IRYNA TUKOVA¹ — TETIANA HOMON²

SUMMARY. The opera *The Golden Hoop* (1929, Op. 23) by preeminent Ukrainian composer Borys Liatoshynsky (1895-1968) is one of the most celebrated compositions in Ukrainian music history. The opera's libretto, written by Yakiv Mamontov (1888-1940) in Ukrainian, is based on Ivan Franko's (1856–1916) historical novel Zakhar Berkut. The Ukrainian ancient beautiful and tragic love story of Maxim and Myroslava is framed by a larger-scale narrative of great love for the Motherland and one's compatriots. The opera exists in three versions — the initial 1929 Ukrainian version; the second Ukrainian version from the mid-1960s; and an additional Moscow version dating back to 1930. This article is the first research document that 1) examines the primary sources relating to the history of creation and staging of the first Ukrainian version of *The Golden Hoop*; 2) investigates the differences between the first Ukrainian and the Moscow versions; and 3) explores the modifications of the first Ukrainian version of the opera as reflected in its second, 1960s version.

Keywords: Borys Liatoshynsky (1895–1968) creativity, opera *The Golden Hoop*, Ukrainian art music, versions, manuscript.

Introduction

The opera *The Golden Hoop*, Op. 23 (1929) by preeminent Ukrainian composer Borys Liatoshynsky (1895-1968) is one of the most celebrated and yet, mysterious compositions in Ukrainian music history. The opera's

¹ Irvna Tukova. National Music Academy of Ukraine. Horodetskogo St., 1-3/11, Kviv, 01001. Ukraine, Associate Professor, Department of Music Theory. E-mail: tukova@ukr.net

² Tetiana Homon, R. Glier Kyiv Municipal Academy of Music, Hetmana Pavla Skoropadskoho St. 31, Kyiv. 01032, Ukraine, Associate Professor, Department of Performing Disciplines № 1. E-mail: tetyana.gomon@gmail.com

libretto, written by Yakiv Mamontov (1888–1940) in Ukrainian, is based on Ivan Franko's (1856–1916) historical novel *Zakhar Berkut*. The Ukrainian ancient beautiful and tragic love story of Maxim and Myroslava is framed by a larger-scale narrative of a great love for the Motherland and one's compatriots. In the context of the ongoing Russian war against Ukraine, the story of *The Golden Hoop* has gained a newfound relevance.

It is a paradox, but in Ukraine the opera's last production was in Kyiv, 1990, after the date the fragments of *The Golden Hoop* were performed only. The current period of interest in the opera and the new archival discoveries require contemporary research and rethinking of *The Golden Hoop* in the context of the postcolonial perspective on the development of Ukrainian culture.

Undoubtedly, numerous esteemed Ukrainian musicologists and music theorists, including Lidija Arkhimovych³, Maryna Cherkashyna-Gubarenko⁴, Oleksandra Maloziomova⁵, Victor Samokhvalov⁶, and Maria Zagajkevych⁻, have studied *The Golden Hoop* in its various aspects. However, much of this research was conducted during the Soviet period, reflecting the ideological context surrounding the opera's creation and production. Furthermore, it is a fact that there are three versions of the opera in existence—the original Ukrainian version, composed in 1929, the second Ukrainian version from the mid-1960s, and what is known as "the Moscow version" dating back to 1930—but none of the aforementioned and other studies of *The Golden Hoop* explicitly indicate which version is being analyzed. One can find limited references to the opera's different versions, such as in Lidija Arkhimovych's book: "In 1965–1968, the composer worked on a new version of the opera, which was staged in Lviv in 1970"8. However, the Moscow version has never been studied.

_

³ Archimovych, Lydia. Shliakhy Rozvytku Ukrainskoi Radianskoi Opery (Ways of Development of Ukrainian Soviet Opera). Kyiv, Muzychna Ukraina, 1970.

Cherkashyna, Maryna. Opera 20 Stolittia: Narysy (Opera in the Twentieth Century: Essays). Kyiv, Muzychna Ukraina, 1981.

