Youth and Rock in the Soviet Bloc

Youth Cultures, Music, and the State in Russia and Eastern Europe

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LEXINGTON BOOKS
Lanham • Boulder • New York • London

Published by Lexington Books
An imprint of The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.
4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706
www.rowman.com

Unit A, Whitacre Mews, 26-34 Stannary Street, London SE11 4AB

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Youth and rock in the Soviet bloc : youth cultures, music, and the state in Russia and Eastern Europe / edited by William Jay Risch.
pages cm
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-7391-6693-2 (cloth : alk. paper) -- ISBN 978-0-7391-7823-2 (electronic)
1. Popular music--Political aspects--Europe, Eastern--History--20th century. 2. Popular music--Social aspects--Europe, Eastern--History--20th century. 3. Popular music--Political aspects--Soviet Union. 4. Popular music--Social aspects--Soviet Union. 5. Music and state--Europe, Eastern--History--20th century. 6. Music and state--Soviet Union. 7. Youth--Europe, Eastern--History--20th century. 8. Youth--Soviet Union. 9. Cold War--Music and the war. I. Risch, William Jay.
ML3917.E852Y68 2014
306.4'84260947--dc23
2014038910

™ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.

Printed in the United States of America

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Chapter Eight

"A Room-Sized Ocean"

Apartments in the Practice and Mythology of Leningrad's Rock Music

Polly McMichael

In August 1972, an article in a journal aimed at Party workers involved in clubs and the organization of amateur creative activities [*khudozhestvennaia samodeiatel'nost'*] described a scene commonly encountered in the Soviet city:

> The dimly-lit entrance to an apartment building [*pod"ezd*]. A group of long-haired young men. A guitar [...] The guitar is in fashion now. It is probably the most popular instrument among young people. Shops are unable to meet the growing demand for this product. But the boys buy them from somewhere, and sometimes even make electric guitars themselves. . . . Our courtyards and entrances are filled with music, both good and bad. . . . And, in response to the spread of this "seven-stringed wave," complaints have started to trickle into various institutions: "Help, there are guitarists in the entrance!"[1]

During the Brezhnev era, boys strumming guitars were emblematic of a wider sense of unease about young people, their leisure activities, and the use of cities' public spaces and their level of engagement with Soviet values. From the late 1960s onwards, the vogue for listening to and, increasingly, playing electric and acoustic guitar music, known in Russian at the time as "beat music" [*bit-muzyka*], became subject to incorporation into the culture of "developed socialism." The young people described in the article are the focus of a typical initiative, attempting to catalyze enthusiasm for guitar music for "educational [*vospitatel'nye*] purposes," organized in Murmansk by the local House of Amateur Creativity [*Dom khudozhestvennoi samodeia-*

tel'nosti] and the Komsomol. They had been taken under the wing of a professional musician and teacher and given opportunities to perform in front of audiences in student dormitories and schools, leading up to a series of competitions, with prizes awarded for the best performances of well-known songs by professional composers.[2] Initiatives such as this one in the organized amateur sphere mirrored the professionalization of beat music, which began in 1966 with the foundation of the first officially sponsored electric guitar groups. Both amateur and professional manifestations of the guitar group performed under the designation "vocal-instrumental ensemble" [*vokal'no-instrumental'nyi ansambl'*], usually abbreviated to "VIA."[3] To many this transition into the officially sponsored sphere, whether as a professional or as an amateur, marked a movement away from the music's true meaning and informal origins. In his study based on interviews with musicians in Leningrad/St. Petersburg at the turn of the 1980s to 1990s, Thomas Cushman discovered that accepting the status of VIA acted as a late Soviet retelling of the well-worn narrative of rock musicians "selling out." In keeping with his theorization of the rock scene in Leningrad as a counterculture, and influenced by his interviewees' own ideological conceptualization of the music they played, Cushman emphasized the values of personal and collective honesty and musical authenticity that reigned among those who rejected being incorporated into professional or officially amateur structures and continued playing their music in locations as far away as possible from the eyes of the Komsomol.[4]

The idea of an authentic musical culture that was located in the spaces in the Soviet Union that state-backed institutions could not reach is a potent one in the mythology of the development of rock music. Rock musicians' entry into the wider public consciousness of the Soviet Union during Glasnost was as outspoken and politically engaged public figures who were also, significantly, the authors of their songs, unlike the musicians for hire in VIAs who played songs by Soviet composers. The musicians who gained the attention of the mass media under Gorbachev had all begun their musical careers as boys with nowhere to rehearse, nowhere to perform, and certainly nowhere to record. Playing guitars with friends in the courtyard or around the *pod"ezd* of an apartment block, continuing this interest within school friendship groups and through a university education, and eventually devoting all energies to music while making a living in a dead-end job is a shared feature of their biographical narratives, which are lived out against the backdrop of irreversible changes taking place in the society and politics of the Soviet Union.

In 1990 Andrei Voznesenskii's adaptation of Lenin's "electrification" motto imagined the spread of electric guitars as a portent for the Soviet Union:

> Before our very eyes rock music [*rok*] has performed the electric-guitarization [*elektrogitarizatsiia*] of the whole country. Through electric guitars the process of consciousness has been plugged into the world's energy system. The guitars of the Arbat, St. Petersburg, and Magadan are all being powered by the same voltage. All this happened "over the barriers," in spite of the authorities, the borders, and the custom-houses.[5]

Voznesenskii's allusive hymn to the electric guitar buzzes with electricity and amplified noise. Yet as this chapter will demonstrate, a defining feature of many of the best known exemplars of Soviet rock music culture was, in fact, their potential to be performed without amplification, in the absence of the full array of instruments associated with the music of the West that had originally inspired it. Soviet rock musicians held the roots of the music that had inspired them in veneration, but they also had to make do with the instruments, technical equipment, and venues that were available to them. So while the electric guitar was the ultimate object of desire, much of the rock music that was created during this era was dominated by acoustic sounds. These were the strains of rock music that coexisted with the rhythms of the Soviet city, that were heard in schools, universities, and workplaces, in courtyards and apartment building entrances [*pod"ezdy*], and in people's homes.

At the heart of Soviet rock music's mythology as it developed during the 1970s and 1980s was a preoccupation with domestic space—namely, the apartment—as the location of the life that gave rise to the music itself. Soviet rock musicians were regarded by their fans as faithful to contemporary life. In the context of this reading of the meaning of Soviet rock music, the apartment can be identified as among the places evoked in songs from this period that serve as a microcosm for society as a whole or speak of the ways in which rock musicians and fans negotiated life in the Soviet city.[6] But the apartment also served as a location for many of rock music's key events and was the source of important strands of its nonverbal meaning. The idea that living space constituted a special realm and created particular types of meanings in the Soviet context is not, of course, unique to the world of rock music. Private and public space, described sometimes as discrete categories but, increasingly, as being dependent on one another, are at the heart of scholarly accounts of a diverse range of social and cultural phenomena in the postwar period.[7] An appreciation of the complexity of a world in which acts and discourses striving to be "public" were located in "private" spaces and private behaviors took place in "public" spaces is central to Juliane Fürst's reading of the groups of friends united by shared interests [*kompanii*] of the 1950s and 1960s; ultimately, she argues, "*kompanii* became spaces emulating an idealized form of public life" which led them into "direct competition with official structures of public life."[8] Rachel Platonov's study of the guitar poetry that also emerged in this era also explores the interrelation between

private, semiprivate, and public realms in its examination of the production of intimacy in performances; here, too, the trajectory suggested is from private to public, as performers who began in small, closely knit circles attained wider fame.[9] Platonov draws on Alexei Yurchak's discussion of the construction of *svoi* [us/ours], a performance of identity that brought together the adherents of various nonofficial forms of life in the Soviet Union.[10] According to Yurchak, those who felt themselves to be among *svoi* contributed to the "deterritorialization of Soviet life from within" as they took part in forms of cultural and social life that reproduced in the rituals and speech patterns of Soviet official life, while sidestepping the meanings that had once imbued those rituals. Yurchak thus argues that late Soviet non-official culture, rather than existing in opposition to official structures, existed "*vnye*"—within them, but in an eternal, apolitical elsewhere.[11]

Like earlier generations' revered guitar poets, author-performers of rock music in the 1970s and 1980s often had to resort to making performance venues in their homes. Central to this chapter is a discussion of the practicalities and the cultural and aesthetic significance of the so-called "apartment concert" (known in Russian as *kvartirnyi kontsert*, *domashnii kontsert*, occasionally *fletovik*, and most often as *kvartirnik*), a form of existence for rock music culture from its very beginnings. Appearances at *kvartirniki* were among the features of Soviet rock music that ensured that, at least ostensibly, its performers remained not just authentic representatives of community, but *svoi*. In other words, they seemed accessible and present to their fans in a way that their counterparts in the West did not. In order to examine the creative and cultural implications of the *kvartirnik*, however, it is necessary to outline how this form of performance became such a prominent and influential feature of the rock music scene, and the wider context in which these concerts must be placed. This involves leaving the apartment, stepping out through the *pod"ezd* and beyond the courtyard into the larger space of the city, in order to visit some of the other locations in which rock musicians encountered their audiences. The city is Leningrad, with a few vital excursions to Moscow; the starting point is the Leningrad rock scene as it looked in the 1970s, from the point of view of those involved in nonofficial music-making.

