores and books.

**Rus.:** Peregiska mezhky Sovetskimi i Angliiskimi muzykal'nymi deiateliami ob obmene notami i knigami.

**Date:** 4 January 1947 - 24 December 1947

**Sheets:** l. 56-56 verso telegram from Rosenzweig (Presslit) to Kalmus (Anglo-Soviet Music Press) 31 January 1947.

**GM: M.I. Glinka State Museum of Musical Culture, Moscow, Russia**

***(Gosudarstvennyi Tsentral'nyi Muzei Muzykal'noi Kul'tury imeni M.I. Glinki)***

Abbreviations: f. (*fond* or collection), No. (number) and l. (*list*, page or sheet)

**Ref. No: GM f. 385, No. 5222**

**Title:** Album with newspaper cuttings about D. F. Oistrakh, USSR.

**Rus:** Al'bom s gazetnymi vyrezkami o D. F. Oistrakhe, SSSR.

**Date:** 1936-1947

**Sheets:** l. 6 ‘Dva kontserta’ by G. Shneerson, *Literatura i Isskustvo* 27 May 1944; l. 17 verso *Vechernaia Moskva* 5 June 1946, *Izvestiia* 9 June 1946 and *Sovetskoe Isskustvo* 24 May 1946; l. 18 ‘Prague’s Impressions’ by D. Oistrakh, *Sovetskoe Isskustvo* 12 July 1946; l. 18 verso *Vechernaia Moskva* by Aleksander Baulin 23 July 1946; l. 19 verso ‘The Week in Music’ by D. Rabinovich, *Moscow News* 30 October 1946; l. 23 verso ‘Proizvedeniia Sergeia Prokof’eva’ by I. Nestiev, *Pravda* 21 November 1946.

**Ref. No: GM f. 385, No. 5230**

**Title:** Album with photographs and Soviet newspaper cuttings about D. F. Oistrakh’s tour during the Prague Spring Festival 1947.

**Rus:** Al’bom s fotografiiami i vyrezkami iz sovetskikh gazet o gastroliaakh D. F. Oistrakha na festivale ‘Prazhskaia Vesna’ 1947.

**Date:** 1947

**Sheets:** l. 4 ‘Prague’s Spring 1947’ *Sovetskoe Isskustvo* 23 May 1947; l. 4 verso ‘Soviet Musicians Get Warm Welcome Abroad’ by G. Karlov, *Moscow News* 23 May 1947.

**JHC: Jascha Heifetz Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress**

Abbreviations: b. (box) and f. (folder)

**Ref. No: JHC (LC) b. 140, f. 7**

**Title:** Prokofieff, Serge. *Sonata for Violin and Piano, Op. 80*. Edited by Joseph Szigeti. New York: Leeds Music Corporation, 1948.

**Ref. No: JHC (LC) b. 141, f. 1**

**Title:** Prokofieff, Serge. *Sonata for Violin and Piano, Op. 94*. Edited by Joseph Szigeti. New York: Leeds Music Corporation. 1946.

**Ref. No: JHC (LC) b. 234, f. 21**

**Title:** Letter from Prokofiev to Jascha Heifetz. 24 February 1938.

**JSA: Joseph Szigeti Archive, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University**

Abbreviations: b. (box) or p. (package) and f. (folder)

**Ref. No: JSA b. 2, f. 1 ‘Printed items’**

**Material Type:** ‘The Recorded Legacy of Joseph Szigeti’ by Ronald C. MacDonald, p. 1-23.

**Ref. No: JSA b. 7**

**Material Type:** letter from R. Glière (Union of Soviet Composers) to Szigeti about the postage of violin scores by Khachaturian, Shebalin, Knipper, 25 November 1942.

**Ref. No: JSA b. 8, f. ‘Article material, PM letter stb, Article on Music & Politics etc.’**

**Material Type:** Western Union telegram from Bazykin (Soviet Embassy, Washington) to Szigeti in Los Angeles, California, 1942; Letter from Szigeti to

Bazykin, 10 March 1942; Letter from Szigeti to Bazykin re. *Persymphans* n.d.; letter from Bazykin to Szigeti, 4 August 1942.

**Ref No: JSA b. 11, f. 'Bach. Prokofiev, etc.'**

**Material type:** Loose newspaper cuttings and other materials

*Boston Post* 27 November 1944 and *Boston Herald* November 1944; Reviews of 12 December 1944 by *The New York Times*, *New York Herald Tribune*, *New York Journal-American*, *New York Post*.

**Ref. No: JSA b. 11, f. 'Press Circular'**

**Material type:** concert programme of Joseph Szigeti and Harry Kaufman. Carnegie Hall New York, 11 December 1944.

**Ref. No: JSA p. 2**

**Material type:** Scrapbooks with newspaper cuttings, loose newspaper cuttings and other materials:

Concert programme of Szigeti and Joseph Levine. Opera House, San Francisco, California, 2 January 1948; Concert Programme of Joseph Szigeti and Joseph Levine. Carnegie Hall, New York, 17 February 1948.

Newspaper cuttings: *San Francisco News* 'Szigeti Scores Ovation with Fine Program' by Marjory M. Fischer 3 January 1948; *Time* 'Music' 12 January 1948; *The Argonaut* San Francisco, 'Music' by Patricia Marcus 9 January 1948; *Tribune* Oakland Calif., 'Szigeti Earns High Plaudits in Recital' by Clifford Gessler 3 January 1948; *Camera* Boulder Colorado, 'Szigeti Repertoire Includes Newest Work of Prokofieff, Russian Master' 10 January 1948; *Herald Tribune* New York, 'Prokofieff Sonata: Menuhin to

Introduce It a Hunter College' 25 January 1948; *Washington Times-Herald*, 'Prokofieff's Unpublished Opus Applauded at Constitution Hall' by Glenn Dillard Gunn 12 February 1948; *The Hartford Times*, 'Soviet Composers Get Their Orders Again' by Carl E. Lindstrom, 16 February 1948; *Newark News*, N.J. 12 February 1948; *Washington News*, 'Szigeti Found Beauty in Prokofieff Not Propaganda' 12 February 1948; *Washington Post*, 'Szigeti's Recital Wins High Praise' by Paul Hume 12 February 1948; *New York Times*, 'Szigeti features Diamond's Sonata: Violinist Introduces Composer's Work at Carnegie Hall – Prokofieff Piece Played' by Olin Downes 18 February 1948; *Herald Tribune* New York, 'Music' by Virgil Thomson 18 February 1948; *New York Post*, 'Joseph Szigeti Plays Carnegie Hall Recital' by John Briggs 18 February 1948; *Journal American* New York, 'Szigeti Hits Heights' by Miles Kastendieck 18 February 1948.

**Ref. No: JSA p. 3**

**Material type:** Scrapbooks with newspaper clippings

Loose newspaper cutting c. 1944 about the Leeds Music Corporation, the Am-Rus Edition and Szigeti's performances of Prokofiev's Op. 94, n.d., no newspaper title.

**LC/ISCM: League of Composers/ISCM records, New York Public Library**

**Archives & Manuscripts**

Abbreviations: b. (box) and f. (folder)

**Ref. No: LC/ISCM (NYPL) b. 6, f. 73 'Myaskovsky, Shostakovich and others'**

**Material type:** Telegram (Radiogram R.C.A. Communications, INC.) from the Union of Soviet Composers to the League of Composers, 1942.

**Ref. No: LC/ISCM (NYPL) b. 7, f. 60 ‘USSR, Embassy, Washington, D.C’.**

**Material Type:** Letter from V. Bazykin (Soviet Embassy in Washington) to Arthur M. Reis (League of Composers), 14 December 1942.

**Ref. No: LC/ISCM (NYPL) b. 7, f. 66 ‘War Department’**

**Material Type:** Letter from F. H. Osborn (US War Department) to Arthur M. Reis (League of Composers), 14 May 1942.

**NARA: National Archives and Records Administration, College Park MD, Archives II**

Abbreviations: b. (box), f. (folder) and loc. (location). Location breaks down to a numerical succession (e.g. 59.250.37.9.2) that indicates Rg. No (registration number) 59, stack area 250, row 37, compartment 9 and shelf 2.

**Ref. No: NARA b. 4809, f. No 811.42761/4-147, loc. 59.250.37.9.2**

**Material type:** Telegram from Smith (American Embassy in Moscow) to the Secretary of State (Department for State) regarding Preslit, 1 April 1947

**Ref. No: NARA b. 4809, f. No 811.42761/3-2147, loc. 59.250.37.9.2**

**Material type:** Letter from the American Embassy in Moscow to the Department of State regarding VOKS, 21 March 1947; Letter from Melville J. Ruggles (Attaché, American Embassy) to I. Khmarskii (Chief of VOKS American Division), 14 February 1947; Letter from Khmarskii to Ruggles, n. d.

**Ref. No: NARA b. 96, f. AMERICAN EMBASSY - Moscow, loc. 84.350.70.6.2**

**Material type:** the 'Wartime History of United State Embassy at Moscow' by Thomas J. Cory, 8 April 1946. Required by Department Circular Instruction File NO. 124.06/9-2545 on 25 September 1945.

**Ref. No: NARA b. 4689, f. No 811.4061/3-1545, loc. 59.250.37.6.6**

**Material type:** Telegram from the Department of State to the American Embassy in Moscow regarding the production of Prokofiev's *War and Peace* by New York's Metropolitan Opera, 15 March 1945.

**Ref. No: NARA b. 4689, f. No 811.4061/4-2045 (RECD), loc. 59.250.37.6.6**

**Material type:** Telegram from the American Embassy in Moscow to the Secretary of State (Department of State) regarding Prokofiev's opera *War and Peace* and VOKS, 20 April 1945.

**Ref. No: NARA b. 6658, f. No 861.4038/2-1748, loc. 59.250.38.11.7**

**Material type:** Telegram from London to the Secretary of State (US Department of State) regarding the Soviet governmental attack on Soviet composers, 17 February 1948.

**RGALI: Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (*Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Literatury i Iskusstva*)**

Abbreviations: f. (*fond* or collection), op. (*opis* or file or register), ed. khr. (*ediniĭsa khraneniĭa*, item or file) and l. (*list*, page or sheet)

**Ref. No: RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 689**

**Title:** Letter from Joseph Szigeti to S. Prokofiev. In English.

**Rus.:** Pis'mo Sigeti Zhozefa (Szigeti) Prokof'evu S.S. Na Angliĭskom Īazyke.

**Date:** 25 May 1945

**Ref. No: RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 732**

**Title:** Letters by Joachim Chassman and Oskar Wasserberger to S. Prokofiev. In English.

**Rus.:** Pis'ma Chesmana Ioakhima (Chassman Joachim) I Vasserdergera Oskara (Wasserberger Oskar) Prokof'evu S. S. Na Angliĭskom Īazyke.

**Date:** 4 September 1946 - 25 June 1947

**Ref. No: RGALI f. 1929, op. 1 ed. khr. 750**

**Title:** Letters and a telegram from Grigori Shneerson to S. Prokofiev.

**Rus.:** Pis'mo i telegramma Shneersona Grigoriĭa Mikhaĭlovicha Prokof'evu S. S.,

**Date:** 26 December 1937- June 1951

**Ref. No: RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 781**

**Title:** Letters by copyists (Velikanova V.V., Karpova M. P., Karpova G., Krugliak N., Mironovoi A., Teplova P. V., Tikhonravova K. K., and Yaroshevskogo An. A.) to S. Prokofiev.

**Rus.:** Perepischiki not. Pis'ma perepischikov not (Velikanova V. V., Karpova M. P., Karpova G., Krugliak N., Mironovoï A., Teplova P. V., Tikhonravova K. K., i ĪAroshevskogo An. A) Prokof'evu S. S.

**Date:** 1916-1947

**Ref. No: RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, rd. khr. 911**

**Title:** Foreign concert programs featuring compositions by S. Prokofiev. In English.

**Rus.:** Programmy zagranichnykh kontsertov s ispolneniem proizvedeniï S.S. Prokof'eva. Na Angliïskom Īazyke.

**Date:** 17 January 1943 - 16 December 1944

**Sheets:** l. 125 concert programme of Joseph Szigeti and Harry Kaufman, Capitol Theatre, 22 November 1944.

**Ref. No: RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 964**

**Title:** Articles and notes about S. Prokofiev, the performance of his works and the honorary artistic award of the RSFSR.

**Rus.:** Stat'i i zametki o tvorchestve S.S. Prokof'eva, ispolnenii ego proizvedeniï, prisvoenii emu zvaniâ zasluzhennogo deiâtelâ iskusstv RSFSR.

**Date:** January - December 1944

**Sheets:** newspaper cuttings: l. 29 'Kontsert angliïskoï i sovetskoï muzyki' *Pravda* 21 May 1944; l. 30 Kontserty angliïskoï, sovetskoï i amerikanskoï muzyki' *Vecherniâia*

*Moskva* 23 May 1944; l. 31 'Dva kontserta' by G. Shneerson, *Literatura i Isskustvo*  
27 May 1944.

