Современные проблемы музыкознания / Contemporary Musicology

2026/10(3)

eISSN 2587-9731

Shostakovich in Memoriam

Original article
UDC 78.04
https://doi.org/10.56620/2587-9731-2026-3-044-071
EDN DAVWLM

The alternative of "opera&cinema" in Soviet culture of the 1930s–1950s and Shostakovich's creative strategies

Marina G. Raku
The State Institute for Art Studies,
Moscow, Russian Federation,
✉*raku@rambler.ru*,
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8523-2174



Abstract. The creative biography of Dmitri Shostakovich from the 1920s to the 1950s provides a clear illustration of how the canon of film music developed in Soviet art and its relationship to other musical genres. Two aesthetic poles—opera and popular song—defined the boundaries of the genre choices facing the emerging art of sound film scoring in the USSR. Fascinated by the idea of "film opera" but forced by social demands to capitulate to "song films," Shostakovich

Translated by the author

© Marina G. Raku, 2026

spent two decades repeatedly moved from the “song films” to “song operas,” never quite completing these attempts. The opera project *Stalingrad*, analyzed in detail for the first time in this article, provides a revealing example of how the very idea of such a genre metamorphosis degenerated by the postwar period.

Keywords: Soviet film music, “song opera,” “song film,” “film opera,” operatic ideas of Dmitri Shostakovich, project of the opera *Stalingrad* by Dmitri Shostakovich to the libretto of Mikheil E. Chiaureli and Alexander A. Filimonov

For citation: Raku, M. G. (2026). The alternative of “opera&cinema” in Soviet culture of the 1930s–1950s and Shostakovich’s creative strategies. *Contemporary Musicology, 10*(3), 44–71.
https://doi.org/10.56620/2587-9731-2026-3-044-071

Современные проблемы музыкознания /
Contemporary Musicology
2026/10(3)

Памяти
Д.Д. Шостаковича

Научная статья

Альтернатива «опера&кино» в советской культуре 1930–1950-х и творческие стратегии Дмитрия Шостаковича

Марина Григорьевна Раку
Государственный институт искусствознания,
г. Москва, Российская Федерация,
✉raku@rambler.ru,
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8523-2174

Аннотация. Творческая биография Дмитрия Дмитриевича Шостаковича 1920–1950-х годов может служить точной иллюстрацией того, как в советском искусстве формировался канон киномузыки и в каком соотношении с другими музыкальными жанрами он находился. Два эстетических полюса — опера и массовая песня — определяли границы жанрового выбора, который встал перед молодым искусством музыкального оформления звукового кинематографа в СССР. Увлеченный идеей «кинооперы», но вынужденный в условиях соцзаказа капитулировать перед «песенным фильмом», Шостакович на протяжении двух десятилетий постоянно совершал маршрут от «песенного фильма» к «песенной опере», ни разу, впрочем, не завершив этих попыток. Проект оперы «Сталинград», впервые подробно проанализированный в данной статье, дает показательный образец того, как деградировала сама идея такой жанровой метаморфозы к послевоенному периоду.

Ключевые слова: советская киномузыка, «песенная опера», «песенный фильм», «киноопера», оперные замыслы Дмитрия Шостаковича, проект оперы «Сталинград» Дмитрия Шостаковича на либретто Михаила Эдишеровича Чиаурели и Александра Александровича Филимонова

Для цитирования: *Раку М. Г.* Альтернатива «опера&кино» в советской культуре 1930–1950-х и творческие стратегии Дмитрия Шостаковича // Современные проблемы музыкознания. 2026. Т. 10, № 3. С. 44–71. https://doi.org/10.56620/2587-9731-2026-3-044-071

Introduction

The most pressing conflict at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s in Soviet culture was the opposition of classical music to the art of cinema. The very existence of academic musical institutions was called into question. The strengthened position of academic theatres did not fully resolve the issue of the status of musical "classics" in the new culture: by the mid-1930s, it had not yet been removed from the agenda. Opera and ballet theatre was still regarded as a "bourgeois legacy," and its audience was associated with the "former people"—socially alien class elements (see [1]).

In contrast, Soviet cinema actively joined the struggle for new aesthetic values; its role in the culture of the young state was conceived as propagandistic and aimed at the broadest strata of the population. With the introduction of sound in cinema, the aesthetic confrontation became even more intense, since cinema now had all the means of expression available to musical theatre. Cinema was seen as a replacement for opera and ballet theatre in the near future. And while the concert halls of both of the oldest conservatories in the two capitals were already actively used for film screenings in the 1920s, as they had symphony orchestras that served as musical illustrators for silent films, the 1935 General Plan for the Reconstruction of Moscow envisaged the construction of a Bolshoi Cinema opposite the Bolshoi Theatre—a more than obvious polemic between two types of art that appealed to two different types of audience. From a musical point of view, this clearly embodied the opposition of opera to mass song, the broadcaster of which was the Soviet cinema screen. The phenomenon of "song opera" was seen as a resolution of this conflict.[1]

The article examines the musical-historical conflict arising from the inter-genre "exchange" between theatre and cinema that actively took place in Soviet culture during the Stalin era, using Shostakovich's creative biography as a case study. A particular "case" within this process was associated with the influence of cinema on opera theatre, its most striking manifestation being the Soviet

[1] See Raku, M. G. (2009). Poiski sovetskoi identichnosti v muzykal'noi kul'ture 1930–1940-h godov: lirizatsiya diskursa [The search for Soviet identity in the musical culture of the 1930s–1940s: Lyrization of discourse]. *Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 100*, 184–204; Raku, M. G. (2019). Opera na putyakh i pereput'yakh stalinskoi epokhi [An opera on the roads and crossroads of the Stalin era]. In Raku, M. G. *Opernye shtudii* (pp. 291–383). Izdatel'stvo imeni N. I. Novikova.

"song opera." Although the specific features of this genre have long been discussed in textbooks,[2] it has in fact received little scholarly attention. The situation is different with the study of Shostakovich's film music. It has been the subject of sustained work by the editorial board of the composer's 150-volume *New Collected Works* (Series XIV: Film Music) [2; 3], as well as individual articles [4; 5], specialized monographs [6; 7; 8; 9], and dissertations.[3]

The article reconstructs the events surrounding the project for the opera *Stalingrad*, Shostakovich's participation in which was initiated by his collaborators on film projects and was intended to involve the use of his film music.

Paradoxes of the "song opera"

The Bolshoi Cinema, contrary to expectations, was not built opposite the Bolshoi Theatre: the song itself moved from the screen to the opera stage [10]. A new musical-dramatic genre was born in the theatre as a result of the "crossbreeding" of genres and types—with the mass Soviet song and with sound cinema. Its first exemplary work was the opera *And Quiet Flows the Don* by the young composer Ivan Dzerzhinsky, to a libretto by his brother Leonid, based on Mikhail Sholokhov's novel of the same name. From the beginning of 1936, after the Leningrad MALEGOT's triumphant tour at the Bolshoi Theatre, where the opera was performed in the presence of the Politburo, "song opera" became firmly established in the country's musical theatres, significantly displacing traditional opera genres in the "communal coexistence" that was typical of the era. The new direction received the status of "supreme genre" in musical theatre. It was entrusted with the mission of attracting the broadest possible audience, and the song was considered the most suitable instrument for this.