ROCK MUSIC'S ALTERNATIVE MAP OF THE SOVIET CITY

Understanding the development of rock music in the Soviet Union means appreciating the ways in which the life of the Soviet city shaped the behavior of the generations of young (mainly) men who founded rock groups in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. The place of the cityscape in the mythology of Soviet rock music seems assured, whether through the cult status of various

real locations that served as a backdrop to the music's creation, or through a profusion of song lyrics that evoke an urban image of Soviet daily life *[byt]* that is all asphalt and public transport, drinking, and dead-end jobs. Rock music's rise as a form of culture was undoubtedly dependent on the forms of interaction that characterized musicians' and fans' everyday lives, largely taking place beyond the reach of state institutions and engendering its own values in a process of community formation.

The reading of Soviet rock music privileged by the large number of memoirs and histories published since the late 1980s is one in which the conventional division between performers and their audiences has been blurred. Memoirists, whether themselves musicians or mere hangers-on, describe the rock scene as governed by the rules of the *tusovka*. This word—a slang term—had a number of overlapping meanings: meeting, party, or gathering; a crowd or company of people; a hang-out.[12] It was used by young people to refer to informal communities, the places they frequented, and the pastimes they shared, and it became particularly associated with the nonofficial music and art scenes of 1970s and 1980s Moscow and Leningrad.[13]

In Leningrad the cultish hangouts associated with these crowds were typified by a café on the corner of Nevskii Prospekt and Vladimirskii Avenue, famous since the 1960s for its small, strong coffees and its bohemian clientele, and unofficially dubbed "Saigon."[14] The nickname, inspired by reports from the Vietnam War, according to Yurchak "[lost] its negative connotations while preserving a recognizable reference to an exotic and decadent 'Western' locale."[15] Yurchak places the legendary setting of Saigon and the fluid manifestations of the *tusovka* as among "new meanings, lifestyles, communities, and pursuits, all within the discursive field of the state but without being fully determined and controlled by it."[16] In the accounts of the rock scene of the 1970s, the *tusovka* appears as a kind of creative melting-pot in which all manner of different kinds of people, with different relationships to the music itself and different levels of engagement in it as form of lifestyle, interacted with one another, collectively producing rock's texts and myths.

"MUSIC BROUGHT TO LIFE": *AKVARIUM* IN THE *TUSOVKA*

Rock music culture evolved within the practices of informal life and friendship between adherents who were connected by their shared passions (which typically began with collecting foreign records and information about music), as well as simply by virtue of living on the same streets and attending the same schools and institutions of higher education. In the summer of 1972, Boris Grebenshchikov and Anatolii Gunitskii, childhood friends, who had once played at being Alexandre Dumas's musketeers in the courtyard of 22

Altaiskii Street, founded a group they decided to name Aquarium [*Akvarium*]. As it gained fame on the Leningrad scene, the group, which shifted in lineup [*sostav*] during early incarnations, came to symbolize values of friendship and communality that became associated with Soviet rock music as a whole. The group, and especially its leader Grebenshchikov, were influential in Leningrad rock circles even before they became widely known to Soviet rock fans through the circulation of *magnitizdat* recordings.[17] Members of *Akvarium* were part of a scene in which groups intermingled across events that combined performance and celebration, such as regular "Beatles' Birthdays" concerts. *Akvarium* influenced and supported such figures as the singer-songwriter Mikhail (Maik) Naumenko, who fronted his own group, Zoo [*Zoopark*], from 1981, as well as Viktor Tsoi and Aleksei Rybin, younger musicians who, also in 1981, formed the group that became *Kino* [meaning Film or Cinema].

In this fluid, closely interlinked scene of different rock groups, *Akvarium* constituted a particular version of what a rock group could be. The group became known for embodying the communal, creative possibilities associated with the notion of the *tusovka,* which implied familiarity and frequent interaction between performers and audiences. In the group's self-mythology, lifestyle and creativity were inextricably interlinked. Through the 1970s and much of the 1980s, their apartments and hangouts were referenced in lyrics and interviews, forming part of the legend that surrounded the group.[18] These allowed the group's fans to feel that they were always close to the musicians themselves. The group's very concept had something of the space of a home about it: in 1990 an interviewer suggested that its name was evocative of "an ecological niche. A room-sized ocean [*komnatnyi okean*]. *Akvarium*—as a way of life."[19] It is certainly possible to read into the name suggestions of rock music's status in Soviet society: an aquarium is, after all, a space contained within the surrounding environment, yet separated from it by glass; metaphorically, it is a location in which one might be observed, but from which one can also observe.[20] The "way of life" reference the questioner makes had a substantial history by 1990, when the interviewer's mention of it clearly made Grebenshchikov bristle. In fact, it was probably a phrase he had first thought up himself: a 1980 letter from Grebenshchikov to the rock journalist Artemy Troitsky describing the history and credo of *Akvarium* must be considered one of its earliest articulations: "[T]he ancient wisdom says that *Akvarium* is not a musical group but a lifestyle." "As history shows us," he continued, "people join 'by accident' and stay. [...] The musicians are bound not by musical ties but by ties of friendship, and so no one ever tries to play better than anyone else, and rehearsals usually spill over into the drinking of tea, beer, *portvein* ["port wine": fortified wine, usually widely available and cheap], vodka, cognac, etc."[21] The impression this letter creates is one of music-making as a central part of the lifestyle of this group of friends.

Grebenshchikov echoed this statement many years later with a less idealized view of the effect of friendship-driven, shambolic creativity: "It goes without saying that any rehearsal quickly spilled over into the drinking of tea and creative discussions about everything on earth; if anyone did manage to remember the harmony to the songs he didn't spread it around; as a result the group was always quite under-rehearsed but friendly [*ne ochen' sygrana, no druzhna*]."[22] The phrase later appeared in a celebrated "biography" of *Akvarium* written in 1986, in which the author attempted to capture what it had been like to be around the group a decade earlier:

> The well-worn phrase "such-and-such a group [*ansambl'*] is not just a group, but a way of life" is most apt to describe what *Akvarium* represented in the 1970s. This was a community, a team [*soobshchestvo, komanda*], call it what you will, of young men and girls who spent almost all their time together, moving from apartment to apartment. That was what you might call "diluted *Akvarium*" [*Akvarium–rastvorennyi*]. Between ten and forty people, united by their shared passions–in short an open way of life for anyone who wanted it as long as they suited him and he fitted in with them. You could call it a "musical-communal community" or "music brought to life" [*muzyka, voploshchennaia v zhizn'*] [...] And there was, so to speak, "concentrated *Akvarium*" [*Akvarium–kontsentrirovannyi*], i.e. several people who for an hour or two stepped out of the company to take up their places on the stage, to bring joy to themselves and others, and then once more to become part of society.[23]

Aleksei Uchitel's 1987 documentary, entitled simply *Rock* [*Rok*], is one of several films from the early Glasnost era that took up this mythology.[24] *The Leningrad rock scene is presented through segments from well-known* musicians' everyday lives—they are shown at home, at work, walking along the street, grilling meat at a picnic—interspersed with their backstage preparations and concert performances. A substantial part of the film is devoted to Grebenshchikov, and the film's opening scene, in which he appears, is one that places issues of private and public life into sharp relief. As Grebenshchikov climbs the stairs to his apartment, carrying his small son on his shoulders, he passes countless messages left for him in graffiti by visiting fans. These messages represent the thwarted desire for proximity experienced by *Akvarium*'s growing number of fans, many of whom travelled from far away in the hope of encountering their hero in the flesh.[25] The film provides, in mediated form, what these fans were looking for: Grebenshchikov is shown with his group in rehearsal and in concert, but this is juxtaposed with scenes in his apartment on Sofia Perovskaia Street, where he is shown looking after his toddler son and, from the vantage point of his kitchen table by the window, reflecting on his role in society. *Rok*'s presentation of Grebenshchikov as simultaneously—and problematically—private and public individual is plain.

