

1948 And All That: Soviet Music, Ideology and Power: paper abstracts

In alphabetical order

John Barber (University of Cambridge, UK)

Cold War and the Politics of Soviet Culture 1947-48

The Central Committee resolution on music of February 1948 took place against a background of deepening crisis in relations between the West and the Soviet Union. Tensions in the Grand Alliance of Britain, the USA and the USSR, already apparent at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences in 1945, had developed into a series of conflicts over Germany, Poland, the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and other issues in the immediate post-war period. By late 1947 relations were approaching breaking-point. In mid-December 1947 the London Conference of Foreign Ministers broke up with no agreement, but with the three Western powers preparing for the creation of a West German state. The USSR was meanwhile imposing Stalinist political institutions and controls in one East European country after another, culminating with the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia in February 1948, and by March was starting to make plans to blockade Berlin. It was no accident, it will be argued, that obsession with Western influence on Soviet culture on the part of the Soviet political elite and cultural bureaucracy acquired such dimensions – or that events on the musical front took the direction that they did.

Kevin Bartig (Michigan State University, USA)

Eisenstein and the Politics of Perception

The celebrated collaboration of director Sergey Eisenstein and composer Sergey Prokofiev culminated in the cinematic masterpiece *Ivan Groznïy*, an ambitious trilogy that remained unfinished at Eisenstein's death. Of the two completed parts, the first (1945) received a Stalin Prize, the Soviet Union's highest honor in the arts, while the second was censored and did not premiere until 1958, years after Eisenstein, Prokofiev, and Stalin were all dead. Part III was never completed. On the surface, the tripartite film presents elements of a typical Socialist-Realist plot: Ivan IV, Russia's first Tsar, struggles to free his lands from occupiers at great personal cost. Yet the ubiquitous trope of self-sacrifice for the greater good unfolds in an extraordinarily complex visual and audio framework that audiences have found alternately perplexing, exhilarating, confusing, or thoroughly strange. Political readings of the film have been polarized, from those that see it as shameless justification of State-sponsored Russian imperialism, to those that claim the film is a shockingly daring critique of Stalin's regime (and anachronistically laud Eisenstein as a closet dissident).

The question of whether Eisenstein's and Prokofiev's work was perceived as subversive by its audiences is to a great extent colored by Cold-War-era biases. Partially in response to black-and-white interpretations of the Stalin era in particular, scholars have recently sought a much more nuanced view of individual perception, uncovering a surprising diversity of ways in which Soviet citizens negotiated on an internal level with State-sponsored ideological norms. The basis of this work has been limited primarily to journals, speeches, and other written documents, although a much more broadly defined notion of subjectivity and the elusiveness of quantifiable "meaning" has been a widely addressed topic in studies of Soviet music. In this paper, I examine yet another way in which subjectivity under the strictures of the Soviet system might be approached: subjectivity by predetermined creative design. Drawing primarily on examples from *Ivan Groznïy*, I analyze

instances of audiovisual dissonance as transformative moments that are an extension of Eisenstein's dialectically-based theories of visual image and music. In combining images and music that are seemingly antithetical, or juxtaposing contrasting music so that incongruities arise, Prokofiev and Eisenstein challenge viewers of their work to synthesize conflicting stimuli, and in the process experience the film in a highly individual fashion. This fundamental subjectivity allowed Eisenstein and Prokofiev to produce a stunningly provocative yet hermeneutically open work within the outlines of a bureaucratically mandated subject. It is in this context that the seemingly incongruous success of Part I and failure of Part II must be understood. The analysis and discussion in this paper relies heavily on Prokofiev's and Eisenstein's little-explored notes and correspondence, which are housed in Moscow at the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, and the Glinka State Central Museum of Musical Culture.

Olga Digonskaya (The Glinka Museum of Music Culture and the Shostakovich Archive, Moscow, Russia)

On a "Marginal" Work by Shostakovich: Re-dating and a Change of Context

The main topic of this paper is the Solemn Campaign March by Shostakovich, published in the New Collected Edition and dated 1941.

Extant materials, including the sketch for the March, newly found and attributed by me, requires us change the date to 1939. This would prompt us to place the March into the "Finnish context", which would mean that the Suite on Finnish Folk Songs was not the only piece commissioned from Shostakovich in anticipation of the Soviet-Finnish War of 1939-1940.

Michael Fjeldsoe (University of Copenhagen, Denmark)

Addressing the West: The 1948 International Conference of Composers and Music Critics in Prague

The 1948 resolution in the Soviet Union was directed to the Soviet public. In May 1948, when the Second International Congress of Composers and Music Critics assembled in Prague, their resolution, aiming at an Eastern and not least Western European public, had to be transformed into a message in a way that would not scare anyone away except anti-communist hardliners: it had to stand out as a reasonable argument. German composer Hanns Eisler, just returned from his US exile in order to avoid further HUAC hearings, was the central figure in this transformation and he both drafted and edited the Prague Manifesto. As a pupil of Arnold Schoenberg and a prominent figure of the pre-war German Cultural Left, he had the experience, credibility, and skills for such a job, as he himself was an advanced composer and recognized as such. Thus the Congress in Prague became part of the early Cultural Cold War where East and West through congresses and organizations aimed at winning over the European non-communist left for their ends and purposes.

