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# The Cultural Canon of Russian Music in the Series "The Lives of Wonderful People" (From the End of the 19th to the First Decades of the 21st Century)

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Abstract. The subject of the study is the modeling and transformation of the cultural canon in the field of academic music by the example of the series "The Lives of Wonderful People." The main sources used were biographies of Russian and Soviet composers, published between 1892 and 2019. Analysis of these texts is carried out within the framework of receptive research; cultural-historical and historical-genetic methods, and the theory of cultural recycling are applied.

Florenty Pavlenkov's narratives about Russian composers have already become an important part of the formation of the musical picture of the world among the readership of the Russian Silver Age. These biographies (of Mikhail Glinka, Alexander Serov and Alexander Dargomyzhsky) account for almost a third of the total number of books about musicians in the series, whereas one single author – Sergei Bazunov – forms the narrative canon.

In the Soviet period, with the change of the mass reader orientation and the presence of rigid ideological attitudes, a different cultural canon of selected composers was elaborated. In period of Stalin they were Mikhail Glinka, Modest Mussorgsky, Alexander Borodin, and Piotr Tchaikovsky. In the second half of the 20th century (before 1991), the following composers were added to the list: Dmitri Bortnyansky, Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, Sergei Rachmaninoff, and Sergei Prokofiev. Subsequent political changes have entailed the transformation and rebranding of the biographical canon of this series.

In the post-Soviet era, there has been a rapid expansion of the circle of musical names: both composers of the beginning of the 20th century (Alexander Scriabin) and from the Soviet period (Isaak Dunaevsky, Dmitri Shostakovich, Tikhon Khrennikov, and Valery Gavrilin) have been included there. A recycling of biographical narratives of the Soviet era (for example, Tchaikovsky and Glinka) has been carried out. Along with the composers, an array of biographies of those artistic activists without whom Russian music of the Silver Age would not have taken place – philanthropists, producers and performers (for example, Sergei Diaghilev, Savva Mamontov, and Fyodor Chaliapin) – has also emerged.

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*Keywords*: biographies of composers, the series "The Lives of Wonderful People," cultural recycling, the Soviet canon

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## **Международный отдел**

Научная статья

# Культурный канон отечественной музыки в серии «Жизнь замечательных людей» (с конца XIX по первые десятилетия XXI века)

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Аннотация. Предметом исследования является моделирование и трансформация культурного канона в области академической музыки на примере серии «Жизнь замечательных людей». Основными источниками стали биографий русских и советских композиторов, изданные с 1892 по 2019 годы. Анализ этих текстов разворачивается в рамках рецептивных исследований, используются культурно-исторический и историкогенетический методы, теория культурного ресайклинга.

Уже у издателя Флорентия Павленкова нарративы о русских композиторах становятся важной частью формирования музыкальной картины мира среди читательской аудитории Серебряного века. Эти биографии (Михаил Глинка, Александр Серов, Александр Даргомыжский) составляют почти треть от общего числа книг о музыкантах в серии, а единый автор — Сергей Базунов — формирует нарративный канон.

В советский период, со сменой читателя и жёсткими идеологическими установками, моделируется иной культурный канон избранных композиторов. В сталинский период — это Михаил Глинка, Модест Мусоргский, Александр Бородин и Пётр Чайковский. Во второй половине XX века (до 1991) к ним добавляются: Дмитрий Бортнянский, Николай Римский-Корсаков, Сергей Рахманинов, Сергей Прокофьев. Последующие политические изменения влекут за собой трансформацию и ребрендинг биографического канона этой серии.

В постсоветское время наблюдается стремительное расширение круга музыкальных имён: включены как композиторы начала века (Александр Скрябин), так и советские авторы (Исаак Дунаевский, Дмитрий Шостакович, Тихон Хренников, Валерий Гаврилин). Осуществляется ресайклинг биографических нарративов советского времени (например, Чайковского и Глинки). Наряду с композиторами появляется массив биографий тех, без кого

не состоялась бы русская музыка Серебряного века – меценатов, продюсеров, исполнителей (например, Сергея Дягилева, Саввы Мамонтова, Фёдора Шаляпина).

