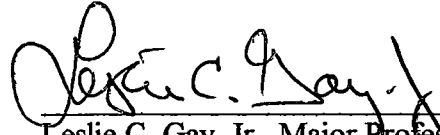
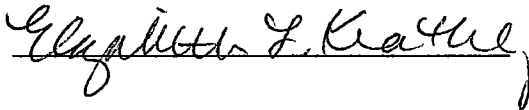


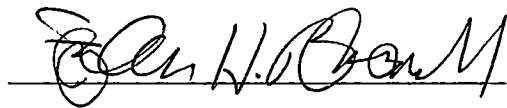
To the Graduate Council

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Heather Lynn Miller entitled "Lady MacBeth Resurrected. the Effects of *Perestroika* and *Glasnost* on Russian Art Music Performance and Reception " I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Music, with a major in Music


Leslie C. Gay, Jr., Major Professor

We have read this thesis and
recommend it acceptance





Accepted for the Council.


Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of The Graduate School

LADY MACBETH RESURRECTED: THE EFFECTS OF
PERESTROIKA AND *GLASNOST'* ON RUSSIAN ART MUSIC
PERFORMANCE AND RECEPTION

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Music
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Heather Lynn Miller
August 2000

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people to whom I am grateful for making my studies at the University of Tennessee rewarding. I have benefited greatly from knowing the faculty in the School of Music over the last three years. I am particularly grateful to my Thesis Committee, Leslie C. Gay Jr., Elizabeth Keathley, and Stephen Blackwell for their support and encouragement. They have all read a number of revisions of the thesis and the value of this work is due in no small part to their suggestions.

There are a number of other people whose assistance should be recognized. I would like to thank Charles McKnight for his continued support of my education and for his knowledge of Russian music. I would like to thank Laurel E. Fay for her assistance and knowledge of Dmitri Shostakovich's music. I would also like to thank Avigail Rashkovsky for her assistance in translating Russian sources.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents and friends Jack Newton and Troy Bittner. Their support and encouragement of my educational endeavors is greatly appreciated.

ABSTRACT

Opera in the Soviet Union constitutes a case of a government imposing excessive control on the genre. Soviet composers were expected to uphold the idea of socialist realism, and in turn, glorify the State. In 1936, government officials condemned Dmitri Shostakovich's opera, *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk*, that had previously received worldwide acclaim. In the 1950s Shostakovich revised sections of the opera and retitled it *Katerina Ismailova*. The revisions made were an attempt to remove more explicit and objectionable material from the original. Beginning in the mid-1980s, the policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost* rehabilitated works once suppressed by the government, notably literature and rock music. Art music was also affected by *perestroika* and *glasnost*, but not to the same extent.

This thesis will examine the effects of *perestroika* and *glasnost* in art music by tracing the history of Dmitri Shostakovich's *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk*. During the late 1980s, art music that had previously been suppressed was performed in concerts and discussions of Shostakovich's condemned opera appeared in print. However, the original opera was not restaged in Russia until 1996, after the era of *perestroika*. This is in contrast to works of literature and rock music that the government approved as a result of the open policies of the time.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I	INTRODUCTION .. 1
	Survey of Literature .. 4
	Methodology .. 9
II	OPERA IN RUSSIA AND THE SOVIET UNION .. 12
	Brief History of 19 th and Early 20 th Century Opera .. 12
	Soviet Music During the 1920s .. 16
	Soviet Opera During 1920s. .. 20
III.	SOCIALIST REALISM AND THE CONDEMNATION OF <i>LADY</i> <i>MACBETH OF MTSENSK</i> .. 24
	Resolution of 1932 and Socialist Realism .. 24
	Shostakovich's <i>Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk</i> . .. 28
	"Mu-d-dle Instead of Music" Article in <i>Pravda</i> .. 31
IV	"THE THAW" AND <i>KATERINA ISMAILOVA</i> .. 37
	"The Thaw". .. 37
	The State of Opera in the Soviet Union During the 1950s .. 38
	Revisions of <i>Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk</i> 41
V	CULTURAL CHANGES OF <i>PERESTROIKA</i> AND <i>GLASNOST'</i> . 54
	Policies of <i>Perestroika</i> and <i>Glasnost</i> . .. 54
	Effects of <i>Perestroika</i> and <i>Glasnost'</i> on Literature and Rock Music .. 55
	Effects of <i>Perestroika</i> and <i>Glasnost'</i> on Art Music. .. 60
VI.	CONCLUSION .. 66
	BIBLIOGRAPHY. .. 72
	VITA .. 76

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

Given opera's position as an elite art form and its early role as a reflection of the power and glory of absolute monarchs, it is not surprising that its composition, production, and reception have continued to endure the restrictions of its political milieu. Opera in the Soviet Union constitutes a case of a government imposing excessive political control on the genre. The Soviet government viewed fine art as a particularly potent form of propaganda. After the Resolution of 1932, it demanded strict adherence of the doctrine of socialist realism and controlled the subject matter available for operatic treatment, resulting in a standard aesthetic to which other works were compared. Failure to comply with this aesthetic could result in the shutting down of a popular opera's production and its subsequent removal from the repertory. Perhaps the best known example of such politics is the 1936 condemnation of Dmitri Shostakovich's opera *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk*.¹

With the commencement of Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of *perestroika* (reconstruction) and *glasnost* (openness) in the latter half of the 1980s, ideas and policies of culture began to change. Items such as the books of Pasternak and Solzhennitsyn, which had once been banned, were printed for the first time and widely read within the Soviet Union.² The previously banned genre of rock music began to emerge from its underground refuge and achieve governmental recognition.

¹ Richard Taruskin has noted that although *Lady MacBeth* is rarely performed, it is possibly the most famous opera of the 20th century, being known for its reputation as the opera that Stalin hated (Richard Taruskin, "The Unmaking of *Lady MacBeth*," *San Francisco Opera Magazine*, no. 8 [Fall 1988], 26).

² Julie Curtis notes the appearance since 1985 of many texts previously unpublished in the Soviet Union, despite a traceable history in the West, and of authors hitherto considered objectionable, including George Orwell and Umberto Eco (Julie Curtis, "Literature under Gorbachev – A Second Thaw?" from *Perestroika: The Historical Perspective*, ed. Catherine Merridale and Chris Ward. [London: Edward Arnold, 1991], 172).

and approval, as attested by the release of recordings by guitar-poet Vladimir Vysotsky by Melodiya, the state recording company. Within art music, repertoires for orchestras and other performers increased, often including new avant-garde music by living composers.³ In some instances, *glasnost* also allowed for open discussion of policies that previously would have been avoided in artistic circles, including denouncing superiors.⁴ Open discussions of the censored work by Shostakovich, *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk*, also appeared in Russian publications, a topic that I shall address below.

Censorship was an important factor in the production of artistic endeavors in the Soviet Union. The ideals of Communism had to be upheld not only in the politics of daily life, but also in the arts. The creation of the Union of Composers after the Resolution of 1932 made Union membership mandatory in order to be an active musician and composer.⁵ The establishment of the unions was aimed primarily towards the proletarian writers' organization (which became the Union of Writers), and it also promoted the slogan "socialist realism." The term was used by writer Maxim Gorky in a 1933 essay, "On Socialist Realism," and a year later Andrei Zhdanov, an active party member, used the term in a speech to the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers. Zhdanov defined the goal of socialist realism as "to

³ Harlow Robinson, "Facing the Music. *Perestroika* and the High Arts," *Soviet Union*, 15, nos. 2-3, (1998), 157.

⁴ Robinson discusses the verbal denunciation of the Bolshoi's chief ballet master Iurii Grigorovich by the company's prominent stars including Maia Plisetskaia and Viascheslav Gordeiev (Ibid, 159).

⁵ Boris Schwarz mentions that organizing the association throughout the Soviet Union took a great deal of time, and the union consisted of composers and musicologists. He also admits that those who wrote music (composers) and those who wrote about music (musicologists) were not the only individuals permitted to join the Union. Critics, historians, lecturers, theorists and authors of various musical subjects were also allowed membership (Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia* Enlarged Ed., 1917-1981 [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983], 113).

depict reality in its revolutionary development,” and called for “words attuned to the epoch”⁶ Stalin also contributed to the definition of socialist realism as an aesthetic “national in form and Socialist in context.”⁷ Writers and composers were the voice representing the standards of socialist realism which in turn glorified the State. The Writers’ Congress of 1934 designated the guidelines of socialist realism, but the creation of principles applied to music took longer. Many agreed that the genre of opera needed the greatest amount of reform in order to conform with socialist realism.⁸

Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk first premiered in Russia in 1934 and was considered a popular and critical success both inside and outside of Russia. The opera received acclaim through performances around the world, but in 1936 the Soviet government “officially” condemned the opera in an article titled, “Muddle Instead of Music,” which appeared in the Soviet Party newspaper *Pravda*.⁹ Subsequently, the opera disappeared from the Soviet Union and was rarely performed elsewhere in the world. A revised version of the work, *Katerina Ismailova*¹⁰ after the opera’s heroine, appeared in the early 1960s, but it was not until the 1970s that the original opera resurfaced in the West.¹¹ Policies towards Shostakovich’s original

⁶ Ibid., 110.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Schwarz mentions that many opera experts accepted the Stalin-sponsored principles and thus the condemnation of Shostakovich’s *Lady MacBeth* in 1936 was unavoidable (Ibid., 142).

⁹ Translation from *Dmitri Shostakovich: The Life and Background of a Soviet Composer* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943) from *Strunk’s Source Readings in Music History. The Twentieth Century* Revised Edition, Vol. 7. Ed. Robert P. Morgan (New York: W.W. Norton & Company), 127-129.

¹⁰ From here on the original opera will be referred to as *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk* and the revised version will be *Katerina Ismailova* unless otherwise noted.

¹¹ Laurel E. Fay, “From Lady MacBeth to Katerina Ismailova. Shostakovich’s Versions and Revisions,” from *Shostakovich Studies*, Ed. David Fanning (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 160.

opera did not openly or officially change within the Soviet Union after the work resurfaced and it is still not performed often in Russia

Although study of the recent history of such an infamous work would contribute substantially to our understanding of *perestroika*'s effects on art music, most scholarship regarding *Lady MacBeth* does not address this issue. Rarely has discussion of the opera continued past the 1963 revision, and a majority of scholarship about *Lady MacBeth* has centered on its condemnation of the opera, or on the issue of musical and textual changes of the revised version.

Despite the cultural and musical changes that occurred during *perestroika* and *glasnost*' as well as the post-Communism era, the principles of *perestroika* did not create fervor to revive all works once denounced by the government, including Shostakovich's *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk*. As noted by Laurel Fay, neither Russian scholars nor theater directors have had a great deal of access to the "original" score or productions of *Lady MacBeth*, nor have they taken advantage of their country's archives, manuscripts, or other documents in order to provide an objective account of the opera's composition, production, and revision.¹²

Survey of Literature

Orchestral scores for *Lady MacBeth* are available but expensive and difficult to obtain. However, there is a piano/vocal reduction published in 1935 in the Soviet Union. The score for *Katerina Ismailova* appears in Shostakovich's *Collected Works* published in 1985 in the Soviet Union. There are two published librettos for *Lady MacBeth*, one libretto appears with the 1935 published score, and a 1932 version that

¹² Ibid., 161

was printed as part of the 1979 recording of *Lady MacBeth*. An English translation of *Katerina Ismailova* was published in the United States in 1963. There are recordings of both the original *Lady MacBeth* and the revised *Katerina Ismailova*. *Lady MacBeth* was recorded in 1979 by Mstislav Rostropovich and is the first recording of the original opera. A recording of *Katerina Ismailova* was published in 1984 and distributed by Melodiya, the state-controlled recording firm in the Soviet Union.

One of the few books on the politics and cultural policies of music in the Soviet Era is Boris Schwarz's *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*, published in 1983. In this thoroughly researched study, Schwarz examines both the political and the musical wrangling that occurred in Russia from 1917 until 1981, by covering multiple aspects and genres of music. He follows the historical unfolding of four Soviet leaders and how the cultural policies of the time affected musical composition and performance. Schwarz does not single out only those composers well known outside of Russia, but also includes numerous other composers who either affected or were affected by the Soviet government.

Similar to Schwarz's book that deals specifically with social and cultural matters of music are the sources that address the issues of *glasnost* and *perestroika*. In discussing matters of *perestroika* and *glasnost*, consulted sources include David Remnick's *Lenin's Tomb* published in 1994, written soon after the end of Communism in Russia, and *Perestroika: A Historical Perspective*, a collection of

historical essays¹³ Another important source which deals specifically with art music is an article written by Harlow Robinson entitled, "Facing the Music: Perestroika and the High Arts" which appeared in the journal *Soviet Union* in 1988¹⁴ Also available are articles concerning Soviet rock music such as "Notes from the Underground: The Emergence of Rock Music Culture" by Irina Orlova which appeared in the book *Mass Culture and Perestroika in the Soviet Union*,¹⁵ "Vladimir Vysotsky and His Cult" by Christopher Lazarski from *The Russian Review*,¹⁶ and "Russia's Dissident Balladeers" by Misha Allen which appeared in the journal *East Europe*.¹⁷ There have also been books published on the subject of rock music in the Soviet Union including Thomas Cushman's *Notes from Underground: Rock Music Counterculture in Russia*, published in 1995, and Timothy Ryback's *Rock Around the Bloc* from 1990.¹⁸

There are currently numerous biographies of Shostakovich published outside of Russia Two books that provide a general look at the composer include Elizabeth Wilson's *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*, published in 1994 and Laurel E. Fay's

¹³ David Remnick, *Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994) and *Perestroika* Ed. Catherine Merridale and Chris Ward (London: Edward Arnold, 1991)

¹⁴ Harlow Robinson, "Facing the Music: Perestroika and the High Arts," *Soviet Union*, 15, nos 2-3 (1998).

¹⁵ Irina Orlova, "Notes from Underground: The Emergence of Rock Music Culture," from *Mass Culture and Perestroika in the Soviet Union*, Ed. Marsha Siefert (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991)

¹⁶ Christopher Lazarski, "Vladimir Vysotsky and His Cult," *Russian Review* 51, no 1 (1992).

¹⁷ Misha Allen, "Russia's Dissident Balladeers," *East Europe* 20, no 11 (1971).

¹⁸ Thomas Cushman, *Notes from Underground: Rock Music Counterculture in Russia* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995), and Timothy W. Ryback, *Rock Around the Bloc* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990)

Shostakovich: A Life, published in 2000¹⁹ Wilson relates Shostakovich's life through interviews from family members, friends, and others who worked closely with the composer throughout his career. Through the detailed information of Shostakovich's life and works, accounts of the changing political environment can be traced. Fay's recently published biography of Shostakovich provides much of the same information that appears in Wilson's book, however, on occasion different details are provided.²⁰ Fay's biography is constructed by use of primary sources and other published documents related to Shostakovich.