The version of *Akvarium* that was depicted in *Rok* was that of a group that offered complex poetic texts, in which an enigmatic frontman voiced, apparently in first person, a message that would be comprehensible only to the initiated. The incarnation of the group revealed to Soviet audiences by this film had been constructed over a decade or more of interaction with long-standing fans, as well as by the way in which Grebenshchikov and *Akvarium* packaged their recordings. The group's "acoustic" oeuvre was highly developed and already well-known to many from listening to albums circulating in *magnitizdat* such as *Acoustics* [*Akustika*] (1982) and *Ichthyology* [*Ikhtiologiia*] (1984). Its characteristic arrangements interwove cello, flute, and violin obbligati above acoustic and bass guitar lines, echoing an impression of warm personal relationships and artistic equality within the group. *Akvarium*'s vocals, with falsetto harmonies sung by Diusha Romanov, Seva Gakkel, and Sasha Titov that complemented Grebenshchikov's melodic tenor, also suggested intimacy and mutual understanding. Such arrangements allowed the foregrounding of Grebenshchikov's lyrics, texts that referred, however obliquely, to questions of self and society: in its "acoustic" incarnation the emphasis was on *Akvarium* as a rock group that dealt in notions of authenticity and truth.

This was, though, only one side of the group's oeuvre, in which *Akustika* had as its foil *Electricity* [*Elektrichestvo*]. This was the title of an album *Akvarium* released in 1981, comprising a side of songs recorded at the group's scandalous performance at the Tbilisi Spring Rhythms Festival in 1980, and a side of studio recordings of the group in full amplified mode. The festival proved a turning point in *Akvarium*'s career, in that criticism of the group's performance led to Grebenshchikov being expelled from the Komsomol and losing his job in a research institute; immediately following this, he was compelled to find work as a night watchman in order to keep his work record aboveboard.[26] The two albums were packaged as the "history" of *Akvarium*, with *Akustika* as volume one (although it was released later) and *Elektrichestvo* as volume two. The addition of these subtitles suggests not so much chronology as the rewriting of history as a narrative in which "acoustic" comes before "electric," perhaps in reference to one of Western popular music's defining myths, the moment when Bob Dylan "went electric." The intention may have been to convey the sense in which, like all Soviet rock groups, *Akvarium* had started out as friends strumming acoustic guitars and dreaming of playing "in large halls and on real, branded equipment [*na firmennoi apparature*]."[27] Certainly, as the group gained increased access to studios and more sophisticated technology, *Akvarium*'s experiments with amplified sound and different effects increased. According to one historian, "[I]n its electric incarnation *Akvarium* is turned toward the West, in acoustic toward the fatherland [*otechestvo*]."[28] What seems clear is that the ways in which the acoustic/electric division can be read evoke potent, irresolvable paradoxes concerning the nature of rock music and its slippery authenticity. Uchitel's depiction of Grebenshchikov in the setting of his own home, therefore, helped construct an image that *Akvarium*, and especially its leader, had cultivated and would continue to develop as Glasnost went on.

FORMALIZATION: THE LENINGRAD ROCK CLUB (LRK)

The establishment of the Leningrad Rock Club [*Leningradskii rok-klub*, hereafter LRK] in 1981 was the first lasting initiative to institutionalize amateur rock music within official structures in which nonprofessionals took on administrative responsibilities. In January 1981, members of the rock music scene met the head of the Leningrad Inter-Union House of Amateur Creativity [*Leningradskii mezhsoiuznyi dom samodeiatel'nogo tvorchestva*]. An "artistic committee" [*khudsovet*] was elected, comprising members of established amateur rock groups as well as professional cultural-enlightenment workers and cultural administrators. The *khudsovet* undertook responsibility for concerts given by member groups in and beyond Leningrad, as well as for organizing the club's yearly rock festivals.[29] Rock clubs in Moscow and Sverdlovsk, run along similar lines, were not established until 1986 (and were followed by an inundation of rock clubs in cities small and large across the Soviet Union). The LRK provided, therefore, an important blueprint for the ways in which rock musicians could meet their public within the structures and practices sanctioned by state institutions. Its impact on the types of musical performance that took place not only within the walls of the LRK itself but more widely in Leningrad, Moscow, and beyond, was complex and long-lasting.

Not long after its foundation the LRK was forced to adopt a position of oppositional tenacity in order to protect its member groups and defend the status of rock music as a form worthy of existing in Soviet society. In the wake of Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev's death in November 1982, a crippling uncertainty about the possibility of state repressions descended on the rock music community. In June 1983 Konstantin Chernenko, who was to succeed Yuri Andropov as General Secretary the following February, warned the Party Central Committee of "musical ensembles" that performed "programs of a dubious nature that do ideological and aesthetic damage."[30] Over the course of 1983 to 1985, conservative Soviet newspapers and journals published attacks on various musicians and groups, and institutional attitudes hardened severely.[31] Of the LRK's member groups, the most notable victim of this campaign was *Zoopark*, with its leader, Maik Naumenko, singled out for condemnation for the verbal content of his songs and the unmelodic qualities of his singing.[32] *Akvarium* was also criticized for ideologically suspect lyrics.[33] The effects of this renewed criticism were particularly far-

reaching when it came to the possibilities for live performances. The previously widespread semiofficial "sessions" [*seisheny, seishny*] that had regularly taken place in large cities' palaces and houses of culture over at least the previous decade and a half were suddenly taboo, even as amateur events.[34] In September 1984, the Cultural Administration for Moscow [*Upravlenie kul'tury goroda Moskvy*] published a list of thirty-eight groups banned from performing in the capital, which included all of the leading lights of the LRK.[35] According to Vladimir Marochkin, not a single "electric" concert took place in Moscow between February 1983 and April 1984.[36] Back in Leningrad, concerts were cancelled and interrupted mid-flow.[37] The response of the LRK to the unfolding developments, first debated at a meeting held on September 17, 1983, was to emphasize that it could offer a public, institutional, and political voice, and that it needed to defend rock music in the terms acceptable to Soviet institutions and fitting the conventions of Soviet entertainment.[38] At its second and third festivals in 1984 and 1985, for example, the LRK introduced a requirement for groups to perform a song on an antiwar theme, a commonplace in the repertoire of the professional stage for at least a decade.[39] In their decisions and discussions, LRK's organizers intimated that, with rule by committee and sternly enforced rules, the rock club could ensure the formal nature of concerts, guarantee the worthiness of its groups' texts and performances, and make manifest the respectability of rock performers and their music.

The LRK's role in forming the status of rock music and the public image of musicians was crucial. Its presence in Leningrad pushed rock groups into the public arena at a moment that proved extremely timely. Weathering the storm of criticism of the years immediately before Gorbachev's accession meant that Leningrad's rock musicians, at least as far as they were represented by the *khudsovet* of the LRK, had a head start in launching themselves into public, politicized discourse when the policies of Glasnost came into operation. It was through the LRK that, for example, rock musicians from Leningrad undertook their first meaningful negotiations with the state record label, *Melodiia*.[40] The rock festivals the club organized received coverage, broadly encouraging in tone, in newspapers in Leningrad and elsewhere.[41] Tickets were sought after by a wide cross section of society, including writers, journalists, and other members of the cultural establishment.

