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**POPULAR MUSIC AS CULTURAL
HERITAGE: MEMORY OF THE
LENINGRAD ROCK CLUB IN ST.
PETERSBURG**

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POPULAR MUSIC AS CULTURAL HERITAGE: MEMORY OF THE LENINGRAD ROCK CLUB IN ST. PETERSBURG³

Within heritage studies, popular music is considered not only as a significant part of cultural history of certain regions and countries, but also as urban and national cultural heritage (primarily in the UK and US). In Russia, a diverse popular musical past has only recently begun to be represented as cultural heritage, for the most part, through initiatives of musicians, music fans and citizens.

The paper examines how the memory of the Leningrad Rock Club is presented in contemporary St. Petersburg as a significant part of the urban history of the 1980s (with examples of memorial sites, monuments to musicians, fan travel maps and tours). The research methods are in-depth interviews and observations that were made during a field-work (August 2020, July, August and October 2021, visiting various locations in 2013–2018). Basing on the concept of heritage as a process we analyze how popular musical heritage is constructed and how the memory and heritage of Leningrad Rock Club is represented in St. Petersburg. This example turns out to be part of the broader and, one might say, global processes of revising the concept of cultural heritage, which unfolded in the second half of the 20th century and as a result of which popular culture in all its diversity becomes a part of this process

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Keywords: cultural heritage, heritage studies, critical heritage studies, popular music heritage, Leningrad Rock Club, rock music

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Introduction

Currently, there are different ways to represent the history and heritage of popular music in many European and American cities — spontaneous fan memorials and more official monuments to musicians, exhibitions in city museums, fan museums and commemoration practices, large commemorative concerts and street performances. Popular music is actively involved in commemorative processes not only at the level of musical culture and fan communities, but increasingly turns out to be an important part of politics of history of some particular cities, regions, and countries. Such projects were called “culture-led regeneration.”⁴ Their main aim was to renew cities and stimulate the local economy through the development of the cultural sector. The creation of public spaces, quarters of cultural industries, the opening of new museums, the development of tourist routes, the holding of thematic events (festivals, fairs, concerts) are just a few examples of the implementation of such projects.

In Russia, there are quite different forms of working with the musical past and ways of authorizing it (or resisting it). Along with the attention to foreign musicians (there are both temporary fan memorials and official monuments), the past of Soviet rock music is acquiring a significant role, which is becoming not only the subject of memory of different generations of fans, but also the subject of heated public discussions (as it was in Omsk in 2018, when initiative to assign the name of Yegor Letov, the leader of the cult Omsk rock band “Grazdanskaya oborona,” to the Omsk airport was widely discussed⁵). In a number of cities, fan initiatives are not supported, in some cities they are suppressed by the authorities, in some cities a combination of different forms of formation of the musical heritage can be observed. One of these cities is St. Petersburg.

So, our paper will be focused on the following questions: How popular musical heritage is constructed and represented? How the memory and heritage of Leningrad Rock Club is represented in St. Petersburg? The paper is based on the ongoing research. It includes the in-depth interviews with musicians-members of the Leningrad Rock Club, rock journalists, employees of the art center “Pushkinskaya, 10”⁶ and rock club and museum “Kamchatka,”⁷ tour guided and visitors, recorded in August 2020, July, August and October 2021. To date, 9 interviews have been

⁴ *Vickery D. Vozrozhdenie gorodskih prostranstv posredstvom kul'turnyh proektov — sintez social'noj, kul'turnoj i gorodskoj politiki* [Revival of urban spaces through cultural projects — a synthesis of social, cultural and urban politics] // *Vizual'naja antropologija: gorodskie karty pamjati* [Visual anthropology: urban memory map] / Ed. P. Romanova, E. Jarskoj-Smirnovoj (Biblioteka Zhurnala issledovanij social'noj politiki [Library of the Journal of Social Policy Research]). M.: OOO «Variant», CSPGI, 2009. S. 205.

⁵ See about this discussion: Omskij ajeroport predlozhili dopolnit' imenem Egora Letova [Omsk airport was proposed to be supplemented with the name of Yegor Letov]. URL: <https://lenta.ru/news/2018/10/15/letovomsk/> [Accessed 10.12.2021].

⁶ Pushkinskaya, 10. URL: <https://vk.com/pushkinskaya10> [Accessed 11.12.2021].

⁷ Club and museum “Kamchatka”. URL: <https://clubkamchatka.ru> [Accessed 11.12.2021].

conducted. Observations were also carried out at exhibitions and guided tours; fan memorials, city monuments and memorial signs and plaques dedicated to the musical past, visual sources (magazines, posters, thematic sites) were analyzed; a personal photo archive was collected.