Maloziomova, Oleksandra. "Z Istorii Ukrainskoi Radianskoi Opery 20-kh rokiv. Opera B. M. Liatoshynskoho Zolotyi Obruch (From the History of Ukrainian Soviet Opera in the 20th century. B. M. Liatoshynsky's opera The Golden Hoop)." In Ukrainian Musicology, 2, 1967, pp. 3–19. Maloziomova, Oleksandra. "Opernoe Tvorchestvo Borysa Liatoshynskoho (Opera Creativity by Borys Liatoshynsky)." In Borys Liatoshynsky. Kyiv, Muzychna Ukraina, 1987, pp. 63–73.

⁶ Samokhvalov, Viktor. Cherty symfonyzma B. Liatoshynskoho (Features of B. Liatoshynsky's Symphonism). Kyiv, Muzychna Ukraina, 1977.

⁷ Zagaykevich, Maria. "B. Liatoshynsky i muzykalnaja frankyana (*B. Liatoshynsky and Musical Franciana*)." In *Borys Liatoshynsky*. Kyiv, Muzychna Ukraina, 1987, pp. 20–25.

⁸ Archimovych, Lydia. Shliakhy Rozvytku Ukrainskoi Radianskoi Opery (Ways of Development of Ukrainian Soviet Opera). Kyiv, Muzychna Ukraina, 1970, p. 68.
In this article, all of the translations from Ukrainian and Russian into English are done by us.

Therefore, this article 1) examines the primary sources on compositional and production history of the opera's first Ukrainian version; 2) discusses the differences between the first Ukrainian and the Moscow versions; and 3) explores the modifications of the first Ukrainian version of the opera reflected in its second version. This article is focused on the careful consideration of the archival documents housed at the Central State Archive-Museum of Literature and Art of Ukraine, the private Liatoshynsky's Cabinet-Museum archive, and the libraries of the Kyiv and Lviv Opera Houses.

Political Underpinning

The opera *The Golden Hoop* was commissioned from Liatoshynsky by the People's Commissariat of Education of Ukraine in 1928. To understand why this was done, it is necessary to grasp a political situation in Ukraine in the 1920s. In 1921, the National Liberation Competitions had ended, and the biggest part of Ukraine, except for the western region, was under Soviet occupation. In the 1920s, Moscow's policy towards Ukraine and other countries combined into the structure of the USSR was aimed at both shaping the Soviet ideology and supporting the development of national culture within the boundaries of that ideology. The latter was called "korenizatsiia" (the nativisation policy)9. The main idea of korenizatsiia was the popularization of the Soviet ideology among the Soviet republics—formerly independent countries and nationalities, now colonized by Russia. The development of national language and culture was one of the (undoubtedly, positive) strategies for implementation of this policy. Korenizatsiia was one of the factors in the formation of the Ukrainian Renaissance in the 1920s. Unfortunately, in the 1930s, the National Renaissance became the Executed Renaissance 10. Korenizatsiia ended in the early 1930s, when Joseph Stalin's totalitarianism was taking shape.

As a manifestation of korenizatsiia, *The Golden Hoop* was a part of the Ukrainian national opera project, initiated in the 1920s. The People's Commissariat of Education of Ukraine commissioned works from different composers, but importantly, prioritizing Ukrainian composers, and providing them with a list of topics on which operas were to be written. One of the most significant areas of focus was the creation of historical music dramas based on

⁹ See Liber, George. "Korenizatsiia: Restructuring Soviet Nationality Policy in the 1920s." In Ethnic and Racial Studies, 14, 1991, pp. 15–23.

¹⁰ In the 1930s, during Stalin's terror, most Ukrainian artists who were members of the National Renaissance were executed.

See Hryn, Halyna. "The Executed Renaissance Paradigm Revisited." In *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 27, 1/4, 2004–2005, pp. 67–96.

the history or present of Ukraine, with librettos written in Ukrainian. Composers who received commissions for state operas included Mykhailo Verykivsky (1896–1962), Reinhold Glier (1875–1956), Valentyn Kostenko (1895–1960), Borys Yanovsky (1875–1933), and Borys Liatoshynsky.

