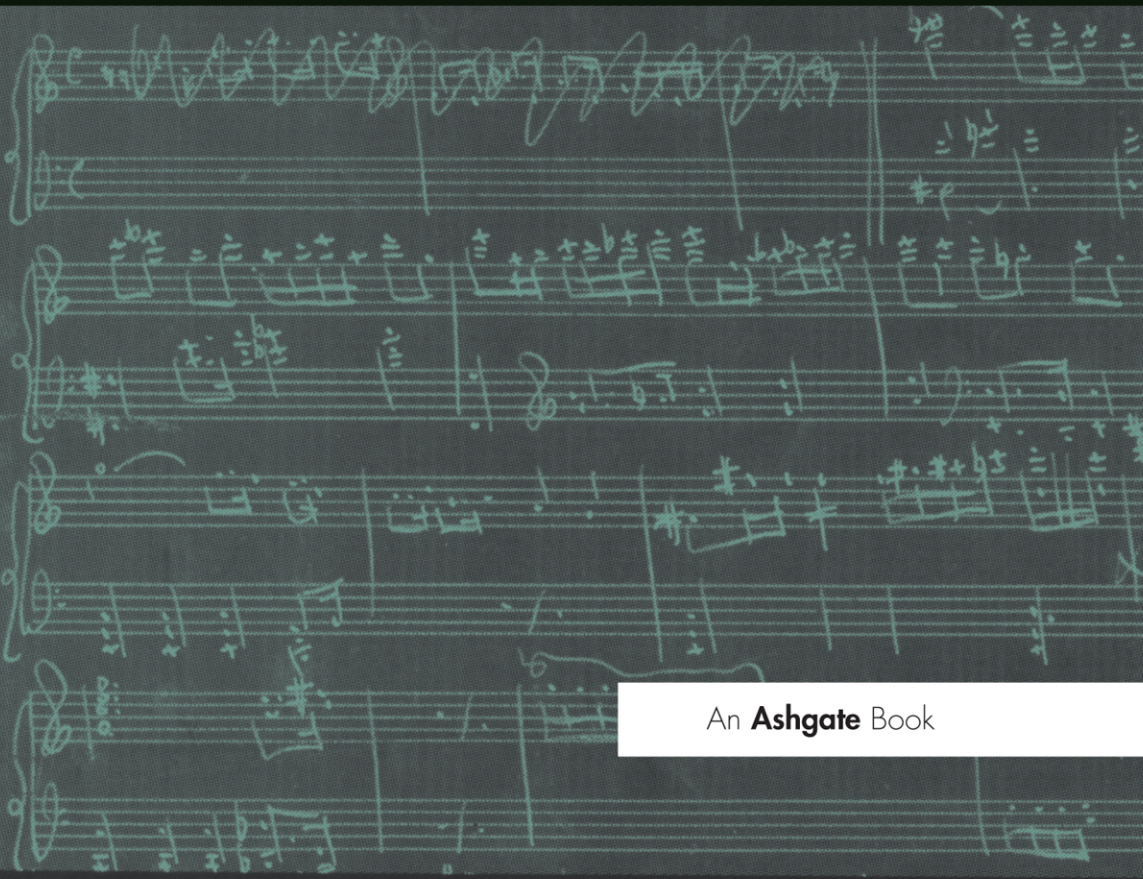




A SOVIET CREDO: SHOSTAKOVICH'S FOURTH SYMPHONY

PAULINE FAIRCLOUGH



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A Soviet Credo: Shostakovich's Fourth Symphony

For Mum, Chris and Ellie

A Soviet Credo: Shostakovich's Fourth Symphony

Pauline Fairclough

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Foreword

This book began life as a PhD thesis in 1995. Since then, the world of Shostakovich scholarship has advanced dramatically, as has that of Soviet music and culture in general. Although archival research is still difficult for many Western scholars, there is a wealth of published information now available that paints a far brighter picture of Shostakovich than the embittered figure of Solomon Volkov's 1979 *Testimony*. Elizabeth Wilson's engaging collection of reminiscences was the first Western publication (1994) to give Western readers glimpses of the Shostakovich already familiar to many Russians: brilliant, caustically witty, warm-hearted and deeply loved by those close to him. The Russian publication of his letters to Isaak Glikman in 1993 provided a more intimate view of a composer who was famously guarded in public; its translation into English in 2001 made this invaluable documentary study accessible to a wider readership. Laurel Fay's 2000 biography, based on exhaustive archival research, provided a desperately needed reliable source of information about the composer's life. In the same year, Irina Bobikina's collection of Shostakovich's letters to various friends throughout his life was published in Russia, providing yet more insights into the 'real' Shostakovich: neither a Soviet stooge nor a conveniently blank canvas upon whom any writer can impose his or her ideological and political prejudices. Though Fay's statement, made in 2000, that Shostakovich scholarship is still in its infancy holds true in the sense that much archival material has yet to be uncovered and his manuscripts examined, the figure of Shostakovich the man is becoming clearer all the time. We no longer need to search for an elusive 'real' figure: he springs to life from the pages of these books. In looking for an anti-Soviet hero – the Shostakovich of *Testimony* and *Testimony*-inspired writings – we miss the deeper heroism of a figure who was, in the most positive sense, 'apolitical': not anti-Communist (and hence pro-capitalist, as Cold War rhetoric used to dictate), but broadly humanitarian. It is that very quality in his music that thousands of listeners have sensed and responded to, whatever their own political views. To reduce its expressive breadth and depth to a set of political messages as some commentators have done is to impoverish its meaning indeed. The longer we cling to the view of a 'dissident' Shostakovich, the longer we miss out on the richness of his role within his own society and culture. The infinite number of variables in this relationship and the infinite number of personal responses his music provokes are all part of this paradoxical reality: it was Soviet society itself that shaped this compelling music. Shostakovich was a child of his time, albeit one whose stature allows him, with the passing of time, to transcend it.

As numerous revisionist and post-revisionist studies of Soviet culture and society have demonstrated, the old Western notion of a Soviet artist engaged in perpetual struggle against the State vastly simplifies – not to say romanticizes – the complex nature of relations between art and politics in the Soviet Union. It flatters still-cherished assumptions that only in the ‘free’ West can artists truly express themselves. And yet popular perceptions of Shostakovich still struggle to break free of its influence. The notion that great art was created in the Soviet Union in spite of, rather than in any sense because of, the socio-political structures that supported it flourishes to this day in schools, universities and the mass media, 16 years after Reagan shook hands with Gorbachev and revoked his famous ‘evil empire’ speech.

The Fourth Symphony was composed on the cusp of massive changes in Soviet society. It teetered precariously on the brink of a new age: behind it lay the brief years of *perestroika* that began in 1932 and the assassination of Sergey Kirov. Ahead lay the most terrifying years of Stalin’s purges, while in the middle of its composition Shostakovich himself was singled out for unprecedented official criticism. Its musical language was completely unlike that of any contemporary Soviet symphony. One of the foremost conductors of the period is alleged to have been unable to comprehend it, though he was familiar with all Mahler’s symphonies and had performed some of the most advanced Soviet works of the time. Mystery surrounds the circumstances of its withdrawal from rehearsal to this day. For me, at least, the Fourth Symphony seems to encapsulate the hope, idealism, fear and sheer insanity of those years more compellingly than does any other contemporary Soviet musical work. This study can do no more than scratch the surface of its enigmatic subject. It does not aim to ‘explain’ its meaning; no single writer could presume to do that. Like all analyses, it is an interpretation, not a prescription for listening. Though the symphony communicates ‘something’ with immense urgency, in the end, to quote Adorno on Mahler, it is a ‘narrative that relates nothing’. I have not tried to put that ‘nothing’ into words. Instead, I have suggested ways of describing the process of its narrative in a way that does not tie the symphony to specific events or ideas; readers are free to do so if they wish.