Popular music as cultural heritage: perspective of (critical) heritage studies

We will problematize such objects and practices as heritage basing on approaches of heritage studies, appeared in the early 1980s, and critical heritage studies, began to form in the mid-2000s. These approaches mark an epistemic drift from so-called “theories in heritage,” that are oriented on materiality and are still a basis of institutional discourse, to the “theories of heritage” focusing on perception of heritage and its role in the sociocultural sphere, and “theories for heritage” that emphasize importance of personal experiences and affects related to the heritage⁸. The two last types of theories presuppose that heritage should be mostly observed as a process, so the scholars should pay attention to variety of its official and unofficial interpretations and practices including ones of non-institutionalized communities⁹. At the same time new approaches of heritage studies consider impact of globalisation and new media¹⁰.

Scholars, such as Laurajane Smith, who is the main theorist of the critical heritage studies¹¹, have studied the various meanings and uses of cultural heritage and how they are socially, spatially, temporally, and emotionally enacted, and, as such, constantly remade and negotiated. Smith illustrates this by focusing on what she describes as the “authorised heritage discourse” (AHD). So the processes of institutionalization and authorization of heritage are of particular importance. They are guided by international institutions (primarily UNESCO) and their rhetoric, but differ depending on local conditions. Moreover, the official heritage has many “informal” aspects. It crystalizes from the constellation of informal and personal heritages and legacies. Some of them become official, while others remain informal¹². Thus, the heterogeneity of the heritage concept, (emphasized in its critical studies), allows it to be productively used for a well-founded analysis of contemporary social and cultural phenomena, including popular music.

In the field of heritage studies and critical heritage studies, the study of popular music and related cultural practices as a cultural heritage is a new direction which focuses more on British

⁸ Waterton E., Watson S. Framing theory: towards a critical imagination in heritage studies, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. 2013. 19. 6. P. 546–561.

⁹ See: Kolesnik A., Rusanov A. *Heritage-As-Process And Its Agency: Perspectives Of (Critical) Heritage Studies / HSE Publishing. Series WP "Working Papers of Humanities". 2020. No. 198.*

¹⁰ See: *Albert M.-Th. Heritage Studies – Paradigmatic Reflections // Understanding Heritage: Perspectives in Heritage Studies / Ed. M.-Th. Albert, R. Bernecker, B. Rudolff. Berlin, Boston De Gruyter, 2013. P. 9–18.*

¹¹ *Smith L. The Uses of Heritage. L: Routledge, 2006. P. 34.*

¹² Barrère Ch. Cultural heritages: From official to informal // *City, Culture and Society*. 2015. 7. 10.

popular music as a cultural heritage¹³. The researchers consider, firstly, how the cultural heritage is understood and problematized in the musical communities themselves, whether popular music is included in this concept, whether it is considered necessary to consolidate the memory of music and musicians in the urban space. Second, it explores the practice of commemoration in fan culture — fan memorials to deceased musicians, memorial sites for music and fan communities (clubs, pubs, meeting places), fan archives and collections, commemoration and the emergence of related traditions. Third, researchers are trying to trace how musical places and practices have changed along with the change in urban space — how concert venues and practices of attending concerts and festivals have transformed, how music scenes appeared and how they influenced the city, how this process is influenced by new media how the memory of past musical practices is preserved.

Les Roberts and Sara Cohen adapt ideas of L. Smith by highlighting three categories of practices and discourse about popular music as heritage: “officially authorised,” “self-authorised” and “unauthorized”¹⁴. “Officially authorized” ones are obviously supported by governmental institutes. These can be various exhibitions and separate museums dedicated to the history of a particular musician, group or musical genre. A notable example is the memorial plaques installed on buildings related to the musical past. For example, in London, the English Heritage Foundation has installed several dozens of these plaques (the so-called London Blue Plates), marking music clubs, record studios, and places related to the biographies of musicians, music producers and journalists. Developed alongside their official counterparts, many DIY, localised or vernacular popular music heritage discourses can be described as “self-authorised” rather than officially authorised. Fan memorials and self-organized museums are examples of this legacy. For example, the Ramones Museum in Berlin¹⁵, which opened in 2005, is one of Europe’s largest fan collections of artefacts related to the history of the American punk rock band the Ramones. Consisting of a collection of clothes, guitars, picks, photographs with autographs of musicians, and concert posters, the museum is still a functioning bar. Different everyday practices of fan communities, ways of maintaining, participatory activities, individual and collective memories define “unauthorized” music heritage.