It is well known that Theodor W. Adorno was highly critical of Soviet cultural politics, as his famous essay 'Die gegängelte Musik' shows. Less known is the fact that he wrote it in the summer of 1948 as a direct answer to the Prague manifesto, even if he first published it in 1953 and then included it in his volume *Dissonanzen* in 1956. It is a piece criticizing the way culture was used by the communist governments in the East, which then discusses in detail the resolution from the Congress in Prague. But why did he find this resolution important and provoking enough to write an essay on it? In most cases he just did not comment on matters he did not find 'von Rang', reaching the standard of matters worth criticizing. I would suggest that it was because he knew that Eisler was the main author of the resolution.

During the early 1940s, while both were in exile in New York, Adorno and Eisler wrote a book together, *Composing for the Films*. Due to the HUAC hearings concerning Hanns and his brother Gerhard Eisler, Adorno stepped down as author of the English 1947 first edition. Now he found a lot of their common arguments from their book on film music used in a way he could not accept. What was then their critique of the capitalist film industry was now used to promote standards of composition according to the 1948 Soviet campaign against formalism, though in a more intelligent way which might win over some Western composers. Furthermore, on another level this essay is part of the Cultural Cold War: when he decided to publish it, it appeared in the journal *Der Monat*, at that time funded by the Ford Foundation before it was taken over by the Congress of Cultural Freedom in 1954. Both organizations were secretly funded by the CIA.

Christoph Flamm (Saarland University, Germany)

Good and Bad Nationalism? Musical Historiography Facing National Elements in Soviet and Post-Soviet Periods

Recent scholarship has often focussed on the dogmatic aspects of Soviet music, not least on the impact Stalin's wish for "national form" had on instrumental music in the Russian SSR and its colourful relatives in the Soviet republics - an influence near to stagnation, so it seemed. However, the more national features became idiosyncratic and "authentic" in the late Soviet period (e.g. caucasian symphonism), the less the aesthetic concept of musical nationalism in itself has been questioned. Late 19th century "ethnical" traditions have been accepted since Stravinsky made clear that national elements could well result in musical innovation. But apart from questions like authenticity or innovation, there is still need to reflect on the political and cultural function of national or even nationalistic approach to and in music. While Terteryan's Armenian musical mythology is praised without constraint, you hardly ever will hear a note of Sviridov's seemingly official and dogmatic neofolklorism - though no one complains about Lang Lang playing hardcore Chinese socialism for the Olympics 2008 and elsewhere. Discussion should be about if there really is a distinction between "good" and "bad" nationalism, according to musical substance. I will do this based on Soviet music examples, and raise some rather painful questions, as regards our attitude towards political systems, our self-positioning and self-stylization within the cultural discourse.

Galina Ustvolskaya's compositional voice is commonly regarded as just as forceful as it is uncompromising, and certainly if one was to base a judgment upon Ustvolskaya's unyielding, spiritually adamant catalogue of works (mirrored by her obstinate character) this could not be considered an entirely ignorant assertion. Art Lange, for example, is not the only music critic to be prompted to publish claims that there was "no evidence of Ustvolskaya compromising with the Party line - she never stooped to writing secular cantatas or programmatically accessible music for theatre or films, or to use recognisable folk material in glibly popular ways". But, as so often in Western commentary of Soviet life, the reality was far more complex than these superficial - and, unfortunately, erroneous - observations. In reality, Ustvolskaya had to live, and to survive as a composer she had to come to some understanding with the state, a union that Ustvolskaya would live to, ostensibly, deeply regret. Indeed, there are numerous other compositions that Ustvolskaya completed during her career that are rooted firmly in the Socialist Realist tradition, and counterbalance the resoluteness that is constantly tangible in her well-known repertoire that was originally composed "for the drawer". The existence of these works, however, is not huge scandal in

itself, as every other Soviet composer had similar embarrassments to their name, almost without exception.

What remains truly fascinating about this “un-catalogued” list is that following the fall of the Soviet Union, Ustvolskaya could so little tolerate these works, that she reorganised her catalogue and took the extraordinary step of erasing these works from her personal history. It is now incredibly difficult to find recordings and scores of these works. Having devoted much of my research to finding these scores and recordings, this paper will begin to fill the literary void surrounding these works, by comparing the compositional approaches of these lesser-known pieces with the items that remain in her main catalogue.