*Ключевые слова*: биографии композиторов, серия «Жизнь замечательных людей», культурный ресайклинг, советский канон

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opular scholarly texts about music are seldom subjected to research in musical scholarship. The choice for the analysis of books from the series "The Lives of Remarkable People" (here and further – ZhZL, the "classical" ZhZL series is implied), however, is not accidental. This fact distinguishes it from specialized scholarly works about composers. Unlike them, these biographical narratives have always been designed primarily for a universal (mass) audience, as testified by the editions cited in the footnotes.<sup>2</sup> Thereby, it is possible to stress a fairly wide coverage of different categories of readers and a massive impact on the reader's musical perception of the world. The perspective of the study has been the further development of the idea expressed by Marina Raku in her monograph "Musical Classics in the Myth-Making of the Soviet Era" [1]. In her view, the pantheon of "classical" composers was deliberately created in the USSR beginning in the 1920s and was chosen within the framework of the ideological canon of the Soviet state (for the canon of socialist realism, see [2]). Moreover, this choice altered the image of the composer himself, which, as it were, has been "corrected" - his biography, the interpretation of his works and style, as well as his assessment in the history of music. The purpose of this artificial process, of

course, could be the formation of the new brand of "Soviet listener," just as it was done in literature – "the formation of the Soviet reader" (according to Evgeny Dobrenko [3]). In the case of music one can also add the formation of the Soviet composer and the Soviet performer: their audience thesaurus, stylistic preferences and performing repertoire (about this see, for example [4; 5]).

# Preamble: The Composer's Canon of the Russian Silver Age

From the very beginning at the end of the 19th century, the ZhZL series has been attributed to popular scholarly publications, fulfilling, according to its founder Florenty Pavlenkov, their educational function in Russian society at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. In addition, the books in the series were supposed to shape the public's taste in relation to the art of music, along with Nikolai Findeisen's "Russian Musical Newspaper." At that time, the choice of individuals for biographical narratives was closely associated with the musical fashions of the artistic intelligentsia, which formed the circle of names worthy of popularization in the cultural circles of readers and listeners of the Silver Age. From 1891 to 1894 ten biographies were published, among which only three were written about people of Russian origin. If we take as a pivot point

that the selection of biographies depended on the relevance of the particular composer to the public, the unofficial rating would look as follows.

1891. Undoubtedly, Richard Wagner, the dominant influence on Russian composers at that time, is widely considered to be practically second to none in this period; only the absolute genius of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart might have been able to compete with him. The book about the latter was published that year as well (and it was the only biography to be reprinted in the series in the early 20th century).

1892. The second place is taken on par by the three following composers: the founder of the Russian classical school Mikhail Glinka, "the aristocrat of the spirit" Frédéric Chopin<sup>4</sup> and the composer of immortal opera works (as contemporaries believed during the course of the entire 19th century) Giacomo Meyerbeer.

1893. The third place is occupied by three personalities, united very strangely (from a modern perspective): the giant Ludwig van Beethoven, the eternal rebel Robert Schumann and Alexander Serov, who died 20 years earlier and who is known exclusively from the polemic with Vladimir Stasov (incidentally, not at all in favor of the former – all of Serov's works are completely absent from the standard operatic repertoire of the 20th and 21st centuries).

1894. This top-10 list of great composers is closed by two composers also incomparable in the present-day understanding of musical scholarship: these are Johann Sebastian Bach and Alexander Dargomyzhsky. The latter is, in fact, the elder contemporary of the average readers of Pavlenkov's ZhZL.

This small digest makes it possible to comprehend the intuitive hierarchy of the 19th century Russian composers at that time period: *Glinka – Serov – Dargomyzhsky*.

It also becomes possible to recreate the listeners' expectations of Russian music in the context of European music: Glinka with respect to Chopin and Meyerbeer, the impact of Beethoven and Schumann in Serov's works, and Bach being comparable to Dargomyzhsky. However, the heartfelt preference of the general Russian public is given to Wagner and Mozart, and from particularly these positions all the Russian composers are assessed. This fixed pantheon of names implicitly appeals to the uninterrupted discourse about what national Russian music and the Russian composer truly present themselves as, which has been underway since the mid-19th century, and where people from conservatories (both from St. Petersburg and Moscow) express the conceptual aesthetic center at the end of the century. Being closely connected by memory and even friendship with these three composers, this intellectual elite offer their aesthetic preferences as a justification of significant names in Russian music (for more about this, see [7]). In a rather bold manner, these three names are proposed as personalities comparable in talent and importance with the great composers from outside of Russia. This step confirms the well-known thesis that at the turn of the century Russian culture felt itself to be an inherent part of European culture, actively absorbing Western musical innovations and offering its own versions of romantic nationalism. This is usually how the style of these Russian composers is labeled by Western researchers [8].5