**Ref. No: RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 968**

**Title:** Articles and notes about the awards of the Stalin Prizes to Prokofiev, the performance of his works, the production of ballets *Cinderella* and *Duenna* by the S. M. Kirov Theatre and the opera *War and Peace* by the Leningrad Maly Opera Theatre.

**Rus.:** Stat'i i zametki o prisuzhdenii S.S. Prokof'evu Stalinskikh premiï, ob ego tvorchestve, ob ispolniii ego proizvediniï, o postanovkakh baleta 'Zolushka' i opery 'Duën'ia' v Teatre opery i baleta im. S. M. Kirova i opery 'Voïna i mir' v Leningradskom Malom opernom teatre.

**Date:** January - December 1946

**Sheets:** newspaper cutting: l. 69 'Proizvediniia Sergeia Prokof'eva' by I. Nest'ev, *Pravda* 21 November 1946.

**Ref. No: RGALI f. 1929, op. 2, ed. khr. 269**

**Title:** Letter from Prokofiev to Joseph Szigeti, In French.

**Rus.:** Prokof'ev, S. S. Pis'mo Sigetì Zhorzhu (Szigeti). Na frantsuzskom iazyke.

**Date:** 24 August 1945

**Ref. No: RGALI f. 1929, op. 3, ed. khr. 24**

**Title:** S. Prokofiev and M.A. Prokofieva. S. Prokofiev's Catalogue of Works. Op. 81-104 in M. A. Prokofieva's handwriting.

**Rus.:** Prokof'ev, S. S., and M. A. Prokof'eva. Notograficheskiĭ Spravochnik proizvedeniĭ S. S. Prokof'eva. Nomera sochineniĭ 1-81. Rukoĭ M. A. Prokof'evoi ,  
**Date:** 1951-1952

**Ref. No:** RGALI f. 1929, op. 3, ed. khr. 25

**Title:** S. Prokofiev and M.A. Prokofieva. S. Prokofiev's Catalogue of Works. Op. 81-104 in M. A. Prokofieva's handwriting. On sheet 34 there is an inscription by S. Prokofiev.

**Rus.:** Prokof'ev, S. S., and M. A. Prokof'eva. Notograficheskiĭ Spravochnik proizvedeniĭ S. S. Prokof'eva. Nomera sochineniĭ 81-104. Rukoĭ M. A. Prokof'evoi ,  
Na liste 34-m pometka S. S. Prokof'eva.

**Date:** 1951-1952

**Ref. No:** RGALI f. 1929, op. 3, ed. khr. 78

**Title:** Letter from Prokofiev to Israel Nestyev.

**Rus.:** Prokof'ev, Sergeĭ. Pis'mo Nest'evu Izrailiĭu Vladimirovichu.

**Date:** 18 October 1942

**Ref. No:** RGALI f. 1929, op. 3, ed. khr. 105

**Title:** Letter and telegrams from Prokofiev to Semyon Shlifshtein.

**Rus.:** Prokof'ev, S. S. Pis'mo i telegrammy Shlifshteĭnu Semenu Isaakovichu.

**Date:** 17 July 1942 - 24 June 1943

**Ref. No: RGALI f. 1929, op. 3, ed. khr. 106**

**Title:** Letter from Prokofiev to Grigori Shneerson.

**Rus.:** Prokof'ev, S. S. Pis'mo Shneersonu Grigoriu Mikhaïlovichu.

**Date:** 21 September [1943]

**Ref. No: RGALI f. 1929, op. 3, ed. khr. 127**

**Title:** Prokofiev's letters and telegrams to the Viennese publisher 'Universal Edition', to London's bureau of newspaper cuttings and to the American organisation 'Helen Black' regarding financial payments for the edition of the 'Russian Overture', postage of newspaper cuttings and performance rights to Jascha Heifetz for the premiere of the First Violin Sonata. In English and French.

**Rus.:** Prokof'ev, S. S. Pis'ma i telegrammy Prokof'eva S. S. v redaktsii Venskogo izdatel'stva 'Universal Edition', Londonskomu biuro gazetnykh vyrezok i Amerikanskoï organizatsii 'Helen Black' o raschetakh za izdanie 'Russkoï Uvertiury', posylke gazetnykh vyrezok i predostavlenii Ā. Kheifetsu (Heifets) prava pervogo ispolneniia 1-ï Skripichnoï Sonaty. Na Angliiskom i Frantsuzkom Īazykakh.

**Date:** 9 February 1940 - [1946]

**Sheets:** 1. 3 telegram from VOKS to Helen Black about the first performance rights of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata to Heifetz, 4 May 1947.

**SKA: Serge Koussevitzky Archive, Music Division, Library of Congress**

Abbreviations: b. (box) and f. (folder)

**Ref. No: SKA b. 7, f. 1 'Helen Black'.**

**Title:** Letter from Helen Black to Koussevitzky. 3 July 1946.

**SPA: Serge Prokofieff Archive, Columbia University (formerly held at Goldsmiths, University of London)**

**SPA Correspondence between Prokofiev and Joseph Szigeti, 1923 - 1932**

Five letters from Prokofiev to Szigeti 1923-1925 (XLI - 201, Via - 242, Vib - 427, VII - 183, VII - 213) and thirteen letters from Szigeti to Prokofiev 1923-1932 (XLI - 201, Via - 242, Vib - 247, VII - 183, VIII - 213, V - 196, Via - 227, Vib - 351, Vib - 427, VII - 44, VII - 110, VII - 182, VIII - 357). In French.

**Other:**

**FSB Letter** from A. I. Shishkin, Deputy Head of the FSB Archive, to Viktoria Zora,

Reference No: 10/A-Z-3536, 4 December 2014

**Newspaper cutting**, *The Ottawa Journal* 'Notable Artistry Revealed', 23 November

1944, Page 15. Available online on the database

<https://www.newspapers.com/newspage/48560507/>

## II Manuscripts by archive

**GM: M.I. Glinka State Museum of Musical Culture, Moscow, Russia**

**(Gosudarstvennyi t͡sentral'nyi muzei muzykal'noi kul'tury imeni M.I. Glinki)**

Abbreviations: f. (*fond* or collection), No. (number) and l. (*list*, page or sheet)

**Ref. No: GM f. 33, No 12**

**Title:** S. Prokofiev. *Sonata No 2 D-Dur for Violin and Piano. Op. 94bis*. Score and violin part. Copyist manuscript with autograph annotations. On sheet 1 verso autograph inscription: '2 Sonata for Violin and Piano Serge Prokofieff'. This Sonata composed for Flute and Piano was transcribed for violin by the composer with D. F. Oistrakh. The piano part in both versions in the same.

**Rus.:** Prokof'ev, S. S, *Sonata No 2 D-Dur dlia Skripki i F-oo. Soch. 94bis*. Partitura i partiia skripki. Kopia s avtorskimi pometkami. Na oborote l. 1 avtorskaia nadpis': '2 Sonata for Violin and Piano Serge Prokofieff'. Eta Sonata, sochinenna dlia fleity i f-p, byla pererabotana dlia skripki kompozitorom sovместno s D. F. Oistrakhom. Partiia f-p. v oboikh variantakh odinakovaia.

**Date:** 1942-1944

**Ref. No: GM f. 33, No 13**

**Title:** S. Prokofiev, *Sonata No 2 D-Dur for Violin and Piano*. Proof with numerous autograph annotations. On sheet 1 autograph inscription: 'After detailed correction to be sent to print. S. Prkfv. 16 May 1946.'

**Rus.:** Prokof'ev, S. S, *Sonata No 2 D-Dur dlīa Skripki i F-no. Soch. 94bis.* Korrekturnyĭ ěkzemplīar s mnogochislennymi pometkami avtora. Na l. 1 avtorskaĭa nadpis': 'Posle tshchatel'nogo ispravleniĭa proshu pechatat'. S. Prkfv. 16 Maĭa 46 G.

**Date:** 1942-1944

**Ref. No: GM f. 33, No 899**

**Title:** S. Prokofiev, *Second Sonata D-Dur for Violin and Piano. Op. 94bis.* Violin part. Copyist manuscript.

**Rus.:** Prokof'ev, S. S. *Vtoraĭa Sonata D-Dur dlīa Skripki i F-no. Soch. 94bis.* Partiĭa Skripki.

**Date:** no date

**Ref. No: GM f. 33, No 380**

**Title:** S. Prokofiev. *Sonata No 1 for Violin and Piano. Op. 80.* [Dedicated to D. F. Oistrakh]. The end of manuscript is dated: '3 September 1946, Nikolina Gora'. Autograph manuscript.

**Rus.:** Prokof'ev, S. S. *Sonata No 1 dlīa Skripki i F-no. Soch. 80.* [Posviashchaetsĭa Davidu Fedorovichu Oĭstrakhu.] V kontse rukopisi data: ' 3 Sent. 1946 g. Nikolina Gora'. Avtograf (autograph Manuscript).

**Date:** 1938-1946

**Ref. No: GM f. 33, No 384**

**Title:** S. Prokofiev, *Sonata D-Dur for Flute and Piano, Op. 94.* The end of the manuscript is dated 'Molotov, 1943, September 12'. On the top left corner of sheet 2 there is an inscription '18 September 1942'. Autograph manuscript.

**Rus.:** S. S. Prokof'ev, *Sonata D-Dur dlīa Fleīty i F-no. Soch. 94.* V kontse rukopisi data 'Molotov, 1943 G. Sent. 12'. Na l. 2 v verkhnem levom uglu nadpis' '18 Sent. 1942 g.' Avtograf.

**Date:** 1942-1943

**RGALI: Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Literatury i Iskusstva)**

Abbreviations: f. (*fond* or collection), op. (*opis* or file or register), ed. khr. (*ediniṣa khraneniā*, item or file) and l. (*list*, page or sheet)

**Ref. No:** RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 188

**Title:** S. Prokofiev. *Op. 80, F-Moll, First Sonata for Violin and Piano.* In 4 movements. I. Andante assai. 2. Allegro brusco. Sketches (autograph manuscript).

**Rus.:** S. S. Prokof'ev, *Op. 80. F-Moll, Pervaia Sonata dlīa Skripki i F-p.* V 4-kh chastiakh. 1. Andate Assai. 2. Allegro Brusco. Chernoviki i ěskizy.

**Date:** 1938-1946

**Ref. No:** RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 290

**Title:** S. Prokofiev, *Sketchbook No 10* with sketches for the Flute Sonata, Violin Sonata, Sixth Symphony, opera War and Peace, etc.

**Rus.:** Prokof'ev, S. S. *Notnaia zapisnaia knizhka No 10* s nabrosami tem dlīa Sonaty dlīa Fleīty, Sonaty dlīa Skripki, Simfonii No 6, opery 'Voīna I Mir' i dr.,"

**Date:** 2 October 1940

**Ref. No: RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 291**

**Title:** S. Prokofiev, *Sketchbook No 11* with sketches for new editions of Second and Fourth Symphonies, themes for Fifth and Sixth Symphonies, Night Piano Sonata, Violin Sonata, etc.

**Rus.:** S. S. Prokof'ev, *Notnaïa zapisnaïa knizhka No 11 s nabrosami tem dlïa novych redaktsiï 2-ï i 4-ï Simfoniï, tem dlïa 5-ï i 6-ï Simfoniï, 9-ï Sonaty dlïa fortiano, Sonaty dlïa Skripki i dr.*"

**Date:** mid 1940's

**Ref. No: RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 192**

**Title:** S. Prokofiev, *Op. 94. D-Dur, Sonata for Flute and Piano*. In 4 movements. Sketches. On the first sheet there is an inscription by M. A. Prokofiev-Mendelson.. autograph manuscript.

**Rus.:** S. S. Prokof'ev, *Op. 94. D-Dur, Sonata dlïa Fleïty i F-p. V 4-Kh chastiakh. Èskiz. Nadpis' na 1-m liste rukoï M. A. Prokof'evoi - Mendel'son.*

**Date:** 1943

**Ref. No: RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 193**

**Title:** S. Prokofiev, *Op. 94bis, D-dur, [Second] Sonata for Violin and Piano*. In 4 movements. 1. *Moderato*, 4/4, 2. *Presto*, 3/4, 3. *Andante*, 2/4, 4. *Allegro con brio*, 4/4. On the title page there is a note by unidentified person 'Sonata Op. 94 was composed by S. Prokofiev from flute and piano. The edition of this sonata for violin and piano belongs to D. Oistrakh', copyist manuscript.

**Rus.:** S. S. Prokof'ev, *Op. 94-Bis. D-Dur. [Vtoraïa] Sonata dlïa Skripki i F-p.. V 4-Kh Chastiakh. 1. Moderato, 4/4. 2. Presto, 3/4. 3. Andante, 2/4. 4. Allegro con brio,*

4/4. Na titul'nom liste pometka neustanovlennogo liŭsa ' Sonata Op. 94. napisana S. S. Prokof'evym dlia fleity i f-p. Pedaktsia etoi Sonaty dlia dkripki i f-p prinadlezhit D. F. Oistrakhu'.