These pieces are also worthy of comparison with works in a similar style from other Soviet composers: Ustvolskaya frequently fought shy of Shostakovich’s exemplification of observing official requirements, publicly rebuking his practice during the final years of her life (when Shostakovich joined the Communist party, Ustvolskaya considered it complete moral weakness). Her Socialist Realist works were, in the main, created in the very earliest part of her career when Ustvolskaya was starting out as a composer, and, interestingly, were composed at the same time as she developed a musical style of uncompromising spiritual intensity anathema to the principles her Socialist Realist works strived to represent (some of her personal works were forced to wait over two decades for their premier and others were censored or outright banned). This paper argues that the main difference in approach between Shostakovich and Ustvolskaya as they were forced to comply with official demands, was that Ustvolskaya somehow managed to evacuate her personality to produce scores in a wholly acceptable Soviet style, from which she could be entirely disassociated.

Rachel Foulds (Goldsmith's College, University of London, UK)

“Too Bad...you could have made some money” : The “Forgotten” Works of Galina Ustvolskaya

Galina Ustvolskaya’s compositional voice is commonly regarded as just as forceful as it is uncompromising, and certainly if one was to base a judgment upon Ustvolskaya’s unyielding, spiritually adamant catalogue of works (mirrored by her obstinate character) this could not be considered an entirely ignorant assertion. Art Lange, for example, is not the only music critic to be prompted to publish claims that there was “no evidence of Ustvolskaya compromising with the Party line – she never stooped to writing secular cantatas or programmatically accessible music for theatre or films, or to use recognisable folk material in glibly popular ways”. But, as so often in Western commentary of Soviet life, the reality was far more complex than these superficial – and, unfortunately, erroneous – observations. In reality, Ustvolskaya had to live, and to survive as a composer she had to come to some understanding with the state, a union that Ustvolskaya would live to, ostensibly, deeply regret. Indeed, there are numerous other compositions that Ustvolskaya completed during her career that are rooted firmly in the Socialist Realist tradition, and counterbalance the resoluteness that is constantly tangible in her well-known repertoire that was originally composed “for the drawer”. The existence of these works, however, is not huge scandal in itself, as every other Soviet composer had similar embarrassments to their name, almost without exception.

What remains truly fascinating about this “un-catalogued” list is that following the fall of the Soviet Union, Ustvolskaya could so little tolerate these works, that she reorganised her catalogue and took the extraordinary step of erasing these works from her personal history. It is now incredibly difficult

to find recordings and scores of these works. Having devoted much of my research to finding these scores and recordings, this paper will begin to fill the literary void surrounding these works, by comparing the compositional approaches of these lesser-known pieces with the items that remain in her main catalogue.

These pieces are also worthy of comparison with works in a similar style from other Soviet composers: Ustvol'skaya frequently fought shy of Shostakovich's exemplification of observing official requirements, publicly rebuking his practice during the final years of her life (when Shostakovich joined the Communist party, Ustvol'skaya considered it complete moral weakness). Her Socialist Realist works were, in the main, created in the very earliest part of her career when Ustvol'skaya was starting out as a composer, and, interestingly, were composed at the same time as she developed a musical style of uncompromising spiritual intensity anathema to the principles her Socialist Realist works strived to represent (some of her personal works were forced to wait over two decades for their premier and others were censored or outright banned). This paper argues that the main difference in approach between Shostakovich and Ustvol'skaya as they were forced to comply with official demands, was that Ustvol'skaya somehow managed to evacuate her personality to produce scores in a wholly acceptable Soviet style, from which she could be entirely disassociated.

Marina Frolova-Walker (University of Cambridge, UK)

A Tale of Two Operas (and two resolutions): The Great Friendship and With All My Heart

In this paper, I shall attempt to reconstruct the political rationale behind the denunciations of two Soviet operas, Muradeli's *The Great Friendship* and Zhukovsky's *With All My Heart*, both of which seemed impeccably mainstream Socialist Realist works, devoid of the least hint of "formalism". I shall also how these denunciations profoundly altered the discourse of the Soviet artistic intelligentsia, drawing on the transcripts of the Stalin Prize Committee meetings.

Jana Howlett (University of Cambridge, UK)

The Politburo and the 1948 Revival of Attacks on 'Anti-artistic' Phenomena in Culture

This paper looks at the precedents for the 1948 Politburo Decree 'On V. Muradeli's Opera *Great Friendship*'. It argues that the subject-matter of the decree has little to do with the opera (or Stalin's visit to the Bolshoi which preceded the decree). Instead it is the context of the economic and political situation in 1948 which prompts the Politburo to return to matters 'artistic'.