Borys Liatoshynsky received a proposal to write an opera at the beginning of 1928. In the letter to his teacher and friend Reinhold Glier dated January 14, 1928, he writes: "I received a request from Kharkiv asking if I would agree to write an opera for the Ukrainian Theatre. If I agree, I have to send either my libretto or at least indicate the play I would like to write for. <...> I have to respond to Kharkiv on January 20, which is six days from now"11.

On March 20, 1928, Borys Liatoshynsky signed a contract¹² with the People's Commissariat of Education of Ukraine. According to the contract, he was required to submit the full and piano-vocal scores to the commissioner by September 1, 1929. The libretto of the opera was to be created by famous playwright, theatre theorist and critic, Yakiv Mamontov. The opera had to be completed within a year and a half. According to the contract, work on the libretto was to last for half of the term, and by January 1929, Liatoshynsky had a complete version of it. In March of 1929, he began composing the music for the opera, which was to comprise four acts and nine scenes.

The opera's libretto was based on Ivan Franko's historical novel Zakhar Berkut (1882). There are many reasons why the novel was chosen. Events related to the heroic past of Ukraine—the story takes place in 1241, when Carpathian Rus defended Europe from the Tatar-Mongol invasion. The narrative highlights a critical role of the community (Tukholians) in the fight against the invaders. The social conflict between the boyar (more broadly, the aristocratic authorities) and the people (or an association of free communities). A great and sincere love story is hindered by the class inequality and betrayal which the lovers must overcome. All these components made it possible for Mamontov to write a libretto that responded both to Soviet ideology and to the korenizatsiia policy: the plot from Ukrainian history with national and ethnic elements, social inequality, the struggle of the common people against the authorities.

¹² The copy of the contract is housed at the private Liatoshynsky's Cabinet-Museum archive.

12

¹¹ Tsarevych, Ija & Kopytsa, Marianna (eds.). *Borys Liatoshynsky. Epistoliarna spadshchyna* (*Borys Liatoshynsky. Epistolary heritage*). Kyiv, 2002, p. 155.

The First Ukrainian Version

The process of Liatoshynsky's work can be traced through the composer's letters to Glier. In early April, Liatoshynsky completed the first act ¹³. By mid-July, he had finished the piano-vocal score, with the exception of the Overture, and had orchestrated the first act ¹⁴. By early October, Liatoshynsky was orchestrating the last (ninth) scene and preparing to write an Overture ¹⁵. Consequently, the entire opera was created within eight months—from March to October 1929. This is confirmed by the marking on the piano-vocal score housed at the Central State Archive-Museum of Literature and Art of Ukraine ¹⁶.

In this work, Liatoshynsky's musical language combines late-Romantic and expressionist techniques with Ukrainian archaic folk elements, a style that later becomes the composer's trademark. He employs a system of leitmotifs to describe main characters (Miroslava, Mavra, Maxim, Zakhar Berkut, Tugar Wowk, Burunda, tatars) and their actions and emotions (love, death, battle), as well as symbols, such as the Rock Guard and The Golden Hoop. Special features of this musical drama include the equality of vocal and orchestral parts, emphasizing the orchestra's role in shaping emotional and contextual themes, and the cohesive execution of every scene.

The opera premiere was planned for the theater season 1929–1930. As Liatoshynsky writes in his letter dated October 4, 1929, "The work here is in full swing, as all my scores are being rewritten in duplicate for Odesa and Kyiv (the original one will be in Kharkiv). I can say that I am already very tired of all this, and I want to finish everything as soon as possible. I played the opera's piano-vocal score at all three theatres, and everywhere I was praised. In Kharkiv, a praising review appeared in the newspaper, and in Odesa as well. And, of course, it was accepted to be performed on all three stages; unfortunately, in Kyiv and Kharkiv, it will be performed in the second half of the season. The first performance will be in Odesa, where the date has already been set for December 6"17.

¹³ Tsarevych, Ija & Kopytsa, Marianna (eds.). Borys Liatoshynsky. Epistoliarna spadshchyna (Borys Liatoshynsky. Epistolary heritage). Kyiv, 2002, p. 169.

