

The Georgian Opera from the 1920s to the 1950s:

*A 'Mega Weapon'
for the Soviet Union's Ideology*

GVANTSA GHVINJILIA

Music History Dept., Tbilisi State Conservatoire, Georgia

Email: gvantsa.ghvinjilia@tsc.edu.ge

ABSTRACT

The paper discusses Georgian opera from the 1920s to the 1950s. It combined the function of mass culture, aiming to control citizens' behavior and impact the masses in order to achieve socialist goals. The totalitarian regime strategically utilized the opera as a means of cultural expression to reinforce communist values. Soviet opera, including its Georgian variant, served as a tool for indoctrination, shaping public views in the desired way by the ruling party. The study aims to investigate the Georgian opera in the context of Soviet ideology. The research draws on interdisciplinary perspectives to explore the interplay between art and ideology. These goals imply studying the mechanism of the impact of ideology on art in general and determining the stylistic characteristics of Georgian opera. Analysis has been conducted in two phases: a) investigating the mechanism of the impact of Marxist-Leninist ideology on the society through art and the use of monumental genres such as the opera, large-scale sculptures and mosaic panels, for propaganda goals; b) a review of Georgian operas. Historical and comparative research methods are used in the article. In conclusion, it is emphasized that the opera perfectly corresponded to the goal of indoctrinating industrial workers, leaders, and the 'New Soviet man' in general. The criterion for evaluating Soviet opera, including the Georgian variant, was not its aesthetic value but its 'ideological correctness'. The method of socialist realism, upon which Georgian opera was based, served as a means of disguising ideological goals, thus bringing the opera beyond the traditional aesthetic contexts of art music.

Keywords: Georgian opera, Socialist Realism, totalitarian regime, Soviet ideology, censorship

The Georgian Soviet opera was influenced by a broader context, as cultural processes from the centers spread to the peripheries. According to musicologist Irina Kotkina, Soviet opera contributed to the creation of a transnational political space for the entire Soviet Union. In her view, Soviet opera had its roots in the nineteenth-century Russian Empire, and it thus served as an instrument for rebuilding the imperial identity on a new, Soviet foundation. She states:

In a general sense regional centers of classical opera that appeared on a large map of the Soviet Union in late 1930s could ideologically serve as supplementary binds that tied and equalized culturally diverse population of the Eurasian Empire stronger than direct political commands and reliably than constitutional laws. It created common Soviet identity that was the core aim of regime's cultural politics.¹

The ongoing developments in the Georgian operatic scene were largely shaped and controlled by the ideological guidelines established for the opera genre by the central

authorities in Moscow. In this context, the highly resonant criticism of Dmitri Shostakovich's opera *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk*² became a key factor in forming the ideal model for Soviet opera. Philip Ross Bullock, an expert on Russian literature and music, describes this case as a 'synecdochic assault on the entire artistic intelligentsia'.³

Soviet opera emerged as a highly ideologized genre, where both content and form were tightly controlled by the authorities. Under the censorship, composers were also tasked with promoting the ideals of socialism, portraying the supposed 'happiness' of citizens, and glorifying the achievements of workers, heroes of socialist labor, or even ordinary citizens. Composers also faced limitations in their activities and creative freedom. Any departure from the norm could be taken as a challenge to socialist ideals. Composers were confined to the tonal system and traditional structures. After Sovietization, the opera, like other art forms (portraits, statues, and mosaics) evolved into an instrument of propaganda. As a result, it not only conformed to the aesthetic standards of socialist realism, but also served as a cultural symbol of the state's ideological agenda. Since the opera was used for ideological indoctrination through music, researching this genre without defining the context of Soviet ideology is impossible. An interdisciplinary approach offers insights into the complex interplay between art, ideology, and societal transformation within Soviet culture. Adopting such a perspective makes it possible to find out how ideology influences art and to identify the opera's stylistic characteristics. The results of the ideologization of Soviet opera are evident in all aspects of the genre.

The study of Georgian Soviet opera began in the 1990s. Georgian musicologist Marina Kavtaradze⁴ has made significant contributions to this area of study in Georgia, while another Georgian musicologist Nana Sharikadze's research has a broader scope and provides more complex

² An unsigned article titled 'Sumbur vmesto muzyki' [Muddle Instead of Music] published in *Pravda* of 28 January 1936, sometimes attributed to Joseph Stalin but officially authored by David Zaslavsky.

³ Philip Ross Bullock, 'Staging Stalinism: The Search for Soviet Opera in the 1930s', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 18/1 (2006), 83.