However, the actual role of song and songfulness in the dramaturgy of *And Quiet Flows the Don* was by no means a primary one: the main characters express themselves exclusively in "large" typically operatic forms—although these followed quite conservative models of number-opera structure, which did not take into account the innovations introduced into the operatic form from the end of the 19th century

[2] Tarakanov, M. E. (Ed.) (2005). *Istoriya sovremennoi otechestvennoi muzyki* [History of modern Russian music]. Vol. 1: (1917–1941). Muzyka.

[3] Heine, E. J. (2005). *The film music of Dmitri Shostakovich in The Gadfly, Hamlet and King Lear* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. The University of Texas at Austin; Titus, J. M. (2006). *Modernism, socialist realism and identity in the early film music of Dmitri Shostakovich, 1929–32* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Ohio State University.

and over the course of almost half a century. The actual song material in *And Quiet Flows the Don* is limited to choral episodes and some genre-based fragments in the parts of secondary characters. Thus, by the property of "songfulness," so enthusiastically perceived by the ideologists, they meant a specific lyricism and simplicity of the vocal parts, coupled with a simplified (in comparison with the already familiar "symphonized" post-Wagnerian orchestral writing) accompanying function of the orchestra.

The style and the dramatic structure of the new musical-theatrical genre, and ultimately the relationship with the literary source, which almost always formed the basis of the score of the "song opera" (true, not from classical, but from the Soviet literature), quite unambiguously referred to the "lyric opera" of the mid-19th century. The Wagnerian experience, which so persistently hypnotized many figures of the Russian avant-garde some 10–20 years ago, was decisively avoided in this genre. Its fate was shared by the latest developments in Western musical theatre, with which Soviet composers, if desired, could be well acquainted even from domestic theatrical practice—from the works of Richard Strauss, Alban Berg, the Austro-German expressionists of the second rank, the composers of *Les Six* and many others.

But the "song opera" also had features that modernized its somewhat archaic genre prototype, since it directly referred to the rapidly developing film music. Firstly, it was the fragmentary nature of the dramatic structure, and secondly, the frequent similarity of the melodic material (solo and choral) with the intonations and rhythms of Soviet mass songs, whose principal "supplier" was the cinema screen. And finally, Dzerzhinsky's opera, as the founder of a new genre, had a certain cinematic pedigree: behind it stood not only a much-discussed novel, from which only the first part—the part most important for the development of the love story—was borrowed, following the model of lyric opera, but also the eponymous silent film by Ivan Pravov and Olga Preobrazhenskaya from 1931, which enjoyed resounding success with audiences. Thus, for the first time, a direct connection between musical-dramatic and cinematic works emerged for the first time—a trend that was destined to continue until the end of the Stalin era.

Shostakovich's Film Debuts: Between the Utopia of the "Film Opera" and the Reality of the "Song Film"

The appropriation of opera was taking place not only on the musical stage: cinema was to appropriate opera by bringing it to the screen. The idea of film adaptations of this kind began to appear in the Soviet press in 1933 (soon after the emergence of sound cinema).[4] At the same time, a much less trivial proposal was also discussed to create a special genre of "film opera" with original music.[5] Shostakovich came closer than anyone else to solving such a problem. As the undisputed leader of the Soviet school of composition, he came to cinema to demonstrate the importance of music in the overall conception of a film.

Having made his debut in 1929 in the silent film *Novy Vavilon* [*New Babylon*], the young composer created a score of monumental symphonic scope that accompanied the action on screen from beginning to end. Kozintsev and Trauberg, working as a directorial team, readily subordinated the film's visual conception to this dramaturgy:

> As strange as it may seem—after all, we are talking about silent films—cinematic images then arose more like musical ones than dramatic ones. Episodes took shape as condensations of feelings and thoughts, like parts of a visual symphony.[6]

At the same time, according to the directors' instructions, the music was to "not illustrate the shots, but give them a new quality and dimension; the music should be composed in opposition to the external action, revealing the inner world of what is happening".[7]

Shostakovich continued his attempts to establish a special status for film music in 1931 in a new film work by Kozintsev and Trauberg, again resorting to experimentation, but in a completely different way. New opportunities were provided by previously untested technical possibilities that he had not previously explored: the film *Odna* [*Alone*], which initially began production as a silent film, "found a voice" during the course of work and was announced upon release as "the first major feature sound film

[4] Kulakovskii, L. V. (1933). Opera i zvukovoe kino [Opera and Sound Films]. *Sovetskaya muzyka*, (4), 13–26.

[5] Ostretsov, A. A. (1933). Muzyka v zvukovom kino [Music in Sound Films]. *Sovetskaya muzyka,* (1), 51–73.

[6] Kozintsev, G. M. (1983). Glubokii ekran [Deep Screen]. In Kozintsev G. M. *Sobranie sochinenii* [Collected works] (Vol. 1, p. 142). Iskusstvo.

[7] Kozintsev, G. M. (1983), p. 156.

produced by the Leningrad Soyuzkino Factory" [4, p. 282]. It entered the history of Soviet cinema as the Lenfilm's first sound feature film.

The film *Alone* found itself at the crossroads of two eras of cinema, just as the main character found herself at the crossroads of two life scenarios. From the silent film, this next opus by Kozintsev and Trauberg retained an abundance of silent scenes with intertitles, and most importantly—the incessant musical background that permeates the entire action. The inclusion of a choir, solo and duet vocal numbers allowed the critic Boris Alpers, who witnessed the premiere, to call the film "a kind of film oratorio."[8] This apt comparison with an oratorio is complicated by the presence of a visual and narrative dimension, as well as a clearly comic shade of the musical accompaniment of the "Leningrad exposition" of the film. Its first 15 minutes are marked by the almost operetta-like aria of the tenor "How happy our days shall be!" moving in an "Offenbachian" cancan manner, partly familiar from *New Babylon*. The first vocal number, "The technical school is over, is over," intended for soprano, also has features of an arioso from early operetta or from its predecessor, comic opera.

At the same time, all the "Leningrad music" is extremely dance-like, with galloping rhythms predominating: it is no coincidence that a significant part of it was connected with the ballet *Bolt*, on which Shostakovich worked in parallel. And the duet of soprano with baritone and choir is marked by a completely "operatic" presentation: the female choir of "sirens" sweetly (in the spirit of the famous operatic "flower scene" of *Lakmé* by Léo Delibes) calls to the heroine "Stay!", and the melodic line of the soprano and baritone repeats all the recognizable cliches of operatic virtuoso singing—pseudo-bel canto.

The harsh reality of the Altai village, replacing the dazzling snow-white utopia of capital life, abruptly shifts the visual and sound modus. The eerie vision of a crucified horse skin, bleached by rain and wind, becomes the defining leitmotif of the narrative, which in the musical language is matched by harsh instrumental sounds that collide with the singing of shamans and a melancholy Russian lyrical song. The echo of the tenor's voice with its "good life" is perceived against this background as a distant "phantom," a mocking reminder of the illusions of youth.