Yulia Karpova (Central European University, Budapest, Romania)

Fashion, Jazz and Rock-N-Roll behind the Iron Curtain: the Question of the First Soviet Youth 'Subculture'

The epoch of the 1950's in the USSR is marked not only by the first stage of Cold War, the decline of Stalinism and the beginning of the "thaw". It is also characterized by the birth of Soviet youth culture. It was a sort of rebellion against the regime's vision of youth -- the paradigm "youth-as-constructors-of-communism." [1] Revealing their biological and psychological peculiarities, young people demanded recognition of their social status outside of the official discourse of "Good Soviet Man". Thus, the eternal conflict of "fathers and sons" coincided with the totalitarian social policy, which leveled all the ages under the aegis of a single ideology. The result was the emergence of youth trend, known as "stilyagi" ("style-hunters", or "hipsters").

Stilyagi appeared on the scene around 1949, and remained their till the beginning of the 1960s. Originally it was a considerably small but influential, predominantly male youth group, concentrated in a few big cities in the Western part of Soviet Union. These youngsters admired American music, dances, and dress style. Channels of this “infection” were “trophy” films, seized during the war, music records and journals, brought by those few of the elite who could travel abroad, and, importantly, jazz broadcasts on shortwave radio. Passion for all American (and, to less extent, West European) made them ideological enemies of party officials and Komsomol activists and, on the other hand, cult figures of Soviet cultural history.

It is attractive to explain stilyagi as Soviet youth subculture, analogous to American beatniks and British Teddy-boys. Certainly, stilyagi, unlike Western youth subcultures, were not homogeneous working-class group. Their core consisted of so-called “gilded youth”, scions of party nomenklatura, whose influence was gradually diffused into the lower societal strata. However, stilyagi possessed all the elements of subcultural “style”, defined by sociologist Michael Brake: image, demeanor and argot. [2] Despite stilyagi did not develop authentic music style, as it is typical for youth subcultures, they had music idols, American jazzmen. Moreover, many amateur jazz bands appeared in the universities, and some of their members even succeeded in making a brilliant music career, like, for instance, Moscow jazzman Alexei Kozlov. In the second half of the 1950s, with the advent of rock-n-roll, some stilyagi became fans of this new music as well.

Moreover, music strongly influenced stilyagi’s sartorial look. According to the memoirs, interviews and cartoons, these “dandies” constructed their look after the images of jazz musicians and, later, rock-n-roll stars. Not surprisingly, the regime’s attitude to the “bourgeois music” was directly reflected in the official disdain of “vulgar fashions”. But, interestingly, stilyagi’s interests were shared by a larger scope of Soviet youth, which was not condemned. This paradox can be explained by the existing contextual model of understanding artifacts, which gave importance not to an object itself, but to its interpretation. [3] For example, during the fifties jazz was not completely banned: its “commercial” elements were censured, while its “folk” elements were praised. Similarly, Western fashion was not rejected as such, just the opposite, “clever” adoption of its highest advantages was officially encouraged. As a result, the stilyagi can be evaluated as a “top of the iceberg”, reflecting general youth tendency in its extreme manifestations. Therefore, their appearance was very symptomatic for their time, when cultural isolation aroused many young people’s natural interest to Western popular culture.

1. Hilary Pilkington. *Russia’s Youth and its Culture: A nation’s constructors and constructed* (London-New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 69.
2. Michael Brake. *Comparative Youth Culture: The sociology of youth culture and youth subcultures in America, Britain and Canada*. (London - New York: Routledge&Kegan Paul, 1985), p.11.
3. Victor Buchli. *An archeology of socialism*. Oxford: Berg, 2000.

Ildar Khannanov (Johns Hopkins University, USA)

Music Theory in the USSR in 1948: The Problem of Formalism

The tragedy and farce of the January 1948 Postanovlenie of the TsK and the following disputes among composers and musical critics has received enough coverage in the 1990s. Overshadowed by the battle of composers, the discussion among music theorists presents a different angle and may shed light on the opposition “social realism vs. formalism.” In fact, the conflict of theoretical concept of musical work and that of musical form is more essential than the pair of stylistic

descriptions above. If the standoff between Zhdanov and the Composer's Union creates nothing but a juicy topic for the mass media, the question of choice of analytical method in music remains of value for a scholarly discussion. The true opposition in 1948 has been between Victor Zuckerman on the side of the indigenous Russian method of integrated analysis and Semyon Ogolevets on the side of western tradition of teaching of form (Formenlehre). The climax in the debates of 1948 has been reached when Ogolevets announced that the best way for Soviet music theory would be to return to good old pre-Revolutionary teaching of form. This was an ultimate act of defiance in the midst of complete subservience of the Faculty Meeting of the Moscow Conservatory. This act has been praised by the generation of the Thaw as the most outstanding example of heroism the musical academia has seen in decades.