¹³ See following works on this topic, most of which have been published in the last 2–3 years: *Sites of Popular Music Heritage: Memories, Histories, Places* / S. Cohen, R. Knifton, M. Leonard, L. Roberts (eds.). L.; N.Y.: Routledge, 2014; *Preserving Popular Music Heritage: Do-it-Yourself, Do-it-Together* / S. Baker (ed.). L.; N.Y.: Routledge, 2015; *The Routledge Companion to Popular Music History and Heritage* / S. Baker, C. Strong, L. Istvandy, Z. Cantillon (eds.). L.; N.Y.: Routledge, 2018; *Remembering Popular Music's Past: Memory-Heritage-History* / L. Istvandy, S. Baker, Z. Cantillon (eds.). L.: Anthem Press, 2019; *Popular Music, Cultural Memory, and Heritage* / A. Bennett, S. Janssen (eds.). L.; N.Y.: Routledge, 2019; *Lashua B. Popular Music, Popular Myth and Cultural Heritage in Cleveland: The Moondog, the Buzzard and the Battle for the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame*. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing, 2019.

¹⁴ Roberts L., Cohen S. Unauthorising popular music heritage: outline of a critical framework // *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. 2014. Vol. 20. Iss. 3. P. 241–261.

¹⁵ The Ramones Museum. URL: <https://www.ramonesmuseum.com> [Accessed 11.12.2021].

In the next chapter, we will take a closer look at different ways of authorizing the musical heritage associated, first of all, with the history of the Leningrad Rock Club in modern St. Petersburg.

Rock musical heritage in St. Petersburg

Considering different forms of “presence” and authorization of the musical past in St. Petersburg, it can be stated that today the history of the Leningrad Rock Club occupies a crucial place in musical history and heritage of the city¹⁶. The rock club was opened on March 7, 1981 and became the first official public organization of rock musicians in the USSR. The emergence of an official rock club, despite being a form of control and censorship of musicians, became a way of legalizing and popularizing rock music in the city and region. Among the musicians-members of the club, who have become popular in Leningrad and far beyond its borders, the following rock groups should be noted: “Kino,” “Aquarium,” “Alisa,” “Televizor,” “Pop Mechanics,” “Picnic,” “Russians,” “Secret,” “St. Petersburg” and others. The club existed until 1990, but even after the official closure was engaged in organizing concerts and festivals, but in the 1990s it no longer had such importance due to the large number of other musical clubs.

In the 2000s, there were the first attempts to memorize the club history. The first anniversary concerts and festivals were organised, and the history of the club was filmed. The initiative of this commemorative events belonged to mainly musicians-members of the club and music journalists. All these events as a whole remained one-off and did not have any continuation. In 2008, an attempt was even made to revive the club, but this initiative was not supported by the musicians due to the uselessness of the format of organizing musicians in the form of a club in modern times¹⁷. It should be noted that the memory of the Leningrad Rock Club is supported in ways that are quite conventional for rock music: there are anniversary concerts, thematic rock festivals of urban significance, where former members of the club perform along with young rock bands and where the continuity of rock generations is emphasized; also official biographies of rock bands and the rock encyclopedia of the Leningrad rock were published.

The “Kamchatka” music club (a former boiler room where the leader of the rock band “Kino” Viktor Tsoi worked from 1986 to 1988) should be separately noted. This place was turned into a fan memorial right after the musician’s death in August 1990. In 2006, the club received the status of a museum and is one of the key places, along with the Tsoi Wall in Moscow, to maintain

¹⁶ Much has been written about the history of the Leningrad Rock Club, the most voluminous work, perhaps, is the following: *Burlaka A. Rok-jenciklopedija. Populjarnaja muzyka v Leningrade-Peterburge. 1965–2005* [Rock-encyclopædia. Popular music in Leningrad-Petersburg. 1965–2005]. T 1–3. M.: Amfora, 2007.

¹⁷ Interview with Andrey Burlaka. 10.07.2021.

the memory not only of Tsoi, but also of the Leningrad Rock Club and rock culture of the perestroika period in general¹⁸. Nevertheless, “Kamchatka” remains an “auratic” place (in the understanding of Walter Benjamin) associated with the memory of a specific person, Viktor Tsoi, and not about rock music as a cultural phenomenon.

In the 2010s, a number of initiatives arose related to interest in the history of the club and attempts to authorize this musical heritage as an urban heritage. In the overwhelming majority of cases, we can talk about a self-authorized musical heritage, which, at the same time, is created by different, but connected, communities and is aimed at different audiences. There are several forms of self-authorized heritage.