⁴ Marina Kavtaradze, professor and head of the Music History Department at Tbilisi State Conservatoire (TSC). Summary of her research on the opera in: Marina Kavtaradze, 'Opera', *Musicological Studies*, Tbilisi, 1998, 4–44.

¹ Irina Kotkina, 'Soviet Empire and Operatic Realm: Stalinist Search for the Model Soviet Opera', *Revue des études slaves* LXXXIV, 3/4 (2013), 505, <https://doi.org/10.4000/res.1163>, accessed 20 Oct. 2024.

analyses.⁵ This research combines comparative and critical analysis methods with the examination of archival sources. It is based on operas produced between the 1920s and the 1950s, preserved exclusively in the library of Tbilisi Opera and Ballet State Theatre. About forty Georgian Soviet operas were written in that period. Most of them are preserved in the opera library in published or manuscript form. During my time working in the Public Relations Department of the Opera Theatre, I had the opportunity to research them, with free access to unique manuscripts and rare editions. Practically none of the operas from this period possesses significant artistic value and they are only of interest as historical productions reflecting the aesthetics of socialist realism. Therefore, we will not single out any individual work for a detailed discussion. Instead, some of the most popular Soviet Georgian operas from the 1920s to the 1950s, selected for data analysis, will be mentioned as illustration for specific issues concerning the ideologization of opera. Among them are the operas of Shalva Azmaiparashvili,⁶ Akaki Andriashvili,⁷ Aleksandre Bukia,⁸ Revaz Gabichvadze,⁹ Otar Tevdoradze,¹⁰ Grigol Kiladze,¹¹ Vano Muradeli,¹² and Zakaria Paliashvili¹³.

5 Nana Sharikadze, an associate professor at the Music History Department at TSC. She served as rector of TSC (2019–2023). Her main academic contributions to Georgian music have been collected in the book: Nana Sharikadze, *An Introduction to Georgian Art Music: Sense-Making through Music* (Cambridge, 2023).

6 Shalva Azmaiparashvili (1903–1957), composer of operas and symphonic works. He was the principal conductor of Tbilisi Opera and Ballet State Theatre, conductor of Radio Symphony Orchestra (1943–1953) and the Georgian State Symphony Orchestra (1954–1957).

7 Akaki Andriashvili (1904–1992), composer of operas and symphonic works.

8 Aleksandre Bukia (1906–1976), composer of operas, symphonies, and songs.

9 Revaz Gabichvadze (1913–1999), composer of operas, symphonies, and songs.

10 Otar Tevdoradze (1923–1983), composer of operas, cantatas, symphonies, and songs.

11 Grigol Kiladze (1902–1962), conductor and composer of operas, symphonic and ballet works. He also served as rector of Tbilisi Conservatory (1938–1940 and 1944–1951).

12 Vano Muradeli (1908–1970), composer of cantatas, mass songs, music for theater plays and films, symphonic works, a principal and artistic director of the Central Ensemble of the Soviet Navy (1942–1944), the secretary of the board of the Union of Composers of Russia (1960–1970), Secretary of the Board of the Union of Composers of the Soviet Union (1968–1970).

13 Zakaria Paliashvili, one of the founders of Georgian art music, rector of Tbilisi Conservatory (1918–1919 and 1923–1924). His

The Soviet Union, as a military-industrial complex, was not formed solely through traditional colonization of republics. It represented a multi-ethnic state unified under a single ideological umbrella. This ideology became a crucial tool for subjugating various countries and transforming their statehoods into Soviet republics within a classless and stateless entity. In reality, it was the same Russian Empire, merely renamed as the USSR. The USSR was based on a hybrid Marxist-Leninist ideology that had to be reinforced by the ruling party, security agencies, and the elite, the so-called *intelligentsia*. Due to centralized governance, the republics received directives from Moscow in all spheres, including music. As Maria Snegovaya states, 'From the Central Committee in Moscow down to the district and town committees in the localities, CPSU bureaucratic structures were the real ruling bodies of the Soviet state.'¹⁴

Georgian culture was harmed not only by ideology imposed against the nation's will, but also by disregard for national interests. Although the USSR formally supported national qualities, it did not allow ethnocentric cultures to flourish, leading to the transformation of national identities into Soviet ones. The tradition of centralized management was shaped by Russian colonialist state thinking. I agree with the policy experts Maria Snegovaya and Jade McGlynn that '[m]any of the myths and cornerstones, such as messianism and Russia's unique civilization, are an enduring feature of Russian strategic thought'.¹⁵