The LRK retained practices that were reminiscent the incorporation of the VIA into the official amateur sphere since the late 1960s, such as the selection and mentoring of new and less experienced groups, and the punitive exclusion of groups who broke rules about the required standard of performance and other behavior in response to written complaints *[telegi]* from representatives of concert venues.[42] *Akvarium* was banned by the LRK from performing for six months in 1982, after Grebenshchikov went on stage in Arkhangelsk barefoot.[43] Perhaps most significantly in terms of its influence

on the culture of Leningrad rock music, the LRK kept in place the practice of *litovka*, or prior approval of lyrics.[44] Within the club itself, these factors forced to the foreground the issues of authority that Yngvar Steinholt highlights in his discussion of the arguments between older and younger generations.[45] Equally, though, these practices of approval and control helped to construct rock music as a form in which words were the dominant and most controversial aspect of a song. This had a lasting impact on its perceived cultural significance.[46]

Grebenshchikov and *Akvarium* were standard-bearers of this kind of verbally significant rock music. Uchitel's portrayal of Grebenshchikov in *Rok* underlined the attributes as an author and performer that were, by the time the film was made, already endearing him to members of the Soviet literary-cultural elite.[47] Wider public recognition followed, and with it bookings to perform in large, prestigious venues, culminating in *Akvarium* giving a series of widely publicized concerts in the October Concert Hall [*Bol'shoi kontsertnyi zal Oktiabr'skii*] in February 1987.[48] These concerts solidified a particular version of *Akvarium* in the public imagination, a version which drew on aspects of the group's established mythology while playing down others. *Akvarium* appeared on the bill after a chamber orchestra, in the second half of a concert explicitly aimed at the young, with the title "Constant Movement" [*Vechnoe dvizhenie*]; the group was billed as appearing in its "acoustic line-up" [*akusticheskii sostav*], and the program listed a set of songs that were appropriate to the instrumentation and contemplative mood *Akvarium* could deliver in this formation.

The policies and the public profile of the LRK profoundly affected the ways in which rock music became allied to public discourse during the remaining lifetime of the Soviet Union and, arguably, beyond. They fostered a feeling of embattled proximity shared between performers and fans. An unforeseen consequence of the LRK's institutional operations was that the periodic exclusion of groups led to a proliferation of informal performances, held without the permission or knowledge of the LRK's *khudsovet*. *Zoopark*, in particular, appeared for a time trapped in a cycle in which the group gave unsanctioned concerts, was excluded from the rock club, and therefore had its license to perform official concerts revoked, as a consequence of which more unsanctioned concerts were scheduled.[49]

THE *KVARTIRNIK*: PRACTICALITIES

Even as the LRK negotiated to make large concert halls a possible public setting for rock concerts, concerts continued to be arranged via informal channels. Apartment concerts retained an important role in bringing groups into contact with their audiences and often supplemented the program that

the LRK authorized, or allowed a group to survive financially even if it had been banned for a time. New performers who had yet to be established on the Leningrad scene proved themselves through their *kvartirniki*. Aleksandr Bashlachev, a singer-songwriter who came to Moscow and then Leningrad from Cherepovets (by way of Sverdlovsk) in 1984, became particularly associated with this type of concert.[50] Bashlachev fell from an eighth floor window on Kuznetsov Avenue in Leningrad in March 1988, his apparent suicide curtailing what seemed at the time an inexorable rise into a world of larger concerts. His death, retrospectively, amplified the emotional intensity his *kvartirnik* performances had suggested even at the time.[51] After Bashlachev, Egor Letov and Ianka Diagileva also came to the capital (Moscow) from provincial cities (Omsk and Novosibirsk, respectively), and used a series of *kvartirniki* over the course of 1989 to make their mark on a new music scene.[52] In one sense, *kvartirniki* such as these can be regarded as arising directly out of the conventions of playing rock music in the 1970s, rooted in the notion of *tusovka*. Rock groups' memberships typically drew on existing friendships and created others, and therefore, simply by dint of spending time together, informal music-making was part of the usual routine of hanging out. More difficult to define is at what point such a kind of relaxation could be classified as a concert, as guitars and singing were a widespread phenomenon at certain types of celebration. References to concerts taking place in friends' apartments are strewn across the memoirs of Leningrad's musicians, often described as springing up more or less spontaneously, perhaps to mark the New Year, a birthday or wedding, or a return from military service. Often such concerts needed little more as pretext than the sharing of a few bottles of *portvein*.

In the early 1980s, however, the meaning of a *kvartirnik* crystalized as a type of performance that was carefully planned and brought some kind of income to the musicians involved. For Leningrad groups at this time, Moscow was an even more important location than their home city and, as the city authorities clamped down on performances by controversial groups, it was this form of concert that was the most important way of playing there. Aleksandr Lipnitskii, the journalist and musician in whose apartment just off the Garden Ring many musicians from Leningrad had a Moscow base, hinted at the change that had taken place by the middle of the decade, and the disapproval it might provoke among some:

> [The interviewer asks about "the famous series of *kvartirniki*" given by *Akvarium* in the mid-1980s.]
>
> To be honest, I don't know that side of *Akvarium*'s activities in Moscow at all well. In my company they remained faithful to the romance [*oni nikogda ne izmeniali romantike*], and therefore the circumstances of their earnings [*zarabotki*] were a mystery to me. But it's a fact that I heard free [*bezplatnye*] *Akvarium kvartirniki* at my place every month.[53]

Naomi Marcus, who had first met the group at a *kvartirnik* in Leningrad in 1978, also remembered *Akvarium*'s period of frenetic concert-giving in Moscow:

> Word of mouth brought the audience, who congregated at the nearest metro station. Down on the train platforms, under the chandeliers and stained-glass windows of Moscow's showcase subway, young people carrying backpacks and records (signs of their tribe) drifted towards each other. [...] In an atmosphere illicit and charged, Boris played by candlelight to quiet audiences on the floor. Someone passed a hat. Someone brought him a bottle. Someone took care of bribing the custodian, or the suspicious neighbors.[54]

Lipnitskii's apparent squeamishness about *Akvarium*'s relationship to money at this specific moment of the group's career reflects the far-reaching tendency in Soviet and post-Soviet rock music culture to separate the creation and enjoyment of rock music from questions of earnings. As Cushman explains, in the self-image of musicians, rock music was regarded as a vocation, rather than as a career.[55] Rock historian Ilia Smirnov claimed that any financial gain from *kvartirniki* would be negligible.[56] But nonetheless, the hat that was passed around was an important reason for the increased prevalence of *kvartirniki* during the period in the early 1980s when, by and large, the larger public "session" version of the rock concert was not possible.

Accounts in memoirs of the period suggest that the number attending a *kvartirnik* at this time could be fifty, sixty, and even up to one hundred, though between fifteen and forty was more usual.[57] Viktor Tsoi and Aleksei Rybin played at their first Leningrad *kvartirnik* in 1981, in a two-roomed apartment with the layout and dimensions characteristic of the Khrushchev-era housing developments. The concert was actually one given by Grebenshchikov, but after finishing his performance, he invited the younger musicians to play a few songs. Each audience member paid a ruble to attend, and Tsoi and Rybin, as unknowns receiving a hand-up from the established *Akvarium*, happily made the same contribution, "knowing that it would go not to Goskontsert [the central state concert organization] or the like, but directly to *Akvarium*."[58] The following year, by now renamed *Kino* and performing in their own right, Tsoi and Rybin played to an audience of around thirty, each of whom had paid a full five rubles, an unusually high sum. This performance took place at Pasha Kraev's apartment on Kompozitory Street in the Shuvalovo-Ozerki region of Leningrad.[59] Rashid Nugmanov, as a young film director during the 1980s, organized and filmed several *kvartirniki* by both Tsoi and Grebenshchikov; his first *kvartirnik* experience was in the autumn of 1985, as a member of an audience numbering fifty or

sixty, crammed together for a performance given by Kostia Kinchev and Slava Zaderii of the group *Alisa*.[60]

Arranging a *kvartirnik* involved advance planning and a list of personal connections. Attendance was by invitation, and invitations issued only by word of mouth. The organizer, responsible for negotiating with both host and performers and usually responsible for collecting entrance money, bore the greatest risk, as the most serious charge that could arise would be of profiting illegally from the concert. In addition to taking a percentage of the entrance fee, hosts, organizers, or their friends made recordings which could subsequently be sold to fans.[61] The instructions given to participants in *kvartirniki* and would-be audience members were often quite convoluted in order to maintain secrecy, with secret meeting points and coded telephone calls that made innocuous-sounding references to amounts of money.[62] Rybin's account of the *Akvarium kvartirnik* at which he and Tsoi ended up playing narrates some twists and turns: those wishing to attend had to loiter around the ice-cream kiosk on the corner of Kosmonavty Avenue and Tipanov Street until they were collected by one of the organizers and led to the apartment (Tsoi and Rybin took the opportunity to buy an Eskimo ice-cream).[63] Every audience member at a *kvartirnik* would know to say to anyone who knocked at the door during proceedings that what was going on was simply a birthday party or other private celebration. The answer should be the same if the police were to arrive.[64] Of paramount importance was covering up the fact that money had changed hands, as it was this deed that made the concert a criminal act.