[8] Alpers, B. (1931, October 18). Oshibki "feksov" (otkryvaem diskussiyu ob "Odnoi") ["Errors of the "FEKS" (opening a discussion about *Alone*)]. *Sovetskoe iskusstvo*. As cited in [4, p. 283].

The mixing of colors in the film's sound picture is more than paradoxical. It is impossible to recall comparable precedents in the film dramaturgy of the following decades. And, of course, such an absurdist approach to the genre was unlikely to find continuation on the Soviet screen in the near future. The film left an overly contradictory impression, with its clear propaganda message receiving such an ambiguous interpretation.

Meanwhile, in the coming years, the formula for "scoring" a Soviet film would soon be thoroughly tested and would prove its viability well into the 1960s (and even in a number of examples of this decade itself). Its dramaturgical "support" will be the tension between the song and the unfolding symphonic canvas surrounding it. The prototype of the typical dramaturgy of the "song film" was undoubtedly director Sergei Yutkevich's *Zlatye gory* [*Golden Mountains*] with music by Shostakovich, where both poles—the song-based and the symphonic—held together the dramaturgical framework of the score. The large-scale instrumental episode typical of Shostakovich's symphonies—the orchestral fugue accompanying the scene of the Baku strike—served as the culmination. But the song layer in the film still consisted entirely of quoted material and could not fulfill the role of the musical emblem of the film.

In one way or another, these works defined the two main musical elements of sound cinema: the singing voice and the orchestra, where the vocal element could also be represented collectively, and individual instrumental timbres within the orchestra could take on a solo role. And this sharply distinguished the musical fabric of sound cinema from the recently deceased silent cinema.

It may be assumed that each of Shostakovich's three approaches to film music at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s was largely based on directorial decisions. The young composer brilliantly realized them, no matter how different they were in essence. This made him an ideal co-author of the filmmaking process, but it also led to a public rebellion, the manifesto of which was the Declaration of a composer's duties, published by him in the Leningrad magazine *Worker and Theatre* in December 1931. Complaining about the "scanty orchestra" of drama theatres, he moved on to his impressions of his film work:

> In the field of sound cinema, things are no better. I cannot complain about the orchestra in my work on *Alone* and *Golden Mountains*. I had an orchestra of exceptionally high quality under the direction of the talented conductor

> N. Rabinovich. And the result? When recording, you become convinced that all the work has gone to waste: the screen wheezes, hiccups and makes various sounds. These sounds nullify the work of both the first-class orchestra and the composer.[9]

As a result, the young Shostakovich publicly renounced participation in "applied genres" and, first and foremost, in cinema. Behind this determination lay the unhealed shock of public screenings of the silent *New Babylon* almost two years earlier: thus, in Moscow, where the film opened two days before it did in Leningrad (the world premiere thus took place on March 16, 1929 [5, p. 245]), the film was shown for ten (!) days without Shostakovich's music; in Leningrad, the score was performed satisfactorily only in large cinemas with good orchestras (one of the premieres took place in the *Gigant* [Giant] cinema, which, like in Moscow, was located in the Great Hall of the Conservatory). A contemporary scholar, drawing on a study of the press, observes: "...in the other Leningrad cinemas, the performance was extremely poor" [5, p. 253]. Most likely, this also applied to second-tier cinemas in Moscow and to the provinces. Regarding the latter, researchers have reasonable doubts about whether screenings there were always accompanied by Shostakovich's music, which was difficult to perform and required a large symphony orchestra.

The composer's creative "fast" did not last long. His return to cinema revealed a different Shostakovich. On November 7, 1932, the film *Vstrechnyi* [*Counterplan*] by Friedrich Ermler and Sergei Yutkevich was released on the country's screens, in which the newly adopted musical model of the "song film" was presented by Shostakovich in perhaps its most schematic form.

And yet Shostakovich continued to think about creating a special musical "film canvas", trying to embody it in another cinematic genre—animation. In this endeavor, he was preceded by Ivan Ivanov-Vano and the sisters Valentina and Zinaida Brumberg in the 1934 animated film *Skazka o tsare Durandae* [The Tale of Tsar Durandai]. Anatoly Alexandrov's music accompanied the cartoon throughout, and its dramaturgy was built according to the laws of a vocal-symphonic suite. Spoken dialogue merely punctuated the film's rich musical score, in which, in addition to quotations from popular music, allusions to the styles of Prokofiev and Stravinsky could be heard.

[9] Shostakovich, D. D. (2000). Deklaratsiya obyazannostei kompozitora [Declaration of a composer's duties]. In I. A. Bobykina (Ed.), *Dmitrii Shostakovich v pis'makh i dokumentakh* [Dmitri Shostakovich in Letters and Documents]. RIF; Antikva, p. 494.

Initially, the animators negotiated a joint work with Sergey Prokofiev, but the negotiations were broken off because of his other commissions [11].

Having previously shot six animated films, Ivanov-Vano first used an original method of dubbing:

> In *The Tale of Tsar Durandai*, we had to work from a piano score for the first time, and later from a recorded soundtrack, for which we had to painstakingly play through the music bar by bar, determine their length, calculate the musical work as a whole, and then compile our own exposure sheets for filming.[10]

By the end of the decade, the same idea was outlined by Shostakovich as a new task on the creative path of the composer, who had already established himself as an "experienced filmmaker":

> I dream now of writing a film opera, according to all the laws of a realistic performance. I am greatly fascinated by the thought of the boundless spaces opened up by the "film stage," and by the possibility of easily resolving here the questions of place, time, and action that are so difficult for the theatre. In the theatre, the action, divided into many scenes, inevitably disperses. In a film performance, the same action, shown in a single stream of elusively changing frames, retains all the power of a holistic impression. What a rewarding task for a composer to capture the rhythm of this dynamic stream of film frames and create music that functions fully in the film performance and sometimes leads it![11]

Shostakovich took a distinctive approach to realizing these plans in the cartoon *Skazka o malen'kom myshonke* [The Tale of the Silly Little Mouse] in collaboration with director Mikhail Tsekhanovsky (1940). However, already in the process of working on this film, Shostakovich admitted:

> Unfortunately, I have still not been able to realize my dreams of a film opera. The eternal question of the collaboration of poets and composers, sometimes successfully resolved in musical drama, has not even been posed for film opera, just as the question of film opera itself has not yet been truly posed. All my attempts to inspire poets, librettists, and directors with this idea have so far been futile.[12]

---

[10] Ivanov-Vano, I. P. (1980). *Kadr za kadrom* [Picture by picture]. Iskusstvo, p. 80.

[11] Shostakovich, D. D. (1939, April 10). Muzyka v kino: zametki kompozitora [Film music: Notes from a composer]. *Literaturnaya gazeta*.

[12] Shostakovich, D. D. (1939, April 10). Muzyka v kino: zametki kompozitora [Film music: Notes from a composer]. *Literaturnaya gazeta*.

Having failed to realize this idea, Shostakovich began to move in the opposite direction: from cinema to opera.