Other Shostakovich biographies have emphasized Shostakovich's life as a creative artist under the restrictive control of the Soviet Union, including discussion and debate over Shostakovich's possible dissident qualities and his loyalty to the Communist Party. The 1979 publication of *Testimony*, Shostakovich's memoirs as related to Solomon Volkov, created an explosion in Shostakovich studies. The memoirs are often thought to be the portrait of an embittered man living in deplorable artistic surroundings, not that of a faithful Communist. However, since the publication of *Testimony*, there have been many scholars who have questioned its authenticity.²¹ One author who presents a revisionist perspective of the Shostakovich

¹⁹ Elizabeth Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) and Laurel E. Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

²⁰ An example of the type of details concerns the revision of *Katerina Ismailova*. Wilson conveys the events by first person accounts of Isaak Glikman, a personal friend of Shostakovich. In Glikman's account, he mentions names of Party officials present at the first hearing of *Katerina Ismailova*. These names are excluded from Fay's book, however, Fay does give a meticulous listing of performance dates that does not appear in the Wilson. (Elizabeth Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994], 289-292) and (Laurel E. Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2000], 238-239).

²¹ See Laurel Fay, "Shostakovich vs. Volkov: Whose *Testimony*?" *Russian Review* 39, no. 4 (October, 1980); and Richard Taruskin "The Opera and the Dictator," *New Republic* no. 12, 20 (March 1989), 34. Both these authors, as well as others, question the authenticity of *Testimony*. On the other hand,

presented in *Testimony* is Ian MacDonald. MacDonald's book, *The New Shostakovich*, published in 1990, provides details available in the biographies by Fay and Wilson but also endeavors to demonstrate that Shostakovich's music is unintelligible without knowledge of the socio-political context in which it was written.²² By contextualizing Shostakovich's music in terms of Soviet history, MacDonald attempts to evaluate the Shostakovich partially revealed in *Testimony*.

Other sources that are noteworthy to Shostakovich scholarship include Richard Taruskin's *Defining Russia Musically*, published in 1997, in which he devotes a chapter to Shostakovich. Taruskin's book is a combination of biographical information, cultural history, and comparative analysis of *Lady MacBeth* and *Katerina Ismailova*. Taruskin provides some insight and important ideas not present in other literature of Shostakovich.

Although effects of *perestroika* and *glasnost* allowed for restoration and approval of previously condemned material in some media, their impact on art music in Russia is difficult to assess. If the case of *Lady MacBeth* may be regarded as representative, the liberalization of cultural policies has taken much longer to affect the production of art music. This thesis will argue that policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost* did not affect art music to the extent seen in other cultural forms such as literature and rock music. Post-*perestroika* reception of *Lady MacBeth* continues to be informed by the Soviet era notion that Shostakovich's revisions were motivated solely by his own aesthetics rather than by political coercion.

there are other scholars who defend the validity of the memoirs (for example see Allan B. Ho and Dmitry Feofanov, *Shostakovich Reconsidered* [Exeter: Toccata Press, 1998])

²² Ian MacDonald, *The New Shostakovich*. (London: Fourth Estate, 1990), 9-10

In considering the arguments of this thesis, it should be kept in mind that the terms of production and consumption of art music, especially opera, require more time, collaboration, and people. Money is an important factor in the production of opera and can determine the number of performances of a particular work. This issue is also a reason the canon is resistant to change in the United States and Western Europe, opera companies will usually perform works that guarantee a profit. The personnel in charge of policy decisions may be a factor as well in the Soviet Union. During *perestroika*, operas still needed government approval for staging. A decision to stage *Lady MacBeth* may have involved Tikon Khrennikov, the First Secretary of the Union of Composers, a post he held from 1948 until 1991.²³ Khrennikov was instrumental in the 1948 “formalist” attacks against composers such as Shostakovich and over the years may have been resistant to some changes. Access to primary documents by government officials concerning *Lady MacBeth* may be important in considering the opera’s production. These documents may not have been made available to the public. In Shostakovich’s case, debate remains over the “composer’s intentions” which is tied to the “*Testimony*” debate – whether or not he was a “true believer” in Communism.

Methodology

In order to substantiate my thesis, I will contextualize the history of Shostakovich’s opera, as well as the tradition and legacy of preceding composers such as Mussorgsky. This is, after all, the legacy of Russian and Soviet opera.

²³ Elizabeth Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered* (Princeton. Princeton University Press, 1994), 489

composers of the 20th century. One must also understand the policies and politics of Soviet culture and music. Understanding the cultural climate will shed light on the condemnation of *Lady MacBeth* and the revisions of *Katerina Ismailova*. Primary sources, such as essays and speeches from the 1930s will reveal the cultural policies of the time. Secondary sources are used to contextualize the history of Russian opera as well as Shostakovich's opera.

Discourse of *Katerina Ismailova* will include an analytical comparison of the original and revised scores. The analysis will only concern a small portion of the opera, and will help provide possible reasons why revisions were made, including the probable function of the revisions. This comparison is also important in demonstrating elements of the revised opera that may have been a determining factor in its official endorsement by the authorities, in this case, Shostakovich's removal of rather suggestive and explicit material is important. Both scores and recordings are used in this analytical comparison.

This thesis will not include an in-depth study of the effects of *perestroika* and *glasnost* on literature and rock music, but will be used as a comparison to art music. During *perestroika*, literature and rock music that had previously been banned was approved by the government, and was available legally for the first time. *Perestroika* also affected art music, but to a different extent than other areas. Recent articles about literature, rock music, and art music are used in this comparison. Primary sources, namely newspaper articles from the late 1980s, are also used to demonstrate the effects of *perestroika* and *glasnost* on art music.

Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis provide the historical context for subsequent discussions. Chapter 4 contains the discussions and analysis of revisions to *Katerina Ismailova*, and chapter 5 covers the comparative analysis of the effects of *perestroika* and *glasnost* in the cultural spheres of literature, rock music, and art music. Although the openness of *perestroika* and *glasnost* allowed for greater freedom of discourse about *Lady MacBeth*, as evident in newspaper articles of the time, there was a significant time delay between the institution of these open policies and an actual performance of the original work. This circumstance suggests that so far, the policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost* has only had a minor effect on the actual practice of art music.

CHAPTER 2 – OPERA IN RUSSIA AND THE SOVIET UNION

Brief History of 19th and Early 20th Century Opera

Although Shostakovich completed only two operas during his career, traits of earlier Russian opera are evident in his work.¹ Like most preceding composers, Shostakovich based his operas specifically on Russian history and literature, and like Mussorgsky, Shostakovich concentrated on naturalism in music through natural speech patterns, and realism in character portrayal. Understanding the infusion of Russian opera with elements of Russian culture is important in discussing Shostakovich's operas. The history of opera in Russia is comparatively shorter than that of other countries. By the time Shostakovich began writing his first opera in 1928, a truly Russian school of composition was only about one hundred years old. The foundations of Russian opera are entrenched in nationalism. From librettos based on Russian history and literature to the incorporation of folk elements, Russian nationalism has been defined in opera. When Shostakovich's second opera, *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk*, premiered in 1934, many Soviet critics praised the opera as a great achievement of Soviet art. This is partially due to the opera being based on Russian themes, part of a long history of Russian opera.

It has been noted by many scholars that Western European composers influenced the majority of Russian opera productions in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.² At different times the Italians, French and Germans, for the most part,

¹ *The Nose* and *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk* were the only operas Shostakovich completed. He never finished his opera, *The Gamblers*, based on Pushkin (Laurel E. Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2000], 134).

² A discussion of notable Italian opera composers in Russia appears in books by Donald J. Grout (Donald Jay Grout, *A Short History of Opera*, Third Edition [New York: Columbia University Press,

controlled the composition and production aspects of opera in Russia. Richard Taruskin notes the presence of Italian musical directors of the imperial court and chapel followed by the importation of French and later German operas.³ Asaf'ev discusses one such Russian court composer of the early 1800s, Catterino Cavos, who attempted to adapt Russian material into his compositions despite his origins in Italy.⁴ Some of Cavos's operas were based on plays or other subjects by Russian authors including *The Invisible Prince* (1805) and *Ilya the Hero* (1806), both based on plays by I.A. Krylov.⁵

Mikhail Glinka is generally considered as the founder of the Russian nationalist school.⁶ In describing the composer's music, Asaf'ev maintains that prior to Glinka, Russian music lacked profound "intellect or refined creativity."⁷ Glinka's first opera, *A Life for the Czar*, recalls the brave heroism of Ivan Susanin who gives his life to save his ruler.⁸ Although Glinka's first opera is often considered lesser in

1988], 530-531), Richard Taruskin (Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997], 186-220), and B.V. Asaf'ev (B.V. Asaf'ev, *Russian Music from the Beginning of the 19th Century*, trans. Alfred J. Swan [Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1953], 1-4).

³ Taruskin notes the establishment of theaters representative of Italian, Russian, French, and German works, some of which included both plays and music. He also mentions the decline of the theaters including the fact the French opera ended after the Patriotic War of 1812 and was never revived. (Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997], 186-187).

⁴ Asaf'ev notes that Cavos attempted the infusion of Russian musical resources with European forms and methods current at that time, and although there was nothing overly striking about his compositions, he was writing in the period prior to Glinka and as noted by Asaf'ev, "he was as truly Russian as the baroque, classical and Empire buildings that the foreign architects erected in Russian surroundings and in the atmosphere of Russian life." (B.V. Asaf'ev, *Russian Music from the Beginning of the 19th Century*, trans. Alfred J. Swan [Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1953], 2).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁶ James Bakst, *A History of Russian-Soviet Music*. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company), 50.

⁷ B.V. Asaf'ev, *Russian Music from the Beginning of the 19th Century*, trans. Alfred J. Swan (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1953, 5).

⁸ The basis of the opera would be changed after the 1917 Revolution changing the loyalty for the Romanov dynasty with as described by Taruskin, "abstract commitment to national liberation and to an anachronistically secular concept of the Russian nation." (Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997], 38).

musical quality than his second, *Ruslan and Ludmila*,⁹ the first opera remains a model for Russian opera. Despite any musical flaws that may appear in the work, Glinka is credited with using his acquired techniques of Western European composition (those techniques set by the Italians and others) in order to reveal the importance of music native to Russia. As described by Asaf'ev, "the future development of Russian opera showed that music became alive when the composers treated their native melodies as an active force."¹⁰ Thus, techniques initiated by Glinka set a precedent followed by later composers.

Following the precedent of Glinka was Alexander Dargomyzhsky, who, like Glinka, exhibited characteristics of a national-realistic Russian opera as well as an interest in the Russian intelligentsia and social problems.¹¹ Although the names Glinka and Dargomyzhsky are often grouped together in discussing the foundations of Russian nationalist school of composition, Asaf'ev has noted that the two composers are "diametrically opposed phenomena."¹² In actuality, the music of Dargomyzhsky is a further embellishment of ideas representative of Glinka's music. In his music, Dargomyzhsky incorporated inflections of human speech and declamatory elements as well as peasant and city songs. By using these elements, Dargomyzhsky created an "urban" musical style, as opposed to Glinka's more epic-

⁹ In a review of the revival of *Ruslan* in the latter half of the 19th century, Chaikovsky admitted that the music was of higher quality than in *Life for the Czar* (James Bakst, *A History of Russian-Soviet Music* [New York: Dodd, Mead & Company], 61).

¹⁰ B. V. Asaf'ev, *Russian Music from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Alfred J. Swan (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1953), 7.

¹¹ James Bakst, *A History of Russian-Soviet Music* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1966), 77.

¹² B. V. Asaf'ev, *Russian Music from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Alfred J. Swan (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1953), 9.

heroic style of composition ¹³ Perhaps Dargomyzhsky's most well known opera is *The Stone Guest*, based on Pushkin, which shows his interest in critical realism in opera, paralleled in the literature of the time. His use of speech inflections native to Russia would be an aspect used later by Mussorgsky in his operas.

The latter half of the 19th century was a true flowering of Russian opera. Members of the *Moguchaya kuchka* ("Mighty Handful") composed operas that remain in the repertory of well-established opera companies to this day both in and outside of Russia ¹⁴ By fusing together such elements as native peasant tunes, inflections of human speech, and plots based on Russian literature, especially that of Pushkin, Glinka and Dargomyzhsky established the foundation for a Russian nationalist school of opera. The members of the *Moguchaya kuchka* continued these nationalist traditions and the operas of Modest Mussorgsky, including *Boris Godunov* and *Khovanshchina*, are prime examples of the Russian nationalist school ¹⁵

Mussorgsky's objective was naturalism in music, and he tried to avoid creating "art for art's sake." His avoidance of writing absolute music created a highly original style, and his use of Russian peasant songs is extensive. A principal feature of the peasant songs, and therefore of Mussorgsky's music, is their modal character

¹³ James Bakst, *A History of Russian-Soviet Music* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1966), 77

¹⁴ The Metropolitan Opera lists numerous radio broadcasts from Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov* including December 1939, February 1943, and March 1956. Mussorgsky's other well-known opera, *Khovanshchina*, was broadcast from the 1950 season. The Met also lists radio broadcast dates for Rimsky-Korsakov's *Le Coq d'Or* (March 1945). In more recent seasons, the Met has produced *Boris Godunov* during the 1997-98 season (<http://www.metopera.org/history/>, 2/15/00). For the 1999-2000 season, the Bolshoi Opera Theater lists in its repertory Rimsky-Korsakov's *Tsar's Bride* and *Le Coq d'Or*, Borodin's *Prince Igor* and Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov* (<http://www.bolshoi.ru/eng/frame.html>, 2/15/00)

¹⁵ The music critic Stasov, who was not only connected with the group but is credited with their monicker, noted that a characteristic feature of the group was an independence of thought and critical thinking of authoritative opinion. The *Kuchka* developed themes from Russian history, folk tales, and

This characteristic affected Mussorgsky's harmonic style. Mussorgsky's unorthodox treatment of orchestration created a harshness that was altered by other composers after Mussorgsky's death¹⁶

Even though Mussorgsky was interested in the use of Russian peasant music, he was also interested in the psychological and intellectual meanings that reflected the life of the common people. He felt that the rhythmic, melodic, and harmonic features of nationalistic music were aspects of peasant speech. Mussorgsky also studied the psychological and emotional experiences of the human personality. This is usually evident in Mussorgsky's music through the expressive quality of the human voice. To convey this aspect, the composer used melodic recitatives based on natural speech intonations much like his predecessor Dargomyzhsky¹⁷

Soviet Music During the 1920s

The legacy of older Russian composers and influences from Western composers became important in new musical compositions during the 1920s. Not only were there Party functionaries whom composers had to appease, but there were also new influences of the early 20th century. Inside Russia, composers were confronted with the legacy of Scriabin and new Western techniques, including and Schoenberg's twelve-tone method. Many of these influences resulted in experimentation in Russian musical circles, this was during the formative years of

legends and transcribed and studied Russian folk melodies (James Bakst, *A History of Russian-Soviet Music* [New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1966], 95).

¹⁶ Rimsky-Korsakov re-orchestrated *Boris Godunov* and completed *Khovanshchina*, which was unfinished at the time of Mussorgsky's death. Later, Shostakovich would re-orchestrate *Boris Godunov* and Mussorgsky's *Songs and Dances of Death*.