The irony of this event has been revealed in the recent years by the fact of reorientation of western music scholarship from the 19th-century theory toward new models, such as Schenkerian doctrine, neo-Riemannian transformational approach and New Musicology. In all three of these most common trends, as well as in recent overhaul of theory of form introduced by William Caplin, Warren Darcy and James Hepokoski the main object of critique is exactly the 19th-century teachings of harmony and form. Nobody in the West nowadays would want to return to A. B. Marx or L. Bussler. If anything, the western minds are ruled by the idea of musical work as an entity integrated by force of voice-leading (in Schenkerian view) or intertextuality (in New Musicological interpretation and Dahlhaus project participants). And although everybody in the West still opposes Andrey Zhdanov's methods of persuasion, nobody seems to disagree in principle with the idea that musical work is a complex phenomenon which exceeds the limits of "form." Old Hanslikian formalism and its newer positivistic reflection of the 1960s are either dead or slowly dying in the western academia. Richard Taruskin has inherited more from Zuckerman, than from any Russian theorist of formalist tradition. Even Zuckerman's title *Kamarinskaya* and the Russian Traditions has travelled into Taruskin's *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions*. There are many interesting directions in Russian indigenous musical thought which indicate integrated (tselostnyi) character of music, ranging from Asafiev's *intonatsia* to the neumes of the *Znamenyi* chant.

Ivana Medic (University of Manchester, UK)

I Predict a Riot: Alfred Schnittke's First Symphony

One of the most remarkable pieces of the entire postwar Soviet repertoire, Alfred Schnittke's *First Symphony* (1969-1972) has been a subject of various interpretations, focusing on the social, political, religious and other manifestations of this work. My aim here is to analyse the *First Symphony* in an explicitly political context, and attempt to read all the various political messages that Schnittke has imbued this work with. A number of Schnittke's most important polystylistic works have been borne out of Schnittke's moral and political commitment, and the *First* is no exception. It was a riotous work of a deprived author, forced into an "unofficial" status domestically, and prevented from pursuing an international career. Thus, the *First Symphony* was loaded with semantic cargo and meant to transmit the composer's political statement. I shall analyse how Schnittke employed the recognisable codes of popular musical genres and socialist realist kitsch to depict "evil" in this *Symphony* and to express his political protest. I shall also pay attention to the fact that the tight control placed upon the various facets of people's lives by the Soviet authorities inspired an aggressive bonding between the "unofficial" composers and their audiences – nowhere more obvious than in Schnittke's case.

Wolfgang Mende (University of Technology, Dresden, Germany)

Music Censorship in the Era of NEP and Cultural Revolution: The Case of Nikolay Roslavets

The knowledge of Soviet censorship in the fields of the arts has remarkably increased since the 1990s when important archive materials became accessible. The detailed works by Arlen Blyum, Leonid Maximenkov and others focus on literature, with casual views on music. There is still a lack of systematic investigations on Soviet censorship of music.

The aim of my paper is to give a sketch of the structure and character of music censorship in the Soviet Union from about 1923 to 1932. I will examine the institutional organisation of censorship authorities, their staff profile with regard to artistic preferences, the declared function of censorship and its application to practice and the relationship between internal guidelines and public debates. A document I discovered in the archive of Nikolay Roslavets in RGALI provided me with detailed insights into the practice of music censorship. It is a comprehensive account of the composer's activity as censor in Glavrepertkom since 1924, drafted in February 1930 as an apologia in connection with purge proceedings.

These and other materials show that music censorship from its institutional formation in the early years of NEP until the heyday of the cultural revolution in 1930 was to a considerable extent executed by sympathizers or even activists of progressive art. Vladimir Blyum, leftist theater critic, Meyerhold devotee and leader of the restructured ASM in the final stage of its existence, was the head of the music and theatre section of Glavrepertkom, and as such the direct supervisor of Roslavets. Notwithstanding their progressive orientation in arts, office holders like Blyum or Roslavets pursued their order to exercise political control on all printed material and public performances and to prevent the dissemination of any politically harmful content. In the area of music this concerned, above all, the verbal part of compositions. However, in some cases political censorship was exerted by reason of mere musical style when it was considered to reflect the ideology of class enemies. Maybe surprisingly, this kind of argument was not applied to musical modernism in the examined period, even though the latter was more and more regarded as an import from the decadent Western bourgeoisie (the accusation of formalism was not a criterion of censorship at that time yet). Instead, the mentioned argument was persistently applied to certain kinds of "light" music, for example contemporary Western dance music ("foxtrotchina") or sentimental urban romances ("tsyganshchina"), even if the models were adapted to ideologically correct Soviet lyrics. Using an analogous argumentation, Roslavets intended to prohibit the publication of "proletarian" music due to the fact that it was written in a, in his view, inadmissible "semisacral" or "narodniki-like" style. This point of view he advocated in public articles as well as in his activity as censor. Even if his efforts were without success, they provide an explanation why Roslavets became a favoured target of proletarian attacks. He held a position of power from which he wanted to suppress the activities of proletarian musicians. In this respect the common view of Roslavets as a prosecuted advocate of modernism has to be revised, as well as the whole rivalry between ASM and proletarian associations in the 1920s.