**Date:** 1942-1943

**Ref. No:** RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 194

**Title:** S. Prokofiev, *Op. 94-bis, D-Dur, [Second] Sonata for violin and piano*. In 4 movements (copyist manuscript).

**Rus.:** S. S. Prokof'ev, *Op. 94-bis. D-Dur. [Vtoraiia] Sonata dlia Skripki i F-p.. V 4-kh chastiakh.*

**Date:** 1944

Library of Dom Kompozitor, Moscow (*Muzykal'naia Biblioteka Soiūza Moskovskikh Kompozitorov*) and BL

**Ref. No (Dom Kompozitor):** E 587,588

**BL Shelfmark:** Music Collections h.3573.g.(2.)

**Title:** Sergei Prokofiev, *Sonata for Violin and Piano No 1, Opus 80* (Moscow: SSK, Muzfond, 1947). Steklograph edition with Plate Number: 60-63 'on the rights of manuscript'

**Rus.:** Prokof'ev S. Op. 80. Sonata No 1 f-moll dlia Skripki i F-n. M. SSK, 1947 steklograph.

**Taneyev Library, Moscow Conservatory (Nauchnaia Muzykal'naia Biblioteka**

**Imeni S. I. Taneeva)**

**Ref. No: Chit. Zal f. 94**

**Title:** S. Prokofiev, Sonata D-Dur Op. 94 for Flute and Piano. Copyist manuscript.

Score and flute part.

**Rus.:** S. S. Prokof'ev, "Sonata D-Dur Op. 94 dlia Fleity i F-p. Rukopisnyi ekzempliar.

Partitura i partiia fleity.

**Date:** 1945

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## Recordings of the Violin Sonatas by Oistrakh and Szigeti

Oistrakh's and Szigeti's recordings of Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas are listed in the Appendices of books by Sorokor, Īuzefovich and Szigeti.<sup>475</sup> These recordings were originally released on LPs, and today most are available on CD.

### Dates of Recordings and LP & CD listing:

#### David Oistrakh

##### First Violin Sonata:

with Lev Oborin (piano):

Recording: Moscow – 01.01.1946

LP release: Melodiya D 5552/3

CD release: Brilliant Classics 9056/14

Recording: Moscow – 1953

LP release: Melodiya (released 1958)<sup>476</sup>

CD release: Le Chant du Monde LDC 278 910

with Vladimir Yampolsky (piano):

Recording: Tokyo (live) – 23.02.1955

CD release: Moscow Conservatory Records SMC CD 0065

Recording: Boston – 09.12.1955

LP release: RCA Victor Red Seal LM-1987

Recording: Moscow – 14.04.1961

LP release: Melodiya D 024427/8

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<sup>475</sup> Yakov Soroker, *David Oistrakh*, trans. J. Vinner (Jerusalem: Lexicon Publishing House, 1982), 167–168; Viktor Aranovich Īuzefovich, *David Oistrakh : besedy s Igorem Oĭstrakhom*, Izd. 2-e, ispr. i dop. (Moskva: Sovetskiiĭ kompozitor, 1985), 355–356; Joseph Szigeti, *With Strings Attached: Reminiscences and Reflections*, 2nd ed., rev. and enl (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), 373–374. See also John R. Bennett, *Melodiya: A Soviet Russian L.P. Discography*. (London: Greenwood Press, 1981), 427–428.

<sup>476</sup> See Īuzefovich. 335–336.

with Frida Bauer (piano):

Recording: Vienna – 26.05.1968

LP release: Melodiya SM 01927/8

Recording: Prague (live) – 19.05.1969

LP release: Chant du Monde CM 201

CD release: Praga PR 250 041

with Sviatoslav Richter (piano):

Recording: Mozarteum, Salzburg (Live) – 20.08.1972

CD release: Orfeo C 489 981 B

Recording: Moscow – 29.03.1972 & 1.04.1972

LP release: Melodiya & EMI ASD 3105

### **Second Violin Sonata:**

with Vladimir Yampolsky (piano):

Recording: Salle Colonille, Brussels – 22.05.1955

LP release: EMI

CD release: EMI (2004) & Warner Classics (2015) 0724356288829

with Lev Oborin (piano):

Recording: Moscow – 1958

LP release: Melodiya<sup>477</sup>

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<sup>477</sup> Ibid.

## Joseph Szigeti

### **First Violin Sonata:**

with Joseph Levine (piano):

Recording: 4, 8, 9 March 1949

LP release: Columbia: MM-975 and ML-4257

CD release: Biddulph Recordings: 80204-2

with Artur Balsam (piano):

Recording: December 1959, © 1960/1961

LP release: Mercury MG-50319 (mono LP); SR-90319 (stereo LP)

CD release: Philips: UCCP - 3411

### **Second Violin Sonata:**

with Leonid Hambro (piano):

Recording: 7, 8 December 1945

LP release: Columbia M-620 ML 4257 (LP)

CD release: Biddulph Recordings: 80204-2

with Artur Balsam (piano):

Recording: December 1959, © 1960/1961

LP release: Mercury, MG-50319 (mono LP); SR-90319 (stereo LP)

CD release: Philips: UCCP – 3411

## **Selective CD listing:**

### **David Oistrakh**

#### **First Violin Sonata:**

Oistrakh, David and Sviatoslav Richter. *Brahms Violinsonate A-Dur Op. 100; Prokofjew Violinsonate F-Moll, Op. 80*. Salzburg Festival 1972 (Orfeo: C 489 981 B), 1998.

David Oistrakh, Frida Bauer and Yuri Temirkanov. *Sergey Prokofiev Violin Concerto No. 1 in D major Op. 19, Five Melodies Op. 36b, Sonata for Violin and Piano No. 1 in F minor Op. 80*. (Praga: PR 250 041), 1993.

David Oistrakh and Vladimir Yampolsky. *Prokofieff Sonata No. 1 in F minor, Leclair Sonata in No. 3 in D, Locatelli Sonata in F minor*. (Sony Music Entertainment: SICCC 1872), 1955.

David Oistrakh 100<sup>th</sup> Birthday Edition. Prokofiev Sonatas for Violin and Piano Nos 1 & 2; with works by Albéniz, Bach, Bartók, Beethoven, Brahms, Catoire, Debussy, Dvorák, Grieg, Hindemith etc. (Brilliant Classics, 9056 – 20 CD set), 2008.

#### **Second Violin Sonata:**

David Oistrakh, Vladimir Yampolsky, Alceo Galliera and Lovro von Matačić. *Prokofiev Violin Concertos Nos 1 & 2, Violin Sonata No. 2*. (EMI Classics 0724356288829), 2004.

## Joseph Szigeti

### Violin Sonatas:

Joseph Szigeti, Joseph Levine, Leonid Hambro and Igor Stravinsky. *Prokofiev Sonata No. 1 in F minor, Sonata No. 2 in D, Stravinsky Pastorale, Duo concertante, Russian Maiden's Song*. (Biddulph Recordings: 80204-2), 2003.

Joseph Szigeti, Artur Balsam and Herbert Menges. *Prokofiev Violin Concerto, Violin Sonatas Nos 1 & 2*. (Philips: UCCP - 3411), 2006.

### DVD recordings:

#### Oistrakh: First Violin Sonata

David Oistrakh and Sviatoslav Richter. *Chronicle of 1970s. S. Prokofiev Sonata No. 1 in F minor. Video recording of live concert in the Great Hall of Moscow Conservatory, 1972*. Available in the archive of the Russian Television 'Rossia - Kul'tura' (tvkultura.ru Moscow, Russia) and on YouTube.

#### Szigeti: Second Violin Sonata

Joseph Szigeti, Artur Balsam, Wilfrid Pelletier and Paul Scherman. *The Art of/L'art de Joseph Szigeti. Tartini Violin Concerto in D minor, Hubay Czardas No. 3 for violin and orchestra, Beethoven Violin Concerto in D major, Prokofiev Sonata for violin and piano No. 2 in D major*. (Radio-Canada: VAI DVD 4269), 2004.

## **Appendices**

### **Interview Transcripts**

#### **Oistrakh's Students:**

##### **I Oleh Krysa**

##### **Interview on 2 August 2014, Rochester N.Y., USA**

**Krysa (b.1942) studied with Oistrakh in 1960-65 and worked as Oistrakh's assistant between 1965-67.**

**Translated and edited from the Russian by the author.**

**What is your most memorable reminiscence of David Oistrakh and how would you describe his personality?**

It is difficult to say because every lesson was a memorable event. He was often on tour and when he returned his classroom at the Moscow Conservatory became full of people and you could never know who would come, either Stern or Karajan, so every lesson was similar to a concert performance in an important venue. I can certainly say that without David Fedorovich I would be a completely different musician and person. He was kind and sensitive and taught deeply into the music preserving the individuality of every student. Technical finesse was important – this was obvious as he admitted to his class only the most capable students – but if I could define what was Oistrakh's violin school, this was impeccable musical taste, an aesthetic momentum, beauty, melodiousness and a singing tone. He performed a vast amount and often his refined playing had a depressing effect on you. However, the easiness and effortless of his playing made you think that, perhaps, you could also achieve a

refined playing. He was very pedantic and did not allow any irregularities in the style or technique, but at the same time he was a very gentle person. He would never show his disapproval, though it was obvious that he did not accept certain things. The lessons varied, some included conversations and stories about composers. Some lessons were run-through performances. Studying with him was a wonderful creative process – he was skilled in choosing repertoire which suited his students and after five years under his tutelage you would become a new person and musician.

### **How did he find this individuality in his students?**

Every person, like every singer, has his own voice. You can distinguish a great violinist after listening to the recording for a few seconds. This can be either different sound production, or phrasing, or something which is indicative of a particular artist. Someone is passionate, someone is more emotionally balanced, someone is lyrical, someone feels natural when performing Bach. Most important was that Oistrakh's students learnt a vast amount of repertoire, for which I am indebted to him.

### **What were the other characteristics of Oistrakh's school?**

The Russian school differentiates itself from other schools by its melodiousness, its singing style. The beauty of its sound and the pursuit to achieve the maximum similarity to the human voice – to the beautiful human voice! – were paramount. And of course technical perfection and excellence, because Oistrakh's command of the violin was just incredible. Under any circumstances, at any moment, he could play

anything. This was completely incomprehensible. This was how he was born and how he educated himself.

**Did Oistrakh talk about his friendship with Sergei Prokofiev and about the personality of the great composer?**

Yes, David Fedorovich told me of his first meeting with Prokofiev in Odessa in 1927. After he had graduated from the Odessa Conservatory he played the First Violin Concerto in front of the maestro. After a successful performance as he thought, Sergei Sergeevich slowly got up and told him ‘Young man, you are playing it fundamentally wrong!’, but of course later they became very good friends, played a lot of chess, they even had a chess tournament on the terms that the loser would play a free concert. And once he told me that the First Violin Sonata, which Prokofiev dedicated to him, was one of the dearest gifts in his life.

I was studying the First Violin Sonata under David Feodorovich while I was passing through an unproductive period in my violin practice. After a big concert tour David Fedorovich returned and I played the Sonata to him not very well. It was the end of the summer term at the Moscow Conservatory and a concert of the violin faculty was approaching. David Fedorovich after my performance said: ‘Well, in a week, you will play this Sonata in the concert of the violin faculty’. The pianist Inna Vladimirovna Piatigorskaya jumped from her piano stool and said ‘David Feodorovich, he is not ready!’ Oistrakh cunningly looked and said ‘If he is talented, he will learn it, if not, then, what can I do?’ This was his rigid pedagogical approach. I spent the whole week only practising and on the concert I played the Sonata quite well and thereafter I learnt it so well that I can play it even now if you would ask me!

So, with the First Violin Sonata I have a personal relationship, but if being objective, I consider it as one of the greatest compositions. I would characterise it a Sonata-Symphony. It is a phenomenal chronicle.

**Did Oistrakh describe Prokofiev's personality?**

No, he didn't say anything in particular, but David Fedorovich liked humour and thus, he enjoyed telling humorous stories. He spoke of Prokofiev's sarcasm and lyricism, as for example in *Romeo and Juliet* or in the Second Violin Concerto. I think that the most important is that Prokofiev was sincere in his letters to Myaskovsky, where he showed his very delicate and susceptible side: a letter to a friend is an intimate moment. As for his sarcasm and his delight in bluntly telling truths, this was at times only his mask. David Fedorovich also spoke about Shostakovich. I was at the premieres of his Second Violin Concerto and the Violin Sonata. In our days these works are considered as classics, but at that time by premiering these works Oistrakh seemed to be fully engaged with the avant-garde. He also premiered in the Soviet Union concertos by Western composers such as Bartók, Szymanowski, Hindemith and others.