A complete source study of the Fourth Symphony would have to include discussion of the various sketch materials that preceded work on the symphony as we know it. These include the Five Fragments for orchestra Op. 42, four piano drafts and a rejected, unfinished but fully orchestrated fragment marked *Adagio – Allegro non troppo*. This last was first recorded by Gennadi Rozhdestvensky on Melodiya (A10 00319 000) in 1988, along with the four piano drafts; the *Adagio* fragment has been recorded by Oleg Caetani (Arts 47703–2, 2004) and Mstislav Rostropovich (*Andante* AN4090, 2004). Volume 3 of the new DSCHE collected works edition includes facsimiles of these fragments, and volume 4 (the new edition of the Fourth Symphony) includes facsimiles of substantial piano drafts of the symphony in its near-final form, as follows: first movement: bars 1–98; second movement: bars 1–394; third movement: bars 1–936. Combined with the Five

Fragments, the piano drafts provide a fascinating insight into Shostakovich's creative processes; while the second movement differs only slightly from the finished version, he made more substantial changes to the finale.

As I was not in a position to undertake a comprehensive source study while researching my PhD, I decided to restrict my research to an analytical survey of the finished score and (then) published materials, and this has remained the focus of the present study, though I have made minor changes to my discussion of the finale to take into account the most significant findings regarding the date of its composition.

Bristol, 2004

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Many people have helped in the preparation of this book. My thanks go first to David Fanning, who first encouraged me to consider postgraduate study and ended up being my supervisor for seven long years. I would never have embarked upon an academic career without his support and guidance. Similarly invaluable were, and still are, David Fallows and Michael Talbot; I would also like to thank Jan Smaczny and Barry Cooper for their meticulous correction of various errors at PhD stage. Will Peters's kind assistance in translating some awkward Russian phrases was greatly appreciated. Finally, I wish to thank Richard for putting up with over a decade of Shostakovich-related ramblings, not minding my still being an impoverished student long after all our friends had proper jobs, and generally being blissfully disinterested in musicology.

I am happy to be able to acknowledge the generous assistance of the Music and Letters Trust for kindly covering my copyright charges. I am also indebted to Heidi May at Ashgate for supporting this project from the start, and to Fiona Little, whom I was fortunate enough to have as a copy-editor. I am indebted to her for her attentive and thoughtful scrutiny of the text, including over 200 music examples. Any errors that escaped her eagle eyes are, of course, entirely my own responsibility.

Mum, Chris and Ellie, to whom this book is dedicated, are in no way expected to read it – I would simply like to thank them all for their love and support.

Introduction

Composition, Context and Reception

Shostakovich's Fourth Symphony had the most extraordinary performance history of any of his major works. Written in 1935–36 after several false starts (the first of which dated back at least as far as November 1934¹), it was, Shostakovich declared in 1935, to be 'the credo of my creative work'² – his 'new way' as a symphonist after the experimental Second and Third symphonies of 1927 and 1930.³ It was abruptly withdrawn from rehearsal on the eve of its Leningrad première on 11 December 1936, in a performance scheduled to be conducted by the distinguished Austrian émigré Fritz Stiedry. Aside from a two-piano performance by Shostakovich and Moisey Vainberg in the Composers' Union in 1945, it remained unperformed until 1961.⁴ The première finally took place in the Great Hall of the Moscow Conservatoire on 30 December 1961, conducted by Kirill Kondrashin. Although the original orchestral score had been lost during the war, allegedly by the conductor Aleksandr Gauk, the orchestral parts remained in the library of the Leningrad Philharmonic and were found in 1960.⁵ Derek Hulme, following Dmitri

¹ Shostakovich first referred to the Fourth Symphony in the article 'Schastiye poznaniye' [The joy of knowledge], *Sovetskoye iskusstvo*, 5 November 1934, where he says that he has begun the symphony but put it aside for the time being. Quoted in the collected works, vol. 2, Moscow: Muzika, 1982, editor's note, n. 7.

² Shostakovich described it as such in 1935. See 'Moy tvorcheskii put' [My creative path], *Izvestiya*, 3 April 1935, 4.

³ The Beethovenian associations of the term 'new way' are well established. Michael Koball also uses the term (in quotation marks) to describe Shostakovich's Fourth Symphony in Koball, *Pathos und Grotteske: Die deutsche Tradition im symphonischen Schaffen von Dmitri Schostakowitsch*, Berlin: Verlag Ernst Kuhn, 1997, 105.

⁴ Derek C. Hulme, *Dmitri Shostakovich: A Catalogue, Bibliography and Discography*. Second edition, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991, 114; and Laurel Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 97. There must also have been a single piano score dating from 1936 that Shostakovich used in these preview performances. The two-piano version may also originally date from 1936: in a letter to the cellist Viktor Kubatskiy dated 27 April 1936, Shostakovich declared his intention to make a two-piano reduction of the Fourth Symphony, which he had just finished. See Irina Bobikina, ed., *Dmitriy Shostakovich v pis'makh i dokumentakh* [Dmitriy Shostakovich through letters and documents], Moscow: Glinka State Central Museum of Musical Culture, 2000, 161.

⁵ Though it seems to be accepted fact that Gauk lost the score, his published memoirs, dated 1962, claim that 'in recent years I have often looked through the score'. See Khentova, *Shostakovich: zhizn' i tvorchestvo* [Shostakovich: life and works], Leningrad:

and Lyudmila Sollertinsky, state that it was the librarian at the time, Boris Shalman, who found the parts and carried out the reconstruction work from them.⁶ Most Russian-language sources state that it was Shostakovich's friend Lev Atovm'yan who found the parts and made the new score together with a new four-hand transcription. However, Manashir Yakubov was claimed that it was indeed Shalman who reconstructed the score 'on the initiative of Levon Atovm'yan'.⁷

Several musicians and writers have offered opinions on why the symphony acquired such pariah status, as will be seen. But it is worth stating straight away that there is no single entirely reliable source that can fully account for the circumstances that led to its dramatic withdrawal. Some have suggested that going ahead with the première at that particular moment in Soviet history would have put Shostakovich's life in danger.⁸ But such statements do not square with the little we do know about the generous circulation of the symphony ahead of the première. Shostakovich played his new symphony several times to friends and colleagues, including Myaskovsky and Khachaturian; Shostakovich's Soviet biographer Sofiya Khentova notes that the score was 'widely known among Moscow musicians'.⁹ Moreover, Shostakovich's late-night performance for Ivan Sollertinsky, Isaak Glikman and Otto Klemperer records high levels of praise for the new work and describes Klemperer's (unrealized) plan to perform the symphony in a forthcoming South American tour.¹⁰ But notwithstanding these positive accounts, the new work attracted its share of criticism; when Myaskovsky heard of the première's cancellation, he noted in his diary that 'Shostakovich was so persecuted by the discussions that he withdrew his new (Fourth) symphony from performance – monumental and dazzling. What a disgrace for us – his

Sovetskiy Kompozitor, 1985, 440. However, no copy of the score from 1936 has been found despite the best efforts of Russian archivists. Laurel Fay believes that there must have been at least one copyist's score (used by Stiedry), but no such score has so far come to light (personal communication, 24 June 2002).