¹⁴ Ìbid., p. 172.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 174.

¹⁶ Fond 181, description 1, no. 2.

The handwriting fragments of the piano-vocal score are kept at the Liatoshynsky's Cabinet-Museum, except for the orchestral Intermezzo to the ninth scene, which is housed at the Central State Archive-Museum of Literature and Art of Ukraine (Fond 181, description 1, no. 3).

¹⁷ Tsarevych, Ija & Kopytsa, Marianna (eds.). *Borys Liatoshynsky. Epistoliarna spadshchyna* (*Borys Liatoshynsky. Epistolary heritage*). Kyiv, 2002, p. 174.

This excerpt from Liatoshynsky's letter provides us with significant information. It confirms the existence of three manuscripts of full scores of the opera, which used to be held at the libraries of the Soviet Ukraine's Opera Houses in Kyiv, Odesa, and Kharkiv. Currently, we have information about two out of the three scores: the Kyiv score is still housed at the Kyiv Opera House, while the Odesa score is now kept at Lviv's Opera House. However, we currently lack any information on the whereabouts of the Kharkiv score. Our research into these two score manuscripts indicates that they are completely identical, notated by the same copyist. The only difference between the scores is the handwritten remarks by conductors. The Kyiv score, in particular, contains many handwritten performance markings by Liatoshynsky himself.

The opera's premiere, then titled Zakhar Berkut, took place at the Odesa Opera House on March 26, 1930. This production was directed by Semen Butovsky (1886-1967), conducted by Samuel Stolerman (1874-1949), and featured scenography by Nazarov¹⁸. The reasons for the delay of the premiere, as opposed to the previously planned date of December 6, are explained in Liatoshynsky's letter from January 12, 1930. The composer writes: "My opera has not yet been staged anywhere. It will be staged soon. There has not been a production in Odesa yet because of the artist, who submitted sketches of the stage sets three times, and three times they were rejected. Now, the production in Odesa has already been scheduled for March 3, but in Kharkiv it will probably take place earlier, namely, in the last days of February. <...> It is not yet known when it will be performed in Kyiv. They are in no hurry here. They have been printing the opera's score on a glass print for five months now. and have not finished yet, so the performers haven't even started learning it yet. There is also a second delay—there is no music paper available anywhere now. and so they cannot finish rewriting the orchestral parts. This is the situation... It is likely that the lack of music paper will disrupt this year's production in Kyiv"19.

In Odesa, *The Golden Hoop* was performed several times in the spring of 1930. There were some ideas about reviving the opera in the next theatrical season, but they were not realized.

The premiere of the opera in Kyiv, titled *Berkuty*²⁰, took place on October 1, 1930. It was directed by Volodymyr Manzii (1884–1954), conducted by Lev Braginsky (1896–1953), with the set design by Oleksandr Khvostenko-Khvostov (1895–1967). According to announcements, the opera was scheduled to be performed six times in October, two times in November, and two times in December. However, in reality, the opera was only performed once, on

¹⁸ Apart from his surname, we do not have any information about Nazarov.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 175.

²⁰ In each of the stationary opera houses, the opera was performed under its own title.

December 28, under the conducting of Liatoshynsky himself. After that, there were no further announcements regarding performances of the opera in Kyiv.

The Kharkiv production took place on October 7,1930, under its original title, *The Golden Hoop*. This production was directed by Mykola Foregger (1892–1939), conducted by Arnold Margulian (1879–1950), and featured the set design by Anatol Petrytsky (1895–1964). Unfortunately, the opera did not remain in the repertoire of the Kharkiv Opera House for long, and after six performances, it was withdrawn.

The short stage life of *The Golden Hoop* may be attributed to various factors, including common for the Ukrainian musicology belief that the opera faced ideological criticism leading to its removal from the opera houses repertoires. While there are certainly grounds for this assertion, the situation appears to be more complex. On one hand, the repertoire policies of opera houses were directly influenced by the evolving political landscape in the Soviet Union, marked by a shift towards totalitarianism and increased pressure from Moscow's colonial policies on the national cultures of the constituent republics, including Ukraine. On the other hand, the prevailing ideology of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" mandated art that was accessible to the masses, adhering to the principles of socialist realism.