**Were you aware of how frequent was Oistrakh's and Prokofiev's communication and artistic collaboration? In your opinion, what kind of collaboration might they have had?**

I think that their artistic collaboration was not very lasting, they communicated very well and Prokofiev was certainly very dear to David Fedorovich and David

Fedorovich was sensitive to Prokofiev's music and its every detail. David Fedorovich learnt a new piece in almost no time and he knew very well all Prokofiev's music. He performed the first and third movements of the First Violin Sonata during Prokofiev's funeral.

**What was the place of the Violin Sonatas in the artistic and pedagogic repertoire of Oistrakh and how would you describe his interpretation of the Violin Sonatas?**

David Fedorovich performed Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas very often and his students always learnt them. However, he did not perform the Violin Solo Sonata, which in my opinion is a simpler composition. I think that he played the Solo Sonata, but never on stage: it was composed in 1947 for the thirtieth anniversary of October revolution, but it certainly has some wonderful moments.

Most important in Oistrakh's interpretation of Prokofiev's violin music was the feeling he conveyed. As if you look from the bird's flight at the vast Russian land, at its haze, then you see the victory (Rus: *pobeda*), then you see the joy and as you start descending you notice smaller and smaller details. This is where Oistrakh's interpretation of especially Prokofiev was astonishing: it was the depth, the intimate closeness, the Russianness to the extent that other interpretations could not recreate for different reasons.

**What do you think of the style in which Prokofiev composed his violin works? Is the Second Sonata a violin sonata or does it remain music for flute?**

Prokofiev composed very well for the violin and I think that was due to David Fedorovich. They would have played, studied and changed the Violin Sonatas together. However, at times the violin part is awkward, but David Fedorovich was a master of violin fingerings, he could play any passage with ease. As for the Second Violin Sonata, I think that Second Violin Sonata and the Flute Sonata are two different compositions and I think that you should not perform the violin version as music for flute. This is unnecessary and unimportant. The Sonatas even have different notes and passages and this is due to the different nature of the instruments.

**Would you think that Oistrakh might have influenced the creation of the violin version?**

Certainly yes, he made it more prominent, stronger, richer, more embellished; he made it violinistic. However, I also admire the Flute Sonata, though historically the initiative to rewrite the Sonata is attributed to David Fedorovich.

**Would you be able to describe Oistrakh's handwriting? Was it precise and accurate or more calligraphical and broad?**

He had a neat and accurate handwriting, not a broad one.

**I would like to show you some manuscripts of the Violin Sonatas which are located at the Glinka Museum's archive in Moscow. There are some fingerings and other annotations with pencil or with blue pens. Would you be able to**

recognise whether any of the annotation are in Oistrakh's handwriting? These are excerpts from the Second Violin Sonata, Op. 94bis.

Ex.1: I Moderato, bars 9-15 (GM 33/12, violin part)



Ex 2: I Moderato, bars 20-30 (GM 33/12, violin part)



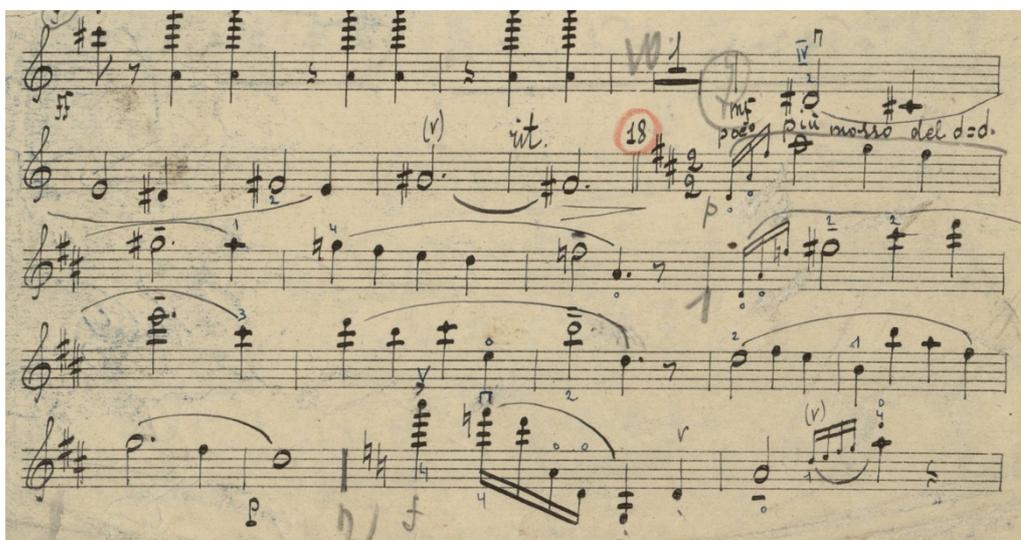
Ex 3: I Moderato, bars 119-121 (GM 33/12, violin part)



**Ex 4: II Presto, bars 82-94 (GM 33/12, violin part)**



**Ex 5: II Presto, bars 153-175 (GM 33/12, violin part)**



**Ex 6: III Andante, bars 63-73 (GM 33/12, violin part)**



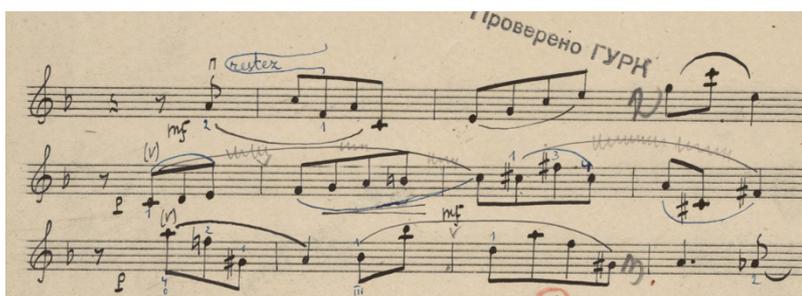
**Ex. 7: IV Allegro con brio, bars 3-10 (GM 33/12, violin part)**



David Fedorovich had a neat handwriting and I can see that the fingerings in blue pen are certainly in his handwriting. There are also his bowings, like those up bowings in the Ex. 7 (Allegro con brio, bars 3-10).

**Regarding bowings, would you think that the slurs of the following example are Oistrakh's?**

**Ex. 8: III Andante, bars 19-30 (GM 33/12, violin part)**



Certainly yes, these bowings; there are also fingerings underneath in the same pen.

**What about the pencil indication 'sul g' in the first line of Ex. 9 – could this be David Fedorovich?**

**Ex 9: IV Allegro con brio, bars 16-21 (GM, 33/12, violin part)**



*Sul g* in pencil is unlikely to be David Fedorovich, because he always wrote in roman letters to indicate violin strings, so he would write IV instead. But there are his fingerings, clearly in the third line, and these are written with pen. I think that *sul g* belongs to someone else.

**Are you suggesting that the pencil annotation of *sul g* and fingerings with pen belong to different people? ‘*Sempre Sul g*’ on the second line of Ex. 9 should be copyist’s handwriting.**

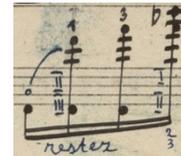
Yes, it looks as the pencil annotations and ‘*sempre sul g*’ belong to two different people whose handwriting is different from David Fedorovich.

**Could you please look at the following examples which all have fingerings and *restez* annotations? Do you think that *restez*, which instructs the violinist to remain in the same position, is David Fedorovich’s indication?**

**Ex 10: I Moderato, bars 62-76, (GM 33/12, violin part)**



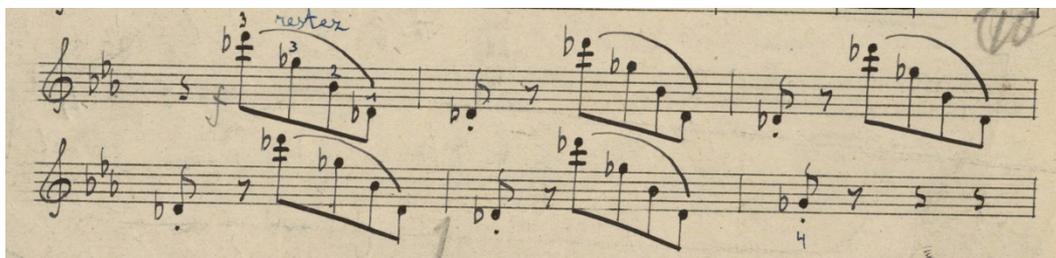
**Ex. 11: I Moderato, bar 80 (GM 33/12, violin part)**



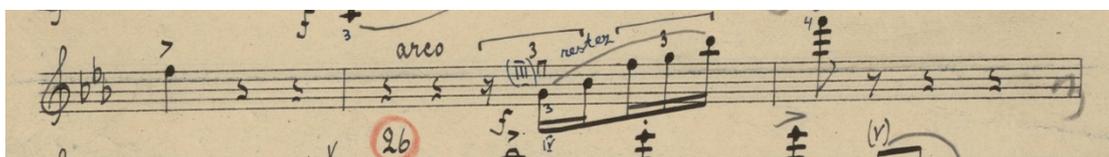
**Ex 12: II Presto, bars 21-26 (GM 33/12, violin part)**



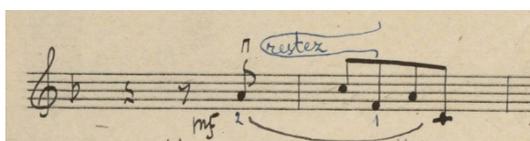
**Ex 13: II Presto, bars 335-340 (GM 33/12, violin part)**



**Ex 14: II Presto, bars 344-346 (GM 33/12, violin part)**



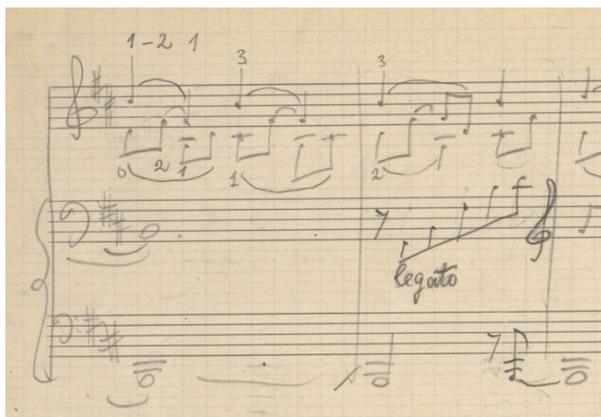
**Ex 15: III Andante, bars 19-20 (GM 33/12, violin part)**



I cannot say for certain regarding *restez* as it is written in French and I suspect that it might be Prokofiev. However, the roman numbers (II, III) and fingerings are certainly David Fedorovich's handwriting. *Restez* might be Oistrakh's as it is with the same pen as the fingerings, but I cannot say for certain.

**These are excerpts from the First Violin Sonata, Prokofiev's autograph in pencil.**  
**Could you identify if any fingerings and or bowings of Ex 16-21 are written by Oistrakh?**

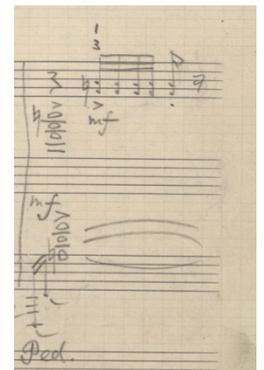
**Ex 16: I Andante assai, bars 52-53 (GM 33/380)**



**Ex 17: II Allegro brusco, bars 16-19 (GM 33/380)**



**Ex 18: II Allegro brusco, bars 172-174 (GM 33/380)**

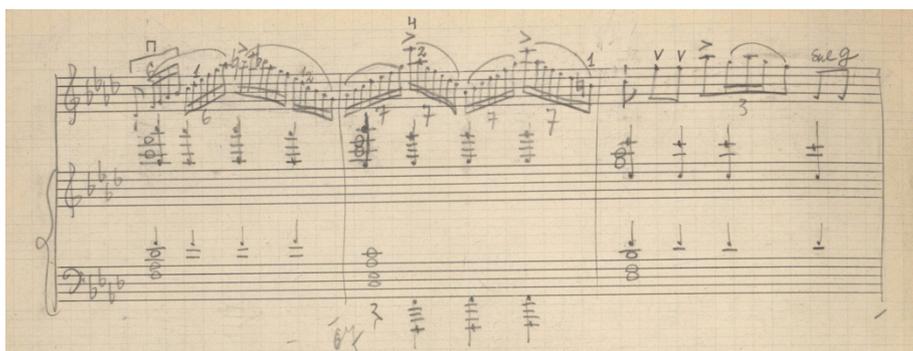


**Ex 19: III Andante, bar 90 (GM 33/380)**

**Ex 20: IV Allegrissimo, bars 59-63 (GM 33/380)**



**Ex 21: IV Allegrissimo, bars 202-204 (GM 33/380)**



Yes, all these **Ex 16-21** have David Fedorovich fingerings. In **Ex. 16** the replacement of 1 and 2 fingers is particularly characteristic of the fingering he was using. I also think that the down bows of **Ex. 17** were written by David Fedorovich.