¹⁷ James Bakst, *A History of Russian-Soviet Music* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1966), 127. It should be noted at this point that Shostakovich felt a spiritual closeness to Mussorgsky and in an

such young composers as Kabalevsky, Khachaturian, and Shostakovich. It is notable that during *perestroika*, music of experimental composers of the 1920s that had been removed from Soviet music during Stalinism, would be rehabilitated and their music studied.¹⁸

Despite the immense changes that occurred after the Revolution of 1917, the 1920's were fruitful in the production of new music and policies towards the arts were rather free of limitations. The era is often referred to as NEP, the "New Economic Policy." The NEP, begun in 1921 by Lenin, made certain economic considerations in order to revive the country's economy, some of these concessions to capitalism included free trade in grain, re-establishment of a wage system, and private ownership of small businesses and factories.¹⁹

Anatole Lunacharsky, who served as Commissar for Culture in the USSR from 1917 until 1929, controlled many of the artistic policies of the 1920s.²⁰ Lunacharsky's views of art, especially of music, were quite liberal compared to later, more stringent policies of the 1930s. Although Lunacharsky eventually brought all the performing arts under government control, he endeavored to keep the arts free from internal political strife.

interview in December 1940, Shostakovich listed Mussorgsky as his favorite composer (Fay, Laurel E., *Shostakovich. A Life* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2000], 119).

¹⁸ One such composer is Nikolai Roslavets, who was not only a staunch Communist, but a composer of modernist tendencies. His music would disappear during the anti-formalist campaigns of the Stalinist years but Gorbachev's campaign of *glasnost* supported study of Roslavets and other composer like him. (Charles McKnight, *Nikolai Roslavets: Music and Revolution*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University, 1994, 1).

¹⁹ However, the State still maintained control over large businesses, education, banking, and foreign trade (Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983], 43).

²⁰ Some scholars apparently view Lunacharsky's role with great significance, regarding him as the founder of the aesthetics for the Soviet state (Larry Sitsky, *Music of the Repressed Russian Avant-Garde* [Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994], 2).

Economic problems throughout the country affected the music scene. The numbers of musical centers, such as theaters, were reduced and operational budgets were cut while orchestra musicians made financial demands for higher pay²¹. In spite of financial constraints, experimentation was in abundance in the area of music. In 1919, the Theremin, one of the earliest electronic instruments, was invented by scientist Leon Theremin²². Larry Sitsky also describes experimental concerts that occurred at the time. One concert in particular occurred in Baku in November of 1922 in which a "conductor" ascended on a rooftop and commenced to direct factory sirens and steamwhistles, accompanied by a battery of machine guns and airplanes²³.

Policies of the NEP also allowed for openness with other countries in musical ventures. The recommencement of Western contacts began in the 1920s. Numerous composers, conductors, and performers were invited to come to Russia. Composers including Paul Hindemith and Darius Milhaud were invited to conduct their own works, and guest conductors such as Bruno Walter and Otto Klemperer brought with them a renewed enthusiasm for both the repertoires and traditions of the Russian musical scene, which had been waning since the years of war and revolution²⁴. This renewal had positive effects on compositional experimentation of Russian composers. Russian music was also exported with the help of Western composers and

²¹ Lunacharsky is considered partially responsible for saving the Bolshoi Theater and maintaining and producing new orchestras and ensembles (Ibid.)

²² Lemn was said to be quite impressed with it. The instrument became known internationally and numerous composers wrote for it (Ibid., 3).

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*. Enlarged Ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 44.

performers²⁵ The exchange of musical ideas as well as the tolerant attitude of the government triggered an exploration of modern music by composers, conductors, and performers.

Invitations to foreign artists were partially due to the influence of the musical organization of the Association for Contemporary Musicians (ACM).²⁶ Formed in 1923, ACM guidelines included a preservation of the national artistic heritage while striving to keep Russia in contact with the West and maintaining artistic freedom In opposition to this group was the Russian Association for Proletarian Musicians (RAPM), which was established around the same time as ACM.²⁷ The aim of RAPM was to disregard the West, to do away with bourgeois culture, and instead to create music specifically aimed at the working class A great deal of Soviet music criticism from the 1920s concerns the ongoing dispute between these two organizations, and opinions were circulated through numerous journals of the time.²⁸

Shostakovich remained neutral towards the organizations. Ian MacDonald discusses the responses by both organizations concerning Shostakovich's First Symphony. Whereas ACM recommended he modernize his techniques or suffer stylistically, RAPM ridiculed the Chaikovsky influence as bourgeois and thought that

²⁵ During his time spent in Russia, Bruno Walter became acquainted with Shostakovich and was impressed by a piano performance of the composer's First Symphony that he promised to take the work to Berlin. The Berlin premiere of Shostakovich's First Symphony took place in 1927, which in turn secured Shostakovich's international reputation (Ibid.).

²⁶ Ian MacDonald lists some of the members of ACM including Nikolai Myaskovsky, Vissarion Shebalin, Nikolai Roslavets and Boris Asaf'ev (Ian MacDonald, *The New Shostakovich* [London: Fourth Estate, 1990], 42).

²⁷ The belief of RAPM was that only "true" Russian composers were those who wrote mass-songs and patriotic marches (Larry Sitsky, *Music of the Repressed Russian Avant-Garde* [Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994], 6)

²⁸ Journals that contained views of ACM included *Sovremennaya Muzyka* (Contemporary Music), and *K Novym Beregam* (To New Shores) One of the RAPM journals was *Muzyka I Oktyabr* (Music and

Shostakovich should write music aimed at the working class²⁹ In the end, he tried to avoid all the musical organizations, wishing to remain an outsider³⁰

Soviet Opera During the 1920s

Boris Schwarz notes that opera composition did not particularly flourish during the years of war and revolution He also notes that interest in opera as a theatrical experience increased for some, and stage directors such as Stanislavsky, Nemirovich-Danchenko, Tairov, and Meyerhold were confronting the problems of fusing action and music³¹ After the establishment of the Communist government and when new policies were being implemented, discussion began of creating “contemporary” operas³² The aim of Soviet composers producing new works was an attempt to develop an ideological content in opera that, in turn expressed the new Soviet ideas³³ Many of the operas composed during the 1920s, including those that attempted to create a new Soviet standard of opera, did not remain in the repertoire for long, nor or they performed today This turnover of repertoire may be due to a failure to understand the direction of Soviet ideology that seemed to always change.

October) (Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*, Enlarge Ed. [Bloomington Indiana University Press, 1983], 51, 55)

²⁹ Ian MacDonald, *The New Shostakovich* (London Fourth Estate, 1990), 41

³⁰ Elizabeth Wilson, *Shostakovich A Life Remembered* (Princeton Princeton University Press, 1994), 71

³¹ Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*, Enlarged Ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 63

³² Whereas most music had not been overtly affected by the government just prior to the Revolution, opera was one genre that was criticized. Opera was still considered the most elitist and aristocratic of the musical arts. Lenin opposed opera not only for budgetary reasons but also for an apparent personal distaste. (William Clarence Edwards, *Perestroika and Soviet Music*, M A. Thesis, George Washington University, 1989, 6-7). Lenin did have his detractors including Soviet musicologist, Boris Asaf'ev, who believed the legacy of classical Russian opera, imbued with folk images and national musical expressions, could well serve as a foundation for a new Soviet lyric theater (Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia* Enlarged Ed. [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983], 27)

³³ James Bakst, *A History of Russia-Soviet Music* (New York Dodd, Mead & Company, 1966), 360

Operas produced during the 1920s were diverse, like most music at the time.

With a lack of current and relevant ideas, repertoire in Moscow and Petrograd included works of well-known Russian composers such as Glinka and Rimsky-Korsakov. On the other hand, as an offshoot from the Revolution, some opera libretti of standard works were rewritten *Tosca* became *The Battle for the Commune*, *Les Huguenots* became *The Decembrists*, and *A Life for the Czar* became *Hammer and Sickle* ³⁴

There were some attempts to create wholly “Soviet” operas. The first “Soviet” opera was 1925’s *For Red Petrograd*, composed by A. Gladkovsky and E. Prussak. The opera proved to be unsuccessful and was quickly removed from the repertoire. Other fruitless attempts included *Eagles in Revolt* by Andrei Pashchenko and *The Decembrists* by Vassily Zolotarev ³⁵. Theaters producing operas were often caught between choosing works for an uneducated audience and rather discontented critics. These difficulties were evident in the critics’ responses to what they considered trite and oversimplified music. ³⁶

However, there were also theaters that undertook new, modern works, operas concerned more with artistic achievement rather than setting the new standard of Soviet opera ³⁷. These theaters were often proving grounds for operas by composers

³⁴ Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*, Enlarged Ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 64

³⁵ Schwarz refers to these operas as “immature” attempts at creating a Soviet opera. Lunacharsky approved of Zolotarev’s *The Decembrists* but critics despised the work, calling the music rather banal. Asaf’ev mused that the composer was at his best imitating Chaikovsky (Ibid., 67)

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Schwarz mentions a rivalry that was created between the old Mariinsky Theater and the newly established Malyi Theater. The Malyi often turned towards new, modern or experimental works (Ibid, 65)

that incorporated modern musical expressions that were being used by Western composers. These composers did away with traditional elements of opera including arias, ensembles, and choruses.³⁸ Some of these works include *Ice and Steel* by V. Dechevov, *The North Wind* by L. Knipper and *The Nose* by Shostakovich

Shostakovich's first opera, *The Nose*, after the short story by Nikolai Gogol, premiered in 1930 at the Malyi Theater in Leningrad. Shostakovich admitted that he turned to the classics of Russian literature because most Soviet authors he approached were not interested in working with opera.³⁹ Shostakovich stated that in composing his first opera, not only had he drawn ideas from contemporaries such as Prokofiev and Hindemith but in solving the problem of fusing speech and music, he had also turned to Russian operas of Dargomyzhsky and Mussorgsky.⁴⁰

The music is composed in a chamber music style and includes rather modern use of the orchestra. Sounds of galloping horses are created by tympani and a celesta, and the sound of shaving with a razor is imitated by harmonics of double basses.⁴¹ Because the music proved to be rather difficult, and the number of performers is around 90, this engendered controversy regarding the work's inaccessibility.⁴² It is

³⁸ James Bakst, *A History of Russian-Soviet Music* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1966), 361.

³⁹ Laurel E. Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 54.

⁴⁰ Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*, Enlarged Ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 71.

⁴¹ James Bakst, *A History of Russian-Soviet Music* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1966), 360.

⁴² At the time the opera was being produced in Leningrad, the Bolshoi Theater auditioned and accepted the work in order to find an experimental work that would revive their repertory. The Bolshoi felt Shostakovich's opera would suit their need for a modern work. The theater hired Meyerhold to stage the work but after numerous postponements, the work was never performed. (Laurel E. Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2000], 46)

to this day rarely performed, and Boris Schwarz refers to it as one of the works “not yet unfrozen by the Thaw”⁴³

The opera did not prove to be a triumphant success with critics, and proletarian critics, including members of RAPM, criticized the work; this was the first time in which the accusation of “formalism” was associated with one of Shostakovich’s works⁴⁴ The criticisms pointed more towards ideological faults, the abstruse style of composition and a rejection of classical operatic elements, than the quality of performance or production.⁴⁵ In her biography of Shostakovich, Laurel Fay states that although the critics were quite harsh with *The Nose*, results from questionnaires dispersed to working-class audiences of two performances returned with a one hundred percent approval rating⁴⁶ However, the critics succeeded in showing their displeasure and the opera did not have a long run in the theater. With Shostakovich’s second opera, *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk*, the critics again would prove to be a damning force on the work

⁴³ Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*, Enlarged Ed. (Bloomington Indiana University Press, 1983), 71.

⁴⁴ Heather Miller, “Victim vs. Participant. A Comparison of Shostakovich’s *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk* and *Katerina Ismailova*” from *UNCA Journal of Undergraduate Research*, Ed. James T Wallace, Vol 10 (Asheville The University of North Carolina at Asheville, 1997), 150

⁴⁵ It is interesting to note that some scholars mention *The Nose* with unbiased opinion, on the other hand, James Bakst refers to the opera as “devoid of singing and real characters,” and considers it “an abstract musical caricature which overwhelms an audience with musical eccentricities and distortions” This statement seems rather reminiscent of a proletarian criticism (James Bakst, *A History of Russian-Soviet Music* [New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1966], 312).

⁴⁶ Laurel E. Fay, *Shostakovich. A Life* (New York Oxford University Press, 2000), 55

CHAPTER 3 – SOCIALIST REALISM AND THE CONDEMNATION OF *LADY MACBETH OF MTSENSK*

Resolution of 1932 and Socialist Realism

By the early 1930s, the artistic climate in Russia began to change drastically. The Resolution of 1932 would instigate many changes, and eventually governmental control would become a factor in music. The condemnation of *Lady MacBeth* in 1936 became widely known as the first instance of an artist being officially attacked by the Party. Both the creation of the Union of Composers and the condemnation of Shostakovich's opera affected Soviet music for many decades. The Resolution of 1932 disbanded proletarian organizations including both ACM and RAPM. The Resolution also ousted rebellious proletarian "leaders" which also assured Party control of the new groups by the built-in "Communist faction."¹ These organizations were replaced by unions that would eventually dominate the direction of artistic areas.² By the time *The Nose* had premiered, the opinions of RAPM were more closely aligned with what would become the official Party policy towards music, and this enforced the idea that music was important for the proletariat: the music should be understood by the people.³ The new concept of socialist realism, implemented in the early 1930s to guide artistic endeavors, would become the determining factor for music and literature and was important when *Lady MacBeth* was condemned in 1936.

¹ Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*, Enlarged Ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 110.

² Schwarz refers to this as the inauguration of regimentation and that the Soviet arts were transformed "from multiformity to conformity and, ultimately, to uniformity" (Ibid).

³ Elizabeth Wilson points out that some proletarian organizations such as RAPM increasingly took it upon themselves to function as spokesmen for the Party as well as the "proletariat" (Elizabeth Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994], 71).

In the place of ACM and RAPM was the Union of Composers⁴ Stalin restored unions, which had been banned in 1919 by Lenin because he felt they were breeding grounds for independent thought, in what Ian MacDonald describes as “an ideal machinery for intellectual coercion.”⁵ In contrast, unions were Stalin’s answer to monitoring the intelligentsia in the arts as well as other technical and scientific fields

Even though the establishment of the unions was aimed mostly towards the proletarian writers organizations, it was the creation of the unions that promoted the new idea “socialist realism” At the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934 Andrei Zhdanov, the Secretary of the Communist Party and Stalin’s cultural commissar, defined socialist realism in his keynote speech. He noted that

Truth and historical concreteness of the artistic depiction must be combined with the task of the ideological transformation and education of the working people in the spirit of Socialism This method of artistic literature and literary criticism is what we call socialist realism ”⁶

Zhdanov also denounced Romanticism as “oppression of life to an unreal world, to a world of utopias” and instead espoused an idea of “revolutionary romanticism” that would describe the struggle of the working class.⁷

Many of the ideas voiced by Zhdanov can be traced to an essay, “On Socialist Realism,” published in 1933 by Maxim Gorky. Gorky’s rather vague definition of the concept states:

Socialist realism proclaims that life is action, creativity, whose aim is the unfettered development of man’s most valuable

⁴ One of the artistic equivalents to the Composer’s Union was the Writer’s Union, also created after the 1932 Resolution

⁵ Ian MacDonald, *The New Shostakovich* (London: Fourth Estate, 1990), 80

⁶ Andrei Zhdanov, “Speech at the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers 1934” from *Modernism*, ed. Vassiliki Kolocotroni, Jane Goldman and Olga Taxidou (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998), 525

⁷ *Ibid.*

individual abilities for his victory over the forces of Nature, for his health and longevity, for the great happiness of living on earth, which he, in conformity with the constant growth of his requirements, wishes to cultivate as a magnificent habitation of mankind united in one family⁸

Similar to this is the definition provided by the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, which states that socialist realism is based on the idea of revolutionary and active socialist humanism. Socialist humanism is the full realization of an individual's moral and spiritual capabilities and a humane attitude toward other people and towards nature and society.⁹ Despite these rather vague descriptions of the Soviet concept, the main objective, as defined by Gorky and others, for both writers and composers was now to achieve and maintain this standard.