Numerous reviews of *The Golden Hoop* appeared in Ukrainian newspapers and magazines in 1930–1931. To a certain extent, they make it possible to reconstruct the perception of the work by audiences and professionals, as well as to understand the ideological situation of the time. In general, even the most loyal critics, while emphasizing the critical importance of *The Golden Hoop* for the development of the Ukrainian opera, wrote about excessive complexity of the music, and an impossibility of grasping and understanding the musical language of the opera after one viewing, also referring to the disputes between supporters and opponents of the new composition. On the timeline, the closer reviews were to 1931, the more ideologically biased they became. Eventually, the authors accused Liatoshynsky of being fascinated by bourgeois art, asserting that it was the reason why he failed in composing a work that the masses could understand.

As an example, here is a fragment of one review, a response to the Kharkiv production, written by the music critic and composer Borys Novosadsky (1880–1932): "...did the author of *The Golden Hoop*, composer B. Liatoshynsky, execute the task of writing good, convincing and understandable music that would reach the mass audience? The answer to this reasonable question will be a 'no'. In our opinion, B. Liatoshynsky, a celebrated composer with the highly developed compositional craft, was not fortunate enough to accomplish this <...> What is the reason? First, in our opinion, it is B. Liatoshynsky's harmful admiration of contemporary European bourgeois decadent music—

music consisting of so-called 'left-wing' sounds, music devoid of melody and expressiveness" ²¹.

Audience reception was another crucial factor in the opera's short stage life. As recalled by the celebrated Ukrainian linguist George Shevelov (1908–2002), who attended the opera's premiere in Kharkiv, *The Golden Hoop* faced rejection from the audience: "The only performance that I could praise was Borys Liatoshynsky's *The Golden Hoop*, which I saw on October 7, 1930. <...> Liatoshynsky's opera spoke its own musical language, and although, at the time I could not fully appreciate its originality, I was fascinated by it. The Kharkiv audience boycotted it <...> Liatoshynsky's opera went off stage after adjusting a few performances"²².

Consequently, after 1930, the opera had not been produced by any Soviet Ukrainian Opera Houses, and the composer faced criticism for his "bourgeois decadent" opera for a long time.

The Moscow Version

In the spring of 1930, the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow expressed interest in *The Golden Hoop*. On June 20, Liatoshynsky signed a contract²³ for the production of his opera—now titled *The Steel Hoop*—at the state opera houses in Moscow and Leningrad for their 1930–1931 season, with changes to the libretto, now translated to Russian. The following is an excerpt from the important document entitled "Edits, textual and plot changes in B. Liatoshynsky's opera *The Golden Hoop*":

"Principal conditions: 1. Sections of personal character in the heroic collision of the plot are freed from excessive lyricism and sentimentality. 2. Sections of social significance are expanded and given a more convincing, socially rich, if possible, class character by freeing the opera from excessive national specificity. <....> 3. References to the 'homeland' and 'periphery' are replaced, where possible, by 'community', 'commune', etc. 4. References to mysticism and religious (pagan) practices are completely replaced. In particular, all references to the sun (Dazhbog), the rock, as objects of fetish worship, are reworked into an appeal to the people"²⁴.

16

²¹ Novosadsky, Boris. "The Golden Hoop in the State Opera House".

The newspaper clipping is located at the private Liatoshynsky's Cabinet-Museum archive. The review was probably published in the newspaper Kharkivskyi Proletar, where Novosadsky worked at the time. We believe that this issue of the newspaper dates from late 1930 -early 1931.

²² Shevelov, George. Ya—mene—meni... (i dovkruhy): Spohady. 1. V Ukraini (Me... (and around me): Memoirs. 1. in Ukraine). Kharkiv, 2017, p. 233–234.

²³ The contract's copy houses at the private Liatoshynsky's Cabinet-Museum archive.

²⁴ The document is housed at the private Liatoshynsky's Cabinet-Museum archive.