1. Guided tours. The first such initiative was the launch of tours to places associated with the history of the club and the post-Soviet rock culture of St. Petersburg. In 2011, in cooperation with the Erarta Museum of Contemporary Art¹⁹, the “Kangaroo” tour bureau and tour program “Crawling around St. Petersburg” were opened. The idea of the guided tours was to show another, casual Petersburg, which visitors usually associate with the classical heritage and high art — architecture, painting, literature. The organizers of the tours focused on contemporary art and samizdat literature (in particular, one of the first such tours were devoted to places associated with the biography of Sergei Dovlatov and Leningrad samizdat).

In 2013, tour “Leningrad Rock’n’Roll” was created. It offers to visit places associated with the history of the club and the Leningrad rock culture of the 1970–90s, both existing at the present time and having ceased to exist. The tour description is as follows: “St. Petersburg is rightfully considered the capital of Russian rock. Viktor Tsoi, Boris Grebenshchikov, Mike Naumenko were born here. Such cult groups as ‘Kino,’ ‘Aquarium,’ ‘Zoo,’ ‘Picnic,’ ‘Alice,’ ‘Pop Mechanics,’ and many others were born [...]. We invite you to immerse yourself in the atmosphere of the time of Russian rock, you can feel its rebellious spirit, get acquainted with the life and realities of the representatives of the Leningrad underground of the 80s, visit legendary places: from the ‘Elven Garden’ and Leningrad Rock Club to the famous cafe ‘Saigon.’ How did the Leningrad rock musicians stop being ‘parasites’, and how did the KGB officers fall in love with going to rock concerts? How did Tsoi know how to extract rock and roll from ‘someone else’s diaphragm’? Why was Grebenshchikov [Boris Grebenshchikov, the leader of the rock band ‘Aquarium’] so afraid of the ‘young punks’? Where did Kinchev [Konstantin Kinchev, the leader of the rock band ‘Alice’] like to drink beer? And what kind of funny mess did the artists and musicians make right under

¹⁸ See for the further information: *Zaporozhets O., Kolesnik A.* Dolgaja zhizn' mest Tsoja: geografija pamjati [Long life of Tsoi's places: geography of memory] // *Laboratorium. Zhurnal social'nyh issledovanij* [Laboratorium. Journal of Social Research]. 2019. T. 11. № 2. P. 70–102; *Zaporozhets O., Kolesnik A.* Music Geography in Russia: Non-Auratic Places and Institutionalization “in Becoming” // *Journal of Cultural Geography*. 2020. Vol. 37. No. 1. P. 1–25.

¹⁹ Erarta Museum of Contemporary Art. URL: <https://www.erarta.com/en/> [Accessed 10.11.2021].

Pushkin's very noses (and behind his back too)? An eyewitness to the events, journalist and ethnographer Sergei Nakonechny will tell about this and other things during a tour of the Legendary Rock Places of St. Petersburg.”²⁰ The tour starts at the building where the club was previously based on St. Rubinshteina, 13 (currently the passage to the club main entrance is closed, the building houses the Zazerkalye theater). Further, the route is built along the key places where musicians, rock parties and artists of the eighties played, recorded and spent time: the ‘Saigon’ cafe, where rock musicians loved to meet and where several fiction movies and documentaries about rock culture in Leningrad were filmed; practically opposite “Saigon” there was a public dining room (the so-called in Leningrad rock community “Gastritis”); the “Elven Garden” square, where did Leningrad hippies used to meet in the 1970s and rock musicians in the 1980s; the Pushkinskaya 10 squat and art center; the Fishka club; rock shop “Castle Rock” (so-called “Crutch”), etc.

Among the guides there are Petersburgers of different generations, Sergei Vladimirov, a young musician of the St. Petersburg group “Fon Stefanitz” formed in 2010, and Sergei Nakonechny, who in his youth was a regular at the club events. Tours by Sergei Nakonechny are mostly focused on the story of the everyday life of the rock culture of Leningrad in the late Soviet period. In his tours, he draws attention to where the musicians got their musical instruments and stage clothes, how they entered the Leningrad Rock Club, how the “*litovanie*” took place (verification and censoring of song lyrics), who came to concerts, how information about the club’s concerts was disseminated and etc²¹. In his interview, Sergei Nakonechny notes: “In general, all the locations in our tours are the same, but our narratives are different. In my tours, I talk more about my experience, I remember how I went to the concerts of the club, whom I myself listened to and met in the club and other rock places.”²² According to Sergei Nakonechny, tours are in great demand, first of all, among knowledgeable tourists who purposefully came to this excursion; the number of visitors is growing every year²³.