The ambiguity to the meaning of socialist realism is important in changes of critical response that occurred for *Lady MacBeth*. A possible explanation for socialist realism (as applied to music) may be music that is clear and understandable. The music should also be accessible to the layman and uphold the ideas of Communism and the proletariat. The definition may be akin to Stalin's contribution to the term, "cultures, national in form and Socialist in substance," or works that celebrate the Socialist culture.¹⁰ Applying this term to music, as opposed to literature, is more difficult. Opera, which tells a story with the assistance of words, as opposed to absolute or non-programmatic music, would be an easier target for officials with concerns of ideological content. Some critics often pointed out that the unclear definition allowed Soviet critics

⁸ Maxim Gorky, *On Literature*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973), 264

⁹ *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, trans. of 3rd ed., s.v. "socialist realism"

¹⁰ Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*, Enlarged Ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 110

to appraise *Lady MacBeth* as the embodiment of socialist realism, apparently a correlation that was hard to connect

The formation of the Union of Composers was more difficult than the Writer's Union. One problem was the lack of a figurehead, such as Gorky, who could unite the factions.¹¹ There was also upheaval and tension just prior to the Resolution of 1932 in which critics argued over the failure of Soviet opera, which was considered quite important.¹² Rumors were widespread of impending changes, and on April 23, a meeting was held which would instigate the Union of Composers.¹³ As described by Schwarz, eyewitness report of the meeting mentions that a large number of composers and musicians, from both Moscow and Leningrad, had gathered, for the most part, sitting according to their personal trends and tendencies of modernists and proletarian. There were numerous speeches including one given by Andrei Bubnov, the new cultural commissar. By the end of the meeting it was announced that RAPM, who "limits the sphere of creative work, [and] causes unhealthy conditions for the development of Soviet music..." would disband.¹⁴

In her biography of Shostakovich, Laurel Fay discusses that Shostakovich was one of six delegates from Leningrad attending the meeting. Shostakovich agreed with the detrimental and authoritarian rule of RAPM and welcomed the change enthusiastically.

¹¹ Schwarz notes that many of the previously leading figures in Soviet music were unable to pull together the opposing factions. Some composers were either living abroad or too old, some were considered politically naive and, most notably, Lunacharsky had been removed from his post as cultural commissar in 1929. His replacement Andrei Bubnov had no previous experience with music. (Ibid., 111).

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Shostakovich was one of six delegates from Leningrad in attendance. (Laurel E. Fay, *Shostakovich. A Life* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2000], 65)

¹⁴ Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*, Enlarged Ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 112.

When the Leningrad branch of the Union of Composers was established, he was elected to the governing body. Fay also mentions that the Party and Soviet society desired a wider variety of music including symphonies, operas, and chamber music. This contrasts RAPM's demands for marches and mass-songs and seemed to improve the creative atmosphere.¹⁵ Ian MacDonald states that Shostakovich was too pleased to have RAPM no longer in control of artistic matters. On the other hand, as MacDonald notes, Shostakovich did not realize that the Union of Composers, which so many were joining, would ultimately become more repressive than RAPM during the Cultural Revolution of the 1920s.¹⁶

Shostakovich's *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk*

There has been a great deal of discussion and well-known documentation of the condemnation of Shostakovich *Lady MacBeth*. The original critical response to the opera inside Russia was acclaim, but two years later the opera disappeared from the repertoire and was not staged in this original version in Russian until 1996. At the time of the opera's premiere in 1934, the concept of socialist realism was firmly in place. One may find it bewildering as to why an opera once applauded by Soviet critics would become the object of an official attack by the Party. What follows is a summary of facts, both of the initial acclaim and condemnation of the opera.

By the 1930s, both opposing groups of musical philosophies (the modernists and proletarians) had claimed Shostakovich as their own. Modernist composers indicated the *The Nose* and ballets such as *The Bolt* and *Golden Age* had modernist tendencies. On the

¹⁵ Laurel E. Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 65.

¹⁶ Ian MacDonald, *The New Shostakovich* (London: Fourth Estate, 1983), 112.

other hand, the proletarians claimed that Shostakovich's "October" and "May Day" Symphonies, with the apparent association to Revolutionary events, displayed leanings towards their trends in music. Boris Schwarz states that with *Lady MacBeth*, Shostakovich set himself apart by turning Nikolai Leskov's 19th-century story into a psychological drama and with the music created a modern *verismo*.¹⁷ Whatever the effects of *Lady MacBeth* on the musical factions of audiences, composers and critics, the responses from critics in Russia and America are significant especially since the 1936 condemnation of the opera would expel any appraisal by Soviet critics.

Upon *Lady MacBeth*'s premiere in 1934, Soviet critics hailed the opera as an achievement of Soviet art and stated that "an opera such as *Lady MacBeth* could have been written only by a Soviet composer brought up in the best traditions of Soviet culture."¹⁸ The opera was also thought to be the result of a general success of the Socialist structure possibly because Shostakovich and his compositions were thought to be the products of Soviet society.¹⁹ This does not, however, imply that there were no objections to the opera. Some critics were shocked by some of the more explicit aspects of the work, possibly the seduction scene, in Act I, Scene 3, between Katerina and Sergei and by the now notorious trombone glissandi during that music interlude. The trombone glissandi that appear in the interlude (from here on referred to as the "seduction interlude") brought attention to the more lurid aspects of the music, and they were referred to by one American journalist as "pornophony."²⁰ Royal S. Brown notes that

¹⁷ Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*, Enlarged Ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 120.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ The conductor of the premiere of *Lady MacBeth*, Samuel Samosud, considered the opera to have "overshadow[ed] all that can possibly be accomplished in the operatic art of the capitalist world." (Ibid.).

²⁰ Ibid., 120-121.

while the more progressive Leningrad production continued to stage the opera in its original version, Moscow downplayed some of the explicit details²¹ The reduction of sexually explicit material shows the “sexual up-tightness,” as noted by Brown that occurred in both Russia and the United States²²

American critics responded with more outrage towards the lewdness onstage and in the pit Critic William Henderson wrote in the *New York Sun* that “Shostakovich is without a doubt the foremost composer of pornographic music in the history of opera and referred to it as a “bed-chamber opera.”²³ Royal Brown notes that the Philadelphia performance of *Lady MacBeth* met with harsh criticism from a group, the Clean Amusement Association of the City of Brotherly Love, who tried to block the staging of the opera Although their efforts were not successful, the trombone glissandi were deleted from the music²⁴

Not only did American critics respond to explicit details of the opera, but politics and *Lady MacBeth* as socialist art came into question One American critic, Olin Downes, was not only critical of Shostakovich’s score calling it “flimsily put together, full of reminiscences and obvious and shallow tricks with almost no originality or creative quality,”²⁵ but Downes also referred to the music as “attached to a libretto of

²¹ Brown only notes that the Moscow version was “laundered” and therefore toned down the opera’s sexual content. (Royal S. Brown, “The Three Faces of Lady MacBeth” from *Russian and Soviet Music. Essays for Boris Schwarz* ed. Malcolm Hamrick Brown [Ann Arbor: UMI Press, 1984], 248)

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Schwarz notes that Henderson was most likely referring to the trombone glissandi that occur in the “seduction interlude.” (Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*, Enlarged Ed. [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983], 120-121.

²⁴ Brown adds that it is interesting that the glissandi provoked more reaction than any of the erotic 101 bars of music that precede them. (Royal S. Brown, “The Three Faces of Lady MacBeth” from *Russian and Soviet Music. Essays for Boris Schwarz* ed. Malcolm Hamrick Brown [Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984], 121)

²⁵ Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*, Enlarged Ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 121.

Communitic hue.” As Schwarz states, the use of “Communitic” is rather mysterious and may only be understood in connotations to Shostakovich the composer, living in a Communist country²⁶ Despite the numerous tirades from American critics concerning *Lady MacBeth*, the Soviet Union of Composers defended the opera considering it a work of “powerful realism and satirical pungency” and they also stated that any obvious naturalism in the piece was probably “misunderstood” by Americans as vulgar²⁷ With respect to *Lady MacBeth* as Socialist art, American critic Gerald Abraham noted that so few American critics understood the concept of socialist realism that *Lady MacBeth* was accepted as the personification of it.²⁸ Laurel Fay also adds to this argument by noting that the meaning of socialist realism was so inadequately understood with respect to music that many musicians and critics considered *Lady MacBeth* as “a shining example of the best of Soviet art.”²⁹ These statements only further add to the argument of the confounding vague definition of socialist realism³⁰

“Muddle Instead of Music” Article in Pravda

By 1936, *Lady MacBeth* had received numerous productions inside and outside of Russia³¹ In December of 1935, the Bolshoi decided to stage a new production of the opera. It would be this production that Party officials, including Stalin, attended in

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid., 120.

²⁹ Laurel E. Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 88.

³⁰ Wilson notes that in discussion of his “work-in-progress,” Shostakovich would often state that he was writing an opera based on a “Soviet” theme. This may have been an attempt to pacify critics of *The Nose* and whether or not these reiterating comments had any effect on the positive critical appraisal of *Lady MacBeth* as the epitome of Soviet art are indiscernible. (Elizabeth Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994], 94)

³¹ Schwarz mentions performances of the opera in cities including Stockholm, London and Zurich (not to forget those performances in America). Within Russia, by 1936, there had been 83 performances in Leningrad and 97 in Moscow (Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia* Enlarged Ed. [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983], 122).

January of 1936³² A few days prior to attending *Lady MacBeth*, Stalin and Party officials Vyascheslav Molotov, Andrei Bubnov and others were present at a performance of Ivan Dzerzhinsky's opera *The Quiet Don*³³ Before the final act, the composer was summoned to speak with the officials who, after pointing out flaws in the work, managed to acknowledge the importance of the opera in its ideological and political value This meeting was widely reported in the press³⁴ A similar meeting was expected for Shostakovich a few days later at the Bolshoi's performance of *Lady MacBeth*.³⁵ However, it is known that the meeting between Shostakovich and the officials did not occur, Stalin and the other officials evidently left after the third act³⁶

On January 28, 1936, the now infamous article "Muddle Instead of Music" appeared in *Pravda* This article would be followed a week later by another, this time denouncing Shostakovich's recent ballet *The Limpid Stream*, based on a Soviet topic Both articles were unsigned, although Schwarz notes that articles appearing unsigned gave them standing as official party statements Schwarz also mentions that in 1948 it

³² Fay mentions that at the time the Bolshoi's new production was being staged, the Nemirovich-Danchenko Theater in Moscow was still running its production (This particular production was titled *Katerina Ismailova*, after the opera's heroine. This production is of the original opera and should not be confused with the later, revised version of the opera, *Katerina Ismailova*). The Maliy Opera Theater brought its own production of the opera on tour to Moscow as well Therefore, at this time, it would have been possible to see three performances of the same opera, in the same city (Laurel E. Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2000], 83-84).

³³ Wilson claims Dzerzhinsky to be a composer of mediocre talent and actually received a great deal of assistance from Shostakovich in orchestrating his opera (Elizabeth Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994], 109).

³⁴ Laurel E. Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 84.

³⁵ Laurel Fay notes that the performance Stalin attended was based on the 1935 piano-vocal score. Details of the numerous versions of the opera will be discussed later. (Laurel E. Fay, "From *Lady MacBeth* to *Katerina*: Shostakovich's versions and revisions" from *Shostakovich Studies* ed. David Fanning [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995], 176)

³⁶ Elizabeth Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 109 The exact production that Stalin saw is unknown and therefore it is difficult to determine the extent of vulgarity and offensive material (Heather Miller, "Victim vs Participant. A Comparison of Shostakovich's *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk* and *Katerina Ismailova*" from *UNCA Journal of Undergraduate Research*, ed. James T. Wallace. [Asheville: The University of North Carolina at Asheville, 1997], 152)

became known that the articles were written on instruction from the Party's Central Committee. Whether or not Stalin was involved in the instructions or if Andrei Zhdanov³⁷ was the author of the articles is not known but widely speculated.³⁸

The *Pravda* article was not an attempt to deny the composer's musical talent but branded it as "formalist: and a "leftist distortion"³⁹ of music. The article also states that

all is not due to lack of talent, or to lack of ability to depict simple and strong emotions in music. Here is music turned deliberately inside out in order that nothing will be reminiscent of classical opera. . The power of good music to infect the masses has been sacrificed to a petty-bourgeois, 'formalist' attempt to create originality through cheap clowning. It is a game of clever ingenuity that may end very badly.⁴⁰

No doubt these statements would overturn previous positive appraisal of the opera by Soviet critics.

The exact reason for the article appears debatable. That the article was directed mainly at Shostakovich is in no doubt. However, it included several warnings to what Schwarz refers to as "admirers" and "potential imitators" of Shostakovich.⁴¹ Although the Resolution of 1932 was intended to unite musical factions, there were still groups of modernist composers and critics, and most likely the article was to target any adverse activity of these groups. The *Pravda* article also mentioned theater director Meyerhold

³⁷ Andrei Zhdanov worked from 1944 to 1948 as Central Committee secretary and was responsible for the 1948 decree against "formalism" which attacked Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Khachaturian, and other composers.

³⁸ Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*, Enlarged Ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 122. Elizabeth Wilson mentions that there was speculation that Stalin himself wrote the editorials but the more probable writer was David Zaslavsky, a high ranking official and journalist. (Elizabeth Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994], 109)

³⁹ Translation from Victor Seroff, *Dmitri Shostakovich: The Life and Background of a Soviet Composer*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943) from *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History: The Twentieth Century* Revised Edition, Vol. 7 ed. Robert P. Morgan (New York: W. W. Norton & Company), 128.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*, Enlarged Ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 124.

stating that, “this music is built on the basis of rejecting opera—the same basis on which ‘Leftist’ art rejects in the theater simplicity, realism, clarity of image, and the unaffected spoken word—which carries into the theater and into music the most negative features of ‘Meyerholdism’ infinitely multiplied”⁴² Meyerhold was not a favored artist of the Party and with reference to him in the article, it may be said that some of the attack was pointed towards Meyerhold. Despite the possible reasons for the article, Richard Taruskin states the most plausible purpose of the editorial was to demonstrate how much the arts could be affected by Party control.⁴³ Taruskin describes Shostakovich as a target specifically due to the success of his opera and that the character Katerina posed “an unacceptable implicit threat to totalitarian discipline” because of her “anarchic” behavior.⁴⁴ The success of an opera with such a character could not have gone unnoticed by Party officials.