It is notable that these three surnames belong to musicians who had already died, whose death had taken place more than 20 years before the moment observed (1856, 1869, 1871), and whose personal and professional images by those years had already been formed in professional

circles and did not cause unnecessary debates. Nevertheless, there are a number of nuances that indicate some difficulties in relation to Russian personalities. This way, for instance, all three biographies were written by an author who was not even a musician - namely, by Sergei Alexandrovich Bazunov (1857–1903), a Russian writer and representative of the dynasty of booksellers which was well-known in Russia.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, among the other authors it is worthwhile mentioning Lydia, the daughter of the director of the St. Petersburg Conservatory Karl Davydov, and her cousins, the children of Davydov's elder brother August: composer and student of Rimsky-Korsakov Ivan Davidov and his sister Maria. (For more on these three authors, see details [10]).

There may arise the impression that the choice of these three Russian biographies is focused on the so-called *Wagnerian listener in Russia* [11], especially given the fact that Bazunov was the author of Wagner's biography in this series (as well as Johann Sebastian Bach's). If we try to juxtapose the type of Wagnerian listener with the well-known classification of Theodor W. Adorno, then, most likely, the two types will correspond well: *a good listener and an educated listener*. The latter, according to Adorno, is the direct successor of the *bourgeois listener* [12, pp. 14–20].

#### The Soviet Canon: 1934-1989

The revival of the series in 1933 transpired in completely different conditions from those of the end of the 19th century: the debate about what kind of music the new Soviet music is destined to become, actively going back to the 1920s, arrived at the stage of socialist realism; the construction of the phenomenon of the Soviet composer

manifested itself fully in the creation of the Composers' Union. This is the era of "Culture-2," if to apply the characterization of Vladimir Paperny [13]. Therefore, the task of the ZhZL from that moment consists in the formation of the Soviet listener, the foundation for which was established by Boris Asafiev in the 1920s with his "subtle" guidebooks about composers for the audiences of the Petrograd-Leningrad Philharmonic Society.<sup>7</sup>

From 1934 to 1953 (this period is often called the era of totalitarianism in the USSR – the Stalin era), only six composers' biographies were published in the ZhZL series, four of which were Modest Mussorgsky (1934), Russian: Mikhail Glinka (1935),8 Piotr Tchaikovsky (1944), and *Alexander Borodin* (1953). This fundamental Russification of the list of names allowed by the Soviet censorship looks even more impressive if we add two other versions of Glinka's biography, which appeared in 19439 and 1950. In total, six biographies have been published about these four composers and two about those from other countries - Wagner (1934) and Beethoven (1940).

It is piquant that the Soviet series of the ZhZL about composers begins with Wagner and only as late as in 2011 – almost 80 years later – the ZhZL will turn back to this composer. Most likely, the appearance of Wagner presents an opportunity to see echoes of the Silver Age in the 1920s (of "Culture 1" – according to Vladimir Paperny) and the search for the Soviet composers' canon of the 1920s, when the Soviet element in music was interpreted as the new, revolutionary "superman" (following the line of thought of Nietzsche and Wagner) [16].

The choice of the first hero of Russian music in 1934 can also be regarded as an echo of the policies of the RAPM (Russian

Association of Proletarian Musicians). Here the reference is made to Mussorgsky (placed on par with Wagner), who is considered to be an unrecognized genius of the "tsarist era." In his music, the mighty, impulsive Russian people (the peasants), who fight with the tsar and win, become the main protagonists. This is how Mussorgsky was often interpreted during the Soviet period [1, pp. 14–27]. It is also remarkable that, similarly to Wagner's narrative, a new biography about Mussorgsky appeared in ZhZL only in 2009. The image was probably very stable and did not require any changes.