⁶ See Hulme, *Dmitri Shostakovich: A Catalogue*, 114 and Dmitri and Lyudmila Sollertinskiy, *Pages from the Life of Dmitri Shostakovich*, trans. G. Hobbs and C. Midgley, London: Robert Hale, 1981, 154–55.

⁷ Manashir Yakubov editorial commentary to the Fourth Symphony, Moscow: DSCH, 2003, 242. Both Gauk and Kondrashin claim that it was Atovm'yan who reconstructed the score. See Khentova, *Shostakovich: zhizn' i tvorchestvo*, 440, and V. Razhnikov, *Kirill Kondrashin rasskazivaet o muzike i zhizni* [Kirill Kondrashin talks about music and life], Moscow: Sovetskiy Kompozitor, 1989, 182.

⁸ One of the most outspoken proponents of the view that the Fourth was 'un' socialist realist is Sollertinsky's daughter-in-law Lyudmila Mikheyeva. She claims that its première would have endangered Shostakovich because it was 'full of tragedy, not remotely responding to the canons of socialist realism'. See Mikheyeva, *Zhizn' Dmitriya Shostakovicha* [Life of Dmitriy Shostakovich], Moscow: 'Terra', 1997, 197.

⁹ See Khentova, *Shostakovich: zhizn' i tvorchestvo*, 440.

¹⁰ Isaak Glikman, trans. Anthony Phillips, *Story of a Friendship*, London: Faber, 2001, xxii.

contemporaries.¹¹ During the more relaxed cultural climate of the war years, Shostakovich's friends considered the possibility of a belated première. Laurel Fay reports that after Shostakovich and Vainberg's private performance in 1945, Shostakovich even briefly toyed with the idea of making it his 'official' Ninth Symphony.¹² Yet despite Shostakovich's post-war stature as the Soviet Union's leading composer after the international success of his Seventh Symphony, the Fourth Symphony had to wait another 16 years to be heard. In 1948, following the so-called *Zhdanovshchina*, when the Soviet musical world was subjected to renewed attacks for 'formalism' and lack of social relevance or popular appeal, the composer Marian Koval, formerly of the RAPM (Russian Association of Proletarian Musicians) singled out the fugato from its first movement as an especially pernicious example of Shostakovich's 'formalist' crimes,¹³ and Tikhon Khrennikov cited the 1946 publication of Shostakovich's two-piano arrangement as evidence of lack of zeal in the ranks of the Composers' Union.¹⁴

Of all the published reminiscences concerning the cancellation of the première, by far the most contentious is found in Solomon Volkov's *Testimony*, where Volkov elaborates on what was by then a familiar story: Shostakovich's withdrawal of the symphony after judging Stiedry's rehearsals to have been disastrous. *Testimony* claims that Stiedry deliberately made a hash of rehearsals in order to distance himself from Shostakovich in the aftermath of his mauling in the infamous editorials 'Sumbur vmesto muziki' [Muddle instead of music] and 'Baletnaya fal'sh' [Balletic falsity] in *Pravda* earlier that year: 'Stidri didn't know or understand the score, and he expressed no desire to grapple with it. He said so straight out. And why be shy? The composer was an exposed formalist, so why bother digging around in his score?'¹⁵ As will be discussed in the following

¹¹ The date of Myaskovsky's diary entry is 11 December 1936. See O.P. Lamm, *Stranitsi tvorcheskoy biographii Myaskovskogo* [Pages from Myaskovsky's creative diary], Moscow: Sovetskiy Kompozitor, 1989, 255–6.

¹² Fay, *Shostakovich*, 96–7.

¹³ For Koval's comments on the Fourth Symphony, see Koval, 'Tvorcheskiy put' D Shostakovicha' [The creative path of D. Shostakovich] (part 2), *Sovetskaya muzika*, 1948/3, 31–43, especially 37–42. For an English translation of part of Koval's attack on the symphony, see Nicolas Slonimsky, *Lexicon of Musical Invective: Critical Assaults on Composers since Beethoven's Time*, New York: Coleman-Moss Company Inc., 1953, 177.

¹⁴ It was published in a short print-run of 300 copies. See Fay, *Shostakovich*, 307, n. 45. It is now vol. 19 of the new collected works, ed. Manashir Yakubov, Moscow: DSCH, 2000. For Khrennikov's remarks, see Khrennikov, 'Za tvorchestvo, dostoynoe sovetского naroda' [For a creativity worthy of the Soviet people], *Sovetskaya muzika*, 1948/1, 54–62, especially 61.

¹⁵ Solomon Volkov, *Testimony: The Memoirs of Dimitri Shostakovich as Related to and Edited by Solomon Volkov*, London: Faber, 1981, 90–91. That this book cannot be viewed as Shostakovich's authentic memoirs is now beyond doubt; for the most detailed account of its plagiarized pages and other facts relating to its dishonest presentation, see Laurel Fay, 'Volkov's *Testimony* Reconsidered' and 'A Side-by-Side Comparison of Texts from

chapter, this basic version of events – bar the unpleasant inference of deliberate sabotage – has been repeated frequently in Soviet memoirs, though Glikman's more recent account paints a very different picture, as will be seen.¹⁶

Shostakovich himself later encouraged speculation that he had withdrawn the symphony owing to problems with the work itself rather than to anything to do with Stiedry's rehearsals or his delicate political situation. In a blandly diffident autobiographical article for *Sovetskaya muzika* in 1956 Shostakovich dismissed the symphony, claiming that it was 'formally imperfect and overly drawn out and suffers, I would say, from "mania grandiosa"'.¹⁷ That these words were not sincere could be inferred from Shostakovich's letter to Glikman written only two years after this article was published, where Shostakovich – bored in hospital – tells Glikman that he has been thinking about *Lady Macbeth* and the Fourth Symphony: 'I should so like to hear both of these works performed. I cannot say that I would expect much joy from the opera. ... But the Fourth could perhaps be done. Actually, I don't have very high hopes of either work being performed, but I indulge myself by imagining them in my inner ear.'¹⁸ What is more, it is plain that in the years immediately following the symphony's withdrawal, Shostakovich regarded it as one of his most important works. In a forceful letter to his friend Boleslav Yavorsky dated June 1938, he all but demanded that he visit in order to hear a private performance of the Fourth Symphony, together with a handful of other (then) unpublished and unperformed works: the Five Fragments for Orchestra (1935) and the Four Romances on texts by Pushkin (1936); his Six

Testimony with their Original Sources, in Malcolm Hamrick Brown, ed., *A Shostakovich Casebook*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004, 22–79. The first *Pravda* editorial, 'Sumbur vmesto muziki', was published in *Pravda* on 28 January 1936; the second, 'Baletnaya fal'sh', on 6 February. Both editorials were reprinted in *Sovetskaya muzika*, 1936/2, 4–8. For a translation, see Leo Treitler et al., eds, *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History*, New York: Norton, 1997, 1397–99. They were subsequently discussed at length in the following issue: see *Sovetskaya muzika*, 1936/3, 16–60 for transcripts of the discussions in the Moscow Composers' Union. For full but contrasting discussions of their likely authorship, see Leonid Maksimenkov, *Sumbur vmesto muziki: Stalinskaya kul'turnaya revoliutsiya 1936–1938* [Muddle instead of music: the Stalinist cultural revolution 1936–1938], Moscow: Yuridicheskaya Kniga, 1997, and Solomon Volkov, *Shostakovich and Stalin*, London: Little, Brown, 2004, 132–42. Joseph Darby's suggestion that Stiedry may have been forced to conduct the Fourth Symphony – a work expected to be controversial – as an excuse to fire him does not seem plausible. Although Sof'ya Khentova claims that the Philharmonic directorate were planning to fire Stiedry (see Joseph E. Darby, 'Dmitri Shostakovich's Second, Third and Fourth Symphonies: Problems of Context, Analysis and Interpretation', PhD diss., City University of New York, 1999, 341), they would hardly have expected to escape unscathed from such a scandal.