On contrary, the second guide, Sergei Vladimirov, seeks to show the history of the Leningrad Rock Club in the broader cultural context of urban history, focusing on the links between more traditional high art (classical music, architecture, literature, etc.) and marginal low art (popular music in general and rock music in particular). He draws attention to how the events of the club’s musical life were related to city and state events (for example, how the musicians reacted to the deaths of the first heads of USSR, Yuri Andropov and Konstantin Chernenko), how places

²⁰ Official group in the VK social net: Jekskursija “Leningradskij Rok-n-Roll” [Excursion “Leningrad Rock-n-Roll”]. URL: https://vk.com/rock_i_piter [Accessed 10.11.2021].

²¹ Field-work. August 2020.

²² Interview with Sergei Nakonechny. 8.08.2020.

²³ It should be noted that this is not the most popular tour of this bureau. The most popular is the “By the bars of St. Petersburg”, designed for a wide variety of visitors.

associated with the history of the club settled down in the 1990s, how the history of the club is presented in different parts of the city now²⁴. Sergei Vladimirov presents the same ideas in his guide “An Informal Guide to Musical St. Petersburg,”²⁵ published in 2013. In this context, the introduction to the guide is highly illustrative: “Petersburg is the most musical city in Russia! All major musical trends and events over the past few centuries were born here. Styles and musical movements phantasmagorically mixed and intertwined, giving rise to unique combinations and legends. Where else can punks work as restorers at the Hermitage, as was the case with ‘Korol I Shut’ [famous Russian punk rock band in the 2000s]? And in what other city do academic musicians regularly visit a football stadium, like Dmitry Shostakovich? Or where else in Russia do jazzmen play in their own philharmonic society?”²⁶

2. *Memorial signs.* At the moment, in St. Petersburg there is only one memorial plaque for the rock musician. This is the plaque to Viktor Tsoi installed on the building of the “Kamchatka” club by initiative of the club owners. However, memorial signs have been erected to places associated with the history of the club. In 2015, at the initiative of the art center “Pushkinskaya 10” and with the participation of the guide Sergei Nakonechny, a memorial pillar was installed on the territory of the park with the unofficial name “Elven Garden” with direction signs to other iconic places of the rock music history: cafe “Saigon,” the former building of the club, etc²⁷. Also, in the same square, a memorial sign was installed with information about when the “Elven Garden” appeared and what history it is associated with. According to Sergei Nakonechny, the installation took almost 5 years due to bureaucratic delays²⁸. The absence of memorial plaques on buildings related to the biographies of musicians and groups is primarily due to the difficulty of coordinating the installation of such a plaque with the residents of the house. That is why, according to Nakonechny²⁹, the format of the memorial pillar was chosen. There are 9 signs on the pillar placed simultaneously, it installed in the park, which did not require approval of its installation with residents of nearby houses.

3. *Exhibitions.* The most varied form of work with the musical past is museum exhibitions presented different narratives about the rock music past. Over the past 10 years, more than 10 different exhibitions devoted to the history of the Leningrad Rock Club have been held in St. Petersburg.

²⁴ Field-work. August 2021.

²⁵ Vladimirov S. *Neformal'nyj putevoditel' po Peterburgu* [An Informal Guide to Musical St. Petersburg]. St. Petersburg: Piter, 2013. A large place in the guide is given to places related to the history of the Leningrad Rock Club.

²⁶ Ibid. P. 3.

²⁷ Interview with Sergei Nakonechny. 8.08.2020.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

The first type of exhibitions was devoted to various aspects of the cultural significance of the Leningrad Rock Club. In 2011, the first major photo exhibition “Leningrad Rock Club of the 1980s”³⁰ was organized by the photo Center “Bright World PRO.” The idea of the exhibition was to demonstrate the visual aesthetics of rock culture. The author of the exhibition was the famous ballet photographer Valentin Baranovsky, who was a professional photographer of ballet troupes. At the same time, he also documented the performances of rock bands in Leningrad and conducted semi-official photo sessions of the musicians. From an interview with Baranovsky: “It is important to remember that they are all people. I once worked as a photographer in RIA [Russian informational agency] — from the 60s to the 80s, took pictures of presidents, even managed to shoot a creative evening of Mikhail Baryshnikov, who a year later ‘rolled away’ from the USSR, creative troupes and so on. I realized that every performer, through his head and body, seeks to show and convey his feelings and emotions. It’s the same at a rock concert. The same Grebenshchikov or Kinchev gave themselves entirely at concerts. It was fantastic, you had to see it!”³¹ The next exhibition should be mentioned is “Realities of Russian Rock” organized in 2013 at the art center “Pushkinskaya, 10.” The main task of this exhibition was to collect in one place for the first time not only photographs but musical instruments, personal belongings, concert posters and documents belonging to the musicians of the Leningrad Rock Club. The organizer of the exhibition was musician Vladimir Rekshan, front man of the band “St. Petersburg,” ex-member of the Leningrad Rock Club. Initially, it was stated that the exhibition will serve as the basis for the future museum of the club³², which was planned to open a year after the exhibition, but which was actually opened only in 2019. Both exhibitions were based on different photo archives, both previously published and completely unknown.