There were few who supported Shostakovich after the *Pravda* article appeared. Oftentimes his music disappeared from programs and numerous chapter meetings of the Composer’s Union were held to discuss the matter. If the article was condemning Shostakovich’s modernist inclinations then, as mentioned by Schwarz, it was fitting for the composer Lev Knipper to say that Shostakovich should not be removed from Soviet music, “one must not drive nails into his coffin. One must help him to straighten himself out.”⁴⁵ One possible reason for the lack of support, even from the Composer’s Union,

⁴² Translation from Victor Seroff, *Dmitri Shostakovich: The Life and Background of a Soviet Composer*. (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1943) from *Strunk’s Source Reading in Music History. The Twentieth Century*. Revised Edition, Vol. 7, ed. Robert P. Morgan (New York: W W Norton & Company), 128.

⁴³ Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 508.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*, Enlarged Ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 124.

was the ongoing purges during Stalin's cult of personality. During this time thousands of people were arrested, imprisoned and even executed for any activity deemed anti-governmental. On the other hand, Meyerhold was one individual who defended Shostakovich and in his speech entitled "Meyerhold against Meyerholdism" he criticized formalism but commended Shostakovich's work.⁴⁶ Meyerhold was an artist seemingly at odds with Party officials and described by Katerina Clark as someone who from the time of the October Revolution had exemplified the combination of leftist art and revolutionary politics and that was he often the focal point of controversies and scandals while enjoying his reputation as a theatrical innovator.⁴⁷ Although Meyerhold managed to survive the worst of the purges, he was arrested in mid-1939 and executed in 1940.⁴⁸ This does not imply, however, that officials reprimanded any individual who supported Shostakovich.

The conclusion that may be drawn from the condemnation of *Lady MacBeth* may be as follows: the initial response, by the Soviet critics, was for the most part positive. Despite some mentions of the amount of crudeness and vulgarity, the opera was seen as a success of Soviet art. The critics abroad, mostly those in America, saw the opera as quite lurid and explicit. However, that may not have been the general consensus because the opera was staged in numerous other cities. The *Pravda* article written to condemn the opera may have had multiple purposes but the most significant was most likely to show

⁴⁶ Heather Miller, "Victim vs. Participant: A Comparison of Shostakovich's *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk* and Katerina Ismailova" from *UNCA Journal of Undergraduate Research*, ed. James T. Wallace. (Asheville: The University of North Carolina at Asheville, 1997), 152.

⁴⁷ Katerina Clark, *Petersburg, Crucible of Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995), 200.

⁴⁸ A graphic description of Meyerhold's arrest appears in David Remnick's *Lenin's Tomb*. (David Remnick, *Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 34.

the control the Party had over areas such as the arts. After the unionization of the literature and music with the Resolution of 1932, it was the Party that would be responsible for how the arts were regulated. For Shostakovich, the denunciation of his opera was a huge blow to his career, for he never completed an opera after *Lady MacBeth*. Perhaps the statement by Boris Schwarz sums up the entire incident by noting that “*Lady MacBeth* was simply the wrong opera at the wrong time” and noted that the subject matter was too “depraved” for the sensitivities of Stalin.⁴⁹ Regardless of all the many factors involved with the 1936 condemnation of the opera, it was successful in keeping the opera from a Russian stage until 1996.

⁴⁹ Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*, Enlarged Ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 141.

CHAPTER 4 – “THE THAW” AND *KATERINA ISMAILOVA*

“The Thaw”

In the 1950s, during the Soviet period referred to as “the Thaw,”¹

Shostakovich began revising *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk*. These changes included modifications to the text as well as the music and Shostakovich assigned the opera a new opus number. Most of the revisions either assuaged or eliminated the sexual explicitness and vulgarity. What follows is a discussion of the state of Soviet opera during “the Thaw” and a comparison of the apparent changes made to the opera. This revised opera, retitled *Katerina Ismailova*, became the standard version in the Soviet Union even after the original *Lady MacBeth* appeared again in the West in 1979.

The death of Stalin in 1953 initiated the era of Soviet history known as “the Thaw” in which many changes occurred politically as well as artistically. The new leader of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev, denounced Stalin’s leadership privately, then later publicly.² The political climate also affected the arts: musicians such as the pianist Sviatoslav Richter, cellist Mstislav Rostropovich, and conductor

¹ This period took its name from Il’ya Erenburg’s novel of the same name. Julie Curtis points out that the term can be misleading because it implies a “process” of openness after the Stalinist period but actually was “erratic [in] nature.” This is evident in the literature of the time. The publication of Erenburg’s *The Thaw* in 1954, which was, as described by Curtis, “courageous enough to allude to the fact that a great gulf between official art and true genius had developed in the Stalin period,” is an example of the more lenient artistic policies of ‘the Thaw.’ On the other hand, Boris Pasternak’s *Doctor Zhivago*, which was similar to *The Thaw* although more entrenched in a Christian faith, was denied publication in 1956, therefore showing the disparities of the time. (Julie Curtis, “Literature under Gorbachev – A Second Thaw?” from *Perestroika: A Historical Perspective*, ed. Catherine Merridale and Chris Ward [London: Edward Arnold, 1991], 169).

² Elizabeth Wilson notes that Khrushchev exposed the atrocities of Stalin’s rule in a secret speech of the 20th Party Congress in 1956. Five years later, Khrushchev publicly criticized Stalin at the 22nd Party Congress. (Elizabeth Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994], 259). Schwarz remarks that Khrushchev delivered a seven hour speech that ended Stalin’s “cult of personality,” and that the full text was not released in the Soviet Union but was published in the West. (Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*, Enlarged Ed. [Bloomington: Indiana University Press], 298).

Evgeny Mravinsky, were allowed to travel to the West and perform³ Such performers took with them Shostakovich's music, portraying him as the principal composer of Soviet music. As Elizabeth Wilson points out, while some musicians were touring the West and exporting Soviet music, the ban on art, literature, and music that had previously been condemned as "formalist" had been lifted and allowed a glimpse of modernist developments in the West.⁴ As the Thaw progressed, Shostakovich turned towards his second opera once again, this time making modifications to it that would drastically tone down some of the explicit aspects

The State of Opera in the Soviet Union During 1950s

Following the condemnation of *Lady MacBeth* and Zhdanov's attack on "formalism" in 1948, Soviet opera was apparently in decline. Whether or not this decline is in direct correlation to *Lady MacBeth* and the attacks against "formalism" is debatable, but following 1936, there were few significant Soviet operas that received international acclaim. Shostakovich never completed another opera after *Lady MacBeth*, and the death of Prokofiev in 1953 left a gap for such large epic operas as his *War and Peace*.

Boris Schwarz points out the lack of direction and focus that Soviet opera had, particularly after Stalin's death. He notes that the Soviet composers were dealing with 20th-century topics in 19th century musical idioms. Musically, composers were

³ Wilson describes these trips to the West as showcases for the "supremacy" of the Soviet tradition of performance (Elizabeth Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994], 260)

⁴ In 1948, Shostakovich, along with Prokofiev and Khachaturian, were condemned as "formalists" and were subjected to public rebuke. This period is referred to in the Soviet Union as *Zhdanovshchina*, named for Andrei Zhdanov, who served as the Central Committee secretary in charge of ideological issues. Wilson notes that although some works were reinstituted, this was by no means done systematically (Ibid.)

combining a mixture of elements including ideas of exoticism in the vein of Rimsky-Korsakov and what Schwarz calls a “new self-conscious Sovietism with flag-waving rhetorical declamations, while the new Socialist hero triumphs over the evil enemy, either fascist or capitalist.”⁵ This problem of Soviet opera may be a factor in explaining why most opera written since Stalinism has not remained in the repertoires of theaters nor received international attention, although the lack of international notice may be in part due to the political climate of the time. Some operas produced at this time include Yuri Shaporin’s *The Decembrists* (1953), Tikhon Khrennikov’s *Frol Skobeyev* (1945-1950), and Dmitri Kabelevsky’s *Taras* (revised 1950).

A performer who provides insight into Soviet opera of the 1950s is Galina Vishnevskaya. Vishnevskaya began her career at the Bolshoi Theater in the early 1950s and became an internationally known soloist. Vishnevskaya also befriended Shostakovich at this time and later performed the role of Katerina in a 1966 film version of *Katerina Ismailova*. Vishnevskaya’s Soviet citizenship, along with that of her husband, musician Mstislav Rostropovich, was revoked in 1978. This may account may bias the opinions displayed in Vishnevskaya’s autobiography. However, after leaving the Soviet Union, Vishnevskaya and her husband would record Shostakovich’s original opera, *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk*.⁶

Galina Vishnevskaya provides details of some of the inner-workings of Soviet

⁵ Schwarz mentions that this does not apply to all contemporary opera but most that was considered conservative and bland. He also adds that a revival of Soviet opera would most likely have occurred with a renewal in theater experimentation. Theater directors such as Stanislavsky, Nemirovich-Danchenko, and Meyerhold had revitalized Soviet opera in their time by developing singing actors and applying their personal theater experience to opera (Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*, Enlarged Ed. [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983], 267-268).

⁶ Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 506.

opera during the 1950s. In her autobiography, Vishnevskaya recalls Party involvement with operas as well as ways in which she avoided taking part in works she considered to be mere propaganda. In one instance, Vishnevskaya recalls preparations for a new production of Yuri Shaporin's *The Decembrists* in which officials from the Central Committee's Department of Agitation and Propaganda were present at rehearsals. These officials demanded numerous changes before the work was allowed for performance. A majority of the changes made were to the text in order to suggest that aristocrats, who demonstrated and were massacred in December of 1825, were actually revolutionaries of the working class. Vishnevskaya notes that the staging preparation for the opera was done over several years.⁷

Vishnevskaya notes that for any opera conveying contemporary or revolutionary ideas, the Bolshoi would often use their best performers, and to entice these performers, the company oftentimes promised artists decorations, titles, and extra pay. The works were usually only staged a few times during the season and the public would seldom attend and as a result, the opera was removed from the repertory. On the other hand, production of these new, contemporary Soviet operas accomplished the plan of establishing a Soviet canon of opera and the director would

⁷ Galina Vishnevskaya, Galina: *A Russian Story* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984), 91. Schwarz supports this statement by noting that the first version appeared in 1925, a second version emerged in 1938 (this version was not the composer's liking) and the final version was under development from 1947-1953. Schwarz also notes that the numerous drafts of the opera filled seven filing boxes in the Bolshoi Theater's archives (Boris Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*. Enlarged Ed. [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983], 291).

be honored for the achievement.⁸ As a singer, Vishnevskaya was often opposed to contemporary Soviet operas, considering the work to be “humiliating,” but noted that opting not to sing a role in an opera based on a revolutionary subject would have been grounds for political charges. Her way around these productions was to intentionally crack notes in rehearsals and complain that she was too inexperienced and in turn would ruin her voice.⁹

Also in her autobiography, Vishnevskaya points out the changes that occurred at the Bolshoi following Stalin’s death in 1953. Stalin, who had been an avid supporter of the Bolshoi, had personally set high salaries for leading soloists and the period of employment prior to receiving a pension was 20 years. After Stalin’s death, the salaries noticeably diminished and 25 years of employment were required before receiving a pension.¹⁰ In the opinion of Vishnevskaya, Stalin was not a music lover, but he liked the “splendor and pomposity” of the Bolshoi, and his tastes, good or bad, often dictated what was performed. After his death, Vishnevskaya notes that the theater “lost all its bearings, and began to be buffeted from side to side – from the tastes of one incumbent to another.”¹¹ This may explain the lack of structured direction of Soviet opera during the 1950s.

Revisions of *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk*

During the 1950s, Shostakovich began revising sections of *Lady MacBeth*. Both textual and musical revisions were made, but a fair amount of the original opera

⁸ Galina Vishnevskaya, *Galina: A Russian Story* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984), 91-92.

⁹ Two opera productions that Vishnevskaya used this trick were for Kabelevsky’s *Nikita Vershinin* and Khrennikov’s *Mother*. (Ibid, 92)

¹⁰ Ibid, 125

¹¹ Ibid, 94-95

remains intact. What follows are some of the events that transpired in order for the new version of the opera to pass the authorities' approval. There is also a comparison of a section of the original *Lady MacBeth* and the revised opera, *Katerina Ismailova*. The section of comparison, the seduction scene of Act I, scene 3, contains quite noticeable changes. The reasons for the changes that Shostakovich made to the opera are debatable: there is speculation as to whether the changes are due to political pressures or to the composer's own aesthetics.¹²

The more open artistic climate of "the Thaw" may have allowed Shostakovich the chance to restore his famed opera. This new version, *Katerina Ismailova*, became the standard edition until after *perestroika* had ended. Revisions of *Lady MacBeth* began in the mid-1950s, and literary critic and lifelong friend of Shostakovich, Isaak Glikman, was asked by the composer to reassess the libretto and allowed him to make any necessary changes to the text.¹³ In 1955 Shostakovich played the opera for the Leningrad Malyi Theater, which wished to stage the work in the upcoming season. At that time, Shostakovich had already composed two new entr'actes, which are one of many changes from the original to the revised opera. Before the opera could be performed, the Malyi Theater had to attain approval from authorities, namely officials designated by the Union of Composers.

Many textual changes were made before the opera was performed for Soviet authorities. Elizabeth Wilson comments that Shostakovich's primary concern was to

¹² Heather Miller, "Victim vs. Participant: A Comparison of Dmitri Shostakovich's *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk* and *Katerina Ismailova*" *UNCA Journal of Undergraduate Research*, Ed. James T. Wallace (Asheville: The University of North Carolina at Asheville, 1997), 154.

¹³ Elizabeth Wilson, Shostakovich. *A Life Remembered* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 288.

eliminate some of the cruder vulgarities of the original opera ¹⁴ Changes that were made to the new version of the work do not credit anyone, including Glikman, with changes to the libretto ¹⁵ Despite the initial textual and musical changes made, the opera was rejected in 1956 by the State-appointed commission. This committee included composer Mikhail Chulaki, musicologist Georgi Khubov, and conductor Tselikovsky, who was associated with the USSR Ministry of Culture Dmitri Kabalevsky, who at the time was a member of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Culture, was selected to preside over the meeting ¹⁶ Glikman noted that, “the Committee were unanimous in their recommendation that *Lady MacBeth* should not be staged in consideration of its enormous ideological and artistic defects ¹⁷ Glikman also commented that the officials kept repeating “but nobody cancelled the article yet,” meaning that the condemnation by the “Muddle Instead of Music” article from *Pravda* had not been reversed. ¹⁸ The reasons the authorities gave for not restaging the work was that it apologized for a murderer and woman of coarse behavior and morals. ¹⁹ Although the opera was initially rejected, efforts to restage the opera continued

In 1961, the revised work received another hearing for the Union of Composers. To Shostakovich and Glikman’s surprise, the opera obtained sanctioning

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., 289.

¹⁶ Ibid., 290.

¹⁷ Ibid., 291.

¹⁸ Issak Glikman, “Kazn Ledi Makbet,” *Sovetskana Kultura*, 23 September 1989, C9.