Attempts at "operatic utilization" of film music

The well-known events of the "anti-formalist campaign" of 1936, in the musical sphere, were primarily aimed against Shostakovich. Ballets and operas—that is, everything that he had written for musical theatre up to that point— were suppressed and had no chance of returning to the stage. A huge amount of music was going to waste. During these years, his typical strategy of placing "doomed" musical material from forbidden program works into other—permitted ones—was consolidated. It also spread to the field of cinema, where his music met a much happier fate. However, the idea of creating operatic works based on music for films being shown throughout the country was dictated, apparently, by other considerations. As one might assume, the film was supposed to precede the opera as a kind of "trailer" paving the way for an uninitiated cinema audience to musical theatre. An analogy arises with the genre of "lyric opera" half a century ago. There, the promotional function was assigned to a popular literary source, which formed the basis of the score. As a result, the audience of the last third of the nineteenth century knew the plot thoroughly that he was supposed to see on the musical stage, and could assess the degree of interpretative differences that arose between the book and the musical performance. But the main thing is that he would hardly have missed the premiere.

A similar tendency emerged in Shostakovich's work precisely in the period immediately following 1936, the time of his complete expulsion from the musical theatre. And it would remain characteristic of the next twenty (!) years of his work, without ever reaching completion on stage. The story that began in 1937 with work on the film *Volochaevskie dni* [The Defense of Volotchayevsk] would thus prove fairly typical of Shostakovich. In general terms, it is as follows.

In 1937, Shostakovich was invited by the Vasiliev brothers[13], who had achieved worldwide fame after the release of the film *Chapayev*, to work on the film *The Defense of Volotchayevsk* about the events of the Civil War in the Russian Far East. A quotation

[13] As is well known, the stable name of this creative tandem is a kind of pseudonym: Georgy and Sergei Vasiliev had the same last name.

in the music accompanying the credits from the widely popular tune of the Far Eastern partisans *Po dolinam i po vzgor'yam* [Across the Valleys and Hills], which had been heard in feature films before (for example, in Pudovkin's film *Dezertir* [Deserter]), was a clear indication of the special role of the song in the musical accompaniment of the new film. This role was to be played by Shostakovich's own song, composed specifically for the film. In the article *My Immediate Plans*, which served as a kind of "creative report" in response to the *Pravda* editorial *Muddle Instead of Music*, he wrote:

> There won't be much music in the film *The Defense of Volotchayevsk*. The main difficulty for me in this work was that I had to write a song that would be the leitmotif of the entire music of the film. The field of songwriting has been very difficult for me so far. Apart from *Counterplan*, I have never written a single song in my entire career as a composer. However, the song in *The Defense of Volotchayevsk* has a completely different character than the song in *Counterplan*. It is a heroic song in the full sense of the word. I worked a lot on it, made ten versions, and only the eleventh satisfied me. I discuss this song in detail because it runs organically throughout the film's music. It is felt in the Overture to the film, and in the finale, and in the choral pieces. Its theme is felt everywhere. This was the difficulty of the work. I want the music in a film to play an independent role, so that it does not have an accompanying character, so that it does not become an additional effect to this or that frame.[14]

And one more noteworthy statement:

> ... I wanted the music in the film to be completely realistic and to fulfill its service function.[15]

That is why the film's everyday musical background is extremely diverse:

> ... a song about Kolchak, popular in the 1920s on both sides of the Eastern Front ("English uniform / Russian shoulder strap / Japanese tobacco / Ruler of Omsk", etc.); the song Ushijima in Japanese; the Russian folk song "Oh, you viburnum, / You are a raspberry, / Oh, don't stand, don't stand /

[14] Shostakovich, D. D. (1937). Moi blizhaishie raboty [My Immediate Plans]. *Rabochii i teatr*, (11), p. 24.
[15] Shostakovich, D. D. (1937), p. 24.

On the steep mountain!", etc.; as well as the anthem of the Russian Empire *God Save the Tsar* (music by Alexei Lvov, words by Vasily Zhukovsky).[16]

Having begun writing the film score, Shostakovich, apparently, at the same time concluded an agreement with the Kirov Leningrad State Academic Theatre of Opera and Ballet for the creation of an opera of the same name. In the autumn of 1937, he reported in the press:

> I am beginning preparatory work for the opera *The Defense of Volotchayevsk*. … he opera is in progress; many fragments and episodes have already been written. The work on the music for the film *The Defense of Volotchayevsk* is helping me greatly, which for me is a kind of overture to the creation of the opera. The aims I am pursuing in my work on the opera are very simple. I want to write an opera of a grand heroic scale, so that it has memorable passages, so that the listener, leaving the auditorium, could take with him a good song, a good aria, and symphonic excerpts.[17]

The surviving fragment for voice with piano accompaniment is the only evidence of the composer's serious intentions. Researchers suggest:

> Perhaps one of the indirect reasons why Shostakovich did not begin work on the opera immediately after signing the contract with the theatre was that the complete, finished libretto arrived at the Committee for Arts only in June 1937. Accordingly, by that time, the text had not yet received censorship approval from the Main Directorate for Control over Repertoire and Spectacles.[18]

Not only was the future opera to be based on film music, but its librettist, Nikolai Beresnev, was a film director and screenwriter closely associated with the film industry. Having begun his career in drama theatre, he had no connection whatsoever with music or musical theatre. Consequently, the musical language and dramaturgy of the future

---

[16] Dombrovskaya, O. V., & Klyuchnikova (Lobankova), E. V. (In press). Muzyka D. D. Shostakovicha k kinofil'mu "Volochaevskiye dni" [Dmitri Shostakovich's music for the film *The Defense of Volotchayevsk*]. In Ekimovsky, V. A. (Ed.), *Shostakovich, D. D. Novoe sobranie sochinenii* [New Collected Works]: *in 150 vols. Series XIV: Film Music. Vol. 128. Volochaevskie dni. Music for the film. Op. 48. Velikii grazhdanin. Music for the film. Op. 52, 55*. Score. DSCH.

[17] Shostakovich, D. D. (1937), p. 24.

[18] Dombrovskaya, O. V., & Klyuchnikova (Lobankova), E. V. (In press).

work were from the outset oriented toward the corresponding cinematic aesthetic—that of a film in which song was placed at the forefront, as the composer indicated in his description of the project. However, it turned out to be too faceless to "go to the people."

Shostakovich's next attempt of this kind to transfer a film plot and, accordingly, its musical material was the project for the opera *Velikii grazhdanin* [The Great Citizen], which Shostakovich intended to base on his score for Friedrich Ermler's two-part film of 1937–1939.[19]

The attempt to cross cinema with the operatic genre was repeated in the post-war period with some amendments. Before even starting work on Sergei Gerasimov's film *Molodaya gvardiya* [The Young Guard], Shostakovich signed a contract with the Bolshoi Theatre in February 1947 to create a stage work of the same name [2], but according to his public testimony, "all his creative fervor went to the film instead of the opera."[20] Based on this statement in the press, as well as the testimony of his student, composer Evgeny P. Makarov, to whom Shostakovich himself spoke about this on July 2, 1948, it is generally accepted that work on the opera was not started.[21]

However, the sketches of the music for the film contain dates that point to a period before he began work on the film: "25. IV. 1947" and "26. IV. 1947."[22] The April dates refer to material that was used in the Overture to the first part. It is known that Shostakovich began viewing the material shot by Gerasimov only at the beginning of July [2, p. 226]. Researchers of this opus are in agreement:

> The appearance of such an early date in the sketches for the film *The Young Guard* has not yet received a convincing explanation [2, p. 226];
>
> It thus remains unclear for what work these sketches were originally intended; their material was subsequently incorporated in part into the film [3, p. 247].