¹⁶ Glikman, *Story of a Friendship*, xxii–xxiii.

¹⁷ Shostakovich, 'Dumi o proydennom puti' [Thoughts about paths I have taken], *Sovetskaya muzika*, 1956/9, 14.

¹⁸ Glikman, *Story of a Friendship*, 78–9. The letter is dated 19 September 1958.

Japanese Romances were added in a postscript. Shostakovich's wholehearted recommendation of these works could hardly be more categorical: 'to get the full picture [of my creative work] I regard it as essential that you hear them'. The only note of caution he offers is that Yavorsky's visit would not be a short one, as the symphony would last longer than one-and-a-half hours.¹⁹ When Shostakovich looked over the score prior to the symphony's première in 1961, he found he did not want to change a single note. Kondrashin describes how Shostakovich asked him for his own copy of the score to check over, saying that he had forgotten much of it: 'The next day he rang me. "Kirill Petrovich, I'd be very happy for you to perform the symphony. No changes need to be made. The piece is very dear to me as it is."' ²⁰

Another part of the mythology surrounding the Fourth Symphony concerns the nature of the work itself. Shostakovich had begun work on it at a high point in his career; he completed it two months after the second *Pravda* attack in February 1936 – one of the lowest points in his life. Given that the Fourth Symphony was not destined to be Shostakovich's 'rehabilitation' piece as the Fifth Symphony was, the differences between them invite speculation. Was the Fifth really so obviously 'acceptable' and the Fourth 'unacceptable'? Looking back at Soviet calls for a new type of 'socialist realist' symphonism during the mid- to late 1930s, it could be argued that in several respects the Fourth Symphony was a shining example of precisely the kind of new Soviet symphonism that composers and musicologists might have welcomed.²¹ As will be seen, the dictates of socialist realism as applied to music in particular were vague and open to broad interpretation. Moreover, to assume that a particular style was in or out of favour at any given time (apart from, perhaps, the years immediately following the *Zhdanovshchina* of 1948) is tempting but dangerous; those who have asserted the clear 'unsuitability' of the Fourth Symphony for its time and place overestimate the extent to which musical language, structure and dramaturgy was preordained. The key question here is the notion of State imposition; Slavist scholars now widely agree that the old Western view that artists were 'forced' to create in a particular style after the 1932 Resolution relies on an over-simplified paradigm of imposition and resistance (for discussion of the Resolution, see Chapter One, p.

¹⁹ See Shostakovich's letter to Yavorsky dated 26 June 1938 in Bobikina, *Dmitriy Shostakovich*, 124–5. Shostakovich's timing of the symphony is curious; in all recordings I have been able to consult – including Rostropovich's live 1998 performance (Andante SC-AN-4090, 2004), which frequently drops below the indicated tempi – the symphony lasts just over an hour.

²⁰ See Razhnikov, *Kirill Kondrashin rasskazyvaet*, 183 and Elizabeth Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered*, London: Faber, 1994, 348.

²¹ I have already made this point elsewhere: see Pauline Fairclough, 'Mahler Reconstructed: Sollertinsky and the Soviet Symphony', *The Musical Quarterly*, 85/2, 2001, 367–90 and 'The "Perestroika" of Soviet Symphonism: Shostakovich in 1935', *Music and Letters*, 83/2, 2002, 259–73.

11–12).²² If anyone created a style that later came to be regarded as socialist realist, it was surely the artists themselves, as Katerina Clark has argued throughout her study of the socialist realist novel.²³ The reality is that the development of the socialist realist symphony – insofar as such a thing can be said to exist at all – was guided by composers rather than critics or politicians.²⁴ Even Shostakovich's own massively successful Fifth Symphony of 1937 hardly conformed to a supposed socialist realist stereotype, with jolly popular themes and a happy ending.²⁵ Nor

²² Though such views have circulated widely in historical and literary Slavic studies since the 1980s, musicology has been slow to catch up; Boris Schwarz's magisterial survey *Music and Musical Life in Soviet Russia 1917–1981* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983) has remained the chief source for Soviet music studies, and his contention that the 1932 Resolution saw a change from 'multiformity to conformity' has only begun to be challenged. Similar claims relating to the death of the Soviet avant-garde have been vigorously contested by literary and visual art scholarship; see for example Thomas Lahusen and Evgeny Dobrenko, *Socialist Realism without Shores*, Durham, North Carolina, and London: Duke University Press, 1997. For a recent post-revisionist historical view of Soviet society and culture influenced by Michel Foucault's work on power relations between State and society, see Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilisation*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

²³ Katerina Clark, *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

²⁴ The label 'socialist realist' is a notoriously slippery one, and nearly impossible to apply to music. The widely held assumption that socialist realism is equatable with bland gaiety is not without foundation but it should be remembered that 'optimism' in art was not a stated aim in the early socialist realist period, and certainly not in the war years. It is simply not the case that, in order to be successful, all art had to be blandly optimistic; a classic Soviet novel such as Mikhail Sholokhov's *Tikhii Don* [Quiet Don] has a bleak ending, and another staple of officially approved literary diet, Gorky's *Mat'* [The mother], is anything but cheerful. For a good account of the censorship Sholokhov's novel underwent, however, see Herman Ermolaev, *Censorship in Soviet Literature 1917–1991*, Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1997. Still, Ivan Dzerzhinsky's opera *Tikhii Don* ends with a safe option: a quiet, minor-key marching chorus. Incidentally, the ending of this opera bears a striking resemblance to that of Shostakovich's contemporaneous, though hardly State-approved, *Lady Macbeth*; Shostakovich is, moreover, the dedicatee of Dzerzhinsky's opera. In particular, Shostakovich's stunning closing *coup de théâtre* – a final F minor chord marked *ppp–ffff* – is blatantly copied by Dzerzhinsky. Khrennikov's much later (1962) opera of Gorky's novel *Mat'* ends far more artificially with a bombastic E₃ major chorus. While it would be misguided to expect all operas and symphonies of the 1930s to end with rousing major-key endings, opting for a cheery tone was certainly a relatively safe option, and one that was undeniably over-exploited. This, together with Stalin's famous slogan of 1935 'Life has become better; life has become more joyful', formed the background against which much of the art we perceive as typically socialist realist was created.

²⁵ The Sixth Symphony, however, has one of the most uncomplicated happy endings in all of Shostakovich's output. Despite critical voices complaining about the gulf between the long, lamenting opening movement and the uproarious scherzo finale, it was extremely well

was the call for socialist realism *per se* as loudly insistent within the Composers' Union as it was in the Writers' Union. In fact, considering Shostakovich's stature in the Soviet Union after the Fifth Symphony, it would seem that musical quality – however randomly measured – was regarded as important over and above supposed 'ideological' content even during the Stalin years. As the Fifth Symphony (1937) was written at an even more critical point in Soviet history than the Fourth – just as Stalin's purges were extending their reach into the general populace – the oft-cited claim that the Fourth was obviously 'unsuitable', while the Fifth, an unremittingly dark, tragic work which turns incongruously (and, to several Soviet critics present at the première, unconvincingly) to a major-key peroration at the end, was 'suitable', is problematic to say the least.²⁶ Moreover, as reports from the Composers' Union 1935 conference 'Discussion about Soviet Symphonism' reveal, the notion that symphonies had to be socialist realist at all – whatever that might mean in practice – was far from self-evident.