¹⁹ Ibid.

and was therefore allowed performances²⁰ This is interesting because there is no indication that Shostakovich made any further revisions to the work after the 1956 rejection Shortly afterwards, Shostakovich played the opera for the troupe of the Stanislavsky-Nemorovich-Danchenko Theater Even though the management of the theater was quite thrilled with the opportunity to stage the opera, many members of the company were opposed to it Laurel Fay notes that these performers “had been brought up, after all, with absolute certainty that this opera was the epitome of pernicious musical ‘formalism’.”²¹ The “Muddle Instead of Music” article that appeared in *Pravda* was an official decree by the authorities. The performers’ unwillingness to participate readily in a production shows the effect of this article, and the efficient workings of Soviet propaganda Over twenty years after the publication in *Pravda*, phrases such as “music turned deliberately inside out in order that nothing will be reminiscent of classical opera,” and “it is a game of clever ingenuity that may end very badly,” may still have had an impact on performers.²² Many of the performers may have remembered the Great Purges of the 1930s and knew that even artists were not impervious to castigation, thus they feared association with the opera²³

By spring of 1962, arias and entr’actes of the revised opera were performed in concerts.²⁴ By the fall of that year, the work became subject for the press and the

²⁰ Laurel Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 237.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 238.

²² Translation from Victor Seroff, *Dmitri Shostakovich: The Life and Background of a Soviet Composer* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1943) from *Strunk’s Source Readings in Music History: The Twentieth Century*, Revised Edition, Vol. 7 Ed. Robert P Morgan (New York: W W Norton & Company), 128

²³ Such an example would be the arrest and execution of theater director Meyerhold.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

official premiere of *Katerina Ismailova* occurred on January 8, 1963, produced by the Stanislavsky Theater. Although the Minister of Culture had approved the work, recent occurrences surrounding Shostakovich's controversial Thirteenth Symphony²⁵ gave cause for worry, and the performance was masked by being billed as the *Barber of Seville*²⁶

Shostakovich felt sympathy for the heroine of the opera despite her treacherous deeds. In an article that appeared in *Modern Music* in 1934, Shostakovich admitted that "[he] conceived Ekaterina as a woman clever, gifted and interesting. Set by fate in gloomy, miserable surroundings, belonging to a merchant class which is hard, greedy and 'small,' her life is sorrowful and pitiable."²⁷

Although the singer Galina Vishnevskaya describes Shostakovich as a man vehemently opposed to violence, he had not condemned Katerina for the murders she commits, but rather was sympathetic towards her.²⁸ Shostakovich made significant changes in order to convey his more sympathetic reading of the character.

Although changes were made throughout the opera, the scene that contains the most noticeable alterations is Sergei's seduction of Katerina in Act I, Scene 3. What

²⁵ Anti-Semitism ran high in Soviet Russia and the first movement of Shostakovich's *Thirteenth Symphony* was set to a poem by Russian poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko. The poem, entitled *Babi Yar*, provides a commentary about the anti-Semitism by recalling an incident at a ravine named Babi Yar located near Kiev. The event was the execution of around 34,000 Jewish men, women, and children at the hand of the German SS. Yevtushenko uses the event in his poem as a beginning point to an assault on anti-Semitism that he alludes to being a problem spread throughout the world (the poem includes references to Dreyfus and Anne Frank) and especially prevalent in Russia. (Albrecht Gaub, Liner notes from *Dmitri Shostakovich Symphony No. 13, Babi Yar*. Sony SK 66591, 1995).

²⁶ Elizabeth Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 350.

²⁷ Dmitri Shostakovich, "My Opera, Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk" *Modern Music*, vol. 12 (1934): 24.

²⁸ Galina Vishnevskaya, *Galina: A Russian Story* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984), 352.

follows is a comparison of both the texts and music of the original *Lady MacBeth* and the revised *Katerina Ismailova*

Katerina's aria that appears at the beginning of Act I, scene 3 of *Lady MacBeth* provides insight into her character. In the text of this aria, Katerina displays what Richard Taruskin refers to as her "[obsession] with animal sex."²⁹ Her lines from the 1932 aria read

The foal runs after the filly
 The tom-cat seeks the female
 The dove hastens to his mate.
 But no one hurries to me
 The wind caresses the birch-tree,
 And the sun warms it with its heat,
 For everyone there's a smile from somewhere,
 But no one will come to me,
 No one will press his hands round my waist,
 No one will press his lips to mine.
 No one will stroke my white breast,
 No one will tire me out with his passionate embraces³⁰

This libretto contains animal imagery of indiscriminate sexual passion compared with other versions, most notably the reference to the tom-cat. This version was censored prior to the premiere resulting in the following version from 1935³¹

Once I saw from my window a little nest,
 A little nest under the roof,
 A happy dove was hast'ning there,
 Was hast'ning there with her darling mate
 Now often do I look at them
 And with envy bitterly weep and cry,
 Oh, happy dove, she has a mate
 I have no freedom, I have no darling,
 None, I am not able to fly, Ah!
 I have no freedom now, I've no darling,

²⁹ Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 505

³⁰ For discussion purposes, this libretto will be referred to as the 1932 version. (Dmitri Shostakovich, *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk*, libretto. Translation by Joan Pemberton Smith, 1979)

³¹ Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 506

No sweet beloved darling have I,
 Day follows day, sad and mournful,
 My life will pass without a single smile
 No love, no love will be my fate here³²

The sexually explicit lines were replaced with these lines and references to lips and breasts were transformed into “a hymn to the joys of maternity and conjugal domestic bliss.”³³ Taruskin notes that the original 1932 text was passed on from Shostakovich to Galina Vishnevskaya years later, suggesting that the earlier, more explicit libretto was the composer’s intended version³⁴

Katerina Ismailova extends the domestication of the 1935 emendations. The 1935 and 1963 versions are remarkably similar in content, both including references to doves, freedom, and fate. The libretto from 1963’s *Katerina Ismailova* reads as follows

I could see from my window a little nest
 Hidden under the sloping roof
 And there two doves would sit cooing
 Then high in the wide, wide sky they’d go soaring
 But now whenever I see their nest my eyes fill
 With tears of envy, envy of their happiness!
 Kept in seclusion, unloved and unloving, and no
 Freedom, no freedom, no liberty!
 Ah, no, I can’t live like this!
 For I have no nest like those two little birds
 I’ve no one who loves me, no one to love
 My days pass in a cheerless bleak procession
 I’ll grow old, never knowing what love was
 Ah! Why, ah why, should this be my fate!
 Have I deserved such a fate?³⁵

³² Dmitri Shostakovich, *Lady MacBeth of Mzensk*, Translation by L. Soudakova (Moscow State Musical Publishing House, 1935), 75-79.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Taruskin also notes that the original 1932 text was not sung onstage until 1996 (Ibid.)

³⁵ Dmitri Shostakovich, *Katerina Ismailova*, libretto Translation by Edward Downes (New York: Leeds Music Company, 1963), 19

The changes from 1932 to 1963 are quite significant for Katerina's characterization. The 1963 libretto maintains references to "animal sex," but the omission of the tom-cat and more serene imagery of nesting doves propels the aria into a domestic interpretation. Another difference is that in the 1932 version, Katerina's descriptions of her loneliness are made in terms of physical needs as opposed to a romanticized ideal. Katerina describes not having someone – anyone to fulfill her physical needs as she states, "No one will press his lips to mine, No one will stroke my white breast." In the 1963 version, Katerina's words are more constrained, using more romantic language, "For I have no nest like those two little birds, I've no one who loves me, no one to love." In the 1963 text, Vishnevskaya describes Katerina as "[donning] the decency proper for a Soviet woman. . ."³⁶ The changes, beginning with censorship of the 1932 version, result in a portrayal of Katerina as a chaste woman less likely to be blamed for crimes of passion than the original, sexually desiring character. This change in libretto was perhaps done to present Katerina as a victim of her circumstances.³⁷

Along with textual changes, Shostakovich modified part of the music by simplifying the orchestration and removing some of the entr'actes.³⁸ Perhaps the most notable musical change is in the seduction interlude that appears in Act I, Scene 3. The new music bears little resemblances to the original interlude. One of the

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Fay notes that with the changes, Katerina's "crimes seem to derive more from her rebellion against an oppressive family and social situation than from sheer, unadulterated physical lust" (Laurel E. Fay, "From *Lady MacBeth* to *Katerina*: Shostakovich's versions and revisions" From *Shostakovich Studies* Ed. David Fanning, [London: Cambridge University Press, 1995], 180. For an in-depth look at the numerous versions of the opera see Fay's article (Ibid.)

³⁸ Galina Vishnevskaya, *Galina* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984), 352

most significant omissions is the trombone glissandi that had caused so much commotion from critics in the 1930s. The interlude in 1963 is much shorter in length, numbering 16 measures, whereas the interlude of *Lady MacBeth* numbers 102 measures. This change in length may be related to the action on the stage. In *Lady MacBeth*, the seduction does occur, but in *Katerina Ismailova*, the shorter interlude may be describing the interruption by the father-in-law. The stage direction in the score of *Katerina Ismailova* mentions the appearance of Boris Timofeyevich (the father-in-law) in the window and Katerina and Sergei “run off” together.³⁹

The interludes from *Lady MacBeth* and *Katerina Ismailova* are both dominated more by rhythm, however, the interlude in *Katerina* is permeated with one particular rhythmic figure, reminiscent of an authoritative drum cadence and represents the interruption of the father-in-law (Figure 1)



Figure 1 – Rhythmic Motive from *Katerina Ismailova*

This figure is introduced in two bars with only percussion, followed by the entire orchestra, and is heard throughout the interlude. This rhythmic figure gives the interlude a consistently authoritarian march-like feel as opposed to the eclectic alternating rhythms and scale passages of *Lady MacBeth*'s interlude. The march-like rhythm from *Katerina Ismailova* also conveys a more ominous tone than some of the playful rhythms in *Lady MacBeth* that point towards its act of primal passion.

³⁹ Dmitri Shostakovich, *Collected Works*, vol. 20 (Moscow: Izdatestva Muzyka, 1985), 92

Perhaps the greatest similarity to the original interlude appears in the melodic lines. This melodic line begins the interlude in *Lady MacBeth* at rehearsal number 183 (Figure 2) and was reworked to comprise the entire melodic material of the new interlude which begins at rehearsal number 185 (Figure 3). The descending halfstep from B-flat to A-natural appears as the initial gesture of both versions, and this interval, as well as the dotted-quarter/eighth notes rhythm, plays a prominent role in both. This chromatic melody is reorchestrated, appearing in the raucous brass instruments in the original, but in the more subdued woodwinds in the revised version. A change in dynamic markings adds to the difference in character from the original to the revised melody.



Figure 2 – Melodic Line from *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk*



Figure 3 – Piccolo line from *Katerina Ismailova*

Both interludes lack a clear tonal center. the melodies and scale passages in *Lady MacBeth* often revolve around B-flat, but it is never established as a tonic, preceded by its dominant (see 9 after rehearsal number 187) The music in *Katerina Ismailova* centers around a c-minor triad heard mostly in the rhythmic motif, but this triad also contains a tritone between the chord root and the F# in the bass (see measure 518) This occurs each time the c-minor chord is played and creates tension Similarly, the melody of *Lady MacBeth* (from Example 2), is harmonized by an unresolved dominant 7th chord with an added tritone below the root This harmony is followed by nonfunctional diminished triads, major and minor seventh chords, and triads with both major and minor thirds The numerous minor 2nds add dramatic tension and an element of exoticism In *Katerina Ismailova*, the harmonic successions are more patterned, consisting mostly of c minor chords, b-flat minor chords, and f# diminished chords

Despite these basic similarities, the music of the two versions is very different in character. In *Lady MacBeth*, the brass instruments are dominant throughout, but in *Katerina Ismailova*, the woodwinds play the short melodic phrase while the percussion, strings, and brass play the constant rhythmic figure In *Lady MacBeth*, the final trombone glissando that ends the interlude serves as an answer to the rising crescendo in the vocal line that leads into the musical interlude and frames the beginning and ending of the seduction In *Katerina Ismailova*, there is no crescendo into the interlude and the martial-like music is an abrupt change to Sergei's chromatically ascending vocal line. A general difference is in the musical texture of both interludes. In *Lady MacBeth*, the texture is polyphonic, two voices that at times

suggest interplay of opposing forces, and this texture changes from section to section – suggesting dramatization. In *Katerina Ismailova*, the texture is homorhythmic and consistent which carries different dramatic implications.

Debate over Shostakovich's reasons for revisions have continued for years, scholars often arguing whether the revisions reflect Shostakovich's original intentions or political coercion. The changes made both textually and musically do change Katerina's character. The text in the revised opera does away with the explicit sexual references, and the new music in the interlude does away with the boisterous sexually imagery, most notably the trombone glissandi, and replaces it with the regimented, march-like rhythms. These changes enhance a reading of Katerina as a chaste victim of her circumstances rather than a willing accomplice. Laurel Fay describes Shostakovich of the mid-1950s as a widower and father who was more "self-conscious" and "discreet" than he had been in his twenties when he originally wrote the opera.⁴⁰ She adds that "it is certainly conceivable that he [Shostakovich] himself may have been a trifle embarrassed by some of its [the opera's] grosser youthful excesses."⁴¹ On her reading then, Shostakovich's revisions were motivated by his personal and music maturity.

However, this interpretation does not take into consideration other factors linked to revisions. The process of revisions began with the censorship of the 1932 libretto. If Vishnevskaya's account is accurate, the revisions to the 1935 text were

⁴⁰ Laurel E. Fay, "From Lady MacBeth to Katerina: Shostakovich's versions and revisions" *Shostakovich Studies*. Ed. David Fanning. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 181.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

not of Shostakovich's free will. The importance of politics in the revisions cannot be discounted. *Lady MacBeth* was pulled from production at the height of its popularity by official decree, and may be a powerful incentive for revision. The opera was also revised specifically for production with responses from audiences, critics, and especially censors in mind. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that political coercion or fear of it was a strong influence in revisions.

The "official" premiere of *Katerina Ismailova* took place on January 8, 1963 and this new version of Shostakovich's opera became the standard in Russia. *Katerina Ismailova* was also produced outside of Russia, including performances in London in late 1963, and Vienna and Budapest in 1965.⁴² In 1964, La Scala proposed staging the opera using the old version, but Shostakovich was vehemently opposed, insisting that they use *Katerina Ismailova* or not stage it at all.⁴³ When the score for the revised opera was published in 1965, Shostakovich included directions not to cut or adjust any part of the work. Although Western critics may have seen this revised work as the effect of political pressure, *Katerina Ismailova* is the version of the opera that appears in Shostakovich's collected works. A film version of *Katerina Ismailova* appeared in 1967, supervised by Shostakovich and starring Galina Vishnevskaya. This new work also continued to be performed and known as the "official" version through the era of *perestroika*.

⁴² Shostakovich personally supervised these productions. (Laurel E. Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2000], 238-239).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 239

CHAPTER 5 – CULTURAL CHANGES OF *PERESTROIKA* AND *GLASNOST*'

Policies of *Perestroika* and *Glasnost*'

The social reforms of *perestroika* and *glasnost*', begun in 1985, greatly changed the cultural climate of the Soviet Union. This chapter addresses the changes within the cultural spheres of literature and music. The objective of *perestroika*, as noted by Thomas Cushman, was not to convert the Soviet Union into a capitalist society similar to those in the West, but rather to "preserve the best elements of the Soviet welfare state," and to modify the market in order to comply with the increasing demands of greater supplies and services.¹ *Glasnost*' promoted openness in the cultural domains, and as Cushman notes, "was meant to facilitate freedom of cultural communication in the service of the structural transformation of Soviet society."² During the years of *perestroika* and *glasnost*' literature once suppressed was rehabilitated, and rock music, which had only existed in an underground subculture was accepted. In art music, avant-garde styles were tolerated by officials, and open policies allowed many composers to travel and live abroad. While greater openness is evident through discussions of the original *Lady MacBeth*, the opera itself was not performed during the years of *perestroika*.