---

[19] Dombrovskaya, O. V., & Klyuchnikova (Lobankova), E. V. (In press).

[20] Shostakovich, D. D. (1950). Kino kak shkola kompozitora [Cinema as a school for a composer]. In D. Eremin (Ed.), *30 let sovetskoi kinematografii* [30 years of Soviet cinema]. Goskinoizdat, p. 357. As cited in [2, p. 226].

[21] Makarov, E. P. (1998). *Dnevnik. Vospominaniya ob uchitele — D. D. Shostakoviche* [Diary. Memories of a Teacher — D. D. Shostakovich]. Kompozitor, p. 48.

[22] RNMM (Russian National Museum of Music). F. 32 (D. D. Shostakovich). File 106, fol. 1–1v.

A comparison of the facts suggests with a high degree of probability that the April sketches were created for the Overture to the opera *The Young Guard*, but were ultimately used in the Overture to the first part of the film on the same subject. This would seem to contradict Shostakovich's own testimony, as recorded by Makarov, but such discrepancies between the composer's public statements and the actual circumstances of his creative work were quite common. In this case, he may simply have attached little importance to the small fragments of music intended for the opera but already used in the film.

Finally, the musical materials of Mikheil Chiaureli's 1949 film *Padenie Berlina* [The Fall of Berlin], with music by Shostakovich, was also intended to form the basis of an opera. And this is a separate story, highly indicative of this period in the country's history and in the composer's biography.

From the Film 'The Fall of Berlin' to the Opera 'Stalingrad'

In December 1950 Mikheil Chiaureli and screenwriter Alexander Filimonov "at the suggestion of the Bolshoi Theatre management" (according to their later statement[23] began working on the libretto of the opera *Stalingrad*. The submitted application was approved by the theatre management and the Committee for Arts under the Council of Ministers of the USSR in early 1951. In the agreement with the Bolshoi, signed by the co-authors on January 15, the deadline for submitting the libretto in its "final form" was May 1 of the same year.[24]

It is clear that the agreement had to be preceded by an oral discussion, the initiator of which was most likely Chiaureli himself, who enjoyed unlimited influence at that time. Having never previously worked as an opera librettist, he was, however, a person closely familiar with musical theatre—albeit operetta, on the stage of which he had performed in his youth in Tbilisi as a "tailcoat" baritone. Memoirs of the director frequently mention his musical tastes, which were largely shaped by his remarkable

[23] Perepiska i dogovory s avtorami libretto M. Eh. Chiaureli i A. A. Filimonovym. 15 yanvarya 1951 — 15 yanvarya 1953 [Correspondence and contracts with librettists M. E. Chiaureli and A. A. Filimonov. January 15, 1951–January 15, 1953]. In *RGALI* (Russian State Archive of Literature and Art). F. 648, Gosudarstvennyi akademicheskii Bol'shoi teatr SSSR (GABT). Op. 5. File 849, fol. 8.

[24] Perepiska i dogovory s avtorami libretto M. E. Chiaureli i A. A. Filimonovym. 15 yanvarya 1951 — 15 yanvarya 1953. In *RGALI*. F. 648. Op. 5. File 849, fols. 1–4.

vocal abilities. His co-author Filimonov (1904–1998), who became a successful screenwriter in the late 1920s, began his career in the first half of the 1920s at the architecture department of VKhUTEMAS (Higher Art and Technical Studios), where fate brought him together with Chiaureli. Filimonov's biography reveals no connections with musical theatre. All this makes us suppose that the idea of an operatic project based on the cycle of Stalin films that Chiaureli continued to "sculpt" during these years belonged to the director himself. It may have been as a result of these efforts that the "proposal of the theatre management" arose.

Shostakovich's name as the author of the music for the future opera appears in the correspondence between the librettists and the theatre in the autumn of 1951,[25] and the clarification "based on the films *The Adjuration* and *The Fall of Berlin*" appears only at the beginning of 1953.[26] However, there was apparently a verbal agreement on both. The piquancy of the situation was that the music for the film *Klyatva* [The Adjuration], created by Chiaureli at the Tbilisi Film Studio, was written by Andrei M. Balanchivadze, while the librettists were going to use the plot material of both films, in both of which Stalin was the main character. At the same time, the story of the Battle of Stalingrad appears only in *The Fall of Berlin*. Be that as it may, it is clear that the Bolshoi Theatre was interested in Shostakovich's candidacy, whose return to the opera stage would have been an undeniable sensation in Soviet cultural life. This was the main attraction of the initiative coming from members of the film community.

Communication and collaboration between Shostakovich and Chiaureli in the film industry continued at this time: in early May 1952, their joint brainchild, the film *Nezabyvaemyi 1919 god* [Unforgettable 1919] (Op. 89 in Shostakovich's catalogue of works), was released on the country's screens. The script for this film was written jointly with Chiaureli by the same Filimonov.

Shostakovich's biographers never mentioned his operatic plans of the early 1950s, connected with a return to musical theatre on Chiaureli's initiative. However, the prospect of such a work appearing was quite real—the librettists negotiated with the management until mid-January 1953 (that is, for two years), an official agreement was concluded with them, and work on the project began.

[25] Perepiska i dogovory s avtorami libretto M. Eh. Chiaureli i A. A. Filimonovym. 15 yanvarya 1951 — 15 yanvarya 1953. In *RGALI*. F. 648. Op. 5. File 849, fol. 6.

[26] Perepiska i dogovory s avtorami libretto M. Eh. Chiaureli i A. A. Filimonovym. 15 yanvarya 1951 — 15 yanvarya 1953. In *RGALI*. F. 648. Op. 5. File 849, fol. 8.

However, the text of the opera *Stalingrad* was not submitted by the agreed deadline. On May 1, 1951, the librettists sent a letter to the Bolshoi Theatre management:

> The negative assessment of the libretto of the opera *Ot vsego serdtsa* [From the Bottom of My Heart][27] by the Soviet public naturally compels us to reconsider our creative positions regarding the opera *STALINGRAD* with particular rigor.
>
> It must be admitted that a number of points that previously satisfied us now seem questionable in light of the new demands.
>
> We ask the "Theatre" to consider the question of the desirability of continuing work on the libretto *STALINGRAD* and notify us of the decision.
>
> If the decision is positive, we ask that the deadline for submitting the libretto be extended until November 1, 1951.
>
> For our part, we are ready to consider the question of changing the main direction of the work, up to and including changing the theme.[28]

Consideration of this issue was delayed—the librettists received official confirmation of the initial plans only six months later—in October 1951. Serafim M. Oreshnikov, head of the Bolshoi Theatre's literary department, informed them:

> The opera *STALINGRAD*, with your libretto and music by the composer D. D. Shostakovich, has been approved in the Bolshoi Theatre's plan for work on the new repertoire.[29]

As follows from the subsequent correspondence between the co-authors and the theatre, "this letter was preceded by a series of meetings," and they "twice revised the initial application."[30] But even after the libretto plan had been approved, it continued to change:

> We began work, but the THEATRE's management changed again and we were again forced to revise the plan.