Kraev, the host of Tsoi and Rybin's expensively priced 1982 *kvartirnik*, later organized many others, some of which became well known when their recordings became popular.[65] Kraev and his friend Olia lived in separate apartments at the top of the same staircase, without other neighbors, a domestic setup that proved ideal for *kvartirniki*. A concert by Naumenko was their first and, as he was a performer who was already so well known, the organizers showed him the utmost respect:

> The concert took place in Olia's room, but before it started and during the break–and, of course, afterwards–the musicians relaxed by having a drink in my kitchen. Vladik proudly showed Maik around my apartment and Olia's, like the leader of an excursion: "As you can see, this is their commune." And Maik listened attentively and looked around, following him around like a guest at a private view.[66]

Kraev's own short account of the *kvartirniki* he organized is vivid with detail. He mentions the practice of hanging a sign on the door to the apartment reading "Private Party" [*zakrytyi vecher*]; his co-organizer Iura's patter when collecting the entrance fee ("If you don't pay up you don't get to hear Maik"); Tsoi's remark to Naumenko, captured on the recording, of "it's not for us they're clapping"—because someone had just walked in carrying bottles of vodka; a third musician having to sit on an upturned bucket because there were only two kitchen stools; the state of the apartment after the concert was over—strewn with ashes, dog-ends, and a profusion of empty bottles that were taken to be cashed in afterwards.[67]

Memoirs by participants and attendees seem to suggest that interruptions of a truly malign nature were very rare—testament, perhaps, to the careful selection of locations and the clandestine way in which arrangements were made. Among the instances when concerts were interrupted by the police [*militsiia*] was a *kvartirnik* given by Bashlachev in Moscow near the Aeroport metro station.[68] Another time was at a *kvartirnik* given by Grebenshchikov and Sasha Titov on April 8, 1986, held in a large, former communal apartment on Barykovskii Lane, a street of pre-Revolutionary houses in the center of Moscow. A seventeen-minute long recording of this truncated concert survives, in which audience comments can be heard in the foreground as the two musicians perform. It also captures two minutes of recording in which those who were present discuss what has happened, apparently while still in the police station after their arrest.[69] Their comments are bemused, but good-humored, even giggly. An account written by one audience member, Mikhail Krassovskii, provides the wider context for the traces of the event that can be heard on the tape. On the invitation of the host, his friend Sergei, Krassovskii came to the apartment at the appointed time, and he found himself at his first *kvartirnik* ("It was a total high" [*Kaif byl polnyi*]):

> In the biggest room, where the concert was to take place, someone had already arranged chairs and stools for two next to the wall, as an improvised stage. Next to them, on the floor, a reel-to-reel tape recorder had been set up, and there was a microphone on a stand so that the performance could be recorded. I was next to the microphone, i.e. standing.[70]

When the concert began, Grebenshchikov played acoustic guitar and Titov his electric bass guitar (they had brought a small amplifier with them). The room had become extremely tightly packed, with "people standing on the windowsills in the living room, in the bedroom at the back [...] standing on the bed, the desk, on chairs, and sitting on top of the cupboards." One audience member, worried that there were too many people, suggested that some waited in another apartment nearby and asked the musicians to perform a second concert there, but her proposal was rejected.[71]

Grebenshchikov and Titov had played only a handful of songs when the audience realized they had unwelcome company.[72] The first police interloper asked what was happening and demanded that the host of the apartment identify himself. Audience members held the line that that they were just celebrating someone's birthday. Krassovskii recalled that the musicians went

on to play another song after the first policeman left; this seems possible, as the recording retains five songs, and during the last two the tape recorder is apparently switched off. The report from the windowsill was that "a sea of police" had gathered below and that police radios were crackling. The audience gave up. All present were escorted out of the building and to the 135th Police Department.[73]

Krassovskii and others were questioned individually, and they were asked to write statements. He wrote that he had stopped by to borrow a cassette from his university friend and had simply chanced upon the party. This did not ring true to the police, who could be heard shouting about an "underground concert" [*podpol'nyi kontsert*] and asking specifically about the sum of money that he had paid to attend. Krassovskii then changed tack in his answers: his second version of events was set out "almost as they had happened–that is, that my friend invited me, saying that he was expecting some interesting guests and that I should come; but I didn't give anyone money." He was then released. His biggest fear was that the Komsomol would be informed and that he would be expelled, thus losing his place at the institute. This did not happen, however (Krassovskii made the assumption that his girlfriend's mother, who was well-connected, must have intervened). Three of his acquaintances from the concert, however, were excluded from the Komsomol and were expelled from their technical college and institute; another, a Party member, was summoned to the local committee to account for his actions. It is not clear from written accounts or the recording what the consequences were for the musicians, but it seems that the authorities in Leningrad were either unaware or unconcerned: less than two weeks afterwards *Akvarium* was approved for an appearance at the LRK's Fourth Rock Festival, at which the group went on to receive a newly instituted "grand prix" [*gran-pri*].[74] Krassovskii heard later that 180 people had been arrested on that evening, not just from inside the apartment, but from the staircase.[75]

VOICES AND EXPERIENCES

The intimate atmosphere of *kvartirniki* affected the ways in which musicians presented themselves to their public. They were predominantly acoustic, performed usually by only one, two, or three musicians: typically, this meant a singer accompanied only by his own, or perhaps one additional, acoustic guitar with, for percussion, perhaps bongo drums, or simply the sound of the audience clapping in time. This drew attention to the meaning of the words that were being sung.[76] The fact that in the mid-1980s rock music could increasingly be heard in concert halls intensified the meaning of the physical proximity that was inherent in the *kvartirnik* experience. Memoirs by audience members imply that, in their ideal incarnation *kvartirniki* encouraged a

unity of musicians and listeners that was almost spiritual in its force. This is suggested by musicians as well; Gunitskii, co-founder of *Akvarium,* recalled: "Candles on the floor, a few bottles of wine, faces bathed in light and visibly somewhat under the influence [*podernutye legkim kaifom*] of those who had come to this home concert to glimpse the other side of the looking glass in the company of the musicians."[77] When performers revealed their fallibility during concerts, this feeling only strengthened. During one of his *kvartirniki* in Moscow, in front of an audience of only a dozen or so, Bashlachev's singing was reportedly less impressive than usual:

> He realized that he was singing badly. And this led to a real empathy [*soperezhivanie*]. Because everyone understood the scale of his personality [*lichnost'*] and talent. [...] So there was such reciprocation [*obmen*] between audience and performer going on, that the temperature rose. That is, there was a strong emotional empathy.[78]

The number of rock fans in the Soviet Union of course far outstripped the number who ever attended a *kvartirnik.* The fact that the overwhelming majority of rock fans encountered and experienced the music as mediated by recordings does not diminish the strength of the mythology the *tusovka* promoted and the spread of its influence well beyond rock music's original tight circles. And *kvartirniki,* too, could be experienced, albeit at a distance, through the circulation of recordings. In the opinion of one recent commentator, "the *kvartirniki* of Maik, BG [Grebenshchikov], and Tsoi are more interesting than their solo albums," because they allow listeners to speculate over the suggestions of personal relationships and artistic competition: "It is interesting to observe the dialogue in songs [*pesennyi dialog*] of rock stars as they attempt, during their joint performances—in a friendly manner, but blatantly—to out-do each other, mixing the songs so that a coherent conversation appears between them; life springs forth out of those recordings more than it does on official releases."[79]

As well as the sense of the relationships between performers, *kvartirnik* recordings preserve the presence of the audience: sounds of applause, questions thrown at the performers, praise shouted out ("Cool!" [*Zdorovo!*]), expletives confided in the direction of the microphone ("This is fucked up," [*Eto kakoi-to pizdets*] someone says in a stage whisper during an instrumental interlude by Grebenshchikov), chairs scraping, objects clattering to the floor. On some recordings, singers fudge the words; elsewhere they are heard retelling the well-worn narratives of their songs' composition. They also capture elements of the performers' presence in a way that goes beyond the vocal—the sounds of drinks being poured and fizzing and even cigarettes being lit can be heard. Such unplanned moments and traces of informality contribute to the sense of ownership, almost of collective authorship, that has

been described as the defining quality of the *kvartirnik* for those listening to their recordings.[80]

The sense of crossing over into illegality and the idea of interruption by the authorities also made their aesthetic imprint. The ways in which extra-musical events were inscribed onto the mythology of *kvartirnik* performances can be shown by two memories of the moment at which the police entered the apartment during the ill-fated concert on Barykovskii Lane. First, Krassovskii's version:

> They came to the song "Bastards" [*Kozly*], and from its very first chords you could hear the hum of people singing along under their voices [*shepotom*].[81] On the last chord the doorbell rang and at that moment a deathly silence fell, into which a quiet voice said "Who's that?" Sasha Titov answered: "The bastards [*kozly*] have arrived, that's who . . ."[82]

Anastasiia Rakhlina, Bashlachev's wife, was also present, but remembered the coincidence of song and interruption slightly differently:

> The police began breaking down the door during the third song, exactly on the phrase "My words aren't too kind, but they're not too mean either, I'm stating a fact—they're bastards!" [*Moi slova ne slishkom dobry, no i ne slishkom zly, ia kontsatiruiu fakt—kozly!*] In fact everyone understood, of course, that they were going to arrest the entire session [*chto seishn svintiat*]—even before it started citizens in uniform [*grazhdane v forme*] had been spotted beneath the windows of the evil apartment [*nekhoroshaia kvartira*].[83]

The recording cuts out before any extraneous noise indicating the unwelcome arrivals can be heard, though clearly at least one of these memories is not entirely accurate. But in both accounts, just as Grebenshchikov sang of malign authority figures "prevent[ing] him from living," the police arrived to silence him. It is clear that the juxtaposition of the words of the song and the events that were unfolding was a very powerful one, and the gaps in the recording have encouraged memory to supplement what has been recorded. A comparable occurrence can be heard on the recording of a *kvartirnik* given by Grebenshchikov solo at some time late in 1983. The doorbell of the apartment rings a few bars into the song "Silent Film" [*Nemoe kino*], before he has begun singing.[84] Grebenshchikov's voice can be heard saying, "Is that the cops?" [*Menty?*], foreshadowing the song's couplet, "Punks love dirt, and hippies love flowers. / The cops arrest them both alike" [*Panki liubiat griaz', a khippi–tsvety. / I tekh, i drugikh berut menty*].[85] Continuing the song without further pause, Grebenshchikov's voice is joined by those of audience members singing along. As happened in more dramatic circumstances in Barykovskii Lane, the circumstances of the performance and the timing of the doorbell during this particular song lent his remark a significance that the

dissemination of the recording subsequently magnified. The recording circulated under the unofficial title *The Wrong End of Nevskii Prospekt* [*Plokhoi konets Nevskogo prospekta*], reflecting the sense of danger and transgression that Grebenshchikov's quip highlighted.[86]

Musicians claimed that for them what set *kvartirniki* apart as artistic experiences was the absence of *litovka*.[87] In the setting of a private apartment, a singer did not have to choose his words carefully, except in order to please his audience. Indeed, the concept of an "apartment version" [*kvartirnyi variant*], meaning a racier, ruder, or more controversial version of a canonical song, was widely understood among musicians.[88] Naumenko's lyrics were particularly piquant, unusual on the Leningrad scene for their overt references to sexual behavior, as well as the more conventional topic of heavy drinking; his *kvartirnik* performances were characterized by a sense of complicity between performer and audience, with lines that provoked laughter or, sometimes, gasps. Perhaps his most offensive moment came in the song "Trash" [*Drian'*], which castigated a female addressee (the "trash" of the title) as promiscuous and unfaithful, asking her rhetorically in its most taboo-breaking line, "But are you ready for your five hundred and second abortion?" [*No gotova li ty k piat'sot vtoromu abortu?*][89] The phrase was always toned down for *Zoopark*'s officially-arranged concerts ("Forgive me, my dear, but you break all the records" [*Prosti, dorogaia, no ty b"esh' vse rekordy*]).[90]

Artists such as Naumenko, Tsoi, and Grebenshchikov appeared to find the space and intimacy of a *kvartirnik* conducive to singing about familiar settings, likely experiences, and recognizable characters. The songs that went into the *kvartirnik* program traded on the details and locations that could be anywhere, but seemed familiar. They evoked the commonplaces of everyday life: work, socializing, public transport. Among Grebenshchikov's well-known *kvartirnik* songs were those that described a particular kind of individual and his interactions with Soviet society at large. Songs like "A New Day in a New Post" [*Novaia zhizn' na novem postu*] and "Night watchman Sergeev" [*Storozh Sergeev*] satirized the uncomfortable division between public and private life for those involved in rock music, particularly in relation to the need to be registered in a job to avoid falling foul of the law on parasitism.[91] Working as a night watchman was a frequent means for rock musicians in the 1970s and 1980s to prioritize their creative activities while remaining in legal employment; it was famously part of Grebenshchikov's own experience, after the scandal of the Tbilisi Festival.[92]

Songs like these satirize the idea that the only way it was possible to get through a day in such a job was to drink alcohol. A contemporary review of *Ikhtiologiia*, in which these two songs appeared, described the protagonist of "*Novaia zhizn' na novem postu*" as someone who "couldn't give a damn about his job [*po figu ego sluzhba*] and is seriously dosed-up [*krepko obdol-*

bennyi] as well." The reviewer also retold a legend that at precisely the moment Grebenshchikov was writing "*Storozh Sergeev*," while away in Crimea, his friends Naumenko and Gakkel were back in Leningrad "doing exactly what is described with such relish in the song."[93]

Kvartirnik audiences had no difficulty in grasping the autobiographical significance of songs about characters ostensibly participating in the patterns of conventional life while simultaneously living outside these conventions (to use Yurchak's term, "being *vnye*").[94] But such songs were not merely descriptions of a characteristic form of existence taking place in well-known locations. They were also a way of making their listeners artistically complicit in the song as creative event. In "*Novaia zhizn' na novem postu*," Grebenshchikov describes a protagonist, the everyman-ish Ivan, on his way to work (the line "he was an engineer, now he's a night-watchman" [*on byl inzhenirom, teper' on storozh*] is an obvious nod to his own experience). But the song is also about being a songwriter, with a second, first-person protagonist, who "sits by the window and looks out into nothing" [*ia sizhu u okna i smotriu v pustotu*]. In these lines, Grebenshchikov gives the audience a different autobiographical glimpse, this time into the process of the song's creation. He sings, "I would have liked to sing about this, / But no one would let this text through the *litovka* [*Mne khotelos' by pet' ob etom, / No etot tekst ne zalituet nikto*]."[95] By including this paradoxical reference to *litovka*, in a line that self-evidently addresses a *kvartirnik* audience rather than any other, Grebenshchikov layers the processes of his song's creation—observation, inspiration, writing, making public—and incorporates with it its *kvartirnik* performance. While purporting to offer a fragment of autobiographical truth about the person who is singing it, the song instead puts forward a multilayered meditation on the relationship between life as lived and the creative process. While by no means all *kvartirnik* texts offered their audiences such a complex version of artistic complicity, the interrelated notions of autobiographical truth and personal honesty and the physical co-presence of live performance are placed to the fore by all such events. These notions had their roots in the idea of the *tusovka*, which promoted the idea that rock groups belonged to their fans and fans belonged in the same rooms as them; but the *tusovka* was an ideal, evoked most often as a nostalgic memory. The legacy of texts that had and had not passed a *litovka* also, through the phenomenon of the *kvartirnik*, had enduring significance for rock music's presentation as a verbally meaningful form. Over the course of the 1980s, the practice of holding *kvartirniki* became emblematic of a contradiction at the very heart of Soviet rock music, in the gap between performers' understanding of what their role and public status might be, and their physical location in the same rooms and streets as their audiences. During the filming for *Akvarium*'s appearance on the television program *The Musical Ring* [*Muzykal'nyi ring*] in October 1986, Grebenshchikov was asked by an audience member about

the transition that his group was making from an "apartment group" [*kvartirnaia gruppa*] to one that played large concert halls. He countered that "even now we play in apartments. As for concert halls, quite simply they used not to let us in, but now they do." His interrogator then came to the heart of the matter: "Aren't you worried that the atmosphere of secrecy [*tainstvennost'*] and semi-subversion [*polukramol'nost'*] will disappear?" Grebenshchikov answered, "It wasn't us who created that atmosphere, but the audience [*publika*]. And anyway we were never either subversive or not subversive. We were just doing what we found interesting."[96] Under the conditions of Glasnost, musicians were increasingly likely to refer to their position on the margins of professional music-making as limiting rather than as creatively enabling. But by 1990, Grebenshchikov saw things differently: "It's a very difficult moment when you no longer see the public. And that's why we need to remember the tradition of home concerts."[97]