A very cautious and rare reference to the biographies of composers from the 1930s to the early 1950s, with numerous specifications of the main character of Russian music (Mikhail Glinka) is associated with the deliberate construction of the Soviet canon of "the right composers" for the new Soviet public. As of the beginning of the 1950s, Glinka, Mussorgsky, Borodin, and Tchaikovsky were recognized unconditionally. It is important to note that such a reverent attitude towards the image of Glinka is rather understandable, for it is particularly Glinka who has become the exact reference and measure of comparison for all subsequent Russian musicians; for instance, both Tchaikovsky and Borodin are regarded as his successors.

The markers of socialist realism in music (the national element, the democratic element, melodicism, the classical element, large-scale proportions, epic qualities [17; 18]) provide revision to the composers' images.10 All three aforementioned composers (along with Beethoven and Mussorgsky) may be characterized by the notion of "the crying listener" presented by the Moscow musicologist Tatiana Naumenko in her presentation at the International Scholarly Conference "Symphonies in Space and Time" (Russian Institute of Art History, St. Petersburg, October 2020).<sup>11</sup> All of them bring about a vivid immediate emotional response, which may be heroic impulses, pity, joy, or any other emotion. According to Adorno's classification, this can be correlated with the type of the *emotional listener*: Adorno himself points to Tchaikovsky's music and the listener's "tearful" reaction to it [11, pp. 15–17].

Similar to all the other popular scholarly publications in the USSR, the ZhZL series swiftly adapted itself to the changing ideological climate in the country. The "Khrushchev thaw" dramatically expanded the permitted list of composers through highlighting their names. From 1957 to 1964 eleven biographies were published: ten of them about composers and one about a singer – Leonid Sobinov. Of these 10 names of composer's half belong to those of Russian origin: Alexander Borodin, Piotr Tchaikovsky, Sergei Rachmaninoff, Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, and Alexander Spendiarov. For the first time in the series, the figure of the student of Rimsky-Korsakov, the founder of Armenian classical music and Soviet composer Alexander Afanasyevich Spendiarov is mentioned. The spirit of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is also captured by the choice of the author of his biography - it was the composer's daughter Marina (1903-1982), a singer, who was arrested under Article 58 and spent 10 years in the Ukhtizhimlag and Ozerlag labor camps, where she worked as the artistic director of the prisoners' amateur performances in the early 1950s.12

The atmosphere of the era is quite evident in the change and expansion of the canon

of permitted names; it is for the first time that the "defector-composer" Rachmaninoff from the Russian diaspora of émigrés and the "father" of the entire Soviet school of Rimsky-Korsakov composition appear. The new, revised version of Tchaikovsky's biography becomes the symbol of that time, and a new comprehension of this name resonates with the emergence of the First International Tchaikovsky Competition. Almost two decades later, the personality of émigré composer Rachmaninoff became an inherent part of the Soviet pantheon of composers. In general, the tendencies of transparency towards the West, promoted by the Communist Party and the Soviet government at that time, were clearly demonstrated in the choices of biographies. Half of them were dedicated to composers from outside of Russia, which did not narrow down exclusively to Beethoven and Mozart (the latter's biography, incidentally, was published for the Soviet mass reader for the first time). In addition, two founders of the musical cultures of the fraternal Slavic peoples from the friendly socialist camp receive honorable distinction - the Czech Bedřich Smetana and the Pole Frédéric Chopin. Moreover, the latter is the first example of a biography of the composer translated from another language published in the series. Franz Schubert had never been mentioned before that particular time period either.

The rehabilitation of the musical culture of the 1920s along with de-Stalinization, characteristic for the new Soviet ideology, most likely instigated the appearance of Spendiarov's biography and the twice-published book about the singer Leonid Sobinov. For the first time, a performer entered the pantheon of composers' names, moreover, one whose biography, especially after the 1917 revolution, is full of political

overtones (for example, the fate of his sons, the death of Sobinov himself, etc.)