If we delve deeper into the matter, we encounter the phenomenon of paternalism, which harmed Georgian art. Paternalism refers to a policy where an authority makes decisions for individuals, limiting their autonomy and infringing on personal freedoms and rights, supposedly for their own good or protection. Assuming the role of an elder brother under the pretense of caring for the republics, Russia restricted their autonomy in many ways. In art, it imposed 'ready-made recipes'. After the repressions, when prominent figures were declared enemies of the state and either executed or exiled, an entire generation was left fatherless. When this period of

operas *Abesalom and Eteri* traditionally opens the Tbilisi Opera Theatre season, while *Daisi* closes it.

14 Maria Snegovaya, 'Why Russia's Democracy Never Began', *Journal of Democracy*, 34/3 (2023), 107, <https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/jod.2023.a900436>, accessed 11 Sept. 2024.

15 Maria Snegovaya and Jade McGlynn, 'Dissecting Putin's Regime Ideology', *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 40/5 (2024), 9, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1060586X.2024.2386838>, accessed 11 Sept. 2024.

fatherlessness ended, the search for a father figure became a dominant theme in Georgian culture, including opera, leading to the emergence of the New Soviet man as a 'Superman' cult, a transformed version of Leon Trotsky's 'New Soviet man' (*Homo Communisticus*). In art, this figure is embodied in the images of Stalin, other party leaders, and kolkhoz workers.

Totalitarianism fundamentally opposes freedom as a mental state and aims to control creative, revolutionary minds, which are crucial to art, thus leading to suppression of artistic expression in art. The USSR established a comprehensive ideological framework for artists to eliminate free thinking on all levels from micro to macro. This led to the restriction of new composition techniques in music since they were deemed unacceptable by the ideology. However, it is important to note that the Soviet understanding of freedom was fundamentally different from the Western concept of freedom. The 'happy life' of communists—which Soviet art, including operas, was meant to reflect—was viewed as a form of freedom. I agree with Boris Belge's observation concerning the Soviet concept of freedom, which emerged from egalitarianism—implying the individual's freedom only from inequality and injustice—and was later propagated within the Soviet Bloc¹⁶. Due to the restriction of creative freedom in art music, Georgian composers were constrained by the system of functional harmony in their musical language. As their literary basis, operas had to use only sources that reflected the Soviet ideal of a happy society. As a result of setting such formulaic plots, many operas ended up being largely similar to one another.

Ideologizing opera also meant that the West had to be demonized. The demonization of the Western world resulted in a broader anti-Western sentiment that became prevalent in art. The origin of this confrontation lies in Russia's self-perception as a reincarnation of the Byzantine Empire, which led it to assume the mission of protecting the world from the 'sinful West'. This was a task that the world neither requested nor was grateful for. Russia masked its expansionist ambitions under the guise of this mission. The first outcome of this confrontation was the establishment of a different political-economic system – Russian socialism. The second was indoctrination through art, including opera.

The result of isolation from the rest of the civilized world was that the USSR formed a compressed time-space in art, which ultimately led to stagnation. Soviet cultural policy imposed strict limitations on the composers' approach, demanding that Soviet music would stand in opposition to the West. As a result, modern composition techniques were stigmatized. In contrast, the tonal system, seen as a symbol of the Soviet hierarchical government (with its structure starting from the leader and descending through the lower ranks of the proletariat), became indispensable. This system is closely linked to the artistic thinking of Romanticism, which also served as a shield to insulate Soviet musicians from Western modernism and the avant-garde. Thus, a mental iron curtain separated the monochrome reality of the Soviet Union from the demonized West, while tonality, aptly termed 'tonal control' by Peter Schmelz, was the only system.¹⁷ The provincial character of Georgian opera, resulting partly from the avoidance of European literary sources, was not a result of exhausting the national creative powers but rather a deliberate distancing oneself from Western music.