Tom Miller (University of California, Berkeley, USA)

In Deaf Taiga: Shamanic Vocal Knowledge, the Geopoetics of Yukagir Song, and Ghosts of the Soviet Past in Upper Kolyma

This paper explores the spiritual geography of the Upper Kolyma region, Sakha Republic (Yakutia) through the songs of shamans and others recorded in the field by the author at the turn of the 21st century. The historic near-extinction of the Yukagir, demographically one of the smallest of the Small Peoples of the North, contrasts with their adaptation and perseverance through the Soviet era.

The role of the Yukagir shaman suggests a spiritual parallel to the secular authority of the state. The masters of the earth—local animal and nature spirits—perform surveillance and act as informants, telling the shaman about the people and their activities while acting as guardians and enforcers. Shamans communicate with their spirits by means of sounds, musically mediating between the worlds of nature and supernature. But the source of the Yukagir shaman's power is ecological, residing in sacred elements of the environment beyond the reach of bureaucrats and apparatchiks. Like the people themselves, the spirits belong to the land and are thus inalienable. In their magical otherness, shamans acted as historical conduits for resistance and provided a secret counternarrative to Soviet domination.

The militant wave of atheism following collectivization brought public ceremonies to a halt. Despite the fierce anti-shaman repression campaigns, well-known Sakha (Yakut) singers preserved sacred vocal knowledge in the north by performing and recording as secular folk artists. Shamans' songs were also presented in outbreaks of involuntary singing diseases which periodically swept through the native settlements, triggered in part by the imposing presence of Russian authorities. The psychopathology and behavior of these echolalic nervous afflictions is documented in rare eyewitness accounts by a Soviet doctor in Kolyma during the 1920s, and in contemporary oral testimony from the author's field research. Soviet medical policies focused on collectivization and re-education as therapeutic tools to cure the singing diseases linked in native consciousness to ancestor spirits haunting and inhabiting the landscape.

In the acoustemology of place, certain forest zones thick with trees are known as deep or "deaf" taiga. Sounds are muted in such densely wooded areas; their deathly silence is a source of fear in the popular imaginary. Because of their remoteness, they became sites of prisons and death camps in the Stalinist gulag. Songs rooted in historic Russian melodies tell of doomed souls and the return of the dead encountered in these far-off places. In later Yukagir songs the stark landscape serves as a metaphor of love and loss, geopoetically marking the spatial and temporal distance between souls through lyrical images of distance and longing. The members of what Nikolai Vakhtin has called the "rupture generation" suffered the erasures of tradition and identity, undergoing the displacements of collectivization, purges, famine, and war. Through these deeply personal songs resonating with the collective memory of deprivation and persecution, the narrative of their experiences survives the Soviet epoch. At once autobiographical and rooted in folkloric motifs, they incorporate distinct influences from Russian, Sakha (Yakut), Tunguso-Manchurian, and ancient Kolymian tales and melodies in a fluid style unique to the region. The presentation includes excerpts and analysis of melodies and texts, recorded in the field by the author, showing how spiritual power was encoded in music to modulate secular Soviet authority.

Simon Morrison (Princeton University, USA)

"Fond 1929, Opis' 4"

This paper discusses the closed section of the Prokofiev archive, to which I have been given access in order to write a book about Prokofiev's wife Lina. Quoting from the documents contained therein, I will discuss Prokofiev's and his immediate colleagues' views on Lenin and Stalin, his relationship with the Soviet diplomat Vladimir Potyemkin, and his and his wife's experiences in the Soviet Union before and after the dissolution of their marriage.

Vladimir Orlov (University of Cambridge, UK)

"I am not Stalin. Stalin is the Soviet power!" The Father of Nation in Zdravitsa by Sergei Prokofiev

Prokofiev's *Zdravitsa* was premiered as a Birthday gift for Stalin's sixtieth on the same day, 21 December 1939 – as part of an indispensable Soviet ritual of gift giving to the Leader, glorified in Soviet arts and media. Notwithstanding the fact, that *Zdravitsa's* content is undeniable, it has been subjected to the 'revelatory programme,' a.k.a. Aesopian messages and other signs of the imaginary resistance to Stalin. Various attempts to whitewash Prokofiev's original intentions by insisting that *Zdravitsa* was not written as pro-Stalinist propaganda, go back to the Soviet times, presented in Nestiev's biography of Prokofiev, as well as today's writings.) On the contrary, I suggest that the depiction of Stalin through the prism of the people, who are grateful to him and sing his praises, was the most appropriate method of revealing the true essence of the leader, the most genuine way of treating the Canon. (Thus, as one critic suggested, "only through the people can a great leader be known.") The required ideological fashion of representing Stalin's *L'État, c'est moi*, seen in many examples of the Soviet art, will be discussed in the paper.