One of the aims of this study will be to demonstrate that, at the time when Shostakovich composed the Fourth Symphony (he was composing the finale when the *Pravda* articles appeared, but how far into it he had got is not known²⁷), he had good cause to believe that it actually fulfilled – rather than defied – a significant number of his colleagues' suggestions as to what a Soviet symphony in the age of socialist realism should be. There is no reason to suggest that he was acting in defiance of Party or Composers' Union guidelines: in the first place, there had been no guidelines agreed or offered, and in the second place, there is considerable evidence to suggest that there was actually substantial aesthetic and ideological justification for the symphony's blend of heightened expressivity, theatricality and Mahlerian musical 'democracy'.

The notion of 'democratic' symphonism was suggested by Shostakovich's

received at its première. See Fay, *Shostakovich*, 115. For the reaction of perceptive Soviet critics to the celebrated 'forced rejoicing' of the Fifth's coda, see Richard Taruskin, 'Shostakovich and the Inhuman', in Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997, 524–8.

²⁶ For Georgiy Khubov's detailed review of the Fifth Symphony, see *Sovetskaya muzika*, 1938/1, 14–28.

²⁷ In a letter to Shebalin dated 17 April 1936, Shostakovich reported that 'it seems to me that I will soon have finished my symphony. I'm now orchestrating the finale.' Quoted in Mikheyeva, *Zhizn' Dmitriya Shostakovicha*, 194. As noted in n. 4 above, Shostakovich had written on 27 April to the cellist Kubatskiy with the news that he had just finished the orchestration. The official date for the symphony's completion, however, is 20 May 1936. A seven-bar fragment of the finale draft is dated 16 II 1936 – only ten days after the second *Pravda* attack – and presented in the new collected works score (p. 318, 15a). Despite Yakubov's view that this is the earliest of all the finale drafts, the fragment – which bears no relation to anything in the published score – is plainly not meant to be the finale's opening, and if anything seems to relate more to the later part of the finale, between [230] and [233]. See Chapter Five, pp. 225–6 for a fuller discussion.

friend Ivan Sollertinsky, whose work on Mahler in 1932 provided Shostakovich with precisely the kind of aesthetic and ideological grounding he needed if he was ever called upon to explain (to cite just one potential problem) the proliferation of light music idioms in his Fourth Symphony.²⁸ Nor was Sollertinsky acting alone in trying to formulate a broad-based, liberal aesthetics of art. In terms both of contemporary political and cultural developments, the period 1932–36 has been described as a *perestroyka* in Soviet history: a time when moderate influences seemed to wrench control back from the excesses of the late 1920s and early 1930s.²⁹ This *perestroyka* can be seen, as I will argue, in both political events and literary and musical critical discourse. By analysing the twin processes of political and cultural *perestroyka* – as demonstrated in the appearance of political liberalization, the 1934 Writers' Congress and the 1935 Composers' Union symphonism conference – and placing them alongside Sollertinsky's work on Mahler and symphonism, it can be shown that Shostakovich had good reason to believe that his contemporaries would be sympathetic to the kind of re-creation of symphonism he had in mind. Though it balanced precariously on the cusp of a dramatic change in Soviet cultural history (a change which we of course perceive only in hindsight), Shostakovich's Fourth Symphony can be viewed not as a rebellious work, but as a brilliant example of what the new, 'socially relevant' – if not actually socialist realist – Soviet symphonism could be.

One other crucial aspect of the Fourth Symphony's context is that of contemporary Soviet symphonism, which has received almost no attention in Western musicology.³⁰ As will be seen, the Fourth Symphony was radically different from its contemporaries in its innovative approach both to formal principles and to musical materials. By using fixed musical types, such as march, waltz and arioso, Shostakovich tapped into a powerful vein of popular culture that was vastly different from the stilted, conventional language used by his contemporaries. In addition, his attitude to 'normal' Soviet symphonic dramaturgy – in particular to the expectations associated with the finale and coda – looks strikingly critical alongside mainstream Soviet symphonic repertoire. In conceiving the symphony as a new way forward for the symphonic genre in Soviet Russia – one that was both technically assured and comprehensible to a wide audience – Shostakovich arguably intended it not only to mark the start of his vocation as a symphonist, but also to serve as a model for other composers. As will be seen, the Soviet Union's front-rank symphonists were failing to rise to the challenge of creating symphonies with 'content' without resorting to texts, subtitles, programmes or crude musical imagery. Shostakovich's Fourth

²⁸ Ivan I. Sollertinskiy, *Gustav Maler*, Leningrad: Muzgiz, 1932.

²⁹ See principally Taruskin, 'Shostakovich and the Inhuman', 511–16, and Fairclough, 'The "Perestroyka" of Soviet Symphonism'.

³⁰ A rare exception is David Fanning's essay 'The Soviet Symphony', in Robert Layton, ed., *A Companion to the Symphony*, London: Simon and Schuster, 1993, 292–326.

Symphony can be seen as a monumental attempt to rise to that challenge; in that context, its formal eccentricity and theatrical language can be seen as making symphonic language contemporary and therefore ‘relevant’, communicating with Soviet audiences in a clear yet sophisticated musical language.

Shostakovich needed models for the forging of his new symphonic language, and chief among these was Mahler.³¹ But, as will be seen, Shostakovich’s adoption of a Mahlerian tone was not merely a matter of stylistic borrowing, but was rooted in the aesthetic principles of ‘democratic’ symphonism as espoused by Sollertinsky. In challenging the norms of Soviet symphonic discourse, and by widening the scope of musical materials to include popular, light idioms, Shostakovich created a symphonic style that was not only ‘democratic’ but also profoundly critical. In many places, his employment of light music idioms is overtly nostalgic, and in other places grotesque. They are very rarely presented directly, tending to be ‘estranged’ by quirks of harmony or context. Waltzes in particular often sound incongruous, which has the effect of highlighting their quality of nostalgic, other-worldly ambivalence; polkas can be crude and disturbingly banal; triumphal themes are grotesquely over-stated; and so on.

Shostakovich’s radical engagement with Soviet symphonic practice – namely the Conservatoire tradition of gently moulding older musical forms to accommodate a conventional, vaguely nationalistic style – also provoked a violent relationship between ‘form’ and ‘content’. The discussion of these two indivisible dimensions of artistic creation in terms of their separate qualities was a typically Soviet preoccupation: form alone could not signify meaning, and art that could not be interpreted easily was therefore viewed as being socially irrelevant. Music, as an abstract art form, was peculiarly vulnerable to the charge of ‘formalism’,³² and there was clear dissatisfaction among composers with regard to their failure to bind together the demands of form (implying technical mastery) and content (implying that ‘meaning’ of some sort could be discerned). Although the need to find concrete meaning in Shostakovich’s music has been, if anything, more of an obsession among Western journalists than among Soviet critics and musicologists, composers did take the issue of musical meaning seriously, and, as will be seen, were increasingly dissatisfied with short-cuts to ‘content’ such as the song-symphony or use of programmes and subtitles. Shostakovich’s strategy in the

³¹ Shostakovich’s assistant I.B. Finkel’shtein recalled that, while he was composing the Fourth Symphony, the score of Mahler’s Seventh Symphony invariably stood on Shostakovich’s piano, and that he talked a lot about it. See Mikheyeva, *Zhizn’ Dmitriya Shostakovicha*, 198. Fay notes that a page of extracts from Mahler’s Third Symphony showing ‘rare cases in orchestration’ copied by Shostakovich is thought to date from this period. See Fay, *Shostakovich*, 306.