While Nazism aestheticized politics, as evident from Hitler's military parades that resembled theatrical performances, the USSR, in contrast, politicized art. To achieve absolute power and propagate ideology, the Bolsheviks utilized the services of artists, writers, musicians, and painters. According to Peter Kenez, the Soviet regime did not tolerate the idea of artists and scientists having autonomy or operating outside state control.¹⁸ The cinema, sculptures and portraits of leaders, which depicted Soviet reality with false pathos, were not so much works of art as icons of ideology, created according to the principles of Soviet iconography. The value of such artworks lay not in their aesthetic quality but in their 'ideological correctness' and their alignment with party propaganda demands. As Georgian art researcher Eka Kiknadze notes, 'the main criteria for evaluation of a sample of art was not its artistic value but its ideological expediency'.¹⁹ The didactic function was intended to enhance the motivation of the proletariat to work and fight, to mobilize the masses for collective socialist goals, but the most important aim was the mythologization of socialist life. Music clearly also played a significant role

¹⁶ Boris Belge, 'From Peace to Freedom: How Classical Music Became Political in the Soviet Union, 1964–1982', *Ab Imperio*, 2 (2013), 280, <https://muse.jhu.edu/issue/28171>, accessed 11 Sept. 2024.

¹⁷ Peter J. Schmelz, *Such Freedom, If Only Musical: Unofficial Soviet Music during the Thaw* (Oxford, 2009), 220.

¹⁸ Peter Kenez, *A History of the Soviet Union from the Beginning to the End* (Cambridge, 1992), 179.

¹⁹ Eka Kiknadze, *Red Terror and Georgian Artists* (Tbilisi, 2019), 30.

in ideologizing society. As Elina Viljanen states, 'Classical music gained a high cultural position during the early Soviet period.'²⁰ Peter Kenez also asks 'why such control needed to be extended to branches of art which did not carry any ostensible ideological message, such as music'.²¹ Mass genres such as the oratorio and opera were particularly willingly employed as powerful tools of mass hypnosis.

Ideologization led to the standardization of art, resulting in monumental sculptures, mosaic panels, painted portraits, and posters that were remarkably similar to one another. Catriona Kelly aptly describes these monotonous images as the 'visual grammar of Soviet society'.²² Choruses and arias were written in a similar style. Additionally, there was an artificial simplification of descriptively rendered plots and musical expression. Easily singable melodies, which were ubiquitous, were rooted in tonal progressions characterized by ascending motifs and culminating in apotheotic march endings. This led to the genre moving beyond traditional aesthetic contexts, as clearly demonstrated in Aleksandre Bukia's *Arsena* (written and staged in 1958), Otar Tevdoradze's *Legend of Tbilisi* (written in 1958 and staged in 1960), and Revaz Gabichvadze's *Nana* (written in 1947 and staged in 1960).

If the USSR was a project of Bolshevik social engineering, Soviet opera was an ideocratic aesthetic project. It depicted monochrome Soviet existence and a dystopian society on the verge of moral deprivation. These aesthetic standards were based on cultural policy and the specific aesthetic platform of socialist realism. The goal of the official artistic doctrine was realistically to depict Soviet social life. According to Elina Viljanen, the concept of socialist realism is a cultural-political, cultural-historical, and intellectual-historical notion.²³ Socialist realism was supported by the government. As B. Groys states: 'Stalin approved the slogan "socialist realism" and proclaimed it mandatory for all Soviet art.'²⁴

Soviet opera, including Georgian productions, was also built on these principles. Marina Kavtaradze defines opera as a 'retranslator of socialist realist paradigms'.²⁵ One point to note is that socialist realism in art was not intended to depict real existence, but rather to present a fabricated reality and composers, in turn, were tasked with making this fiction convincing for the listeners. This falsification was akin to how Georgian history textbooks were filled with distorted facts to align with Russia's interests. The socialist realist method led to the suppression of creative approaches to music composition, allegorical-symbolic methods, and metaphorical thinking. To maximize impact, reality had to be conveyed in a simple, accessible language. As Peter Kenez observes, 'In the fine arts and music socialist realism meant prohibition of experimentation and the imposition of a single style, one immediately comprehensible even to the least educated'.²⁶

The extent of ideological influence on art was dictated by censorship through decrees and resolutions designed to subjugate artistic expression. According to Kenez, 'The central committee of the party claimed that it could decide better than musicians which was a good opera and which was not'.²⁷ Emma Widdis similarly notes that Soviet culture was compelled to obey state imperatives, which were difficult to ignore.²⁸ These imperatives, aimed at eliminating formalistic elements through government resolutions from the USSR State Committee (1932, 1936, and 1948), primarily affected opera due to the genre's reliance on verbal material (the libretti).²⁹ These documents provided the legal framework for censorship. Criticism of Shostakovich's music was followed by a wave of censorship in Georgia. Grigol Kiladze's *Bakhtioni* (written and staged in 1936), Georgia's first satirical comic opera, was criticized for its allegorical form, grotesque-satirical elements, formalism, and inconsistency with

Dictatorship, and Beyond, tr. Charles Rougle, (Princeton, 1992), 36.