¹ Thomas Cushman, *Notes from Underground: Rock Music Counterculture in Russia* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995), 219

² *Ibid.*

Effect of *Perestroika* and *Glasnost* on Literature and Rock Music

Beginning in 1985, many suppressed works were published in the Soviet Union for the first time.³ Prior to *glasnost*, many of these unpublished works circulated through *samizdat* methods, some were even smuggled abroad for publication. By summer 1988, the cultural policies of *glasnost* allowed the publication of formerly unauthorized, or as labeled by David Remnick, “anti-Soviet classics.”⁴ Some of these “classics” include Anna Akhmatova’s *Requiem*, Boris Pasternak’s *Doctor Zhivago*, and Mikhail Bulgakov’s *Heart of a Dog*.⁵ The works of Alexander Solzhenitsyn did not appear until later in the *perestroika* period. A Politburo member related that the government could not condone a writer such as Solzhenitsyn who was still living in exile and believed that the entire rule of the Soviet government was “an unmitigated crime and catastrophe.”⁶ After a great deal of persistence by editors from the literary journal *Novy Mir* and others, Solzhenitsyn’s Nobel lecture appeared in their July 1989 edition followed by installments of *The Gulag Archipelago* beginning in August. Soon afterwards, the state-controlled publishing house declared that it would issue a multi-volume edition of Solzhenitsyn’s collected works.⁷

The acceptance of Solzhenitsyn marks what may be considered the culmination to the rehabilitation of literature suppressed during the Soviet period. As

³ Julie Curtis, “Literature under Gorbachev – A second Thaw?” *Perestroika* Ed. Catherine Merridale and Chris Ward, (London: Edward Arnold, 1991), 171.

⁴ Remnick, David, *Lennin’s Tomb: The Last days of the Soviet Empire* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 265.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid., 268

Julie Curtis notes, “after Solzhenitsyn there [were] virtually no skeletons left in the cupboard”⁸ Curtis also mentions that *glasnost*’ marked the end of the period designated “Soviet literature,” for there was no significant literature written during *glasnost*’, nor had there been in the 1970s and early 1980s⁹ New literature was overshadowed by rehabilitated works The publication of previously censored works reaffirms that the government allowed discussion of past atrocities represented in works by Solzhenitsyn

Another facet of Soviet culture affected by *perestroika* and *glasnost*’ was rock music. There were many musicians whose music was suppressed by the government for its un-Soviet ideology However, the open policies of *glasnost*’ allowed “official” sale and distribution of this music, contrary to the condemned opera by Shostakovich that did not receive official acceptance. Prior to *glasnost*’, there had been three decades of official anti-rock policies in the Soviet Union. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, condemnations, regulations, and police actions were used to eliminate rock music in the Soviet Union¹⁰ The sanctioning of rock music during *glasnost*’ did not introduce these genres to the Soviet Union since rock music had survived underground for many decades However, like literature, officials recognized rock music as a legitimate form of music during the late 1980s

Timothy Ryback relates anecdotes of *Pravda* articles from the 1950s that denounce rock music, and claimed that jazz ensembles often camouflaged rock and

⁸ Curtis, Julie, “Literature under Gorbachev – A second Thaw?” *Perestroika* Ed. Catherine Merridale and Chris Ward, (London: Edward Arnold, 1991), 172.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 173

¹⁰ Ryback, Timothy W, *Rock Around the Bloc A History of Rock Music in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 2-4

roll in the form of “satires.”¹¹ Ryback also relates how recordings, from the United States and Great Britain, were often pirated and circulated through underground methods. In the 1950s, the music was recorded into the emulsion on old X-ray plates, the emulsion on the X-ray plates provided a sufficient surface for sound reproduction.¹² The government eventually banned underground recordings produced in this manner claiming that they enticed criminal actions.¹³

Not only was rock music from outside of the Soviet Union unsanctioned and thus, circulated underground, but music of native Russians also had a large underground following. A well-known musician in this category is the guitar-poet Vladimir Vysotsky. Vysotsky was officially recognized as a film and stage actor, but his music existed underground since the 1950s. With the new policies of *perestroika*, Vysotsky’s music was approved by authorities and legally available to the public. This is comparable to Shostakovich’s career as a composer. Like Vysotsky, Shostakovich had an officially condoned career (in Shostakovich’s case, as a composer of Soviet art music), but also had works that were censored by officials, like *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk*. However, whereas Vysotsky’s music was rehabilitated during *perestroika*, Shostakovich’s opera was not.

Prior to *perestroika* and *glasnost*, Vysotsky’s music was transmitted through underground methods of *magnitizdat*, the private circulations of cassette tapes. *Magnitizdat* appeared in the early 1960s as an outcome of the increased production of

¹¹ Ibid., 31.

¹² Ibid., 32.

¹³ Ibid.

private tape recorders and greater intolerance of state censorship¹⁴ Many of Vysotsky's concerts were recorded and, through re-recordings, spread to the public throughout the country¹⁵ By the 1970s, it was estimated that recordings of Vysotsky numbered over one million¹⁶

Over time Vysotsky's guitar ballad style of singing came to be considered a Russian version of rock and roll. Although differing contextually from rock music in the United States, the music is similar in its rebellious nature. Rock music of the United States in the 1950s crossed of racial barriers and challenged parental values, whereas the rock music of Vysotsky often rebelled against the government Vysotsky's more controversial songs were commentaries on themes such as crime and labor camp conditions – songs that portray the harsh realities of Soviet life On the other hand, some of his songs express pride in the achievements of others, including Russian athletes and cosmonauts. It may be for the pro-Russian songs that authorities tolerated his other activities¹⁷

By the late 1980s, the government began to recognize the legitimacy of rock music within the Soviet Union. In 1987, a "Rock Panorama" in Moscow was sponsored by party officials The concert included over 50 bands from all around the Soviet Union and presented various styles of music, from traditional rock to heavy metal and punk rock¹⁸ Official newspapers also began to print schedules of concerts

¹⁴ Lazarski, Christopher, "Vladimir Vysotsky and His Cult," *Russian Review* 51, no. 1 (1992), 64

¹⁵ An incident of one of Vysotsky's concerts in Kuibyshev is discussed by Christopher Lazarski (Ibid, 64-65).

¹⁶ Ledewa, K., "Russische Gitarrenlyrik und die Tondandrevolution des 'Magnitizdat' nach 1956: Kulturelle Voraussetzungen und Quellen," *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* 36, no. 2 (1991), 235

¹⁷ Misha Allen, "Russia's Dissident Balladeers," *East Europe* 20, no. 11 (1971), 28

¹⁸ Timothy Cushman, *Notes from Underground: Rock Music Counterculture in Russia* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995), 226

and interviews of members of the rock community, and the state-controlled publishing houses began to publish books on rock music, including an *Encyclopedia of Rock Music* ¹⁹

Along with the legalization of rock music, Melodiya, the state-controlled recording firm, became interested in producing the recordings of rock musicians. In March 1987, Melodiya purchased, for 300 rubles, an album by the band Aquarium and released a pressing of 200,000 copies consumers purchased them immediately.²⁰ In the case of Vladimir Vysotsky, who had died five years prior to *perestroika*, his *magnitizdat* recordings were the only available testaments to his career as a musician. In the years 1987-1989, Melodiya released live performances by Vysotsky, some of which date back to between 1967 and 1977 ²¹

Rock musicians were skeptical towards *glasnost* and the government's acceptance of rock music. Many older musicians, who for many years had been in positions where authorities impeded their activities, were now dealing with authorities that were supportive of rock music.²² The sanctioning of rock music did not mean that a group would automatically receive Melodiya's assistance in the production and distribution of their music. The standard route to obtain attention from the recording firm was different from in the West. As noted by Irina Orlova,

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Timothy W. Ryback, *Rock Around the Bloc: A History of Rock Music in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 227.

²¹ Irina Orlova, "Notes from Underground: The Emergence of Rock Music Culture" from *Mass Culture and Perestroika in the Soviet Union*, Ed. Marsha Siefert (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 67.

²² An instance of one rock musician's view on the changing cultural policy appears in Thomas Cushman, *Notes from Underground: Rock Music Counterculture in Russia* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995), 222.

“unlike in the West, where music is usually first recorded and then actively advertised [by a company], in the Soviet Union a rock group had to first become popular by giving concerts and then producing its own ‘tape recorder disks’.”²³ Only after the homemade recordings received a large following of devotees would Melodiya consider distributing the music. Self-produced recordings, a practice that was once banned in the Soviet Union, had now become the method by which a rock group was expected to distribute their music and gain official support.

Effects of *Perestroika* and *Glasnost*’ in Art Music

Perestroika and *glasnost*’ had an effect on art music, but in ways different from literature and rock music. In an article written at the beginning of *glasnost*’, Harlow Robinson notes that Soviet musical culture became open to foreign influence as it had before Stalinism, leading to a resurgence of avant-garde music as in the Soviet Union of the 1920s.²⁴ During *perestroika*, interest in avant-garde music rose greatly in part because of the public interest in works that had once been prohibited. Music of composers such as Alfred Schnittke, Sofia Gubaidulina, and Edison Denisov received more attention during *perestroika* than they had before.²⁵ The late 1980s included concerts of Schnittke’s music to full houses in Moscow’s largest and most

²³ Irina Orlova, “Notes from Underground. The Emergence of Rock Music Culture” *Mass Culture and Perestroika in the Soviet Union*, Ed. Marsha Siefert (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 70.

²⁴ Harlow, Robinson, “Russian Culture After Brezhnev: Music” *Soviet Union*, 12, Pt. 2 (1985), 138. Writing from a 1989 perspective, Gerald Seaman mentions that with the policies of *perestroika*, much of the experimental musical compositions from the 1920s may be restored, (Gerald Seaman, “Recent trends in Soviet Music,” *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies* Vol. 3, No. 1 [1989], 155).

²⁵ Wisniewski, Gregory, “The Role of Cultural Elites in the Transformation Process in Russia,” *Polish Western Affairs* (February 1993), 160.

prominent concert halls²⁶ Melodiya also released several recordings of Schnittke's music during *perestroika*²⁷

Along with the acceptance of avant-garde compositions, the liturgical content was added back to the works where it had been deleted²⁸ Works by Russian classical composers such as Rachmaninoff and Chaikovsky returned to orchestral repertoire after having disappeared for years due to their religious content, and the religious works of Schnittke, Gubaidulina, and Denisov were finally performed For example, a new Slavonic Mass by Rodion Shchedrin, an officially established composer and former head of the Russian Republic's Union of Composers, premiered in late 1988.²⁹

One drawback of the openness of *perestroika* is that many composers left Russia in order to continue their careers elsewhere. For example, Schnittke and Gubaidulina obtained grants to work abroad, and Schnittke moved to Germany, the country of his forefathers.³⁰ Alexander Ivashkin notes that one can find more Russian culture, including music, in the West than inside Russia itself.³¹ The changes and openness of *perestroika* that had decreased political pressures became unnecessary in art music because the country's leading composers left to work abroad

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Robinson, Harlow "Facing the Music: Perestroika and the High Arts" *Soviet Union* 15, Nos 2-3, (1988), 161

²⁸ Robinson mentions that choruses often performed liturgical works, such as Chaikovsky and Rachmaninoff music, as tone poems, without the texts. (Ibid., 158)

²⁹ Shchedrin noted that "Ten years ago, I could have written the piece just the same, but it would never have been performed" (Ibid.).

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Alexander Ivashkin, "The Paradox of Russian Non-Liberty" *Musical Quarterly* vol 76, issue 4 (Winter 1992), 543.

Although not all works were revived onstage, there is another facet of *perestroika* and *glasnost* that did affect Shostakovich's condemned opera. Prior to *perestroika*, *Lady MacBeth*'s revisions were credited to the composer's personal misgivings, and the official condemnation is seldom mentioned in print. In the Editor's Notes to *Katerina Ismailova* published in Shostakovich's *Collected Works*, for example, there is no mention of the *Pravda* article, only a list of cities where the original opera was staged.³² After *perestroika* had been implemented, however, discussion of the original opera, *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk*, the 1936 *Pravda* article, "Muddle Instead of Music," and the subsequent condemnation appeared in newspaper articles.

The most notable articles were printed in the newspaper *Sovetskaia kul'tura*. In an article appearing on March 4, 1989 Genrikh Orlov discusses the condemnation of Shostakovich's opera, and states that *Lady MacBeth* had two years of success at the Malyi Theater before it was "unjustly condemned" in *Pravda*.³³ The article also added that for a quarter of century, the opera has remained unknown to people, something Orlov considered to be "shameful."³⁴

An edition of *Sovetskaia kul'tura* published in September of 1989 contains a portion of Isaak Glikman's memoirs. This excerpt contains a discussion of *Lady MacBeth* and the process of having the authorities approve the new, revised opera. Glikman mentions that the story of the condemnation is not often discussed inside

³² Although this edition of Shostakovich's *Collected Works* was published in 1985, it was too early for the effects of *perestroika* to have occurred. ("Editor's Notes," Dmitri Shostakovich, *Collected Works* Vol. 20, [Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Muzyka, 1985], no page)

³³ Genrikh Orlov, "Zeno b tsepi," *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 4 March 1989, C5

³⁴ Ibid.

Russia, but that it created “hard times” for Shostakovich.³⁵ The editorial accompanying the article states that the opera (it does not specify *Lady MacBeth* or *Katerina Ismailova*) is not being performed in Russia, it does not even appear in the repertoire of the Leningrad Theaters, where the opera was created. The editorial also suggests that “entire generations can pass without listening to this [the opera] truly great musical creation of the 20th century.”³⁶

Because of censorship regulations, these articles most likely would not have appeared in Russia before *perestroika*. Orlov’s word choice concerning the opera is rather strong, something that would not have appeared in print. Despite these discussions, there was not a revival of the original opera until well after the end of *perestroika* and Communism. Unlike the music of Vladimir Vysotsky, which had existed underground then became sanctioned, *Lady MacBeth* was not revived inside Russia until 1996.³⁷ *Katerina Ismailova* appears to be the accepted edition of Shostakovich’s opera during and after *perestroika*, and it is this opera that remains in the repertoire of the Kirov Opera’s traveling company. *Katerina Ismailova* was performed in 1995 in Finland and in Tel Aviv in 1997.³⁸

The musical institutions and the operatic canon’s resistance to change cannot be overlooked in addressing the issue of *Lady MacBeth*. Just as in the United States

³⁵ Isaak Glikman, “Kazn Ledı Makbet,” *Sovetskaya kul’tura*, 23 September 1989, C9.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ The first modern performance of the original *Lady MacBeth* took place at the Mariinsky Theater in St. Petersburg on March 21, 1996. The production was part of the White Nights Festival in which *Katerina Ismailova* was performed the following night. This effort has not, to this date, been repeated (Laurel E. Fay, electronic mail correspondence with author [27 February 2000]).