Part of the retrospective allure of the *kvartirnik* for their listeners and former performers must, of course, be driven by nostalgia. Even the threat of interruptions that could have serious consequences for career and life seems to add not just excitement, but immediacy and meaning, to the performance itself. The production of a community of *svoi* was at its most powerful when the concert, or the community itself, appeared to be under threat. The presence of police at the boundaries of the apartment, threatening to stop concerts and arrest participants, concretized the heroic discourse that the LRK was instrumental in bringing to rock music culture from 1981 and especially after 1983. Further, fans' heightened emotional investment in the concerts of such artists as Tsoi, Bashlachev, Naumenko, and Diagileva, all of whom died in the last years of the existence of the Soviet Union, is perhaps unsurprising. More than this, though, *kvartirniki* as remembered or captured on tape are redolent of a place and an era in which the consumption of rock music could take the form of fanatical, near-religious devotion, but in which, simultaneously, rock's stars were still individuals who walked the same streets as their fans. Those who found themselves sitting in the main room of a domestic apartment, a living space with a total area of perhaps sixty or seventy cubic meters—singing the same lyrics, drinking from the same bottles, breathing the same air as their heroes—experienced something that most rock fans never will. The direct experience of such events was granted to an elite few, limited by the space of an apartment and determined by the performance of *svoi*, which was based as much on an exclusive as an inclusive impetus. Nevertheless, the *kvartirnik* experience and the mythology of its meanings spread, through the circulation and preservation of recordings on which the informality of rock's origins and its ways of speaking to its audiences with honesty seemed to have been captured.

NOTES

1. S. Shal'nev, "Pomogite, v pod"ezdakh gitaristy!" *Klub i khudozhestvennaia samodeiatel'nost'* (Moscow) 8 (1972): 25. The article refers to the seven-stringed acoustic guitar that is a traditional instrument in Russia and was associated with so-called *avtorskaia pesnia*, literally "author's song," but also translated into English as "guitar poetry." See Gerald Stanton Smith, *Songs to Seven Strings: Russian Guitar Poetry and Soviet "Mass Song"* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984); and Rachel S. Platonov, *Singing the Self: Guitar Poetry, Community, and Identity in the Post-Stalin Period* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2012). Given the shortage of six-stringed acoustic guitars in the Soviet Union, many rock guitarists inevitably started out on the seven-stringed version. The mention of self-made guitars is also accurate: see Vladimir Marochkin, *Povsednevnaia zhizn' rossiiskogo rok-muzykanta* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 2001), 160–61; Yngvar Bordewich Steinholt, *Rock in the Reservation: Songs from the Leningrad Rock Club 1981–1986* (New York: Mass Media Music Scholars' Press, 2004), 19–20.

2. Shal'nev, "Pomogite!" 25–26.

3. For information about the careers and popularity of the professional VIA, see V. Shchelkin and S. Frolov, *Legendy VIA* (Moscow: Grifon, 2007); Sergei Zharikov, ed., *Muzykal'naia anatomiia pokoleniia nezavisimykh* (Moscow: Spetsial'noe Radio, 2006); V. Marochkin, N. Sycheva, and A. Ignat'eva, *Pesni nashego pokoleniia: Shestidesiatye* (Rostov-on-Don: Feniks, 2010). By 1974 the number of registered amateur VIAs in the Soviet Union was 160,000; these were mainly "attached to" *[pri]* particular factories and institutions, including schools and colleges. See L. K. Bubennikova, "VIA i rok gruppy," in L. P. Solntseva and M. V. Iunisov, eds., *Samodeiatel'noe khudozhestvennoe tvorchestvo v SSSR: Ocherki istorii. Konets 1950-kh–nachalo 1990-kh* (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 1999), 81.

4. Thomas Cushman, *Notes from Underground: Rock Music Counterculture in Russia* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 81–88, 127–33, 142–94. Yngvar Steinholt and Iu. Druzhkin offer different and somewhat less polarized interpretations of the relationship of the VIA to rock music: see Steinholt, *Rock in the Reservation*, 22; and Iu. Druzhkin, "Pesnia ot 1970-kh do 1990-kh. Chto dal'she? (Krizis otechestvennoi pesni i ego kul'turno-istoricheskie korni)," in *Estrada segodnia i vchera: O nekotorykh estradnykh zhanrakh XX–XXI vekov*, ed. O. A. Kuznetsova, vol. 1 (Moscow: Gosudarstvennyi institut iskusstvoznaniia, 2010), 12–16.

5. Andrei Voznesenskii, "Elektrogitarizatsiia vsei strany," in *Rok-muzyka v SSSR: Opyt populiarnoi entsiklopedii*, ed. Artemii Troitskii (Moscow: Kniga, 1990), 5.

6. Ways in which rock lyrics reflect life in the Soviet city are discussed in Artemii Troitskii, "Pesni gorodskikh vol'erov (obshchie soobrazheniia): Maik Naumenko i drugie," in *Zolotoe podpol'e: Polnaia illiustrirovannaia entsiklopediia rok-samizdata (1967–1994). Istoriia. Antologiia. Bibliografiia*, ed. Aleksandr Kushnir (Nizhnii Novgorod: Dekom, 1994), 208–9; Iu. V. Domanskii, "Motiv doma v russkoi rok-poezii 1970-kh–1980-kh godov," in *Vzaimodeistvie literatur v mirovom literaturnom protsesse: Problemy teoreticheskoi i istoricheskoi poetiki* (Grodno: Grodnenskii gosudarstvennyi universitet imeni Ianki Kupaly, 1998), 245–50; and I. P. Skvortsov, "Liricheskii geroi poezii Borisa Grebenshchikova i Mikhaila Naumenko," in *Russkaia rok-poeziia: Tekst i kontekst. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov* (Tver) 2 (1999): 159–66.

7. See, among others, Vladimir Shlapentokh, *Public and Private Life of the Soviet People: Changing Values in Post-Stalin Russia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), especially 164–89; Svetlana Boym, *Common Places: Mythologies of Everyday Life in Russia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994); David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, eds., *Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc* (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2002); and Lewis Siegelbaum, ed., *Borders of Socialism: Private Spheres of Soviet Russia* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

8. Juliane Fürst, "Friends in Private, Friends in Public: The Phenomenon of the *Kompaniia* among Soviet Youth in the 1950s and 1960s," in *Borders of Socialism: Private Spheres of Soviet Russia*, ed. Lewis Siegelbaum (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 244–45.

9. Platonov, *Singing the Self*, 68–76.

10. Alexei Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 102–14.

11. Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever*, 134.

12. V. M. Mokienko and T. G. Nikitina, eds., *Bol'shoi slovar' russkogo zhargona* (St. Petersburg: Norint, 2001), 603. The etymology of the word was outlined by Hilary Pilkington, who traced its origins from *tasovat'* (from French, *se tasser*), "to shuffle." See Hilary Pilkington, *Russia's Youth and Its Culture: A Nation's Constructors and Constructed* (London: Routledge, 1994), 234–35; and Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever*, 141.

13. The word was used as the title of a modish selection of Glasnost-era biographies of musicians and artists. See Artemy Troitsky, *Tusovka: Who's Who in the New Soviet Rock Culture* (London: Omnibus Press, 1990).

14. See Elena Zdravomyslova, "The Café Saigon Tusovka: One Segment of the Informal-Public Sphere of Late Soviet Society," in *Biographical Research in Eastern Europe: Altered Lives and Broken Biographies*, ed. Robin Humphrey, Robert Miller, and Elena Zdravomyslova (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003), 141–77; and Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 149–55.

15. Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever*, 142.

16. Ibid., 134.

17. *Magnitizdat*, which translates as something like "tape recorder publishing," refers to the practice of making and copying recordings using domestic tape recorders. Unless stated otherwise, the word "album" here refers to a so-called *magnitoal'bom*, "tape-recorder album." An excellent discussion of the phenomenon of *magnitizdat* in relation to guitar poetry is J. Martin Daughtry, "'Sonic Samizdat': Situating Unofficial Recording in the Post-Stalinist Soviet Union," in *Poetics Today* 30, no. 1 (2009): 27–65. The place of *magnitizdat* in Soviet rock music culture is discussed in Aleksandr Kushnir, *100 magnitoal'bomov sovetskogo roka 1977–1991: 15 let podpol'noi zvukozapisi* (Moscow: Lean, 1999), 8–55; Steinholt, *Rock in the Reservation*, 29–30, 54–56; and Polly McMichael, "Prehistories and Afterlives: The Packaging and Re-Packaging of Soviet Rock," *Popular Music and Society* 32, no. 3 (2009): 334–38.