20 Elina Viljanen, 'The Formation of Soviet Cultural Theory of Music (1917–1948)', *Studies in East European Thought*, 72 (2020), 155, <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11212-020-09357-3>, accessed 11 Sept. 2024.

21 Kenez, *A History*, 179.

22 Catriona Kelly, 'Windows on the Soviet Union: The Visual Arts in the Stalin Era', *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 14/4 (2013), 852, <https://doi.org/10.1353/kri.2013.0052>, accessed 11 Sept. 2024.

23 Viljanen, 'The Formation', 136.

24 Boris Groys, *The Total Art of Stalinism: Avant-Garde, Aesthetic*

25 Marina Kavtaradze, 'Music in the Context of Totalitarian Culture (On the Example of Georgian Music of the 30s of the XX Century)', *GESJ: Musicology and Cultural Science*, 2/22 (2020), 5, https://www.gesj.internet-academy.org.ge/en/list_aut_artic_en.php?b_sec=&list_aut=1408, accessed 11 Sept. 2024.

26 Kenez, 125.

27 Kenez, 179.

28 Emma Widdis, 'Russian Culture after 1880', *SL5*, 2016/17, 3, www.mml.cam.ac.uk/sl5, accessed 11 Sept. 2024.

29 Groys provides detailed information about these decrees in his book: Groys, *The Total Art*, 33.

'social realism'. It was banned until the 1970s. Vano Muradeli also became a target for censorship. According to Boris Belge, the 1948 Communist Party Central Committee resolution on Muradeli's *The Great Friendship*, also known as *Friendship of Nations* (written and staged in 1947) signaled increased government pressure on the Composers' Union.³⁰ Nana Sharikadze notes that Joseph Stalin himself strongly disapproved of the opera.³¹

The promotion of party leaders in the press as a reminder of the potential threat constituted an indirect form of censorship. According to Jan Plamper, the newspaper *Pravda* was particularly notable as 'a mirror of the Soviet political, social, and cultural landscape'.³² Under totalitarian regimes, the cult of personality poses a significant threat to free creative thought. 'The totalitarian tyrannies of Stalin, Hitler, Mao, Pol Pot, and others relied largely—although not exclusively—on mass terror and indoctrination.'³³ Self-censorship is also a notable phenomenon, as exemplified by Zakaria Paliashvili's *Opera Latavra* (written in 1926 and staged in 1927). In independent Georgia (1918–1921), Paliashvili incorporated Wagnerian drama principles and a sense of mythological time into his operatic output. However, Soviet cultural isolation and moral pressure stifled his creativity.

The process of ideologizing was also accelerated by repressions carried out by the 'Cheka'. The Soviet biopolitical model encouraged false denunciations of fellow citizens, which were viewed as reflecting high level of public awareness. Another mechanism of repression was the *nomenklatura*, which according to Snegovaya was a list of significant bureaucratic and managerial positions in the government and state enterprises, compiled by the Bolsheviks.³⁴ To justify repressions, many persons were labeled as 'enemies of the people', with the Soviet press using the slogan: 'Shoot [them] like mad dogs!'³⁵ In 1937, Evgeni Mikeladze, a supporter of Georgian national

opera, was appointed music director for the first decade of Georgian art in Moscow. However, after fulfilling the USSR's cultural ambitions, he was executed a few months later along with many other modernists.

In children's opera, the lack of strict censorship allowed the truth to be subtly conveyed through subtext. A good example is Aleksandre Bukia's politically sharp opera *Uninvited Guests* (written in 1949 and staged in 1950). The plot unfolds as a dream of pioneers Givi (mezzo-soprano) and Tina (soprano), who save a flower garden by defeating parasites, symbolizing the new generation protecting their world against totalitarianism. The parasites from the Kingdom of Evil, an allegory for the government, are characterized by whole-tone scales, ostinato march-like rhythms, and sharp harmonies, reflecting the influence of Rimsky-Korsakov's fairy-tale operas.

The Soviet Georgian opera did not represent the lives of individuals, but rather the life of the Soviet collective. Communist ideology shaped the collectivist thinking of the proletariat, presenting 'the people' as the central directors of all events. In Georgian operas, socialist collective unity was often represented through choruses. Additionally, mass songs influenced the solo arias of deindividualized characters. As a result, the aesthetics of non-conflict dramaturgy emerged, exemplified by Shalva Azmaiparashvili's *Khevisberi Gocha* (written in 1950 and staged in 1951), which is based entirely on mass folk scenes.