---

[27] This refers to the opera by German L. Zhukovsky (libretto by A. Bagmet and A. Kovalenkov, based on the novel by Elizar Yu. Maltsev). See: Neudachnaya opera: O postanovke opery 'Ot vsego serdtsa' v Bol'shom teatre [An unsuccessful opera: On the production of the opera *From the Bottom of My Heart* at the Bolshoi Theatre] [Editorial]. (1951, April 19). *Pravda*, pp. 2–3.

[28] Perepiska i dogovory s avtorami libretto M. Eh. Chiaureli i A. A. Filimonovym. 15 yanvarya 1951 — 15 yanvarya 1953. In *RGALI*. F. 648. Op. 5. File 849, fol. 5.

[29] Perepiska i dogovory s avtorami libretto M. Eh. Chiaureli i A. A. Filimonovym. 15 yanvarya 1951 — 15 yanvarya 1953. In *RGALI*. F. 648. Op. 5. File 849, fol. 6.

[30] Perepiska i dogovory s avtorami libretto M. Eh. Chiaureli i A. A. Filimonovym. 15 yanvarya 1951 — 15 yanvarya 1953. In *RGALI*. F. 648. Op. 5. File 849, fol. 8.

> Although the above-mentioned letter freed us from this obligation, we wrote a new, expanded libretto plan and presented it to the THEATRE. This was in the spring of 1952.[31]

The expanded libretto plan for the opera *Stalingrad* landed on the desk of the new director of the Bolshoi Theatre, Alexander I. Anisimov. On the back of the title page, he wrote: "Have read it. Very weak. 22/I 53."[32] But already on January 3, a notice signed by him had been sent to the librettists:

> The creative proposal you submitted for the libretto of the opera about Stalingrad was reviewed by the management of the Bolshoi Theatre and the Main Directorate of Musical Theatres of the Committee for Arts and was found not to meet the necessary requirements of the operatic genre.
>
> In connection with this, the Directorate of the Bolshoi Theatre is forced to terminate the contract concluded with you on 10/1 1951 and ask you to return the advance you received by 15/1 of this year.[33]

This message, which came as a bolt from the blue to the librettists in the first days of 1953, led to their above-mentioned statement to the theatre, addressed to Anisimov on January 15, which stated, in particular:

> Your letter rejecting the plan and terminating the contract was the first and very belated response to our work.
>
> The negative assessment contained in the letter completely contradicts all previous assessments of our work. We worked long and conscientiously, following the instructions of the THEATRE.
>
> The termination of work on the libretto is not our fault, but is taking place at the initiative of the THEATRE.
>
> It is impossible to agree with your assertion that the plan for the libretto *STALINGRAD* does not conform to the laws of the operatic genre.
>
> The demand for the return of the advance, following your letter approving our plan and the THEATRE's enormous delay in responding, is surprising.[34]

---

[31] Perepiska i dogovory s avtorami libretto M. Eh. Chiaureli i A. A. Filimonovym. 15 yanvarya 1951 — 15 yanvarya 1953. In *RGALI*. F. 648. Op. 5. File 849, fol. 8.

[32] Perepiska i dogovory s avtorami libretto M. Eh. Chiaureli i A. A. Filimonovym. 15 yanvarya 1951 — 15 yanvarya 1953. In *RGALI*. F. 648. Op. 5. File 849, fol. 8.

[33] Perepiska i dogovory s avtorami libretto M. Eh. Chiaureli i A. A. Filimonovym. 15 yanvarya 1951 — 15 yanvarya 1953]. In *RGALI*. F. 648. Op. 5. File 849, fol. 7.

[34] Perepiska i dogovory s avtorami libretto M. Eh. Chiaureli i A. A. Filimonovym. 15 yanvarya 1951 — 15 yanvarya 1953. In *RGALI*. F. 648. Op. 5. File 849, fols. 8–8v.

Let us hope that these long-suffering newcomers to the world of opera nevertheless managed to retain the advance they had received and undoubtedly spent long before (an impressive 6,250 rubles, incidentally). We now close the archival files on this case. The important conclusion to be drawn from these materials is that Shostakovich's participation, which became a tasty bait for the Bolshoi, not only failed to materialize but had apparently never even begun. However, from the point of view of both sides that entered the battle around the opera *Stalingrad*, the composer already had some musical material to build on. It is quite obvious that the music for Chiaureli's film was intended to form the basis of the opera score. However, a look at the "expanded libretto plan"[35] presented to the Bolshoi Theatre raises doubts as to whether this material could actually have been used.

Some connection with the plot of *The Fall of Berlin* is indeed visible on the pages of the thin typescript: the libretto begins with a scene in the workshop of the Stalingrad tractor plant, just the film script began in a workshop at a steel plant somewhere in the conventional south of the country in peaceful pre-war times. In both, there is a celebration honoring heroes of labor (Scene 1). The love of the main characters (Alena and Pavel) is tested by war: the young man leaves the workshop and volunteers for the front (Scene 2). The episodes near the front outside Moscow (Scene 3) also summarize the content of several scenes of the film featuring witnesses to the occupiers' atrocities, German prisoners of war, and prophecies of the coming victory.

Hitler's reception of foreign ambassadors at the Reich Chancellery (Scene 4) is a direct copy of the corresponding scene in the first part of the film—the same "papal legates," "ambassadors of the Japanese Emperor," "envoys from Franco," and Italian diplomats "hand over a portrait of Mussolini to Hitler." The whole scene also ends with a message about the defeat of German troops near Moscow. It is noteworthy that the Battle of Stalingrad appears only toward the end of the opera (Scene 5), immediately before the final "fall of Berlin" and the raising of the Soviet flag on the Reichstag (Scene 6). But both opera scenes also correspond directly to the content of the two-part film. The authors were undoubtedly still under the spell of their recent

[35] Rasshirennyi plan libretto M. Eh. Chiaureli i A. A. Filimonova (dlya kompozitora D. D. Shostakovicha). 1952 [Expanded libretto plan by M. E. Chiaureli and A. A. Filimonov (for composer D. D. Shostakovich). 1952]. In *RGALI*. F. 648, Gosudarstvennyi akademicheskii Bol'shoi teatr SSSR (GABT). Op. 5. File 848, 15 fols.

work and, having chosen the grand title *Stalingrad*, in fact did not justify it in the slightest. Only Scene 5 of the libretto is devoted to the events of the Battle of Stalingrad.

It would seem that, under these circumstances, the appearance in the future opera score of self-quotations from Shostakovich's already existing film music—which, like the film *The Fall of Berlin* itself, had even been awarded the Stalin Prize—was virtually inevitable. But the librettists for unclear reasons cut off this possibility in their "extended plan." The dramaturgy is static and the dramatic action sparse, but the oratorio-like or symphonic features of the operatic genre that characterize the score of *The Fall of Berlin* are hardly discernible in the structure of the projected opera. A "symphonic picture" is specified only as the culmination of Scene 5, where it is intended to fulfill a programmatic function, illustrating the decisive battle for Stalingrad. An orchestral fragment was apparently also envisaged for the storming of the Reichstag in Scene 6. Basically, the text is essentially built around a "relay" of vocal numbers, replacing each other without any lengthy recitative or instrumental transitions. The opera *Stalingrad* was conceived as the apotheosis of the "song opera," leaving no room for any other type of musical expression.