The quoted document is dated October 7, 1930, the exact date of the opera's premiere in Kharkiv, and it evidences a stark contrast between ideological and political atmosphere in Ukraine and Russia of that time.

Liatoshynsky took all of the suggestions into account. But, in his letter to his wife, singer Margaryta Tsarevych, he complained: "I have two meetings tomorrow about the libretto. It turns out that it's not about the director's instructions at all, but 'ideology' on the part of the political council. They want to emphasize certain points more, etc. <...> I'll see to what extent 'they' want to mutilate the libretto. If it's too much, I'll simply refuse, and that's the end of it" (Moscow, June, 1930)²⁵.

For the Moscow version of the opera, the composer created a pianovocal score²⁶, and under the new title, *The Iron Hoop*, it was copied in Kyiv in 1931²⁷. However, the production of the opera was never realized. The reason for this was an unfolding in the Soviet Union process of denying anything modern, original, and national, combined in the accusatory term "formalism". There was a movement, led by the political leadership of the country, towards the canonization of the "true" art of the Soviet people—the so-called "socialist realism", which in music required the orientation toward (or, rather, backward) Russian classics of the 19th century in terms of the music language. The plots and narratives were expected to capture the struggle and victory, on various fronts, of the working class—proletariat. Liatoshynsky's opera, however, did not fit into established parameters of socialist realism.

The Second Ukrainian Version

The revived interest in *The Golden Hoop* occurred in the mid-1960s. Unfortunately, we lack first-hand evidence from the composer regarding his work on the opera's second Ukrainian version. However, there are numerous indirect pieces of evidence from the individuals who knew and worked with Liatoshynsky. One of the most detailed accounts comes from Eduard Yavorsky (1928–2012), who served as the artistic director of the Kyiv Opera House at the time. In his memoirs, Yavorsky recounts that in the mid-1960s, conductor Kostiantyn Symeonov (1910–1987) decided to stage the opera. After revising the opera's score, Symeonov realized the need to reduce it and adjust its

²⁵ The letter is stored at the private Liatoshynsky's Cabinet-Museum archive.

²⁶ Fragments of the manuscript from the Moscow version are housed at the Central State Archive-Museum of Literature and Art of Ukraine (fond 181, description 1, no. 3), as well as in Liatoshynsky's Cabinet-Museum.

²⁷ The copies are housed at the Central State Archive-Museum of Literature and Art of Ukraine (fond 181, description 1, no. 1, 2).

orchestration, particularly easing the brass group, However, Liatoshynsky learned of this plan early and offered to make the changes by himself, and them personally delivered the full and piano-vocal scores to the Opera House²⁸

The production at Kviv's Opera House did not come to fruition because in 1967, Symeonov relocated to Leningrad. However, in 1966, Yuri Lutsiv (b. 1931), the conductor at Lviv Opera House, became involved in the project. Consequently, the second version of the opera was staged in Lyiv in 1970, albeit with additional reductions and changes made by Lutsiv himself.

For us, it was crucial to ascertain whether or not Liatoshynsky himself worked on the second Ukrainian version of the opera. As previously mentioned, the score, housed in the Kyiv Opera House, proved invaluable in this regard. Within this score, we can observe various reductions made by Liatoshynsky's own hand. These reductions are marked with verbal notations, crossed-out or corrected instrument parts, and reduction marks. It is important to stress that there are some reductions in almost every scene. The most critical reductions concerned the opera's structure; four acts and nine scenes of the first Ukrainian version were transformed into three acts and eight scenes in the second one. Such structural changes were the result of cuts, and some of combining the first and second scenes.

Conclusion

This article is only the first step in the large-scale endeavor of researching Liatoshynsky's opera *The Golden Hoop*. Here, our objective was to describe the history of the opera based on the primary sources exclusively. This approach allowed us to see *The Golden Hoop* story through the prism of the politics and ideology of Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Russia, and the influence of totalitarian politics on culture. The three versions of The Golden Hoop, discussed above, have not had a happy history on stage, but the significance of this opera for the history of Ukrainian musical art is hard to overestimate. While working on the composition, Liatoshynsky developed his own methods of creative interaction with Ukrainian folklore, which he would use throughout his creative life. As he wrote in his letter to the singer, researcher and translator Serhiy Levik (1883–1967): "...my Ukrainian Overture²⁹ was my

²⁹ Liatoshynsky meant "Overture on four Ukrainian folk themes for symphony orchestra" (Op. 20, 1926).