The second type of exhibitions is purely memorial in nature. In 2021, the year of the 40th anniversary of the Leningrad Rock Club, two major exhibitions were organized: “40 years of the Leningrad Rock Club,³³” held in the Russian Museum, and “Leningrad rock and roll. Golden Age,”³⁴ held in the Museum of Music in St. Petersburg. It is noteworthy that both exhibitions were

³⁰ Vystavka “Leningradskij Rok Klub 80-h” V. Baranovskogo [Exhibition “Leningradsky Rock Club of the 80s” by Valentin Baranovsky]. URL: <https://www.yarkiy.ru/posts/404-vystavka-leninradski-rok-klub-80-h-v-baranovskogo> [Accessed 10.12.2021].

³¹ Fotograf Valentin Baranovskij sravnil Kincheva i Grebenshchikova s tancorami baleta [Photographer Valentin Baranovsky compared Kinchev and Grebenshchikov with ballet dancers] // Saint Petersburg State Museum of Theater and Music Arts. URL: https://theatremuseum.ru/smi/fotograf_vb [Accessed 10.12.2021].

³² Vystavka “Realii russkogo roka” mozhnet stat' osnovoj dlya budushchego muzeya [The exhibition “Realities of Russian Rock” may become the basis for a future museum]. URL: <https://ria.ru/20130216/501684416.html> [Accessed 11.12.2021].

³³ Leningradskij Rok-klub v fotografijah. K 40-letnemu yubileyu [The Leningrad Rock Club in photographs. For the 40th anniversary]. URL: <https://rusmuseum.ru/stroganov-palace/exhibitions/leninradskij-rok-klub-v-fotografijakh-k-40-letnemu-yubileyu/> [Accessed 11.12.2021].

³⁴ Otkrylas' fotovystavka Valentina Baranovskogo “Leningradskij rok-n-roll. Zolotoj vek” [The photo exhibition of Valentin Baranovsky “Leningrad Rock and Roll. Golden age” was opened]. URL: https://theatremuseum.ru/news/rock_n_roll_2021 [Accessed 11.12.2021].

held in large state institutions, the Russian Museum and the Museum of Music, and the history of Leningrad rock itself was represented in the broader context of Soviet history.

The third type of the exhibitions is devoted to individual rock musicians and various aspects of musical and artistic life in Leningrad in the 1980s. The prominent examples are the exhibitions “Tsoi. Summer Will Not End,”³⁵ held in 2020 at the private art gallery “K Gallery,” and the photo exhibition “Russian Rock. Joanna Stingray’s View,”³⁶ held in 2021 at Arts Square. Both exhibitions focused on the representation of Viktor Tsoi’s art works and Leningrad rock culture as a form of visual rather than musical art. At the exhibitions were presented the paintings of Tsoi, as well as other musicians of the “Kino” rock band and their joint art projects with other musicians. Attention was paid directly to the artistic technique: what materials the musicians worked with, what artists they were guided by, and how it correlated with their music³⁷.