³² ‘Formalism’ was a general pejorative term in Soviet art criticism in the 1930s and 1940s. It was allied to the concept of ‘art for art’s sake’ as opposed to art that displayed obvious engagement with social issues. Though the term had its origins in the Russian literary Formalist movement, it was widely used as a general term of abuse.

Fourth Symphony was multi-faceted: he would pit form against content in a dramatic struggle for dominance in the first movement, while drawing on more direct means of communication such as allusion and paraphrase in the second and third movements. ‘Intrinsic’ elements in the musical fabric – tonality, thematic transformation, instrumentation – thus form as crucial a part of the symphony’s dramatic structure as do the more obvious ‘extrinsic’ elements. The manner in which all these techniques interact in the Fourth Symphony – and how to discuss them in analysis – is the central concern of this study.

Problems of Reception and Analysis

There can be few composers whose intentions have been the subject of so much supposition as Shostakovich. However, Shostakovich himself seems to have maintained a flexible attitude to the notion of content and intention. Most of his major works have no programme or subtitle, and he avoided any attempt to justify them verbally, leaving supporters and detractors alike to wrangle over their supposed meaning. The work which most famously departs from this principle is the ‘autobiographical’ Eighth Quartet, a work that takes as its main theme Shostakovich’s musical monogram DSCH and contains numerous allusions to earlier works (notably the Second Piano Trio and *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District*), a revolutionary song, Beethoven and Wagner. According to the composer himself, in a letter to his friend and confidant Isaak Glikman, he dedicated the quartet to his own memory, and confessed (in characteristically ironic terms) that he wept while composing it:

If some day I die, it’s hardly likely that someone will write a work in memory of me, so I had better write one myself. The title page could carry the dedication: To the memory of the composer of this quartet’. ... It is a pseudo-tragic quartet, so much so that while I was composing it I shed the same amount of tears as I would have to pee after drinking half-a-dozen beers.³³

Overlying this ‘hidden’ meaning was the published dedication ‘To the Victims of Fascism and War’ following the composer’s visit to post-war Dresden. To commentators who recognize the prevalence of the DSCH motif throughout the quartet, this ‘official’ dedication looks temptingly artificial. However, it is dangerous to argue, as Lawrence Kramer has done, that the published dedication was merely a ‘sham’ and an obvious one at that. Kramer takes at face value Shostakovich’s ironic reference to the quartet’s ‘pseudo-tragedy’ to make the following assertion: ‘The work ... is a kind of meditation on shamming,

³³ Glikman, *Story of a Friendship*, 91. For the original Russian text, see Isaak Glikman, ed., *Pis'ma k drugu: Dmitriy Shostakovich–Isaaku Glikmanu* [Letters to a friend: Dmitriy Shostakovich to Isaak Glikman], Moscow: DSCH and St Petersburg: Kompozitor, 1993, 137.

understood as a means of personal and aesthetic survival in a totalitarian state. ... In form and expression, the quartet intimates a tragedy, which Shostakovich – this time verifiably – would also identify as a sham, though an affecting one.³⁴

In conclusion, Kramer interprets the ‘overabundance of self-citation and allusion’ as signs of the anxiety felt by an oppressed individual, and views the quartet’s tight thematic structure as indicative of its ultimate emptiness: ‘Denied an ordinary life ... the self secures its boundaries against colonization by an oppressive state only by collapsing into a wild marionette-theater of former identities and alter egos.’³⁵ I do not wish to argue in detail against Kramer’s analysis here. But it is worth observing that his interpretation takes as its cue a determinedly literal reading of a letter written to a close friend, viewing Shostakovich’s tone of ironic detachment (surely a mixture of his desire to confide and his embarrassment at the private nature of what he was confiding) as evidence of pretence on both levels: the ‘hidden’ dedication being as empty as the published one. Even to a leading figure in analytical hermeneutics, the trail of ‘evidence’ concerning intention and content in Shostakovich’s music proves dangerously seductive. The assumption that nothing Shostakovich said can be taken seriously is as flawed as the (now thoroughly rejected) view that every statement was reliable. And while Kramer’s conclusion has the appeal of analytical and hermeneutic congruence, its dependence on his own personal interpretation of documentary evidence means that his premises are unreliable. Without taking Shostakovich’s irony at face value, Kramer’s argument that the quartet’s tragedy lies not in its musical substance but in its *lack* of substance – in its material frailty and hollow self-referentiality – would collapse like the house of cards he supposes the Eighth Quartet to be.

The caution with which all documentary evidence pertaining to intention should be treated does not preclude the general desirability of an interaction between hermeneutic criticism and analysis in a study of Shostakovich’s music.³⁶ But analyses which actually rely on such evidence for their basic premises cannot avoid the traps laid by Soviet artists and critics well versed in the language of doublespeak, to say nothing of the unreliability of that evidence, sometimes discovered to be false years after being widely accepted as fact. However, the unreliability of Soviet sources is not the real issue here. As Richard Taruskin has argued, the multitude of claims as to the ‘real’ meaning of Shostakovich’s music all have one thing in common: they seek to ‘possess’ musical meaning; to defend, sometimes with a moving sense of moral purpose, personal experiences of music

³⁴ Lawrence Kramer, *Musical Meaning: Toward a Critical History*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, 232–3.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 240.

³⁶ Such an interaction is persuasively demonstrated in Kramer, ‘Haydn’s Chaos, Schenker’s Order; or, Hermeneutics and Musical Analysis: Can they Mix?’, *19th-Century Music*, 16/1, 1992, 3–17.

which for some of Shostakovich's compatriots meant more than Western listeners can comprehend. That desire to lay claim to a particular interpretation is, as Taruskin observes, a peculiarly Soviet habit, born of decades of looking for covert meaning as vigorously as others sought to establish overt meaning. But equally, Taruskin adds,

Whether viewed internally or externally, whether in terms of their content or in light of their context, Shostakovich's works are fraught with horrific subtexts that can never be ignored. That is why his music has always been, and will always be, the object of furious and manifold contention. We can never merely receive its messages; we are always implicated in their making, and therefore we can never be indifferent to them. It is never just Shostakovich. It is always Shostakovich and us.³⁷

That Shostakovich's music has been the target of sometimes startlingly aggressive programmatic interpretation by Western devotees is not surprising. The most widely cited of these has been Ian MacDonald's 1990 biography, which, though not a work of scholarship, has been so widely cited that some discussion of it is unavoidable.³⁸ Some of the many problems with MacDonald's readings will be briefly discussed in the following analytical chapters, though his general approach to discussing Shostakovich's music has by now been too widely discredited to bear repetition here.³⁹ Though his insistence that musicologists should be historically well informed is a wholly redundant statement of the obvious, his demand that discussions of, and responses to, Shostakovich's music be shaped *primarily* by knowledge of historical events is deeply problematic. It is a presumption that still requires addressing, particularly in the domain of music journalism, but occasionally in the concert hall too.⁴⁰ Such knowledge cannot be a prime focus for an analyst; nor does it usually dominate the simple act of listening. In short, although knowledge of historical context does take on a sense of moral imperative for any scholar of Soviet culture, and though it undoubtedly enriches and informs discussion of Shostakovich's music, that knowledge is not a prime factor in our *musical* experience; it becomes so only when we allow our imagination to roam beyond the music to thoughts about Shostakovich himself: to the suffering of the

³⁷ Taruskin, 'Shostakovich and the Inhuman', 476–7.