Svetlana Savenko (Moscow Conservatoire, Russia)

RAPM (Rossiyskaya assotsiatsiya proletarskikh muzykantov): Life after Death

This paper discusses the closed section of the Prokofiev archive, to which I have been given access in order to write a book about Prokofiev's wife Lina. Quoting from the documents contained therein, I will discuss Prokofiev's and his immediate colleagues' views on Lenin and Stalin, his relationship with the Soviet diplomat Vladimir Potyemkin, and his and his wife's experiences in the Soviet Union before and after the dissolution of their marriage.

Richard Taruskin (University of California, Berkeley, USA)

What's an awful song like you doing in a nice piece like this? (On Prokofiev's Symphony-Concerto)

Did Prokofiev actually base the middle section of the finale in his Symphony-Concerto, op. 125, on a mass song (Byvaitse zdorovy? Nash tost?) by a Belorussian hack named Isaak Lyuban? I will lay out the evidence I know and give my reasons for doubting it.

Kiril Tomoff (University of California, Riverside, USA)

Gypsy Barons and the Power of Love: Operetta Programming and Audience Taste in the Shadow of Party Intervention

This paper analyzes the programming and reception of operetta on the Soviet stage before and after the Central Committee intervention into Soviet musical life in February 1948. It uses a nearly unique source for assessing the reception of Soviet musical theater to attempt to answer questions about what sorts of operettas Soviet audiences preferred, about what operettas Soviet arts administrators promoted and theaters produced across the Soviet Union, and about how those preferences changed during the Zhdanovshchina. It also uses the report of an official USSR-wide investigation of operetta and musical comedy theaters that followed the 1948 party intervention to assess the effects on operetta and musical comedy theaters of a relatively unexplored but central, practical feature of the 1948 upheaval in the Soviet music world - the elimination of direct state subsidies to most musical theaters. Finally, it juxtaposes official interpretations of the reaction of operetta theaters to the elimination of state subsidies with findings derived from analysis of Soviet audience taste to argue that although official programming and audience preferences were rarely in sync, their disjuncture followed surprising patterns about which officials in Moscow were only partially aware and which they, unsurprisingly, simplified to fit their ideologically motivated preconceptions. By focusing on operetta, the paper thus uses a 'popular' musical form to draw attention to the complex interaction between arts policy, artistic production, and audience consumption in the ideologically charged environment of the Soviet 1940s.

Machteld Venken (Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium)

Signing a Meaning to War Memory

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, about 2.1 million Ostarbeiterinnen, Soviet young women of Ukrainian, Russian or Belarusian decent, were deported to Germany and Austria to do forced labour. Being the first generation having grown up with the revolutionary ideas of the young Soviet state, these women had received intensive music training in Soviet propaganda songs. The training enabled the songs to become a means of making sense to life for them. During World War II, Ostarbeiterinnen faced experiences which could not be articulated through the songs they had learned. Therefore, they composed alternative lyrics to propaganda melodies or searched for alternative singing practices in order to give meaning to their war experiences. They thus still used Soviet songs with their hollow propaganda slogans and symbols, but found ways to sing beyond them.

About 4,000 Ostarbeiterinnen migrated to Belgium after liberation, and about 1,000 of these former Ostarbeiterinnen gathered in an immigrant organisation, the Association for Soviet Patriots/Citizens (Soiuz Sovetskikh Patriotov - further SSP, from 1953 onwards Soiuz Sovetskikh Grazhdan - further SSG). This contribution focuses on how its members together practised war memory through singing. It focuses on singing practices during the gatherings of the organisation, examining how during the choir rehearsals and concerts of SSP/SSG, a group memory was constituted which gave meaning to the war experiences of its members.

During the Cold War, Soviet authorities displayed soldiers' wartime activities as exemplary for the virtuous patriotic nature of Soviet citizens and marginalized war experiences deviating from this image. They meticulously prevented the voices of former Ostarbeiterinnen from contradicting this

official Soviet narrative on war memory and succeeded to a great extent within the Soviet Union. In Belgium, the Soviet Embassy and the 'Motherland' Association in Moscow, an organisation set up by the Soviet Union to maintain contact with Soviet migrants living abroad, intensively controlled the SSP/SSG's working. As a consequence, the repertoire of SSP/SSG mainly consisted of Soviet propaganda songs articulating the official Soviet narrative on war memory. Members were willing to sing them, because they knew that only through actively participating in the SSP/SSG, they had a chance to be granted a visa to travel home. Nevertheless, the SSP/SSG members, through singing, were able to develop an own narrative on war memory. Like during the war, they found ways of manoeuvre beyond the fixed framework of control.

During rehearsals, singing could function as music therapy, making the unpronounceable pronounceable. The choirs for instance continued to sing original propaganda songs with alternative lyrics created during World War II, in this way silencing but not forgetting the accompanying second layers of meaning articulating for instance hunger, homesickness and resistance. During concerts, moreover, choir members dialogued with Belgian audiences. They performed certain songs on stage in such an order, to gain approval from the public, in this way articulating an appeal to be included in Belgian narratives on war memory.