4. *Museum of Leningrad Rock Music.* Finally, on the basis of the exhibition “Realities of Russian Rock” held in 2013, the so-called “First National Museum of Rock Music” was opened on the territory of the art center “Pushkinskaya 10” in 2019. The museum is not officially registered, but functions as a full-fledged, albeit small, exhibition space. Its founder is musician Vladimir Rekshan, leader of the rock group “Saint Petersburg.” From an interview with Vladimir Rekshan: “I no longer play rock, and by education I am a historian, although I have never worked by profession. Therefore, I decided to first collect the archive, then make an exhibition, and then open a museum. I have a rich collection: here are guitars, and homemade amplifiers, and the records that we listened to. There are also many books. Just the other day I installed a book rack and will make a catalog. It seems to me that there is interest in this topic, it is important to preserve all this.”³⁸ The museum presents mainly musical instruments that were used by Leningrad musicians (the collection also includes a Ural guitar donated by Sverdlovsk musicians), and many of the instruments were “modified” by local guitar masters for better sounding; concert posters; vinyl; books; projects of monuments to Leningrad musicians. The museum does not present any clear narrative about the history of the Leningrad Rock Club. The main storyteller and guide to the museum is Vladimir Rekshan himself, who opens the museum several days a week and works without a specific schedule. According to the staff of the art center “Pushkinskaya 10,”³⁹ many tourists and citizens did not know about the existence of the museum, so it was decided that from the beginning of 2021 the “Leningrad Rock’n’Roll” tour ends with a visit to the museum and communication with the “living legend” Vladimir Rekshan. Thus, the museum is presented as a

³⁵ Tsoi. Ne konchitsya leto [Tsoi. Summer Will Not End]. URL: <http://www.kgallery.ru/new/162.html> [Accessed 12.12.2021].

³⁶ Novye hudozhniki i muzykanty. Vzglyad Dzhanny Stingrej [New artists and musicians. Joanna Stingray’s View]. URL: <https://artssquaregallery.ru/nerve2021> [Accessed 12.12.2021].

³⁷ Field-work. August 2020; August 2021.

³⁸ Interview with Vladimir Rekshan. 15.08.2021.

³⁹ Interview with Alexandra, employee of the art center “Pushkinskaya 10.” 15.08.2021.

space of “living history,” combining both personal archives and the oral history of the Leningrad Rock Club.

On the one hand, all the examples described above demonstrate different ways of memorizing and inheriting the memory of the Leningrad Rock Club, mainly by club members and eyewitnesses. In this context, this is not only an attempt at self-reflection by various representatives of the former Leningrad rock community about their own history, but also an attempt to represent its history as an important part of late Soviet history. As can be seen from the examples above, the history of Leningrad rock is presented mainly through specific characters — musicians, journalists, music producers, who are considered as the main carriers of knowledge about Leningrad rock history. On the other hand, quite a lot of attention is paid to the everyday life and different musical practices of Leningrad rock musicians (recording, publishing and distribution of musical products), which are exoticized and seem radically different from similar modern practices. As Les Roberts and Sara Cohen argue, “it is self-validating in so far as it is not subject to the official approval of a legitimising institution or panel of experts and peers.”⁴⁰ From this perspective, the inheritance of the history of the Leningrad rock club occurs mainly within the rock community and does not imply “external” authorization — authorization by city and state institutions.

At the moment, the only example of official authorization of a musical heritage is the installation of a monument to Viktor Tsoi in August 2020⁴¹. However, the monument can be considered as a kind of compromise between the city administration, the musician community and the fan community, who repeatedly proposed different designs for Tsoi’s monuments throughout the 2000–2010s, which were ultimately not approved. Ultimately, the monument was erected to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the musician’s death in a place that is quite remote from the places associated with the musician’s biography. Along with this, it can be assumed that in the last 2 years the authorization of the memory of Viktor Tsoi and some other musicians of the Leningrad Rock Club begins to become a fairly visible phenomenon. In October 2021, the Presidential Fund for Cultural Initiatives supported the project of a “biopic exhibition” dedicated to the 60th anniversary of Viktor Tsoi, allocating more than 30 million rubles for its holding⁴². After the installation of the monument to Tsoi, a project for the installation of a monument to another

⁴⁰ Roberts L., Cohen S. Unauthorising popular music heritage: outline of a critical framework // *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. 2014. Vol. 20. Iss. 3. P. 250.

⁴¹ V Peterburge ustanovili pamyatnik Tsou [A monument to Tsoi was erected in St. Petersburg]. URL: <https://www.fontanka.ru/2020/08/14/69422593/> [Accessed 12.12.2021].

⁴² V Moskve pri podderzhke Prezidentskogo fonda kul'turnyh iniciativ proydet vystavka k 60-letiju Viktora Coja [An exhibition dedicated to the 60th anniversary of Viktor Tsoi will be held in Moscow with the support of the Presidential Fund for Cultural Initiatives]. URL: <https://фондкультурныхинициатив.рф/public/news/v-moskve-pri-podderzhke-prezidentskogo-fonda-kul%27turnyh-initsiativ-proydet-vystavka-k-60-letiyu-viktora-tsoya> [Accessed 10.12.2021].

popular Leningrad rock musician, Alexander Bashlachev, was also proposed⁴³. It is currently supported by the Commission on Culture, Preservation of Historical and Cultural Heritage and Tourism of St. Petersburg. However, at the moment it is difficult to predict to what extent these phenomena will receive large-scale development and will become entrenched in the “authorized heritage discourse,” and will not remain one-off phenomena.