³⁸ Ian MacDonald, *The New Shostakovich*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

³⁹ For a damning critique of MacDonald, see Taruskin, 'Shostakovich and the Inhuman', 480–89. For a Russian view (also critical), see Levon Hakobian, *Music of the Soviet Age, 1917–1987*, Stockholm: Melos, 1998, 59–62.

⁴⁰ A not untypical example of forcing political messages onto an audience before performing Shostakovich's music occurred at a BBC Philharmonic concert in Manchester on 27 October 2001. The offending conductor, Andrew Litton, went so far as to urge the audience to bear in mind those who died in the 11 September hijacks as well as those who died in Red Square in 1905. However this doubtless well-intentioned sentiment may strike us, I would challenge anyone to listen to the Eleventh Symphony with such thoughts exclusively in their minds.

Russian people and to the terrible climate of fear in which he worked. Those thoughts may then form part of our aesthetic experience at any given moment in a performance, but they are 'extrinsic' to the musical experience itself: added on, a product of our imagination. We may allow for the validity of such thoughts, but we cannot demand them of the listener, nor claim that they should shape our 'intrinsic' experience of the music.

But what of Taruskin's assertion that 'internally or externally ... Shostakovich's works are fraught with horrific subtexts that can never be ignored'? Can we speak of 'intrinsic' subtexts: indications within the score itself that the surface of the music is not all it seems to be? As my analysis of the Fourth Symphony will illustrate, 'intrinsic' subtexts can be found up to a point, though these are nearly always associated with, or dependent on, allusions to other works, often texted or programmatic. The first movement of the Fourth Symphony, for example, suggests an 'intrinsic' subtext (or 'narrative') through a highly dramatized subversion of a 'normal' sonata form dramaturgy that is declared far more self-consciously than is usual for contemporary Soviet symphonies. In terms of deeper musical processes, there is an 'intrinsic' level of association between keys (or pitch centres), themes and intonations, though in this respect too, any 'subtext' or 'content' is dependent on Shostakovich's use of musical forms and archetypes such as marches, dances, scherzi and so on, which can then be presented in exaggerated or distorted ways.

If, as I believe was the case, Shostakovich regarded the symphonist's role as vocational, then it seems certain that, for him, a vital part of that vocation was to communicate – sometimes very directly, sometimes in a coded way – meaning of some sort to Soviet audiences. The form that Shostakovich's 'messages' took in the Fourth Symphony is extremely varied, ranging from a theatrical treatment of sonata form in the first movement to inter-textual relationships in the second and third movements. These relate not only to extensive references to Mahler's 'Resurrection' Symphony (suggesting, as Richard Longman has plausibly suggested, an 'anti-Resurrection' symphony⁴¹), but also to texted or subtitled works by Stravinsky and Chaikovsky, both in a highly suggestive manner.

Shostakovich's 'new way' as a symphonist was implicitly connected with his search for a new, contemporary symphonic language both modern and accessible, combining the most stringent formal techniques with the simplest intonations of song and dance, all constructed in a manner which pressed both musical form and expressive content to their maximum potential. My aim is to present an analysis which avoids drawing direct (and potentially unreliable) associations between historical events and music, but which is nevertheless shaped and informed by awareness of historical context, using Adorno's work on Mahler, some aspects of Russian literary criticism and contemporary Soviet cultural practice (principally

⁴¹ Longman, *Expression and Structure: Processes of Integration in the Large-Scale Instrumental Music of Dmitri Shostakovich*, London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1989, 23.

symphonic music and theatre) as a theoretical basis for discussing the music's structure, language and inter-textual or 'extroversive' references.

Problems of Formal Analysis

One of the oldest Western criticisms of the Fourth Symphony has been the accusation that it lacks a coherent structure. Boris Schwarz described it as a 'titanic failure', in which Shostakovich 'deliberately rejects form in favour of a free-flowing stream of music', and argued that the first movement 'resists all attempts at formal analysis',⁴² a view which was wholly or partially shared by British critics such as Tim Souster, Robert Dearling and Hugh Ottaway.⁴³ Dearling, echoing Schwarz, claims that the symphony benefits no more from analysis than would a ballet score,⁴⁴ while Souster more perceptively sees a basic sonata form outline in the first movement but judges Shostakovich's dramatization of it to have been a failure owing to its overabundance of 'eccentricity'. Comparing the Fourth Symphony unfavourably with the Fifth, Souster argues that the more balanced proportions and structure of the Fifth reflect 'the expression of socialistic aims with which Shostakovich was clearly deeply concerned, such as "the stabilisation of a personality"'.⁴⁵ Criticizing the Fourth Symphony for being eccentric now, from our vantage point of revisionist and post-revisionist theorising, seems comparable to rating Mahler's symphonies less highly than Brahms's; Shostakovich's eccentricity – suggestive of a heightened level of 'extrinsic' meaning – has become something to value rather than to deplore.

Later Western analysts such as Edmund Stetina, Klaus Körner, Karen Kopp, Michael Koball, Eric Roseberry and Longman have attempted to discuss the symphony from a less entrenched viewpoint, accepting its eccentricities as an essential part of its symphonic dramaturgy rather than as flaws.⁴⁶ Although of these

⁴² Schwarz, *Music and Musical Life*, 170–71.

⁴³ Tim Souster, 'Shostakovich at the Crossroads', *Tempo*, 78, 1966, 2–9; Hugh Ottaway, 'Looking Again at Shostakovich 4', *Tempo*, 115, 1975, 14–24; Robert Dearling, 'The First Twelve Symphonies: Portrait of the Artist as Citizen-Composer', in Christopher Norris, ed., *Shostakovich: The Man and his Music*, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1982, 47–80.

⁴⁴ Dearling, 'The First Twelve Symphonies', 56.

⁴⁵ Souster, 'Shostakovich', 5.

⁴⁶ Edmund Stetina, *Die Vierte Symphonie von Dmitrij Šostakovič: Ein zurückbehaltenes Bekenntnis*, Aachen, Shaker-Verlag, 1997; Klaus Körner, 'Schostakowitschs Vierte Sinfonie', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 31/2–3, 1974, 116–36, 214–36; Karen Kopp, *Form und Gehalt der Symphonien des Dmitrij Schostakowitsch*, Bonn: Verlag für Systematische Musikwissenschaft, 1990, 153–84; Koball, *Pathos und Grotteske*, 130–20; Eric Roseberry, *Ideology, Style, Content and Thematic Process in the Symphonies, Cello Concertos and String Quartets of Dmitri Shostakovich*, New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1989, 135–45 and 392–424; Longman, *Expression and Structure*, 4–25.

analyses only those of Roseberry and Koball seriously attempt to address hermeneutic issues, all accept the basic sonata form outline of the first movement without criticizing it for deviating from an expected path. It could be argued that, in his desire to discuss the Fourth Symphony purely from a formal point of view, Körner's analysis avoids interpretative discussion a little too rigorously, though his concern to rehabilitate the symphony's formal credentials after years of Western non-comprehension was a bold step.⁴⁷ The analyses by Stetina, Roseberry, Longman and Koball, however, indicate the start of a tentative convergence between the descriptive accounts of sympathetic Soviet critics such as Viktor Bobrovsky and Marina Sabinina⁴⁸ and the analytical preoccupations of Western analysts who have focused chiefly on tonal and motivic coherence. Soviet musicologists and critics have felt noticeably more at ease with the theatrical style of symphonic dramaturgy in the Fourth Symphony than their Western counterparts, but have tended to downplay structural discussion, while Western analysts have tended to prioritize structure at the expense of descriptive critical discussion. Indeed, from the very first Soviet review of the symphony in 1961, it is clear that the apparent lack of a clear structure in the finale, at least, gave not the slightest cause for concern; rather, the reviewer discusses its theatricality and vivid characterization with colourful enthusiasm:

Often some characters of the drama take the stage from others at the very moment when one does not expect this. The noble hero gives way to the ironic moraliser, the guffawing crowd drives away the melancholic dreamer, the funeral procession encounters carnival dancing. This is all mingled into a unified dramatic flow and leads to the *dénouement*, where behind the theatrical masks are revealed living people with their experiences and feelings, their fears and their hopes.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Körner's main approach to his discussion is to focus on motivic connections between the movements, not all of which are convincing. He says nothing about tonality, and offers very little in the way of structural analysis either. Kopp's discussion of the Fourth Symphony follows Körner's in its broad outline, but is essentially more of a description of the music than an analysis. She almost completely avoids interpretative discussion except in a very superficial sense, and is far less inclined to comment on issues such as thematic transformation than any of the other writers cited here. Körner, too, though acknowledging the potential for taking a more hermeneutic approach, chooses not to do so himself ('Schostakowitschs Vierte Sinfonie', 224).

⁴⁸ Viktor Bobrovskiy, 'O nekotórikh printsipakh temo- i formoobrazovaniya v simfonicheskoy i kamerno-instrumental'noy muzíke Shostakovicha' [On some principles of thematic and formal structure in the symphonic and chamber music of Shostakovich] and 'Posle pervogo ispolneniya Chetv'rtoy' [After the first performance of the Fourth], in Ye.R. Skurko and Ye.I. Chigareva, *V.P. Bobrovskiy: stat'i, issledovaniya* [V.P. Bobrovskiy: articles and works], Moscow: Sovetskiy Kompozitor, 1990, 159–205, 262–70; and Marina Sabinina, *Shostakovich-simfonist. Dramaturgiya, estetika, stil'* [Shostakovich-symphonist. Dramaturgy, aesthetics, style], Moscow: Muzika, 1976.

⁴⁹ Aleksey Nikolayev, 'Prem'era Chetv'rtoy' [The première of the Fourth], *Sovetskaya muzika*, 1962/3, 119.

Sabinina's analysis takes a similar, if vastly expanded view, as will be seen. Her awareness and acceptance of the symphony's theatricality produces an analysis very different from those even by later Western commentators. Bobrovsky, on the other hand, while fully accepting the finale's theatricality, is more concerned to demonstrate that it (like the symphony overall) is carefully structured on 'symmetrical' principles, though he does not go into any substantial analytical detail. My aim is to fuse Western and Soviet approaches to the analysis of Shostakovich's music, combining relatively close analysis of the score with acceptance of its unorthodox dramaturgy, thereby embedding Shostakovich's music in as broad a musicological context as possible.

Owing to Shostakovich's marginal status in Western academic circles until after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the study of his music is still regarded as a specialist branch of Western musicology, owing to a reluctance to take on board the weight of historical context (with all the restraints that places on analysts and commentators), combined with an uncomfortable awareness that Shostakovich's music has for a long time been regarded in the West as the province of the concert-goer rather than the serious scholar. The grounding of my own blend of 'extroversive' and 'introversive' discussion in both Russian and Western theory is an attempt both to demonstrate the possibility of hermeneutically engaged analysis (in the broadest sense) of Shostakovich's music and to give equal consideration to the values of both Western and Soviet/Russian scholarship. I also aim to demonstrate the sophistication of Shostakovich's innovative attempt to rejuvenate the Soviet symphonic tradition along Mahlerian lines. In essence, this means that Shostakovich – like Mahler – used contemporary musical idioms without cheapening his symphonic language or lowering his technical standards, entering into a critical dialogue with formal conventions in a way that enriched, rather than abandoned, symphonic form.

Methodology

The theoretical grounding for my analysis draws upon the ideas of such sociologically orientated figures as Theodor W. Adorno, Mikhail Bakhtin, the Russian Formalists and the theatre director Vsevolod Meyerhold. They all believed that art was, by its very nature, 'cultural practice', existing in dialogue with its own *milieu*; most believed that it was also open to a multitude of interpretations according to the infinite number of differences in the responses of each interpreter. Their theories provide an armoury of terms and concepts flexible and adaptable enough to enable the analyst to respond subjectively to musical events without allying that response to social factors. There are potential problems with such an approach, of course: Adorno's study of Mahler, for example, which

has continued to attract scholars nearly half a century after its publication,⁵⁰ is founded on the firm premise that the music reflects aspects of Austro-German capitalist society, to which Mahler (naturally) responded negatively. The sophistication of Adorno's prose does much to make palatable assertions that, expressed more directly, would sound uncomfortably like Sollertinsky, whose 1932 Mahler study was perceived by later Soviet critics as marred by 'vulgar sociology'.⁵¹ One of the greatest achievements of Adorno's study of Mahler is the skill and subtlety with which he balances his socio-political premises with penetrating musical observation and intuitive flashes of insight. This balancing-act produces a conceptual vocabulary that, it could be argued, simply cannot function when divorced from the (possibly less appealing) ideological apparatus underpinning it. The potency, for example, of such concepts as *Durchbruch*, *Erfüllung* and *Suspension* [breakthrough, fulfilment and suspension] might well be reduced when applied to musical language and dramaturgy in a sociologically 'neutral' analysis. This is where another balancing-act must come into play: that between using theory simply as material, divorced from its original ideological context, and using it in a way that imposes ideological meaning upon the music. My aim is to steer a path between these two extremes, using theoretical concepts (such as 'collapse' or 'fulfilment') in a manner that permits hermeneutic engagement without committing the music to any ideological programme.

The Fourth's Symphony's musical language poses some peculiar problems for the analyst looking for functional harmony and conventional voice-leading processes in the sense that tonal analysis (especially of the kind informed by Schenkerian precepts) has had to offer.⁵² By comparison with, for example, David Fanning's study of the Tenth Symphony, my analysis of the Fourth will show far less in the way of harmonic structure, though Shostakovich's diatonic-modal language is a key element in both works. Discussions of thematic relationships and transformation take the foreground here, with questions of harmonic process often playing a secondary role. I have nevertheless spent some time illustrating tonal and linear processes, for the simple reason that they are of intrinsic interest and demonstrate that, though Shostakovich's use of tonality is certainly not

⁵⁰ Theodor W. Adorno, *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992. Originally published as *Mahler: Eine musikalische Physiognomik*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1971.

⁵¹ See for example E. Bronfin, 'Sollertinskiy – muzikal'niy uchëniy' [Sollertinskiy – music scholar] in Lyudmila Mikheyeva, *Pamyati I.I. Sollertinskogo: vospomnaniya, materialy, issledovaniya* [In memory of I.I. Sollertinskiy: reminiscences, materials, works], Leningrad: Sovetskiy Kompozitor, 1974, 70.

⁵² I am thinking here of analyses of major 20th-century symphonies such as James Hepokoski, *Sibelius: Symphony No. 5*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, David Fanning, *Nielsen: Symphony No. 5*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, and Fanning, *The Breath of the Symphonist: Shostakovich's Tenth*, London: Royal Musical Association, 1988.