The Soviet canon of musical names in the "Brezhnev era" (this period is at the present time still branded as the "time of stagnation" or the "era of late socialism") is not too large in its quantity. From 1966 to 1984, eleven books about ten composers were published. Among them, there are biographies of only three Russian musicians: Sergei Rachmaninoff, Sergei Prokofiev and Sergei Tanevev. The rest are biographies of composers from other countries, four of them translated from other countries (Franz Liszt, Hector Berlioz, Niccolò Paganini, and Giuseppe Verdi). While Rachmaninoff's biography is merely a reprint of the 1962 edition (which is already a familiar rebranding in ZhZL), the appearance of Prokofiev in 1967 reminds more of an echo of the "Khushchev thaw" era. Moreover, a number of historians believe that the "thaw" ended decidedly in 1968 after the suppression of the Prague Spring.<sup>13</sup> It is interesting that Taneyev's biography is published the same year as a book about Albert Schweitzer; the unifying element here must be Bach and his work. In general, the personality of Bach, unexpectedly, became popular during this very period: his biography was published twice. By extending the canon, one can also interpret the insertion of a biography of a composer not regarded as one pertaining to the top rank such as, for example, Josef Mysliveček (by Marietta Shaginyan), which was reprinted twice during those years.

The period of Gorbachev's "Perestroika" encompassed both the stable elements of the past and the new trends in the latest Soviet canon of musical names. From 1985 to 1989, four monographs were published. While the translated biographies about Gioachino Rossini and Vincenzo Bellini

continued the prior series about Paganini and Verdi, the other two demonstrated something completely different: the spirit of the times.

Firstly, there was the monograph about Paul Robeson, an American singer, actor and human rights activist, who was himself sympathetic towards communist ideas and performed a tour in the USSR under Khrushchev, which makes him a figure extremely conspicuous from the perspective of the predominating ideology even somewhat anti-American.

Secondly, this is the biography of the Russian composer of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Dmitry Bornyansky, as well as the appearance of the pre-Glinka era of Russian music for the Soviet reader. which in certain ways rejected the prior existing notion, that there was nothing of worth in Russian music before Glinka. In addition, in 1988, the 1000th anniversary of the Baptism of Rus was celebrated on the state level, and this prompted a rise in interest in Russian Orthodox Christian music. The biography of Bortnyansky appeared precisely in line with this trend, since it presented a composer who worked in a tremendous amount both in the genres of church music and secular music, in the former case, within the framework of the Russian Orthodox Christian tradition.

Thereby, we can emphasize that:

- the creation of the Soviet canon of composers, the starting point of which became both the series of the Russian Silver Age and the search for the Soviet identity during the 1920s, to a large extent, if not entirely, depended on the respective particular historical and ideological situation in the country;
- the transformation of the canon took place within the framework of each new historical, cultural and political period

in the USSR. The era of totalitarianism, the Khrushchev thaw, the Brezhnev era, and Perestroika: each of them revised and corrected previously published biographies, making some sort of a rebranding of the biographical narrative and, in fact, the very canon of the composers' names;

• the circle of national composers and musicians during the course of fiftyfive years has remained small and stable: there are only twelve of them (thirteen, if one takes into account a small essay about Zakharia Paliashvili in the general volume "Georgia's sons" in 1961) -Bortnyansky, Glinka, Mussorgsky, Borodin, Rimsky-Korsakov, Tchaikovsky, Taneyev, Rachmaninoff, Prokofiev, Spendiarov, and Sobinov. Mikhail Glinka was exposed to the greatest "revisionism" in its scale, when during the course of one historical period his biography was rewritten three times by three different authors. Furthermore, Tchaikovsky's biography was rewritten twice (in 1944 and in 1958). The following published biographies (with minor changes) were about Borodin and Rachmaninoff, and the revised editions appeared in subsequent new historical and cultural periods.

Even if we accept the statement of some musicologists that socialist realism in musical art has disappeared since the end of the 1970s [20], nonetheless, in texts about music it is possible to discern a freer interpretation of that phenomenon from that time, along with a partial preservation of the priority of the composers from the Classical and Romantic periods with their romanticized biographies. The crving one (emotional) *listener* remains paramount importance, but the educated listener also joins the former on par with the development of music education in the USSR since the 1960s (children's music schools and music colleges).

#### The Post-Soviet Choice: 1998-2019

In contrast to music criticism and journalism, the post-Soviet period within the framework of ZhZL must still be regarded as a single space, in which the state-ideological doctrine disappeared and the multifactorial word freedom came into view. The latter is primarily associated with an interest of the Soviet reader and listener in previously prohibited subjects and periods. Apart from the published "small" series of the ZhZL, in the classical version from 1998 to 2019, i.e., in twentyone years, the biographies of thirty-three personalities associated with music were published (without reprints). A sharp increase in the number of names offered to the reader unambiguously echoes with both the ideas of freedom and the new technical capabilities of the readers (i.e., computers and the internet), as well as the general medialization of the post-Soviet space.