Conclusion

First, the memory of Leningrad rock club is definitely an example of “self-authorized”⁴⁴ musical heritage. It should be noted that, despite the rather simple formatting of organizing the memory of the musical past (memorial signs, museums, tours, memorial events), the organizers tend to less formal conversation and representation of this past: informality is present in the stories of the guides, and in museum exhibitions, and in the design of memorial plaques. Musical history is presented in the broader context of urban and late Soviet history; in many respects, interest in musical history is set through its actualization in the context of the history of the USSR in the 1980s. Moreover, this heritage is quite participatory. It implies emotional and interactive forms of communication. It is formed not only for the fan community and the generation of Soviet rock musicians, but also for a wide audience, citizens and tourists.

Second, the musical heritage in St. Petersburg is rather controversial and contested. It is represented mainly in places associated with music and art communities. Mostly, it is supported by these communities, but with the participation of musicians and artists of different generations, which makes it more open and hybrid. The rock community does not seek to denote musical places in modern St. Petersburg in the rhetoric of the “authorized heritage discourse,” primarily because of the unwillingness to dispute the significance of the history of the Leningrad Rock Club in terms of cultural heritage on the official level. In this regard, the key sites for the formation of the musical heritage in St. Petersburg remain the places that appeared in the late Soviet time: the former squat and the current art center “Pushkinskaya, 10,” the rock club “Kamchatka,” and the “Elven Garden” square. The key agents involved in the representation of the memory of the Leningrad Rock Club and the formation of the musical heritage are eyewitnesses and ex-members of the club: musicians (such as Vladimir Rekshan and Joanna Stingray), journalists and photojournalists, artists who collaborated with musicians, club concert and festivals visitors.

⁴³ V Peterburge postavjat pamjatnik Aleksandru Bashlachevu [A monument to Alexander Bashlachev will be erected in St. Petersburg]. URL: <https://lenta.ru/news/2021/08/24/bashpamyat/> [Accessed 10.12.2021].

⁴⁴ Roberts L., Cohen S. Unauthorising popular music heritage: outline of a critical framework // *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. 2014. Vol. 20. Iss. 3. P. 243.

Third, such examples, turn out to be part of the broader and global processes of revising the concept of cultural heritage, which unfolded in the second half of the 20th century and as a result of which popular culture in all its diversity becomes a part of this process. They contribute to the transformation of modern historical culture. Examples of the construction and representation of musical history in modern cities make it possible to reveal how the history of popular music, previously marginalized by official state institutions (ministries of culture, state museums and media), is now beginning to be viewed by these same institutions as of cultural value. At the same time, such examples reveal many previously invisible and inaudible personal and group stories (for example, stories from fan communities, music scenes and clubs) that complement and expand the understanding of the past. The popular musical heritage, therefore, turns out to be culturally significant, first of all, not in the perspective of the official state cultural and historical policy, but through the practices and emotional involvement of various social groups — musicians, fans, tourists and citizens.

Thus, the approaches of heritage studies and critical heritage studies, which we proposed to apply to the phenomenon of memory of Russian popular music, allow us to mark out a number of other important aspects in the studied cases. On the one hand, they give opportunity to observe how the relationship between material monuments of the past, memory, preserved and reproduced by social and cultural practices, various discourses describing them, power relations with which the heritage is connected is variously perceived and interpreted. This constellation is unique in each case. But, on the other hand, in each case, community members relate their heritage to universal models and examples (both national and global): the UNESCO definition of heritage, national monuments, the experience of other communities. The analysis of these social and cultural aspects with a more substantiated involvement of theoretical approaches of heritage studies and critical heritage studies will be continued in the course of further work.

In the further advancement of this research, it is assumed, firstly, to continue recording interviews with members of various groups involved in the formation of the musical heritage, in particular, with visitors to guided tours, the museum of rock music, exhibitions and memorial sites, as well as with curators of exhibitions about the Leningrad Rock Club. Secondly, it is supposed to compare the experience of forming the musical heritage in St. Petersburg with other Russian cities, in particular, with Yekaterinburg, where in the last 5–6 years there has also been an increased interest in the history of Soviet rock music in general and the history of Sverdlovsk Rock Club in particular. Third, a more detailed study of the typology of the ways of forming the musical heritage in Russian cities based on critical studies of the heritage could advance research into the plurality of heritage in modern times.

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