³⁸ *Katerina Ismailova* was performed at the Fourth International Mikkeli Music Festival in Finland (Robert Levine, “In review: Mikkeli/Savonlinna” *Opera News* 60, no.5 [Nov 1995] 63) and at the New Israeli Opera in 1997 (Jehoash Hirschberg, “In review: Tel Aviv” *Opera News* 61, no. 14 [Apr 1997], 50). Both productions were presented by the Kirov Opera.

and Western Europe, Russia also has an established operatic canon that is opposed to change. Furthermore, musical institutions, such as theaters, are often conservative with respect to musical productions, there is often comfort in the familiarity of old works, and aversion to learning and staging new operas. Most often, the people who make decisions about performances have acquired habits of thinking that are difficult to alter. In Russia, those responsible for opera production, from the theater directors to the government officials who approve music, may have resisted the change from the now standard *Katerina Ismailova* back to *Lady MacBeth*. Also, the end of Communism in 1991 was a breakdown of the political structure in Russia that affected the arts. Theaters, such as the Bolshoi, could no longer depend on financial assistance from the government as it once had. The Union of Composers, which had served as the organizational body for music since 1932, disbanded; it would take time to regroup and restructure the musical community in Russia. These reasons also may have impacted the length of time it took to produce *Lady MacBeth*.

There have been occasional restagings of *Lady MacBeth* inside Russia after *perestroika* and the end of Communism. Possibly, the most recent performance was by Moscow's Helikon Opera Company, who performed the opera in February of 2000. This performance included a staging updated to modern times, but it was recognized as the first staging of the original opera in Moscow since 1936.³⁹ In general, *Lady MacBeth* has not received the rehabilitation that other formerly condemned works have, notably works of literature and rock music. Therefore,

³⁹ Larisa Alexeyenko, "Revived Lady MacBeth appears in Moscow," (<http://www.journal.com/ls/teatre/index.cgi?ind=280>, 15 May 2000)

perestroika and *glasnost*' did not have the same effects on art music. Although *perestroika* and *glasnost*' had a positive impact on discourse about the opera, they did not have a similar effect on its production. The more liberal policies of the *perestroika* period were applied unevenly in the realm of art music.

CHAPTER 6 - CONCLUSION

Through investigating the continuing history of Shostakovich's opera *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk*, we gain insight of the post-*perestroika* effects of the Soviet government's control over the arts. By comparing the situation of literature and rock music to that of art music, it is evident that the effects of *perestroika* and *glasnost* were not evenly applied. literary and musical works at one time condemned by the government were resuscitated by the open policies of *glasnost*, however, not all works of art music, especially *Lady MacBeth*, were revived.

Governmental control of art music can be seen as early as the Resolution of 1932. This decree organized music associations into one union inside the Soviet Union and ended the avant-garde and experimental compositions of the 1920s. The Resolution also created the Soviet ideology of "socialist realism." Socialist realism became the determining factor for all Soviet art, including music. Music was to uphold the ideals associated with socialist realism, which included music that was "clear and understandable," as opposed to "modernist" and "avant-garde."

Perhaps the Soviet government's most well known example of control over opera, and possibly music in general, is the condemnation of Shostakovich's *Lady MacBeth*. The "Muddle Instead of Music" article that appeared in *Pravda* in 1936 was an official pronouncement from the government. Although the opera was considered a success inside Russia and internationally, not to mention numerous performances, the opera disappeared from the repertoire of theaters. There is no clear answer as to why the article was written, it may have been an official attack on Shostakovich's music, a demonstration of the government's control of the arts or

both. However, the condemnation did affect Shostakovich's career since *Lady MacBeth* was deleted from the repertory and he completed no other operas.

Political intervention was also a factor in restaging the revised version of Shostakovich's opera, *Katerina Ismailova*. The changes made to both text and music, downplay much of the explicit material and some scholars believe these changes are Shostakovich's original intentions concerning the opera, the changes were not necessitated by political involvement. However, the opera still had to obtain endorsement from authorities before it could be performed. Without the authorities' approval of *Katerina Ismailova*, the opera would not have been restaged even though the cultural policies of "the Thaw" in 1963 were less stringent than those of the 1930s, during Stalinism.

The government implemented the policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost* during the mid-1980s. These open policies allowed for greater artistic freedom not seen in the Soviet Union for decades. It also allowed for the rehabilitation of formerly condemned works of literature and rock music. Literature by the dissident writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn, which often disparaged Soviet governmental policies, was published and widely read for the first time. Literature that had been circulated through means of *samizdat* prior to *perestroika* was now published by the State.

Along with the revival of suppressed literature, was the approval of rock music. Before the policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost*, rock music existed in an underground subculture that sometimes was subject to censure by authorities. A great deal of the music, especially that of Vladimir Vysotsky, had been transmitted through *magnitizdat*. With the new policies of *glasnost*, musicians were able to distribute

their music legally, even by Melodiya, the state-controlled recording firm Melodiya released numerous recordings by rock musicians such as Vysotsky and Aquarium, musicians that had a large following. These events show the capitalist side of *perestroika*.

Along with literature and rock music, *perestroika* and *glasnost* did have an effect on art music of the time. Open policies led to resurgence in the avant-garde music of the 1920s. Composers such as Alfred Schnittke and Sofia Gubaidulina received national prominence. Along with the resurgence of avant-garde compositions was the reappearance of liturgical themes in music. Before *perestroika*, composers may have written music concerning liturgical ideas, but due to the nature of Soviet cultural policy, the works would not have been performed. Performances of art music during the latter half of the 1980s often contained music that was avant-garde or liturgical in nature.

Another aspect of *perestroika* and *glasnost* in reference to art music concerns the open discussions of condemned works, specifically, Shostakovich's *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk*. Publications from 1989 contain mentions of *Lady MacBeth*, often pointing negatively to the 1936 condemnation. In print, prior to this time, *Lady MacBeth* had only been referred to as the original opera; not much had been made of the condemnation or "Muddle Instead of Music" article.

On the other hand, despite the open discussion of the censorship of *Lady MacBeth*, the original opera was not performed until well after the beginning of *perestroika*. Unlike the unaccepted works of literature and rock music that received a resurgence during this time, there was no attempt to quickly rehabilitate

Shostakovich's opera. However, there may be many reasons for not reviving an opera as opposed to reviving literature and rock music. The most noticeable difference is the organizational content required in staging an opera. Whereas book publishing and rock music production requires a handful of people in the production process, the staging of an opera is much larger. In order to produce such a work demands individuals including singers, instrumentalists, a conductor, theater director, costumers, stagehands, and many others. This large number of people also entails a great deal of bureaucracy within a theatrical setting, not to mention the amount of money such a production may cost. It may be for these reasons that *Lady MacBeth* was not produced sooner than 1996 inside Russia.

The musical institutions' resistance to change is an important aspect in theorizing the performance practice of *Lady MacBeth* inside Russia. Just as the musical canon is opposed to change in the United States and Western Europe, the same may be true in Russia, habits of thinking become entrenched and are difficult to modify. For almost thirty years *Katerina Ismailova* was established as the "official" version of Shostakovich's opera, with the earlier *Lady MacBeth* vilified. It may also be noted that by the time *Lady MacBeth* was performed in 1996, Russia had not been a Communist country for five years, and the revival, when it did occur, was not a demonstration of political policies because the Soviet restrictions against *Lady MacBeth* no longer existed. In addition, the end of Communism left many of the musical institutions, such as theaters and the Union of Composers, in disarray, unable to stage a new opera.

Another factor involved in staging the original opera is Shostakovich's views with respect to the revised opera. Some scholars, such as Laurel Fay, have asserted that revisions of *Katerina Ismailova* reflect a more mature attitude, dismissing political coercion, and claim that the composer preferred this version.¹ After the 1936 condemnation, however, Shostakovich found it difficult to openly discuss his music. Thus, without evidence through Soviet documents, not just those by Shostakovich, it is impossible to ascertain which version is the most authoritative. Newly opened archives may increase documentation and change our views concerning Shostakovich, *Lady MacBeth*, and *Katerina Ismailova*.

This research does show the more complex historical picture of the relationship between governmental policy and the cultural practice of musical production. Historically, there is not a simple interplay between political policy and musical production. This is evident when dealing with revisions of cultural policies of totalitarian states such as Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany. Debate about Shostakovich and his revised opera will likely continue. Just as debate over the dissident qualities of his music continues, so too will the reasons for the revisions. One question that may be raised is whether or not Shostakovich would still have revised his opera if the 1936 condemnation had not taken place. In the future there may be more openness in Russia with the release of documents pertaining to Shostakovich, and there may be more revivals of *Lady MacBeth* inside Russia. However, the current chaotic social situation renders opera productions as unpredictable.

¹ Laurel E. Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 239.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alexeyenko, Larisa. "Revised Lady MacBeth appears in Moscow"
<http://www.journal.com/ls/teatre/index.edi?ind=280>, 15 May 2000
- Allen, Misha "Russia's Dissident Balladeers" *East Europe* 20, no. 11 (1971) 26-31
- Asa'fev, B V *Russian Music from the Beginning of the 19th century* Trans Alfred J Swan Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1953
- Bakst, James *A History of Russian-Soviet Music*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1966.
- Brown, Royal S "The Three Faces of Lady MacBeth" from *Russian and Soviet Music: Essays for Boris Schwarz* Ed. Malcolm Hamrick Brown, 245-252.
- Clark, Katerina *Petersburg, Crucible of Cultural Revolution* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995
- Curtis, Julie "Literature Under Gorbachev – A Second Thaw?" from *Perestroika: The Historical Perspective*. Ed. Catherine Merridale and Chris Ward, 168-180 London: Edward Arnold, 1991
- Cushman, Thomas *Notes from Underground: Rock Music Counterculture in Russia* New York: State University of New York Press, 1995
- Edwards, William Clarence *Perestroika and Soviet Music* M A Thesis, George Washington University (1989)
- Fay, Laurel E "Whose Testimony?" *Russian Review* 39, no. 4 (October 1980)
- _____. "From Lady MacBeth to Katerina Ismailova: Shostakovich's Versions and Revisions" From *Shostakovich Studies*. Ed. David Fanning, 160-188 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995
- _____. *Shostakovich: A Life*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000
- Gaub, Albrect Liner notes from *Dmitri Shostakovich Symphony No. 13, Babı Yar* Sony SK 66591, 1995.
- Glikman, Isaak "Kazn Ledi Makbet" *Sovetskaya kul'tura* (23 September 1989)
- Gorky, Maxim *On Literature* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973

- Grout, Donald Jay *A Short History of Opera*. 3rd ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988
- Hirshberg, Jehoash "In review Tel Aviv" *Opera News* 61, no. 14 (April 1997) 50
- Ivashkin, Alexander. "The Paradox of Russian Non-Liberty." *Musical Quarterly* vol. 76, issue 4 (Winter 1992) 543-556.
- Krebs, Stanley D. *Soviet Composers and the Development of Soviet Music* New York: W W Norton and Company, 1970
- Lazarski, Christopher "Vladimir Vysotsky and His Cult." *Russian Review* 51, no. 1 (1992) 58-71.
- Ledewa, K. "Russische Gitarrenlyrik und die Tondandrevolution des 'Magnitizdat' nach 1956 kulturelle Voraussetzungen und Quellen." *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* 36, no. 2, (1991): 229-237.
- Levine, Robert "In review Mikkeli/Savonlinna" *Opera News* 60, no. 5 (November 1995): 63
- MacDonald, Ian *The New Shostakovich* London: Fourth Estate, 1990
- McKnight, Charles *Nikolai Roslavets: Music and Revolution* Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University (1994).
- Miller, Heather "Victim vs. Participant: A Comparison of Shostakovich's *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk* and *Katerina Ismailova*" from *UNCA Journal of Undergraduate Research*. Ed. James T. Wallace, 149-155 Asheville: The University of North Carolina at Asheville, 1997
- Orlova, Genrikh. "Zyeno b tsepi" *Sovetskaya kul'tura* (4 March 1989)
- Orlova, Irina "Notes from Underground: The Emergence of Rock Music Culture." From *Mass Culture and Perestroika in the Soviet Union*, Ed. Marsha Siefert, 66-71 New York: Oxford University Press, 1991
- Remnick, David. *Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire* New York: Vintage Books, 1994
- Robinson, Harlow "Russian Culture After Brezhnev: Music." *Soviet Union* 12, pt. 2, (1985) 137-143
- _____ "Facing the Music: *Perestroika* and the High Arts." *Soviet*

Umon, 15, nos 2-3 (1989) 159-165

Ryback, Timothy W. *Rock Around the Bloc* New York. Oxford University Press, 1990

Schwarz, Boris. *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia*, Enlarged ed
Bloomington Indiana University Press, 1983.

Seroff, Victor "Chaos Instead of Music" In *Strunk's Source Readings Music History: The Twentieth Century* Revised ed, Vol 7, Ed Robert P Morgan
New York W.W Norton & Company, 1998. Originally published in *Dmitri Shostakovich: The Life and Background of a Soviet Composer* (New York Alfred A Knopf, 1943)

Shostakovich, Dmitri. "My Opera, Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk" *Modern Music* 12, (1934) 23-30

_____. *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk*, libretto Trans. Joan Pemberton
Smith, 1979

_____. *Lady MacBeth of Mzensk*, libretto. Trans L Soudakova
Moscow State Musical Publishing House, 1935

_____. *Katerina Ismailova*, libretto Trans Edward Downes New
York: Leeds Music Company, 1963

_____. *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk* London Philharmonic Mstislav
Rostropovich EMI, 7 49955 2, 1979

_____. *Katerina Ismailova* Melodiya, S10 21393 004, 1984.

_____. Collected Works vol 20. Moscow. Izdatestva Muzyka, 1985

Sitsky, Larry *Music of the Repressed Russian Avant-Garde* Westport, Connecticut:
Greenwood Press, 1994

Taruskin, Richard "The Unmaking of *Lady MacBeth*" Playbill from *Lady MacBeth of Mtsensk*, San Francisco Opera (1988) 26-64

_____. "The Opera and the Dictator" *New Republic* 200, no 12 (March
1989)

_____. *Defining Russia Musically* Princeton: Princeton University
Press, 1997

Vishnevskaya, Galina. *Galina: A Russian Story* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984

Wilson, Elizabeth. *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994

Wisniewski, Grzegorz. "The Role of Cultural Elites in the Transformation Process in Russia." *Polish Western Affairs* (February 1993) 155-168

Zhdanov, Andrei. "Speech at the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers 1934" From *Modernism*. Ed. Vassiliki Kolocotroni, Jane Goldman, and Olga Taxidou, 524-526 Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998

VITA

Heather Miller was born in Portsmouth, Virginia on March 1, 1975. She attended public schools in Austin and Bedford, Texas. She later attended schools in the Charlotte/Mecklenburg School District in Charlotte, North Carolina where she graduated from North Mecklenburg High School in June, 1993. She entered the University of North Carolina at Asheville in August of 1993 where in May of 1997, she graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in General Music Studies with a concentration in piano performance. Ms. Miller also received a Distinction of a University Research Scholar from the University of North Carolina at Asheville. She entered the University of Tennessee in August of 1997 and in August of 2000, received a Master's degree in Music with an emphasis in historical musicology.