Among these, twenty-four biographies belong to the Russian national musical culture, filling in the gaps within the previous Soviet canon of names. In fact, we can talk about a massive reform of the entire area of Russian musical biography. Summing up, we can highlight *the leading trends*:

- 1. An increased interest in the personalities of *performers of both academic and non-academic music*: the creators of the author song accompanied by guitar (Bulat Okudzhava, Yuri Vizbor), singing actors and artists (Vladimir Vysotsky, Lyubov Orlova, and Leonid Utyosov), and professional singers (Lidia Ruslanova, Feodor Chaliapin, and Nadezhda Plevitskaya).
- 2. A certain revival of the names of composers, producers and philanthropists, who were popular and influential at the turn of the century up to the 1920s Alexander Scriabin, Sergei Diaghilev (two versions of

his biography have been published), Savva Morozov and Savva Mamontov.

- 3. A deliberate recycling of biographies of significant composers from the past, consistently inscribed earlier in the Soviet canon: Glinka, Mussorgsky, Borodin, Tchaikovsky, Rachmaninov, and Prokofiev. This recycling is seen here as explicit, because the appeal to the biographies of composers goes through all the stages characteristic for the phenomenon of cultural recycling: the appearance oblivion for several decades a return in different conditions. These stages are also highlighted in the modern narratives of the 21st century.<sup>14</sup>
- 4. The appearance of ZhZL composers in the public space, whose work took place entirely during the Soviet era (the so-called *Soviet composers*) Dmitri Shostakovich, Isaak Dunaevsky, Tikhon Khrennikov, and Valery Gavrilin.
- 5. A continuation of the line of *musicians* of the pre-Glinka's era the biography of Alexander Griboyedov and a reprint of Dmitry Bortnyansky's biography.

By and large, there is a clear historical slope towards Russian names of the 20th century, and if we consider that Vysotsky's and Okudzhava's biographies had been "reprinted," respectively, eight and four times, then the focus of the audiences' and publishers' interests lay in the second half, perhaps even in the 3rd quarter of the century. In this period, one may stress that an interest in the musical culture of the Russian diaspora appears, as represented by Diaghilev, Prokofiev, Chaliapin, and Plevitskaya.

It can be argued with caution that there is a certain amount of delimitation present in the consumer (reader and listener) of the series: this is proved by the numbers of reprints (judging only by them, the main musical character for the modern reader is Vysotsky), the volumes of biographical

texts (from 200 up to more than 700 pages), and the authors of these narratives. A certain amount of differentiation is visible in the specializations of the authors of the biographies: these are professional musicologists (from Russia and from other countries, e.g., Alexander Poznansky, Ekaterina Lobankova, Krzysztof Meyer, and Anna Bulycheva) or professional writers and journalists, frequently well known to the widest circle of the Russian public also as media personalities (Dmitry Bykov and Leonid Mlechin).

The debate on the topic "For whom the biographical narratives of the ZhZL are intended" was most harshly presented in the reviews of critics (musicologists and philologists) in connection with the publication of the fundamental biography of Prokofiev in this series [7]. Therefore, it is possible to assume that a new pantheon of names is being formed already on the basis of the subjective perceptions of the series' editors, the requests of the present era (the public), and the personal interests of the authors of biographies as well. At the intersection of these three spheres, a new,

quite flexible, and so far, amorphous narrative picture of the world is shaping through the biographies of Russian composers, musicians, etc. Accordingly, a post-Soviet potential reader-and-listener is completely different: from an expert (a "colleague" musician) to an entertaining listener and jazz lover (a jazz expert and jazzfan) of whom Adorno spoke so dismissively [12, pp. 14–26].

Thus, the biographical narratives of the series follow the path from the canon within the ideology of socialist realism of the 1930–1950s through the rebranding of names in the 1960s-1980s. In this century, the reformatting of the biographical space and the recycling of biographies have been proposed, at the epicenter of which is the national music of the entire 20th century. The choice of names provokes the emergence of not only the Soviet reader, but also the Soviet listener, who fixes the reference points of the Soviet ideological prescription and its changes over more than half a century, and then the diffusion of listeners' tastes in the 21st century.