**How well known was Joseph Szigeti in the USSR, and did Oistrakh ever talk about his friendship with Szigeti?**

Szigeti was very well known. David Fedorovich did not talk in particular about their friendship, but he respected him. Szigeti was a permanent jury member on competitions and they used to sit together.

**In your opinion, how does the interpretation of the First Violin Sonata by Oistrakh differ from the corresponding interpretation of the First Violin Sonata by Szigeti?**

I think that both interpretations are wonderful, but – and this is not because I am Oistrakh's student – Oistrakh's is more epic which is missing in Szigeti's reading. I listened with great interest to Szigeti's recording of Prokofiev's First Violin Sonata, which YouTube link you had emailed me.<sup>478</sup> Szigeti was a phenomenal violinist, but his interpretation is completely different from Oistrakh's, some things in his playing are not suited to the epic unfolding and development of this work. And then the recording itself, he would have been elderly, as his *vibrato* and bowing technique are not as precise and his interpretation lacks finesse and absolute polish. Nevertheless, Szigeti's sense of *rubato* is admirable in this recording. Of course, Szigeti was also closely associated with Prokofiev. I know that when Szigeti was playing the First Violin Concerto in Paris and Prokofiev wanted to come to the rehearsal, Szigeti urged him not to come as he considered this Concerto his own music as well.

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<sup>478</sup> Prokofiev's *First Violin Sonata*: D. Oistrakh (violin), L. Oborin (piano) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mmKCbkvLm-o>

J. Szigeti (violin), J. Levine (piano) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mmKCbkvLm-o>

I think that in his interpretations of the Violin Sonatas, Szigeti could not grasp the epoch, the Second World War, Stalin's system. All these had an impact on Prokofiev's music. The life of those days was tragic and difficult. If the circumstances were different, we wouldn't have such music. Only a composer who lived in such a country could write this music and that is why Oistrakh, as Rostropovich, could convey the meaning of that music only because they lived that life.

The First Violin Sonata is very tragic and dark. I think this Sonata is a Russian chronicle. From the darkness and the 'wind on the graveyard' of the first movement, a battle follows. The third movement is a lyrical moment, it represents calmness after battle, while the finale is a Russian dance with squats. This is exactly how David Fedorovich taught me this chord at the end of bar 4 'Do you see how Russians are dancing? Tam-taram-tam-tam, then squat, after which they would stand up while raising the hand!' he used to tell me. This is difficult to explain to Szigeti.

**Szigeti's edition of First Violin Sonata features minimal annotations in contrast to his edition of the Second Violin Sonata. Here are some extracts of Oistrakh (Muzgiz) and Szigeti (Leeds Music Corporation) editions of the Second Violin Sonata. In terms of fingerings and strings markings, Szigeti prefers to alternate strings more often than Oistrakh, which results in the use of higher violin positions. What would be your comments on Szigeti – Oistrakh interpretative approaches?**

Ex 22: I Moderato, bars 19-28 (Muzgiz 1946 ed. Oistrakh)

dim. *p* *mp*

I Moderato, bars 21-28 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)

*Sul D* *Sul A* *Sul D* *Sul A*  
*p* *Sul D* *Sul G*

Ex 23: II Presto, bars 347-356 (Muzgiz 1946 ed. Oistrakh)

*f* *mf*

II Presto, bars 347-359 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)

*f* *Sul G* *Sul A* *Sul G* *Sul G* *Sul A* *Sul G* *Sul G* *Sul A* *Sul G* *Sul A*

Ex 24: IV Allegro con brio, bars 73-92 (Muzgiz 1946, ed. Oistrakh)

IV Allegro con brio, bars 72-92 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)

Szigeti and Oistrakh just have different approaches. Szigeti is in the search of timbre, possibly of more warmth, which makes him often use D string; whereas Oistrakh is in search of simplicity; after all Russian melodies are very simple and singing in nature. Szigeti's fingering approach is more individual, very interesting, but perhaps not so appropriate. In Ex 23, which is the coda of II movement, Szigeti's alternations of A and G strings are needless as the *tempo* is very fast. This coda, David Oistrakh taught me, is as if two doves are cooing.

Szigeti in his edition of the Second Violin Sonata has come up with extra alternatives to the violin part in his *ossia* sections which do not exist in Oistrakh's edition, neither in manuscripts. These alterations often include harmonisation of musical passages. What would be your opinion on such additional alterations?

Ex 25: IV Allegro con brio, bars 1-6 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)

Ex 26: IV Allegro con brio, bars 24-27 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)

Ex 27: IV Allegro con brio, bars 113-114 (Leeds 1946 ed. Szigeti)

I think that this harmonisation is unnecessary, that is why it is fair that it has not been established. Szigeti added more, but I know that David Fedorovich did not use to play the last quaver (note d) the bar 71 in the II Presto (Ex. 28). [Editor's note: indeed in the recording of Oistrakh and Yampolsky, Oistrakh does not play his note]

**Ex. 28: II Presto, bars 62-83 (Muzgiz 1946 ed. Oistrakh)**

**Did Oistrakh's regular tours influence his playing style? In your opinion, were other European violin schools (Italian, French) combined in Oistrakh's mature playing style?**

Yes, touring had a positive influence. David Fedorovich met and spoke with other musicians; he analysed and learnt everything new, the world was open for him. All violin schools have one goal: to play correctly the musical text with good intonation and beautiful sound and to include in the interpretation something individual and unique. The point is that different schools approach this goal with different methods. Thus, at times the posture varies, the emphasis in the repertoire and technique and so

forth. The French school was very elegant occasionally with salon music; the Russian school was lyrical, broad and spacious in accordance to the vast Russian land. Then, each school has its own traditions and although I think that Russian school is one of the greatest – if not the greatest school – every school has prominent violinists.

**What do you think of Szigeti's violin influences?**

Szigeti's playing originates from the Hungarian violin school and as a musician his approach is very individual. I know very well his fingerings of Prokofiev's First Violin Concerto, which are very interestingly thought out, but nevertheless, they are very individual and difficult to perform. David Feodorovich on the other hand wrote fingerings that could be more generally used. He told me that 'he writes for everyone' despite the fact that he used to vary his own fingerings.

**Years later, how Oistrakh has remained in your memory?**

It is easy and difficult to say because he had such a diverse personality that you can spend forever describing him. He was a giant of his epoch, an outstanding violinist and listening to his speech and violin playing was like a continuous discovery. He was surprisingly delicate and diplomatic, so different from Rostropovich who could openly articulate his thoughts and thereafter leave the room. David Fedorovich lived his life honestly and chose his words carefully; even in his critical comments he would always start from the positives. He had a wonderful sense of humour and a very humane side; he was a prototype of 'savoir faire', teaching his students how to get on well with colleagues at work while at the same time keeping a straight rigid

line and proceeding confidently onto his own path. He was very respected and astonishingly balanced personality always in search of continuous development and of new ideas. His violin playing never stayed the same, nor did his teaching – they were always informed by the latest he had heard or discovered. He was a kind of godfather to us and we were learning about everything from him, he was so astonishingly unique and at the same time a simple and kind person. When he was touring in Lvov, my home town, my father called to ask me ‘Do you think it would be appropriate to invite David Fedorovich after his concert in Lvov for dinner?’ to which I gave a positive answer. Thus, after the concert my father shyly, in broken Russian, approached David Fedorovich with his proposition and David Fedorovich replied smiling ‘Of course! I will be delighted to meet Oleh’s family and to see the house where he grew up’. Approaching such an artist was just as simple as that.

## **II Alexander Treger**

**Telephone interview on 5 August 2014, Los Angeles California, USA**

**Terger studied with Oistrakh for six years in the 1960s.**

**Translated and edited from the Russian by the author.**

**What is your most memorable reminiscence of David Oistrakh and how would you describe his personality?**

I have many memories, it is difficult to choose one, but perhaps the most memorable event was that September 1967 day when David Fedorovich played for the first time Shostakovich's Second Violin Concerto, which was composed for him. This was in his Moscow Conservatory classroom, No. 8, and he was accompanied by grand piano. Shostakovich was present. Oistrakh performed the entire Concerto and at the end looked at Dmitrii Dmitrievich and asked 'Anything else?' Shostakovich who sat smoking a cigarette replied 'No-no, everything is wonderful, wonderful David Fedorovich'. This was the only thing that Shostakovich said. The next day orchestral rehearsals were to start for the Concerto's premiere.

In terms of his personality, this was an incredible person not only as a musician, but also as a human, I would say, Human with capitals. He was incredibly intelligent and knowledgeable, had wonderfully good manners, and communication with him was not only with a pedagogue, but it was communication with a great man.

**In your opinion, what kind of collaboration might David Fedorovich have had with composers?**

There is a recorded telephone conversation between Shostakovich and Oistrakh – which was also available as part of a LP with recording conducted by Kiril Kondrashin – where they are discussing some nuances and tempo indications of Second Violin Concerto. This is the only evidence of David Fedorovich collaboration of which I am aware. [Editor’s note: three telephone transcripts between D. Oistrakh and D. Shostakovich are published in existing literature.]<sup>479</sup>

**And what about his friendship with Prokofiev? Did Oistrakh talk about his friendship with Sergei Prokofiev and about the personality of the great composer?**

I cannot recall him talking particularly about Sergei Prokofiev, but I know that they build their friendship upon chess games. As chess enthusiasts and very good chess players they used to play in tournaments; this was widely known. Nor do I remember David Fedorovich describing Prokofiev as Prokofiev died on 5 March 1953, and I studied under David Fedorovich in the 1960s. In those days it was Shostakovich who composed for Oistrakh, dedicating his Second Violin Concerto and his Violin Sonata – a sixtieth birthday present – to Oistrakh. Thus, my recollections of Oistrakh and contemporary composers are associated more with Shostakovich rather than with Prokofiev.

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<sup>479</sup> ĪUzefovich, *David Oĭstrakh*, 215–217.

**What was the place of Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas in the artistic and pedagogic repertoire of Oistrakh and how would you describe his interpretation of the Violin Sonatas?**

Both Sonatas were composed for David Fedorovich, especially the First Violin Sonata in F minor, which was dedicated to him. The First Violin Sonata is an astonishing composition, one of my favourite sonatas from the violin and piano repertoire. Oistrakh performed Prokofiev's Violin Sonatas exceptionally: I heard him playing them live in many concerts and his recordings have preserved his interpretations to our days. Oistrakh felt Prokofiev's music, the composer's lyrical side and the grotesque in the fast movements. This is also very evident, for example, in his interpretation of Scherzo of the First Violin Concerto.

**What do you think of the style in which Prokofiev composed his violin works? Is the Second Sonata a violin sonata or has it remained music for flute?**

This Sonata is performed both on flute and on violin, but I favour the violin variant. The Second Violin Sonata has established itself as a standard piece in the violin repertoire and I perceive the work more as a violin sonata rather than as a flute sonata. However, flautists perform the work exceptionally as well.

**Would you think that Oistrakh could have influenced the adaptation process, as there are differences between the flute and violin parts?**

Yes, I think that David Fedorovich certainly influenced the adaptation. As for the differences, some notes and passages are different, because violin and flute are two different instruments, but nevertheless, the music has remained the same in the violin variant. I think that David Fedorovich wisely had asked Prokofiev to rewrite this Sonata for violin and to make the solo part violinistic, thus, creating a new reading and edition of the work. The Second Violin Sonata, if compared to the First Violin Sonata, in F minor, is more lyrical, very beautiful, full of Prokofiev, especially its first movement. Both Violin Sonatas are masterpieces of a great composer.

**How well was Joseph Szigeti known in the USSR and did Oistrakh ever mention his friendship with Szigeti?**

We knew about Szigeti and that he was visiting the USSR, but I became acquainted with Szigeti after I migrated to the West in the 1970s. As for their friendship, I cannot recall David Fedorovich talking about Szigeti.

**In your opinion, how does the interpretation of the First Violin Sonata by Oistrakh differ from the corresponding interpretation of the First Violin Sonata by Szigeti?**

In Oistrakh's interpretation the violin sings; he had the gift of phrasing. Szigeti's interpretation is a little different, his playing is also remarkable, but this is a different style.

**Do you think that differences in style reflect the style the epoch during which the Violin Sonatas were composed?**

Yes, undoubtedly. The times were very dramatic: it was not only the Second World War but also Stalin's era. Only those who lived then in the USSR could truly comprehend and grasp the meaning of the music composed during those days, and this was not only relevant to Prokofiev's music, but also to Shostakovich's. Prokofiev's Fifth Symphony and his wartime chamber music reflect those times: the war, this greyness (Rus: *serost'*), the oppression which composers tried to hide, but no one could. You can hear this in beginning of the First Violin Sonata. When David Oistrakh performed Prokofiev, and also Shostakovich, he transmitted in his interpretation the reflection of the epoch and that is why he could reconstruct the composer's intentions. He understood the setting well as he himself had lived through these times. The greyness of life also exists at the beginning of Shostakovich's First Violin Concerto.