Thus, in Scene 1, "The Choir of Girls Decorating the Workshop" is followed by "Alena's Song", followed by several choral numbers of praise flowing into a divertissement of vocal numbers representing delegates from various Union Republics of the USSR who have arrived for the opening ceremony of the new workshop:

> A quartet of delegates from the Uzbek SSR. The delegates brought the USSR coat of arms made from cotton bolls as a gift to the plant. The theme of the song is the awakening of the deserts with the help of new, advanced machinery. … The Ukrainian delegation also presents gifts. … After the Ukrainian delegation, the Moscow delegation (Choir and Dance Ensemble) performs.[36]

This suite, limited to representatives of the eastern and western borderlands of the USSR and modeled on festive state concerts, is followed by the ballad of Alena's grandfather, "Old man Andreich," "devoted to memories of the Civil War. Andreich recalls how, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, the people of Tsaritsyn defended their city."[37]

[36] Rasshirennyi plan libretto M. Eh. Chiaureli i A. A. Filimonova (dlya kompozitora D. D. Shostakovicha). 1952. In *RGALI*. F. 648. Op. 5. File 848, fol. 3.

[37] Rasshirennyi plan libretto M. Eh. Chiaureli i A. A. Filimonova (dlya kompozitora D. D. Shostakovicha). 1952. In *RGALI*. F. 648. Op. 5. File 848, fol. 3.

The suite then continues with the stage direction: "General dancing and merriment begin (choir and corps de ballet)." The scene ends with more vocal numbers: "A duet of Alena and Pavel. Pavel asks Alena to become his wife," "Alena's friends overheard the explanation. A playful song of praise." Scene 6 is constructed in a similar way— as a succession of vocal numbers: beginning on the square in front of the Reichstag with the "dance of hopeless despair and extreme fear" of Hitler and his entourage, it continues successively with the "song of a German soldier" cursing Hitler and the war he unleashed, Pavel's call to attack, the aria of the American attaché foreshadowing "an even more terrible war," "Pavel's response," predicting the victory of "the peace-loving peoples under the leadership of Stalin,"[38] and ends after the capture of the Reichstag with a choral "praise of Stalin."

It is no coincidence that the "Tsaritsyn plot" is introduced in Scene 1: it would be reckless to "forge" an operatic Staliniana with the help of a dancing or singing Stalin—others should talk about him. The character Old Man Andreich again speaks of the leader in Scene 2, parting with the soldiers leaving for the front:

> You will fight with the name of the great Stalin in your hearts—we will work with this name.[39]

The leader himself appears at the end of Scene 3—from afar, like a monument—"on the top of a hill," accompanied by a choir of soldiers swearing an oath to him to defend Moscow.

Scene 4 presents Stalin's antipode—Hitler in his Berlin "lair" surrounded by accomplices of the fascist regime. The co-authors handled this episode with a certain boldness: they decided to bring a dancing Führer onto the opera stage, to create his image by means of choreography. "Hitler's Dance" becomes the culmination of the entire action, conceived as a "purely balletic" act.[40] This was followed by "a divertissement consisting of a dance of samurai, Spaniards, etc." It was to end with the aria of the "Messenger" (General Jodl), whose lot it was to report the defeat near Moscow.[41]

---

[38] Rasshirennyi plan libretto M. Eh. Chiaureli i A. A. Filimonova (dlya kompozitora D. D. Shostakovicha). 1952. In *RGALI*. F. 648. Op. 5. File 848, fol. 14.

[39] Rasshirennyi plan libretto M. Eh. Chiaureli i A. A. Filimonova (dlya kompozitora D. D. Shostakovicha). 1952. In *RGALI*. F. 648. Op. 5. File 848, fol. 6.

[40] Rasshirennyi plan libretto M. Eh. Chiaureli i A. A. Filimonova (dlya kompozitora D. D. Shostakovicha). 1952. In *RGALI*. F. 648. Op. 5. File 848, fol. 9.

[41] Rasshirennyi plan libretto M. Eh. Chiaureli i A. A. Filimonova (dlya kompozitora D. D. Shostakovicha). 1952. In *RGALI*. F. 648. Op. 5. File 848, fol. 9.

As we can see, the director of the Bolshoi Theatre reproached the authors in vain for their ignorance of the "requirements of the operatic genre." They quite clearly cut the "enemy" scene to the pattern of the "Polish Act" from Glinka's *A Life for the Tsar*, which in recent years they had known through its reworking as Ivan Susanin.

Why did the composer agree to participate in this monstrously kitschy project? It is clear that, without Shostakovich's approval, his name could not have appeared in the correspondence between Chiaureli and Filimonov and the theatre as the approved composer of the future work. Apparently, this was due both to unmistakable pressure from above and to the tendency to compromise that he often displayed in such situations—under the influence of an inner reminder of the famous parable about Hodja Nasreddin, the donkey, and the padishah. The "padishah" died in March 1953, and the correspondence between the librettists and the Bolshoi Theatre simply stopped. The campaign to debunk the cult of Stalin, which had been developing beneath the surface and then rapidly gained momentum, also affected Chiaureli, who was "demoted" to newsreel director and sent to the Sverdlovsk Film Studio. In his speech at the Twentieth Congress, Nikita Khrushchev mentioned two of Chiaureli's films belonging to the cinematic "classics of Stalinism," paying particular attention to *The Fall of Berlin* as an example of the falsification of the history of the Great Patriotic War.

Conclusion

Fortunately, Shostakovich did not manage to join the opera project Stalingrad. Nevertheless, the attempts described above to transfer cinematic works into the operatic medium were systematic in nature, defining the strategy of his creative biography from the late 1930s to the early 1950s. This strategy fit into the broader tendency toward a rapprochement between musical theatre and cinema, which, however, took a highly distinctive form. During these years, both new operatic works and Soviet film music acquired a striking similarity, consciously reproducing a song-based style in their scores. "Song opera" corresponded to "song cinema," forming, as it were, the core of the genre hierarchy that had become firmly established in Soviet culture by the end of the Stalin era. "Song symphony" and "song oratorio" rhymed with them. A "song emphasis" was undoubtedly also characteristic of new ballet works for the Soviet stage.

This "song rhyme" had been imposed on Soviet musical culture since the early post-revolutionary years in the form of a "choral project."[42] Modified over time, it continued to exist until the end of the Stalin era, paradoxically manifesting itself under the new conditions of rivalry between musical theatre and cinema. But even by the mid-1950s, when the dispute between them had been largely resolved, the dream of Soviet ideologists that the country would burst into song in the streets, from cinema screens, from opera stages, and in concert venues still lived and flourished, for, as one of the musical film hits of that era put it, "song helps us build and live."

References

1. Raku, M. G. (2014). *Muzykal'naya klassika v mifotvorchestve sovetskoi ehpohi* [Musical classics in the myth-making of the Soviet era]. Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie. (In Russ.).