#### Notes M

- <sup>1</sup> Translation by Alexander B. Popov.
- <sup>2</sup> Here and further, for the lists of the mentioned books in the series, see: Katalog "ZhZL", 1890–2010: (120 let serii "ZhZL") [The "ZhZL" catalog, 1890–2010: (120 years of the ZhZL series)]. Compiled by Evgeny I. Gorelik et al. 5th Edition, Revised and Summplemented. Moscow: Molodaya gvardiya, 2010. 412 p. (In Russ.); Katalog knig "Zhizn' zamechatel'nykh lyudey" [Catalogue of books "The Lives of Wonderful People"]. Sayt Izdatel'stva "Molodaya gvardiya" [Website of the "Molodaya Gvardia" Publishing House]. URL: https://gvardiya.ru/books/zhizn-zamechatelnyh-lyudey (30.11.2020). (In Russ.). See the same editions: from 25,000 in 1943–1945 and up to 300,000, for example, in 1987.
- <sup>3</sup> For the concept and strategy of the publication, see: Kosmovskaya M. Vsya zhizn' v rabote: 150 let so dnya rozhdeniya Nikolaya Findeyzena [The Entire Life in Work: 150 years Since the Birth of Nikolai Findeisen]. Muzykal'noe obozrenie. 22.07.2018. URL: https://muzobozrenie.ru/vsya-zhizn-v-rabote-150-let-so-dnya-rozhdeniya-nikolaya-findejzena/

(30.11.2020). (In Russ.).

- <sup>4</sup> For an analysis of Chopin's biography in this series, see [6].
- <sup>5</sup> For interpretation of the national element in Russian and Soviet music, see, for example: [9].
- <sup>6</sup> It is possible that Sergei Bazunov studied at the History Department of the St. Petersburg University, which he enrolled in (or applied for) in September 1878, see: TsGIA SPb [Central State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg]. F. 14. Op. 3. No. 19922. Sergei Alexandrovich Bazunov. URL: https://spbarchives.ru/infres/-/archive/cgia/14/3/19922 (30.11.2020). (In Russ.).
  - <sup>7</sup> For Asafiev's role in shaping Soviet musicology, see [14].
- <sup>8</sup> 1935 was also called (by Pauline Fairclough) a borderline year in regard to the change in Shostakovich's symphonic style [15].
- <sup>9</sup> Glinka's biography from 1943, similarly to Tchaikovsky's, was published in "pocket" editions 44 and 64 pages, respectively, in the series of "Great People of the Russian Nation" and "Great Russian People," which had been replacing the ZhZL series in 1943–1945: Istoriya izdatel'stva. 1943 [The History of the Publishing House. 1943]. Sayt Izdatel'stva "Molodaya gvardiya" [Website of the "Molodaya gvardia" Publishing House].
- URL: https://gvardiya.ru/pub/history/1943 (30.11.2020). (In Russ.).
- <sup>10</sup> About the influence of the socialist-realistic "grand style" on the Soviet cantata and oratorio, see [5].
  - <sup>11</sup> See on the media channel of the institute:
- URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uocKkemftDA. (30.11. 2020). (In Russ.).
  - <sup>12</sup> For a biography of Maria Spendiarova, see:
- URL: https://www.sakharov-center.ru/asfcd/auth/?t=author&i=123. (30.11. 2020). (In Russ.).
- <sup>13</sup> See, for example: Lukovtseva Tatiana A. "Ottepel" ["The Khrushchev Thaw"]. Bol'shaya rossiyskaya entsiklopediya elektronnaya versiya [Grand Russian Encyclopedia Electronic Version]. URL: https://bigenc.ru/domestic\_history/text/2699058 (30.11. 2020). (In Russ.).
- <sup>14</sup> For an understanding of the Soviet recycling to the current date, see the large section named "Cultural Recycling: The (Post)Soviet Experience" in the journal "New Literary Review" (NLO) (No. 169, 3/2021): URL:
- https://www.nlobooks.ru/magazines/novoe\_literaturnoe\_obozrenie/169\_nlo\_3\_2021/ (13.06.2021). (In Russ.). For academic music, see: [21].

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