**Virtuosity, technical perfection and aesthetic soulful playing ideally are combined, but historically, some violinists are associated with one quality or another. For instance, Jascha Heifetz is associated with technical superiority.**

**What was paramount for Oistrakh?**

Oistrakh was renowned for the singing tone of his violin playing. No one was solely interested in technique. People said that Heifetz was a ‘violinist from God’ as his technique was phenomenal, difficult to comprehend, and this was what drew people’s attention. When you listen to Oistrakh’s playing, you hear in the first instance music. Historically, Oistrakh’s playing was highly influential to future violinists, also due to his unique approach to violin pedagogy. None of his students resembled each other and he always encouraged development, progress and individuality. I remember once I played to him Brahms’ Violin Concerto, which he had played with orchestra just the evening before our lesson. Of course all his students had attended that concert which was so magnificent that the next day, even subconsciously I started miming. And at some point during our lesson he stopped me and said: ‘No, this is unnecessary, you were yesterday at my concert, but this is how I played, you should not play like that’.

**What did this individuality involve and how Oistrakh encouraged it?**

This was his unique pedagogy; on one hand he asked his students absolutely to follow the music text i.e. the composer’s text, but on the other hand to follow intuition. He always taught with the violin in his hands, and he would suggest different phrasings to his students. Thus, he demonstrated a phrasing that he thought would suit best that

particular student: demonstrating not the way he would play, but the way which he felt that the student should play. He somehow felt what was the individual approach to music of each student.

**Did Oistrakh's regular tours have influence on his playing style? In your opinion, were other European violin schools (Italian, French) combined in Oistrakh's mature playing style?**

Oistrakh was very intelligent; he continually sought improvement, new ideas and different approaches. He was always searching and was never satisfied. His tours and meetings with Western musicians informed his playing. He would say that he enjoyed spending his free time by listening to Wagner with the score. However, Oistrakh did not distinguish or favour a particular violin school. He respected all different playing traditions and his contemporary eminent violinists as for example Heifetz. He was also a friend with Menuhin, but he never copied, but instead would experiment with new ideas, phrasing and fingering.

**Regarding fingerings, did Oistrakh write 'conventional' fingerings or did he create something more individual?**

He wrote the best fingering which exists! His fingering would come from musical needs and expression, not from technical convenience. I remember he always would say 'If you can play one phrase on one string, this would be the most ideal, but if this is difficult to achieve, then try to stay for as long as you can on one string. In this way,

you will preserve the line of the phrase'. And this has stayed with me ever since and now I am instructing my own students in the same way.

**Years later, how has Oistrakh remained in your memory?**

I am sitting now in my Los Angeles office and in front of me there is his portrait. He has remained with me throughout all these years. His influence was phenomenal, and looking back to when I was a young person, to meet such a great person was a gift. And years later I am more and more convinced that I was one of those few blessed who had the chance to communicate and learn from him. I consider Oistrakh as one of not only the greatest violinists, but as one of the greatest musicians of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. And at the same time he was delicate, gentle and respectful man.

### **III Michael Vaiman**

**Email interview on 12 June 2016.**

**Vaiman (b. 1953) studied with Oistrakh between 1970-1974.**

**Translated and edited from the Russian by the author.**

**What is your most memorable reminiscence of David Oistrakh and how would you describe his personality?**

It is difficult to reply to this question by email. David Fedorovich was an exemplary prototype of musician and violinist for me and many other young violinists. He was incredibly good-natured and a positive-minded man. He had harmony and an astonishing internal balance. It was a great joy and fortune to communicate with him.

**Did Oistrakh talk about his friendship with Sergei Prokofiev and about the personality of the great composer?**

David Fedorovich had told me of his first meeting with Sergei Sergeevich in Odessa. Oistrakh had just graduated from the Conservatory and when Sergei Sergeevich visited the city, Oistrakh was invited to perform in a concert organised in Prokofiev's honour. Oistrakh had recently played Prokofiev's First Violin Concerto in his graduation recital. After Oistrakh's performance Sergei Sergeevich immediately came onto the stage, sat on the piano and started demonstrating Concerto's extracts which he wished to be performed differently. The situation was quite unpleasant for young Oistrakh. Eight to ten years later, when David Fedorovich was already an established musician and friends with Sergei Sergeevich, David Fedorovich reminded him of this

incident and asked him if he knew who was that young man who performed his Concerto. Sergei Sergeevich remembered his visit to Odessa and when he found out that it was David Fedorovich he felt guilty and embarrassed.

They were friends not only in music, but also in chess. They even gave a public chess match, which remained unfinished due to their lack of sufficient spare time.

**Were you aware of how frequent was Oistrakh's and Prokofiev's communication and artistic collaboration? In your opinion, what kind of collaboration might they have had?**

Their musical contact lasted until Sergei Sergeevich's death. Both the Violin Sonatas were outputs of their creative friendship. As far as I know, the Solo Sonata was also composed for David Fedorovich, but he did not perform it because he thought that the Solo Sonata was a weaker composition in comparison to Prokofiev's preceding violin works.

**What was the place of the Violin Sonatas in the artistic and pedagogic repertoire of Oistrakh and how would you describe his interpretation of the Violin Sonatas?**

Prokofiev's violin works held a significant place in artistic and pedagogic repertoire of David Fedorovich. I think that Prokofiev's music, with its diverse characters and melodiousness, gives the interpreter opportunities for fantasy, imagination and experimentation, especially if considering that this music was contemporary to those

days and was composed relatively recently. In the case of the Violin Sonatas, the music was composed especially for David Fedorovich.

**Would you think that Oistrakh might have influenced the creation of the violin version of the Flute Sonata?**

David Fedorovich participated directly in the adaptation of the Second Violin Sonata and suggested to Sergei Sergeevich different variants to extracts [from the Flute Sonata]. Undoubtedly under his influence Sergei Sergeevich created the violin variant of the Flute Sonata.

**How well known was Joseph Szigeti in the USSR, and did Oistrakh ever talk about his friendship with Szigeti?**

Joseph Szigeti was of course very well known in the USSR. He visited with concerts and was a jury in the International Tchaikovsky Competition. As far as I know he was friendly with David Fedorovich. Their interpretations of Prokofiev's violin music are different just as much as their wider differences are. Oistrakh and Szigeti were very different musicians and had a different approach to violin playing. You can judge this by examining the recordings of these eminent violinists, as well as, by their different editions to violin works of music not only by Prokofiev.

## **Soviet-Western Cultural Relations:**

### **IV Rev. Canon Dr Michael Bourdeaux**

**Interview on 19 Nov 2014 in London & 29 April 2015 in Oxford, UK**

**What activities made up the cultural exchange between the UK and the USSR when you were in Moscow in the late 1950s?**

It is important to remember that before Stalin's death there were simply no cultural exchanges and it was only under the Khrushchev 'thaw' in the second half of the 1950s that this began to change. The main aspect of wider cultural exchange during this period was the exchange of theatre companies. In 1958, for example, the Royal Shakespeare Company visited Moscow for the first time: likewise the Royal Ballet visited Moscow, and the Bolshoi Ballet came to the United Kingdom. In 1964, the English Opera Group even performed one of Benjamin Britten's chamber operas in Moscow.

In 1959 there was also an exhibition of British books in Moscow, but this was controversial as the Soviet Government removed the books they didn't like. In the same year there was a Soviet book exhibition in London featuring works by Marx and Lenin. From 1961 Britain also promoted trade relationships with the Soviet Union after Khrushchev had to a degree opened up the Soviet Union to the West over the previous five years; in that year, I worked on a stand of an industrial exhibition promoting all aspects of British life. My section advertised textile machines.

The first student exchange was in 1959 as part of the cultural agreement signed in May 1959 between the British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan and the Soviet leader Nikita Krushchev. The student exchange was arranged for the academic year starting in September. It was an exchange of twenty students from each side, but from Britain only seventeen students were actually approved for visas. I was selected as one of them. I had served in the Royal Air Force in 1952-1954 and had attended the Joint Services School for Linguists and hence I was fluent in Russian. For two academic years (1957-59) I had studied theology at Oxford and during the year 1959-60 in Moscow I studied Russian Medieval history at the Moscow State University. The British Council arranged all details and the British students were given one day of briefing from the Foreign Office. We sailed from Tilbury for Leningrad on a ship named 'Mikhail Kalinin'.

**Which organisations co-ordinated these cultural relations?**

On our side, it was mainly the British Council. In the Soviet Union, cultural activities were all effectively controlled by the Communist Party who would send all kind of delegations: miners, trade organisations, unions etc. Hence the political aspect was always much more explicit on the Soviet side and every aspect of culture was always subordinate to it. In 1959 the British Government founded the GB-USSR Association to promote non-political cultural activities in spheres such as education, literature, art and trade between the two countries. I recall that some individual cultural exchanges were arranged by the GB-USSR Association between the cities of Novosibirsk and Manchester.

**To what extent was VOKS involved in cultural exchanges, and was it ever considered as a propaganda organisation and what was the role of the Embassies in facilitating and coordinating cultural activities between the two countries?**

I was not aware of the existence of VOKS and of the role it played in cultural exchanges. [Editor's note: it had, in fact, been restructured and renamed in 1958 as the 'Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries']

The British Council provided our visas, whilst all other aspects were coordinated by the respective Foreign Offices. At that time, the British Council did not even have an office in Moscow. The Embassies in fact had a very modest output culturally until Kenneth James, the first British cultural attaché in Moscow was appointed in 1959. He subsequently sent regular reports to London on cultural activities and was responsible for British students on the exchange programme, who usually would see him only in an emergency. At the Moscow State University there was a department of the Soviet Foreign Office connected to the NKVD [sic – presumably KGB], to which the British exchange students had to enquire for visits outside Moscow. It also provided subsidised tickets for the Bolshoi Theatre, and at the end of our studies, in June 1960, offered us a three week 'propaganda' tour of the Soviet Union, taking in the cities of Kiev, Odessa, Crimea, Batumi, Kislovodsk, Tbilisi and Yerevan. The British Council arranged a reciprocal UK tour for the Soviet exchange students.

**During your time in the Soviet Union, what was your knowledge of Anglo-Soviet friendship organizations, such as SCR/SCRSS and were people in Moscow**

**informed about the existence of the Anglo-Soviet Music Press under the patronage of Boosey & Hawkes?**

The SCR was discredited as a Communist-dominated organisation and British exchange students avoided being associated with it. We had to protect our visas as otherwise the British Council would not select us on the student exchange programme. It was the GB-USSR Association – a government funded organization – which promoted cultural activities and of which I had been a member. I don't recall that people in Moscow were aware of the existence of the Anglo-Soviet Music Press.

**What Western music was performed in Moscow when you were there?**

Generally, there was no British music, nor any other contemporary Western music. The only exception I recall was a cultural music event between the US and the USSR in April 1960. It was called 'Ten days of Soviet-American music' (Rus: Dekada Sovetskoï-Amerikanskoï muzyki) and featured works by two main American composers: Lukas Foss and Aaron Copland. However, the cultural activities between the Soviet Union and the US ended rapidly on 1 May 1960 after the shooting down of an American U2 spy plane. This was proof again of the primacy of politics in Soviet attitudes towards culture.

There was a great discrimination against modern contemporary music. This affected in particular music from Poland: Krzysztof Penderecki and Witold Lutosławski were banned. Mieczysław Weinberg, also a Polish composer and a friend of Shostakovich, made a living as a teacher and his works were not performed. In the provinces it was easier to perform banned repertoire.

## **What was the general musical atmosphere in Moscow in the late 1950s and early 1960s?**

The Soviet Minister of Culture in 1960 was the formidable Yekaterina Furtseva. Musical life was strictly controlled by Goskontsert, a concert organisation which was part of the Soviet Ministry of Culture and which was subject to the KGB. It enforced the Party line on all matters cultural, including on modern music.

Classical music concerts were centralised at the Moscow Conservatory, the Bolshoi Theatre and the Gnessin State Music School. There were no classical concerts at the State University during my studies. Shostakovich was a favoured composer, but his opera *Lady Macbeth* was still banned. Classical music on religious themes or indeed with any association with religion was also unacceptable. For instance, when J. S. Bach's Great Eighteen Chorale Preludes (BWV 651-668) were performed in the Great Hall of Moscow's Conservatory by an Estonian organist, the programme did not mention that these were liturgical solo organ works composed in accordance with Lutheran tradition. What appeared in the concert programme was a simple succession of the keys in which the Preludes were composed. Similarly, J.S. Bach's other religious works such as *St Matthew Passion* and *Cantatas* were not performed. Beethoven was frequently performed, though not his *Missa Solemnis*. Likewise, Mozart – but again not his religious works. In contrast, Wagner was banned as his music was associated with German Fascism.