²⁸ Grysenko, Liudmyla & Matusevych, Nina (eds.). Borys Liatoshynsky. Vospomynanyia. Pysma. Materyaly. Chast 1. Vospomynanyia (Liatoshynsky B. N. Memoirs. Letters. Materials. Part I. Memories). Kyiv: Muzychna Ukraina, 1985, pp. 120-124.

first piece based on the folk songs. In the process of developing it, I consciously abandoned my 'I', deciding to deliberately write a work in a simpler style. Now I regret this act, because I compromised my compositional individuality there, and the result was really eclectic. In *The Golden Hoop*, it was no longer the case. Here I was not shy about the means, and remained myself" (Kyiv, 2 of April, 1930)³⁰.

Acknowledgements

We thank the Ukrainian Armed Forces for ensuring our safety and enabling us to continue this research during the war.

REFERENCES

- Archimovych, Lydia. Shliakhy Rozvytku Ukrainskoi Radianskoi Opery (Ways of Development of Ukrainian Soviet Opera). Kyiv, Muzychna Ukraina, 1970.
- Cherkashyna, Maryna. Opera 20 Stolittia: Narysy (Opera of the Twentieth Century: Essays). Kyiv, Muzychna Ukraina, 1981.
- Grysenko, Liudmyla & Matusevych, Nina (eds.). Borys Liatoshynsky. Vospomynanyia. Pysma. Materyaly. Chast 1. Vospomynanyia (Liatoshynsky B. N. Memoirs. Letters. Materials. Part I. Memories). Kyiv: Muzychna Ukraina, 1985.
- Hryn, Halyna. "The Executed Renaissance Paradigm Revisited." In *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 27, 1/4, 2004–2005, pp. 67–96.
- Kopytsa, Marianna. "Prysviachena Maistrovi (Dedicated to the Master)." In *Muzyka*, 4, 1995, p. 6–9.
- Liber, George. "Korenizatsiia: Restructuring Soviet Nationality Policy in the 1920s." In *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 14, 1991, pp. 15–23.
- Maloziomova, Oleksandra. "Opernoe Tvorchestvo Borysa Liatoshynskoho (*Opera Creativity by Borys Liatoshynsky*)." In *Borys Liatoshynsky*. Kyiv, Muzychna Ukraina, 1987, pp. 63–73.
- Maloziomova, Oleksandra. "Z Istorii Ukrainskoi Radianskoi Opery 20-kh rokiv. Opera B.M. Liatoshynskoho *Zolotyi Obruch* (*From the History of Ukrainian Soviet Opera of the 20th century. B. M. Liatoshynsky's opera The Golden Hoop).*" In *Ukrainian Musicology*, 2, 1967, pp. 3–19.
- Samokhvalov, Viktor. *Cherty symfonyzma B. Liatoshynskoho (Features of B. Liatoshynsky's Symphonism*). Kyiv, Muzychna Ukraina, 1977.
- Shevelov, George. Ya—mene—meni... (i dovkruhy): Spohady. 1. V Ukraini (Me... (and around me): Memoirs. 1. in Ukraine). Kharkiv, 2017.

³⁰ Kopytsa, Marianna. "Prysviachena Maistrovi (Dedicated to the Master)." In Muzyka, 4, 1995, p. 8.

- Tsarevych, Ija & Kopytsa, Marianna (eds.). Borys Liatoshynsky. Epistoliarna spadshchyna (Borys Liatoshynsky. Epistolary heritage). Kyiv, 2002.
- Zagaykevich, Maria. "B. Liatoshynsky i muzykalnaja frankyana (*B. Liatoshynsky and Musical Franciana*)." In *Borys Liatoshynsky*. Kyiv, Muzychna Ukraina, 1987, pp. 20–25.