The ideologization of opera also meant that its musical language heavily drew from, and was rooted in folklore, reflecting the values and traditions emphasized by Soviet ideology. The idea of egalitarianism was instilled in the Soviet populace, promoting the notion that the country was governed by workers of equal social and material status. The party found a foothold in folk music, attracted by its potential to influence ordinary people. Given the deep appreciation for Georgian musical folklore, promoting arrangements of folk repertoire as the primary source of professional music became a potent tool of political propaganda in Georgia. According to ethnomusicologist Tamaz Gabisonia, '[t]he ethnic component adjusted the role of a class component'.³⁶ By incorporating folklore into choruses and dances in operas, a spiritual connection was established between the audience and the

30 Belge, 'From Peace', 281.

31 Nana Sharikadze, 'Georgian Musical Criticism of the Soviet and Post-Soviet Eras', *Lietuvos Muzikologija*, 20 (2019), 94.

32 Jan Plamper, *The Stalin Cult: A Study in the Alchemy of Power* (New Haven, 2012), 30.

33 Sergei Guriev and Daniel Treisman, 'How Modern Dictators Survive: An Informational Theory of the New Authoritarianism', *National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper*, 21136 (2015), 2, <https://www.nber.org/papers/w21136>, accessed 11 Sept. 2024.

34 Snegovaya, 'Why Russia's Democracy', 107.

35 Kiknadze, *Red Terror*, 7.

36 Tamaz Gabisonia, 'Georgian Songwriter's Folk Song of Soviet Epoch as a Victim of "Authenticism"', *Musicologist*, 3/2 (2019), 193, <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/musicologist/issue/51441/649797>, accessed 11 Sept. 2024.

working-class or peasant figures appearing as *dramatis personae*, allowing listeners to identify with them. For example, the rhythm of *Khorumi* was used in the dance of the prisoners in Grigol Kiladze's *Lado Ketskaveli* (written in 1940 and staged in 1941), while Akaki Andriashvili's *Kako the Kind Robber* (written in 1938 and staged in 1940) is entirely based on folk music. It should be noted that the founders of Georgian art music used folklore as a stylistic foundation for the opera in order to establish a distinct national operatic style. However, the use of folklore melodies in ideologized Soviet operas lost that function.

The only proper way to study Soviet Georgian opera between the 1920s and the 1950s is within the context of ideology. Otherwise, it would be completely inexplicable why Georgian modernist culture, which flourished during Georgia's 'golden age', soon degenerated.³⁷ European and American operas from the same period continued to be staged, whereas Georgian operas proved stillborn. Due to the ideologization of the opera, they fell outside the traditional aesthetic context of art and will never become part of stage life again.

Today, the cancellation of Russian culture is a topic of debate, but it is indisputable that the alien ideology imported from Russia led to the collapse of Georgian culture. Georgian Soviet operas are now reduced to the function of a mere chronicle of socialist indoctrination. Once, however, they were a powerful weapon of the overly ambitious USSR, the country that failed as a project and devolved into 'Sovietopia'.³⁸

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37 This is how the period of independence (1918–1921) is assessed in Georgia.

38 This term comes from the title of a documentary movie by Austrian film director and multimedia artist Marie Alice Wolfszahn, which portrays the USSR as an economic utopia.

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Gvantsa Ghvinjilia is a musicologist, Doctor of Art Studies, Associate Professor, head of the Dissertation Board at Tbilisi State Conservatoire, a member of the Georgian Composers' Union, and guest senior teacher at Shota Rustaveli Theater and Georgia State Film University. In 2022, she served as a jury member for the Tsinandali Awards. Dr. Ghvinjilia has received the Zakaria Paliashvili and President of Georgia scholarships. She worked as PR Manager and Head of the Literary Department at the Tbilisi Opera and Ballet State Theatre (2006–2013). She has delivered lectures in Georgia, Belgium, Poland, and Ukraine and participated in international conferences and congresses in Belgium, Croatia, England, Georgia, Germany, Italy, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Poland, Sweden, Turkey, and Ukraine. Her scientific interests include religion and music, transhumanism, multimedia music, eco-music, European integration of Georgian music, the consequences of Russian annexation and occupation on Georgia's music, and intersections of music and literature. ORCID ID: orcid.org/0000-0003-3452-4876