### **How popular was Sergei Prokofiev at this time?**

Although he had been denounced in 1948, by now his music was regularly performed (albeit not as much as Shostakovich) and was very popular, especially his symphonies, piano concertos and operas. *The Fiery Angel* was staged, but the 1959 performance of *Duenna (Betrothal in a Monastery)* coincided with Khrushchev's 1959 anti-religious campaign and came in for some criticism.

### **What was typical concert repertoire during this period?**

Tchaikovsky was always at the heart of the repertoire, and Borodin's music also featured very regularly. Rachmaninoff's Symphonies and Piano Concertos were often performed, but not his liturgical music, the *Vespers (All-Night Vigil)*. However, I did hear Rachmaninoff's *Vespers* in March 1960 during a night service in a church on Bol'shaia Ordynka Street on the south-side of Moskva river. Of contemporary composers, Shostakovich was often performed and Khachaturian was also very popular.

### **What was the state of chamber music in the Soviet Moscow?**

Chamber music was not widely performed, and what there was mainly in the Small Hall of the Moscow Conservatory. A typical string quartet concert would feature works by Mozart, Beethoven (the late quartets) and Shostakovich: a somewhat limited repertoire. I don't recall any performances of Prokofiev's chamber works.

## **V Victor Hochhauser**

**Telephone interview on 3 July 2014, London, UK.**

**How did you come to meet Oistrakh and bring him to the United Kingdom?**

It was particularly after Stalin's death in 1953 that I heard about Oistrakh's great reputation. I was already aware of his performance in Prague in 1946, during which he had played Prokofiev's Violin Sonata among other works, and I had a recording of this performance and I liked it very much. I therefore wrote to the Soviet authorities, who agreed to send Oistrakh to the United Kingdom in 1954. His first concert in March 1954, at the Royal Albert Hall, was an outstanding success and the hall was full. From 1954 onwards we became very close friends. Oistrakh spoke fluent German and I spoke Russian quite well. I maintained a close personal and professional relationship with him until his death in 1974.

**How would you explain the force of Oistrakh's personality?**

Oistrakh had an outstanding personality. He was a warm, loveable and approachable man with a fine sense of humour which he never lost; his jokes, drawn from his Jewish heritage, were wonderful. In ordinary conversation he was unaffected, simple in manner, with an unassuming but noble pride in his playing. When he played the violin his persona would be transformed and his greatness would come across. Not only was he the greatest violinist of his time, he was also a great teacher. There wasn't an international violin competition without his students winning first or second prizes.

**What was distinctive about Oistrakh's violin playing – how did it differ from, say, Menuhin's? Was it sound production?**

Yes, it was partly sound production, but in practice it was much more than that. My answer is that there was nothing which resembled Oistrakh's unique musicianship. His persona was itself charismatic and magical – every aspect of his appearance on stage – and his tone, conveyed the music he was performing to audiences in a unique way.

**How did you communicate with Oistrakh in the context of the Cold War?**

Gosconcert was not very keen on our very frequent communication and we kept much of it on telephone and in person. We primarily exchanged letters on the subject of concert programmes. When I would telephone him in Moscow, he was obviously more careful, but abroad he was relaxed in our communication. During one of his first visits, in 1956, Oistrakh had agreed to give a concert in Oxford, and was accompanied by a 'secretary'. After he returned to Moscow he complained that he would never agree to travel abroad again being accompanied by anyone else apart from his wife Tamara: and this was subsequently the case.

You must remember that all these great artists, like Shostakovich, Gilels, Richter, and Rostropovich were Russians and though they lived under Soviet rule, they were born in Russia and they were Russian artists. Oistrakh, like many others, felt no need to leave Russia as he was highly respected at home and in a great position as artist and teacher. As is well known, Prokofiev also returned to Russia after having lived abroad.

**Which organisations co-ordinated the cultural exchanges with Soviet artists?**

Goskontsert was a Russian abbreviation of 'State Concert Agency'. It was the trading arm of the Ministry of Culture in charge of negotiations with the international organisations with Russian artists abroad and foreign artists to Russia. All my affairs with Goskontsert were strictly under the aegis of the Anglo-Soviet Cultural Agreement, which were jointly signed by the British and Soviet Governments. Politics were never involved – and would not have been tolerated. My contact with Yekaterina Furtseva, Soviet Minister of Culture, consisted only of attending receptions during her visits to London. The Soviet Embassy in London was involved only in obtaining entry visas for Russia. The Russian Ambassador was invited as a guest to the opening of our seasons as a matter of courtesy, as was the British Ambassador similarly invited to see British artists appearing in Russia.

The Foreign Office was instrumental in creating the GB-USSR Association, of which I was one of the founder members, in order to foster Anglo-Soviet cultural activities. Soviet Ministry of Affairs was not involved in cultural exchange activities. The expulsion of diplomats resulted in a temporary suspension of cultural activities in 1971, but was these were re-established some months later.

**Oistrakh possessed a particular empathy towards Prokofiev. Why do you think that this was? Did he ever talk about his collaboration with the composer, or about Prokofiev's violin music? Is it possible that Oistrakh could have 'influenced' Prokofiev in realising these works?**

Whilst I knew Shostakovich very well, and was therefore closely aware of his collaboration with Oistrakh, I can't really comment on Oistrakh's collaboration with Prokofiev, since my connection with Oistrakh was mainly associated with Shostakovich's violin music. But I do vividly recall Oistrakh's performances of Prokofiev and have recordings of some of them.

I never met Prokofiev, as he had died in 1953 before my connection with Russia, but I was certainly made aware of his friendship with Oistrakh and I understand that Oistrakh's co-operation with Prokofiev became as close as was possible with the composer.

**Joseph Szigeti:**

**VI Transcript of interview with Joseph Szigeti and John Amis,**

**BBC Recorded Programmes Library, LP 28832, BL Shelf mark: 1LP 0194550**

**'TALKING ABOUT MUSIC' Joseph Szigeti interviewed by John Amis on 31.08.1964, introduction by Manoug Parikian recorded on 20.10.1964**

**Transcribed by the author after introduction starting at 3 min 41 sec.**

**Here is Mr Szigeti in person, sitting across the table opposite me. Mr Szigeti, my first question is this: How intuitive an artist would you say you were? Or have you always known exactly how and why you played the way you did?**

I wouldn't say that I have always known it. Probably I did things mostly instinctively and just in the natural course of events, I mean, I learnt a great deal from conductors. That is perhaps something that separates me from many of my colleagues that I learnt a great deal from Artur Schnabel, from Bruno Walter, from Klemperer from all these men with whom I played. This is...now is the time to draw conclusions.

**3:44 I remember at the Dartington one of the great points you made was, what I might call, a sort of creative fingering.**

Yes, because it is a life blood of performance, and what I tried to convey to the young people there, also, is that we must look for the line of most resistance as our friend Schnabel said. He called a little book of his *The Line of Most Resistance*.

**But didn't Busoni say the same thing about practising. Always try, start off, with the most difficult fingering and then after that anything else is bound to seem easier.**

Fingerings compel certain expression and it is this faculty of drawing out of our musical treasures the maximum of expressiveness, and of character, and of eloquence that seems to me to be missing nowadays in the superb playing we are surrounded by, because I suppose technique has never been more smooth and more infallible than in our days. But what I miss is precisely this element of risk, the element of having convictions and daring to convey them. To compare performances like this is a very big job. I may say that in view of the young musicians who over the radio speak with blithe, nonchalance, about, I don't know, Monteux's *Symphonie Fantastique* and Ansermet's and Toscanini's and so on, I am afraid that they don't devote the time and the intensity that such comparisons should have. Don't you agree?

**Yes, I do.**

Because to listen, to listen to a work of 35 minutes duration and to remember while you are listening to the fourth or sixth or eighth performance how you were struck by the first is a very responsible and important analytical job. And I just don't know how they do it, anyway; when I recorded the two Prokofiev Sonatas, which I was the first to play in America, I got the Soviet recordings of those two Sonatas and I wanted of course to evaluate the two against each other, it took me hours, because I did in little chunks of music and went back to the other performance.

**May I ask you for a record that you still like of your early days and perhaps one of the pre-war records? Did you have a favourite?**

Well, I am very partial to the recordings I made with Sir Thomas [Beecham]. That was in 19... I suppose, 32-3-4 [1932-1933-1934]. As you know I made recording of the Mendelssohn Concerto and the First Prokofiev Concerto in those days with his orchestra.

**I was always rather surprised that he did do the Prokofiev with you because on the whole it is not his kind of music**

It is not his, and I remember going to his house around 11 o'clock in the morning to show him the piece. He never heard it and I found him in a dressing gown with all his of the morning's mail just plastered at over the piano and with a Highball [alcoholic drink] in his hand and he asked me to go through it. Because I in a way had to explain some things in that piece to him. I had a great experience of playing it. I was the first violinist to play it in the Soviet Russia in 1924. And Oistrakh lately when he was at my house in California, when I still lived in California, told me that he heard it from me for the first time.

**But I want to ask you also about Prokofiev himself whom you knew?**

I knew him and we remained in touch until the war – alas I never saw him after about 1937 or '38. We came back from America to Europe on the same boat and he wanted to persuade me to take up the Second Violin Concerto. He played it to me, shouted

the whole piece, the violin part, didn't have a voice, but he sang the violin part as like composers do. I never took it up, but I did do my bit for the three sonatas, because there are three.

**Reading between the lines I wonder if Prokofiev wasn't rather boorish, rude?**

Yes, he was very outspoken and very undiplomatic with conductors too.

**Why was that, was he was just sort of peasant-like character?**

Oh, no, he wasn't at all peasant-like character. I think his father was an administrator of a big estate.

**But he was difficult to get on with**

Yes, oh yes. I never had any trouble. There is a diary of his, in which he tells the story of how he asked to come to the rehearsal, when I played it with Ansermet in Paris.

**The First Concerto**

The First Concerto, after I had already played it all over the world. And I told him, oh look, I consider this piece so much my own and I would feel happier if you are not there and you don't listen to my talks and instructions to the musicians and to the conductor. After all, he was the parent, I always considered myself the parent. That's the vanity of performing virtuosos, you know, they identify themselves with what

they play, because there comes a time when the performer has immersed himself to a much greater extent than the parent, the composer who has cast it off. Like we cast off, I mean well adjusted parents and children have to break at a certain time.

**I remember that Bloch was very disapproving of the performance of Feuermann and Stokowski of *Schelomo***

No, a marvellous performance! Yes, well.

**Did you work with Bloch a lot?**

Yes, I know that he is a little out of fashion at present, but so is your Vaughan Williams, so is Sibelius and these neglects and these rediscoveries are in the nature of things, they are cycles.

**Did you do any premieres of Bartók works?**

Yes, I did the First Rhapsody, which was written for me in 1928. I did both the orchestra version and the piano version. The piano was written first and then he orchestrated it. We recorded the Rhapsody and *Contrasts*, the piece he wrote for Benny [Goodman] and for myself in May 1940 and I am glad to be able to tell not only you but the listeners that a private recording by the librarian of the US Library of Congress in Washington, where we played this recital at a festival, is going to be released. This was a recording made in 1940 of a programme consisting of the

Kreutzer Sonata [Beethoven], the Debussy Sonata, the First Rhapsody and the Second Bartók Sonata.

**All these with Bartók?**

All these with Bartók at the piano.

**Goodness, how did he play the Kreutzer?**

Oh, that's ... one could write a long essay on that. He was a great connoisseur and lover and interpreter of Beethoven. And it's very sad that the recording companies never took advantage of the possibility of fixing a great composer's view of these great works, which he played in his early years all the time; you see, it's only after the mid '30s that he limited himself to sonata recitals. These are the unforgivable sins of omission of big business. When you think that in around 1946-47 there were, I believe, four recordings of his in the catalogues. Now open any catalogue and just see this proliferation of performances of his work. This is one of the sore points that I suppose any performer at my age will tell you about, that the industry does not do its duty by the young generations that they allow these performances by Cortot and Adolf Bush and young Rudolf Serkin and Supervia and so on, I could just go on.

**But they are coming back.**

Some of them, but it is a very small percentage. There are recordings of mine that I made in the early '30s that I would give anything to be able to get myself. I sometimes

advertise for them. There is the Ernest Bloch Concerto, which I made in '38 and which really held its place in the catalogue. I am glad to hear that Yehudi [Menuhin] has recorded it now. But still, whatever recording comes later in the life of a work, should not obscure the importance of the first. Just like in literature – after all we hunt for first editions, don't we? There is the question of the original text, there is the question of the changes that works undergo in the course of time.

**It's a pity of course, that one can't trust some of the very earliest records because one feels that they probably were made under such difficult conditions or with managers holding clocks you know.**

Yes, I can imagine.

**Did you have that? Did you have that when you first did your record?**

No, I must say, I was not haunted by the clock.