2. Dombrovskaya, O. V. (2023). Muzyka D. D. Shostakovicha k fil'mu "Molodaya gvardiya" [D. D. Shostakovich's music for the film *The Young Guard*]. In V. A. Ekimovsky (Ed.), Shostakovich D. D. *Novoye sobraniye sochinenii* [New Collected Works]: in 150 vols. *Series XIV: Film Music. Vol. 131: Prostyye lyudi. Music for the Film. Op. 71. Molodaya gvardiya. Music for the Film. Op. 75. Score* (pp. 225–229). DSCH. (In Russ.).

3. Klyuchnikova (Lobankova), E. V. (2024). Poyasnitel'nye kommentarii [Explanatory Comments]. In V. A. Ekimovsky (Ed.), Shostakovich D. D. *Novoye sobraniye sochinenii* [New Collected Works]: in 150 vols. *Series XIV: Film Music. Vol. 131: Prostyye lyudi. Music for the Film. Op. 71. Molodaya gvardiya. Music for the Film. Op. 75. Score* (pp. 245–248). DSCH. (In Russ.).

4. Digonskaya, O. F. (2013). "Odna" [*Alone*]. In L. G. Kovnatskaya (Ed.), *Shostakovich v Leningradskoi konservatorii. 1919–1930* [Shostakovich at the Leningrad Conservatory, 1919–1930] (Vol. 3, pp. 241–260). Kompozitor. (In Russ.).

5. Kopytova, G. V. (2013). "Novyi Vavilon" [*The New Babylon*]. In L. G. Kovnatskaya (Ed.), *Shostakovich v Leningradskoi konservatorii. 1919–1930* [Shostakovich at the Leningrad Conservatory, 1919–1930] (Vol. 3, pp. 261–291). Kompozitor. (In Russ.).

[42] Raku, M. G. (2015). *Ideologicheskaya retseptsiya muzykal'noy klassiki v rannesovetskoy i stalinskoy kul'ture* [Ideological reception of musical classics in early Soviet and Stalinist culture] [Unpublished doctoral (Dr. Sci.) dissertation]. State Institute for Art Studies, pp. 62–84.

6. Riley, J. (2005). *Dmitri Shostakovich: A life in film*. I. B. Tauris.

7. Ivashkin, A., & Kirkman, A. (Eds.). (2012). *Contemplating Shostakovich: Life, music and film*. Ashgate.

8. Titus, J. M. (2016). *The early film music of Dmitry Shostakovich*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199315147.001.0001

9. Titus, J. (2024). *Dmitry Shostakovich and music for Stalinist cinema (1936–1953)*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197611326.001.0001

10. Raku, M. G. (2019). Bol'shoi teatr kak Bol'shoi kinoteatr: evolyutsiya obraza "muzykal'noi klassiki" na sovetskom ekrane 1930-kh–1940-kh godov [The Bolshoi Theatre as a Bolshoi cinema: The evolution of the image of "musical classics" on Soviet screens in the 1930s and 1940s]. In E. E. Lobzakova (Ed.), *Muzyka i muzykovedenie: dialogi so vremenem* [Music and musicology: Dialogues with time] (pp. 458–481). Rachmaninov Rostov State Conservatory. (In Russ.).

11. Raku, M. G. (2024). Sergei Prokof'ev i sovetskaya mul'tiplikatsiya: nesostoyavshayasya vstrecha (po materialam sobranii RGALI i Columbia University of the City of New York) [Sergei Prokofiev and Soviet animation: An unrealized encounter (Based on materials from the collections of RGALI and Columbia University in the City of New York)]. In E. A. Mikhailova (Ed.), *Istoriya otechestvennoi kul'tury v arkhivnykh dokumentakh* [History of Russian culture in archival documents] (Issue 5, pp. 248–266). The National Library of Russia. (In Russ.).

Список литературы

1. *Раку М. Г.* Музыкальная классика в мифотворчестве советской эпохи. М.: Новое литературное обозрение, 2014.

2. *Домбровская О. В.* Музыка Д. Д. Шостаковича к фильму «Молодая гвардия» // Шостакович Д. Д. Новое собрание сочинений: в 150 т. Серия XIV: Киномузыка. М.: DSCH, 2023. Т. 131. «Простые люди». Музыка к кинофильму. Соч. 71. «Молодая гвардия». Музыка к кинофильму. Соч. 75. Партитура / гл. ред. В. А. Екимовский; науч. ред. М. Г. Раку (отв. ред.), Л. О. Акопян, С. И. Савенко. С. 225–229.

3. *Ключникова (Лобанкова) Е. В.* Пояснительные комментарии // Шостакович Д. Д. Новое собрание сочинений: в 150 т. Серия XIV: Киномузыка. М.: DSCH, 2024. Т. 131. «Простые люди». Музыка

к кинофильму. Соч. 71. «Молодая гвардия». Музыка к кинофильму. Соч. 75. Партитура / гл. ред. В. А. Екимовский; науч. ред. М. Г. Раку (отв. ред.), Л. О. Акопян, С. И. Савенко. С. 245–248.

4. *Дигонская О. Ф.* «Одна» // Шостакович в Ленинградской консерватории. 1919–1930: в 3-х тт. / автор идеи и сост. Л. Г. Ковнацкая. СПб.: Композитор, 2013. Т. 3. С. 241–260.

5. *Копытова Г. В.* «Новый Вавилон» // Шостакович в Ленинградской консерватории (1919–1930): в 3-х тт. / автор идеи и сост. Л. Г. Ковнацкая. СПб.: Композитор, 2013. Т. 3. С. 261–291.

6. *Riley, J.* Dmitri Shostakovich. A Life in Film. London; New York, NY: I. B. Tauris, 2005.

7. Contemplating Shostakovich: Life, Music and Film. / ed. by Alexander Ivashkin, Andrew Kirkman. Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012.

8. Titus, J. M. The Early Film Music of Dmitry Shostakovich. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.
https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199315147.001.0001

9. *Titus, J. M.* Dmitry Shostakovich and Music for Stalinist Cinema (1936–1953). New York: Oxford University Press, 2024.
https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197611326.001.0001

10. *Раку М. Г.* Большой театр как Большой кинотеатр: эволюция образа «музыкальной классики» на советском экране 1930-х—1940-х годов // Музыка и музыковедение: диалоги со временем: сб. науч. статей / ред.-сост. Е. Э. Лобзакова. Ростов-на-Дону: РГК им. С. В. Рахманинова, 2019. С. 458-481.

11. *Раку М. Г.* Сергей Прокофьев и советская мультипликация: несостоявшаяся встреча (по материалам собраний РГАЛИ и Columbia University of the City New-York) // История отечественной культуры в архивных документах. СПб.: РНБ, 2024. Вып. 5 / сост. и отв. ред. Е. А. Михайлова. С. 248–266.

Information about the author:

Marina G. Raku — Doctor of Art History, Leading Researcher, Department of Music History, State Institute for Art Studies.

Сведения об авторе:

Раку М. Г. — доктор искусствоведения, ведущий научный сотрудник сектора истории музыки, Государственный институт искусствознания.

The article was submitted 11.06.2026;
approved after reviewing 24.07.2026;
accepted for publication 21.08.2026.

Статья поступила в редакцию 11.06.2026;
одобрена после рецензирования 24.07.2026;
принята к публикации 21.08.2026.