Liberated Belgium initially narrated itself through an imagined national identification of collective resistance and a deliberate forgetting of whatever did not fit into that narrative. An identification of Flemish Catholicism and collaborationism would only proliferate throughout the following decades. During all time, however, Ostarbeiterinnen were perceived as being 'communists' or 'war whores'. The choir members sang for instance a specific Belgian song in order to conform to the normative stereotypisation of virtuousness in post-war Belgium. Or, they visually presented their war experiences on stage through a for Belgians recognisable Holocaust lens by means of concentration camp outfits. Their appeal to be, in this way, integrated in Belgian narratives on war memory, was, however, uttered in vain.

Elina Viljanen (University of Helsinki, Finland)

1948 as the Midpoint of Listening: Asaf'ev's "Sounding Books"

It is clear that despite his obsessive patriotism, the "father of Soviet Musicology" Boris Asaf'ev was by no means only a party apparatchik or a Soviet cultural engineer with a readymade plan in his head. Asaf'ev's philosophy of music is full of creative potential that can allow for various interpretations, which I see as being the exact reason that made him a suitable figure for Soviet cultural political usage for decades. Asaf'ev's ambitious patriotism led him use his strong authoritarian voice to articulate all the influences that he acquired from his travels around Europe during the 1920s through nationalism.

"I can assure you", Asaf'ev wrote to his readers in besieged Leningrad, "that I faithfully transmit the mood and feelings of people". This obviously made an impression on many people, among others, Daniel Zhitomirskii, who wrote in 1940: "the strength and honesty of spontaneous sensation of music, that is reflected in his writings is so great; the observation and thought of the author is so voluptuous and meaningful that one is willing to bury one's head in the depths of Glebov's spell many times in order to reveal time and time again new values of the content". Asaf'ev wrote in 1947: "...for it is necessary not only to read this book, but also to hear it. Indeed this is the basic property of almost all my books." When Asaf'ev died in 1949, he had a full membership of the USSR Academy of Sciences and was the head of the Union of Soviet Composers. The afterlife was guaranteed.

Indeed, his former associate, Pjotr Suvchinskii was quite wrong when he wrote to Maria Yudina in 1961, that the influence of Asaf'ev had perhaps come to an end. The editor of the 2005 reissue of Asaf'ev's book on Russian painting proclaims that "there is no laborious nonsense of deliberate theorization in Asaf'ev's books, which is the sin of the many scholarly works written on art. They contain only the eudaemonist joy of the knowledge of Beauty and the aspiration to deliver it to the readers 'to provoke' it".

My paper will continue the speculative work done by musical historians on the obscure phenomenon of Asaf'ev; the dubious spell cast by the eminent patriot and his ambiguous path towards the top of Stalinist musical society. I will start with Asaf'ev's speech of 1948, which was read in the First All-Union Congress and mirror it against his overall philosophy of music. My main focus lies in Asaf'ev's autobiographical writings, which I approach through the question; "what were the methods and style of his self-expression?" Boris Asaf'ev's literary output, including his published autobiographical pages of four decades (1914-1948) reads like a history of the then folding Soviet culture. His writings are diverse in style as well as rhetoric and accord with the cultural/political climate of his fatherland yet they also contribute to and expand on it; – Asaf'ev creates a philosophy of landscape (Russkii peizazh) and himself in it.

Patrick Zuk (University of Durham, UK)

Nikolai Myaskovsky and the "hysterical" Resolution of 1948

On the face of it, the condemnation of Nikolai Myaskovsky during the 1948 campaign against formalism in music seems deeply curious. By this stage in his career, Myaskovsky was held in the highest regard as a composer and teacher, and was generally considered to have made a contribution of exceptional importance to Soviet musical life. He had, moreover, tried his utmost to conform to the dictates of the officially imposed aesthetic of Socialist Realism, having eschewed from the mid 1930s onwards the modernist experimentation of his earlier work and sought to evolve a more accessible compositional idiom. This paper explores the underlying causes of Myaskovsky's fall from official favour in 1948. Three factors appear to have played a decisive role. The first was the hostile reception accorded his cantata *Kreml' noch'yu* (1947), which was considered to portray Stalin in an insufficiently 'realistic' manner. The second concerned his preference for writing abstract instrumental music and his apparent disinclination to cultivate the 'democratic' genres of opera and choral music. Finally, by making an example of Myaskovsky, the authorities hoped to intimidate teachers of composition into exercising greater vigilance over the styles in which their students composed, emphasising the extent to which they would be held personally responsible for extirpating undesirable modernist tendencies in the work of their charges. The paper concludes with an assessment of the ways in which the events of 1948 and their aftermath subsequently influenced perceptions of the composer and his work in the Soviet Union, causing him to be depicted as a creative artist who was reformed under the wise guidance of the Communist Party and whose later work was a triumphant vindication of the aesthetic premises of Socialist Realism.