**If you had your time again, would you have preferred to make records of complete performances, or would you still tackle it section by section?**

If I could do it all over again, I would go out for the complete performance and more I say this with more conviction than ever, because of these ten Beethoven Sonatas that were put on records in 1944 when I played it with Claudio Arrau and which now belatedly, luckily, have been released without any possibility of modifying anything

they are, you can hear the coughs, the applause was in it too. We cut out the applause, but we couldn't cut out the coughs.

**But you think the performances of those are better than the recordings...**

They have a single-mindedness, they have a feeling of direction that only a performance that addresses itself to a living audience can have. I know I am talking against my own interests and against the ideology of all record collectors, but there is nothing that can replace this clear cut progress of a work that is produced with the sounding board of an audience.

**The Beethoven leads me to another aspect of music making. Mr Szigeti do you have any observations to make about audiences?**

You want to me to talk about the coughing during the Beethoven Sonata? No, well, I always considered that. Those countries like Australia and Russia and Japan, that could promote six, or seven of nine or ten concerts in a row, got to know and love their performers more than Paris or Berlin or London or Amsterdam. Because in practically all these centres the artist comes and goes and returns next year and there is not that sense of continuity.

**May I ask you now, what is your attitude towards teaching?**

I have a feeling of it's have being slightly indecent to continue to play such an instrument as ours, where we produce what we convey to the listener, we produce it

with our life-blood so to say, like a singer. In the case of a keyboard instrument this is not so intimate, it's not so linked with your whole nervous system with the sympathetic system which is uncontrollable, like blushing is uncontrollable, or going pale is uncontrollable. So, I felt when I made my last recording here in London.

**What year was that?**

That was 1961 – I made the Beethoven Concerto for the third time in my life, which is a great privilege. Anyway, I made it twice before with Bruno Walter; those are the records I suppose, you were brought up on.

**The Columbias?**

Yes, and I simply felt that one has to call it a day at a certain moment. There is a great deal of satisfaction when a musician at the end of his life is able to pass things on, when he is able to deposit the things he has thought about and convictions he arrived at, when he can say when the moment of party comes that he did leave, not only memories of his performances, not only recordings which anyway have a rather short life in our times as you know, when you were a young musician, student, you could count on recordings remaining in circulation for 8, 10, 15 years. I mean, you didn't count because you were in your teens, but now they come and go, it is so ephemeral that one should seek a more direct depositing and this depositing is really only possible by word of mouth and example.

**I think we should end this programme with one of your most recent recordings**

Well, you know how it is, all my children are favourites, so I am happy to know that this little talk which also is one particle of my urge to communicate will reach many people, I suppose thousands of people who have never heard me except on record.

## PhD Recital Programme Notes

The duration of the Violin Sonatas is approximately 60 min. To complement the PhD recital requirements of 90 min, the author has selected two additional Prokofiev compositions: the early transcription *Five Melodies* Op. 35bis and the last violin composition Sonata for Violin Solo Op. 115. The PhD recital was held on 18 October 2016. Please consult the poster, recital's booklet and DVD attached to the hard cover of the thesis. The order of the programme notes is according to the order of compositions performed in the recital.

### Sergei Prokofiev (1891-1953)

#### ***Five Melodies for Violin and Piano, Op. 35bis (1920/1925)***

I Andante; II Lento, ma non troppo; III Animato, ma non allegro

IV Allegretto leggero e scherzando; V Andante non troppo

*Five Melodies* for Violin and Piano, Op. 35bis (1925) is Prokofiev's transcription of his *Five Songs Without Words*, Op. 35 for Voice and Piano. These songs, dated 28 December 1920, Los Angeles, are full of refined lyricism and were inspired by the beautiful, dramatic Californian landscape and its warm climate. *Five Songs Without Words* were dedicated to Nina Koshetz, an émigré Russian mezzo-soprano resident in the USA. The first performance was given by Nina Koshetz in her New York recital on 27 March 1921.

*Five Songs Without Words* demonstrates a 'lyrical' Prokofiev. In this song cycle, for the first time, Prokofiev treats voice not as a medium to convey the

text, but rather as an instrument to explore its sonic possibilities. Tenderness, an intimate character, singing melodies, sudden modulations, the use of unexpected passing tones and diatonic transparency are some of the characteristics of this work.

So 'instrumental' was this song cycle that in 1925 Prokofiev revised these songs for violin and piano with the help the violinist Paweł Kokhánski, to whom are dedicated Melodies No. 1, 3 and 4. Melody No. 2 is dedicated to the violinist Cecilia Hansen, wife of Prokofiev's old friend the pianist Boris Zakharov and Melody No. 5 is dedicated to Joseph Szigeti, who in 1924 successfully established in the repertoire Prokofiev's First Violin Concerto. This arrangement, entitled *Five Melodies* for Violin and Piano, Op. 35bis, became more successful and is better known today.

The dominant mood of Melody No. 1 is a tender reverie. Melody No. 2 is refined and tender with a delicate oriental character in the middle section that brings to mind impressionistic colouring. Melody No. 3 communicates a passionate feeling, an undulation, whereas Melody No. 4 is playful with a gentle humour. Finally, Melody No. 5 is a reverie with elements of humour and a dramatic climax. Prokofiev's arrangement for violin and piano of this song cycle was not his only one. The second song was orchestrated towards the end of 1920. Later some of the songs were rewritten for piano alone in Prokofiev's *Six Transcriptions*, Op. 52.

## **Sonata for Violin and Piano No 1 in F minor, Op. 80 (1938-1946)**

I Andante assai; II Allegro brusco; III Andante; IV Allegrissimo

The First Violin Sonata was initially inspired by the music of Handel when Sergei Prokofiev was in city of Teberda. Prokofiev sketched some thematic materials in 1938, but soon the Sonata was put aside to be completed only on 3 September 1946 at Nikolina Gora, Prokofiev's summer residence. The compositional process is quite uncertain, but the work was predominantly finalised during 1946. The Sonata is dedicated to the violinist David Oistrakh, who was invited to Nikolina Gora for the first informal hearing during summer 1946. Prokofiev performed the Sonata on the piano. The work made an enormous impression on David Oistrakh and on Nikolai Myaskovsky who characterized it as 'ingenious'. Subsequently, David Oistrakh and his pianist Lev Oborin visited Prokofiev at Nikolina Gora to work on the Sonata with the composer. Prokofiev has left brief descriptions of the Sonata's movements: 'first movement – Andante assai, is severe in character and provides a kind of introduction to the developed sonata form of the Allegro, which is the second movement, assertive and vigorous, but with a broad adverse theme. The third movement – is slow, gentle and tender. The finale – is rapid and written in complex rhythm.' Prokofiev, described the quick violin passages in the finale of the Sonata as a 'howling autumnal night wind on an abandoned tomb in a graveyard' mentioning that these resemble the finale of Chopin's piano sonata in B flat minor.

David Oistrakh premiered the Sonata with Lev Oborin on 23 October 1946 at the Moscow Conservatory. The first American premiere was given by the violinist Joseph Szigeti and Joseph Levine on the piano in San Francisco on 2 January 1948. Szigeti performed from the manuscript, which he had received from Moscow. The

First Violin Sonata received a Stalin Prize on 7 June 1947. On 7th March 1953 David Oistrakh played the first and the third movements of the Sonata at Prokofiev's civil funeral. The First Violin Sonata is an epic, tragic and a very dark work. Its composition coincided with the Second World War and the Stalinist era and the work can be viewed as composer's protest at crimes against humanity: terror, political repression, the war's horror and human suffering. The work was published in Moscow in 1947 by Muzfond (Music Fund) as mimeograph, in London in 1947 (Anglo-Soviet Music Press), in New York in 1948 (Leeds Music Corporation) and in 1951 as the first Soviet Muzgiz publication.

**Sonata for Violin Sonata or Sonata for Unaccompanied Violins in Unison in D major, Op. 115 (1945)**

I Moderato; II Theme and Variations: Andante dolce – Scherzando – Andante

III Con brio – Allegro precipitato

The Sonata for Violin Solo was composed in 1947 and published in the same year by Muzfond, the USSR Music Fund, as a mimeograph. The first publication appeared in 1952 by Muzgiz (State Music Publishers) in Moscow, despite the fact that the work was yet not premiered.

The Sonata, which second title is Sonata for Unaccompanied Violins in Unison, was commissioned by the Committee on Arts Affairs as a pedagogical concert piece for an ensemble of young violinists playing in unison. Such ensembles, ranging between 20 and 30 young violinists, were a commodity in the Soviet Union and performed works in unison by composers ranging from J.S. Bach to Fritz Kreisler.

In its commission, the Committee asked Prokofiev to compose a piece that would substitute the traditional unison performance of Kreisler's *Praeludium and Allegro* in the Style of Pugnani. The compositional chronicle remains unclear, but according to Mira Mendelson's *Diaries*, Prokofiev's second wife, the composer worked with delight on the newly commissioned unison Sonata in August 1947. The Sonata was completed in early autumn of 1947. The Sonata is perhaps incorrectly connected to the 30th anniversary of October's revolution due to Prokofiev's short statement in the Evening Moscow published on 30 October 1947: 'The newly composed Sonata for violin due to its major character and the development of Russian themes also echoes the festive mood of these days'.

The Sonata was premiered as a solo work at the Moscow Conservatory on 10 June 1959 by Ruggiero Ricci. A live recording by Joseph Szigeti from the mid-1950s has survived alongside his recording for Columbia (ML-5178). David Oistrakh never performed or recorded the Sonata as he considered the work 'the great composer's failure'. Yakov Soroker, Oistrakh's student, recalled that Prokofiev once told Oistrakh 'You have trampled down my Sonata!' The Sonata is in classical style and displays clarity of structure, Russian themes, lyricism but also a variety of fast and sharp rhythms and tempos. It is mainly composed single-voiced without rich harmonic support. The first movement, Moderato, is dynamic with a melodic second theme. The second movement, Theme and Variations, gives many opportunities to explore different bowing techniques while the last Con brio movement is a dance-like mazurka which ends in polyphonic chords.

## **Sonata for Violin and Piano No 2 in D major, Op. 94bis (1942-1943/1944)**

I Moderato; II Scherzo: Presto; III Andante; IV Allegro con brio

The Second Violin Sonata is Prokofiev's transcription of his Flute Sonata Op. 94 made at the request of David Oistrakh. The Flute Sonata completed on 12 August 1943 is regarded as the sunniest and most serene composer's wartime compositions: a purely abstract and apolitical work, the composition of which was characterized by Prokofiev as 'perhaps inappropriate at the moment, but pleasant'. The idea of composing a graceful piece for flute came from Prokofiev's admiration to the heavenly sound of the French flautist Georges Barrère. The premiere was given by the flautist Nikolay Kharkovsky and the pianist Sviatoslav Richter on 7 December 1943 at the Moscow Conservatory.

The collaboration between Prokofiev and Oistrakh produced a new work – the Second Violin Sonata – with a revised violin part that featured note alterations, addition of double stops and harmonics, register changes and *pizzicato* notes. The piano part was left exactly the same. Oistrakh premiered the Second Violin Sonata on 17 June 1944 with the pianist Lev Oborin at the Moscow Conservatory. The Prokofiev-Oistrakh collaboration, which started in 1944, extended well beyond the adaptation stage, as they collaborated on the preparation of the first Soviet edition of the Sonata in 1946.

The work was disseminated in the West during wartime. Joseph Szigeti premiered the Sonata in Canadian Ottawa on 22 November 1944 from the manuscript with Harry Kaufman on the piano. The American premiere followed in Boston on 26 November. In 1946 the Sonata was simultaneously published in Moscow by Muzgiz (State Music Publishers), in New York by the Leeds Music Corporation and in

London by the Anglo-Soviet Music Press reflecting the new publishing possibilities that the Soviet music enjoyed with its Western war allies.

The Sonata features the simplicity of the classical style and has a transparent texture and melodic clarity. Simple melodies, resilient rhythms, subtle modulations, colourful contrasts of harmony, frolicsome humour, playful dancing passages are some of the characteristics of this work. The piece is better known as the Second Violin Sonata and the violin version overshadowed historically the original Flute Sonata. The differences between the flute and the violin make the violin version to have a more biting and virtuosic character, and to sound with more tension and resistance.

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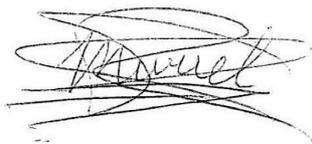
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To: V. Zora  
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CC: Dr. M Swijghuisen Reigersberg  
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**Researcher's name** ...VIKTORIA ZORA.....

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Thesis' musical examples (illustrations) constitute excerpts from the following:

- **Archival manuscripts (see Archival Material, Manuscripts by archive)**

RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 290

RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 291

RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 193

RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 911

RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 188

RGALI f. 1929, op. 1, ed. khr. 194

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GM f. 33, No 12

GM f. 33, No 13

GM f. 33, No 380

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