18. A lively description of *Akvarium*'s domestic arrangements, rehearsal spaces, and haunts was written by an American friend of the group, who first met them while an exchange student in Leningrad in 1978: Naomi Marcus, "The Rooms off Nevsky Prospect: A Decade in Aquarium," *The Village Voice*, 31 January 1989, 27–33.

19. V. Chernov, "Epitafiia roku," *Ogonek* (Moscow) 30 (1990): 30. Memoirs by *Akvarium* members Seva Gakkel and Diusha Romanov are also evocative of the importance of particular locations in the group's life: Vsevolod Gakkel', *Akvarium kak sposob ukhoda za tennisnym kortom* (St. Petersburg: Sentiabr', 2000); and Diusha Romanov, *Istoriia Akvariuma: Kniga fleitista* (St. Petersburg: Neva, 2001).

20. See also Steinholt's observations about the name *Akvarium:* Steinholt, *Rock in the Reservation*, 61.

21. Boris Grebenshchikov, "Pravdivaia avtobiografiia 'Akvariuma' (Pis'mo Artemiiu Troitskomu, 1980 god)," in *Akvarium 1972–1992: Sbornik materialov*, ed. Ol'ga Sagareva (Moscow: Alfavit, 1992), 12, 14. This text first appeared in the self-published **[***samizdat***]** rock journal *Zerkalo* (Moscow) in 1981.

22. Boris Grebenshchikov, "Kratkii otchet o 16-i godakh zvukozapisi," in *Ne pesni* (Moscow: Antao, 2002), 180.

23. Aleksandr Startsev, "Istoriia gruppy 'Akvarium'," in *Akvarium 1972–1992: Sbornik materialov*, ed. Ol'ga Sagareva (Moscow: Alfavit, 1992), 54–55. This text circulated widely in *samizdat*.

24. Iurii Filinov, *Rok*, directed by Aleksei Uchitel' (Leningrad: Leningradskaia studiia dokumental'nykh fil'mov, 1987). Rashid Nugnamov's *Iia-khkha* was another film broadly in the documentary mold which used the Leningrad rock scene as its inspiration: Rashid Nugmanov, *Iia-khkha*, directed by Rashid Nugmanov (Moscow: VGIK, 1986), YouTube version at www.youtube.com/watch?v=t4HzV0t2IvI, accessed 13 September 2012. *Iia-khkha* focuses on Leningrad's *Kino*, *Alisa*, and *Zoopark*, and the communities of fans around them. Most prominent, and clearly inspired in part by Nugmanov's work, was Sergei Solovev's *ASSA*, which intersperses features of Leningrad's rock and nonofficial art scenes in its plot, using Grebensh-

chikov's music in its soundtrack and referring in dialogue to his cult status. *ASSA*, directed by Sergei Solov'ev (Moscow: Mosfil'm, 1987).

25. This graffiti is discussed in John Bushnell, *Moscow Graffiti: Language and Subculture* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 98–104; and Tat'iana Shchepanskaia, *Simvolika molodezhnoi subkul'tury: Opyt etnologicheskogo issledovaniia sistemy 1986–1989 gg.* (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 1993), 114–17.

26. *Akvarium*'s appearance at the Tbilisi Festival is commonly narrated as one of the defining moments of Soviet rock and roll rebellion, framed as the clash between an extravagant onstage performance by *Akvarium* and the reaction of a straight-laced jury whose members walked out in disgust. The events are discussed in detail in Artemy Troitsky, *Back in the USSR: The True Story of Rock in Russia* (Boston and London: Faber and Faber, 1988), 53–59; and Ilia Smirnov, *Prekrasnyi diletant: Boris Grebenshchikov v noveishei istorii Rossii* (Moscow: Lean, 1999), 5–9.

27. Ilia Smirnov, "'Iz goroda v gorod; iz doma v dom, po kvartiram chuzhikh druzei . . . ': Kvartirnye rok-kontserty kak kul'turnyi fenomen," sleeve notes to CD re-release of *Akvarium*, *Ikhtiologiia* (Moscow: Studiia "Soiuz," 2002).

28. Smirnov, *Prekrasnyi diletant*, 117.

29. "Letopis' rok-kluba," the publication of the minutes of meetings of the LRK. These were once available at www.prima-donna.ru/chronicle/chronicle (15 January 2007), but they are no longer available online. Discussion of the LRK can be found in Steinholt, *Rock in the Reservation*, especially 36–45; and Cushman, *Notes from Underground*, 204–18. Russian-language histories include Aleksandr Zhitinskii, *Puteshestvie rok-diletanta: Muzykal'nyi roman* (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1990), 67–79, 107–10, 126–38, and *passim*; Ilia Smirnov, *Vremia kolokol'chikov: Zhizn' i smert' russkogo roka* (Moscow: "INTO," 1994), 75–80; and A. Gunitskii, "Leningradskii rok-klub," in *Rok-muzyka v SSSR: Opyt populiarnoi entsiklopedii*, ed. Artemy Troitsky (Moscow: Kniga, 1990), 183–92.

30. Quoted in Smirnov, *Prekrasnyi diletant*, 157.

31. Smirnov, *Vremia kolokol'chikov*, 108–15; E. A. Savitskaia, "'Filosofiia ukhoda' v tvorchestve rok-muzykantov (Na material gruppy 'Krematorii')," in *Massovye zhanry ot 20-kh k 80-m godam XX veka*, ed. E. V. Dukov (Moscow: Indrik, 2002), 231–32.

32. V. Vlasov, "Kto nuzhen 'Zooparku'?" *Smena* (Moscow) 7 (1984). The article is cited as reproduced at Vadim Shesterikov, *Vorokh starikh gazet*, garson.lipetsk.ru/vvs.spb.ru/oldspapers/1984/1984-2.htm, accessed 13 September 2013.

33. Aleksandr Bobrov, "'Kriukoobraznost'—moi deviz.' Polemicheskie zametki o molodezhnoi pesne, rok-muzyke i pozitsii nekotorykh ee pochitatelei," *Literaturnaia Rossiia* (Moscow) 11 January 1985.

34. A *seishen* is defined as a rock concert or festival, or as a party or gathering: Mokienko and Nikitina, *Bol'shoi slovar' russkogo zhargona*, 532. See also Marochkin, *Povsednevnaia zhizn'*, 400–401.

35. "Postanovlenie upravlenie kul'tury g. Moskvy ot 28 sentiabria 1984 g." The directive was republished in the Moscow *samizdat* journal *UrLait* (*UrLait* (Moscow) 4 [1985]), and it is reproduced in Kushnir, *100 magnitoal'bomov*, 39.

36. Marochkin, *Povsednevnaia zhizn'*, 30.

37. Smirnov, *Prekrasnyi diletant*, 150–51; Steinholt, *Rock in the Reservation*, 45–47.

38. "Letopis' rok-kluba," minutes for meeting held on 17 September 1983, www.prima-donna.ru/chronicle/chronicle, accessed 15 January 2007. This web page is no longer available.

39. "Letopis' rok-kluba," minutes for meetings held on 17 March 1984 and 14 December 1985, www.prima-donna.ru/chronicle/chronicle, accessed 15 January 2007. This web page is no longer available.

40. "Letopis' rok-kluba," minutes for meeting held on 11 December 1982, www.prima-donna.ru/chronicle/chronicle, accessed 15 January 2007. This web page is no longer available.

41. For example, M. Sadchikov, "Budet muzyka... Razmyshleniia posle pervogo konkursa-smotra liubitel'skikh rok-grupp," *Smena* (Moscow), 22 May 1983; N. Meinert, "Vtoroi konkurs-smotr leningradskikh rok-grupp," *Vechernyi Tallin* (Tallinn) 4 July 1984. Both articles are available at *Istoriia sovetskogo roka*, sovr.narod.ru/articles/article2.html, accessed 13 September 2012.

42. These often appeared to be motivated by little more than malice. See Steinholt, *Rock in the Reservation*, 41.

43. Romanov, *Kniga fleitista*, 152–54.

44. The word is derived from LITO, the abbreviation for the Literary-Publishing Department of the People's Commissariat for Enlightenment [*Literaturno-izdatel'skii otdel Narkomata prosveshcheniia*]. See V. M. Mokienko and T. G. Nikitina, *Tolkovyi slovar' iazyka sovdepii* (St. Petersburg: Olio-Press, 1998), 317.

45. Steinholt, *Rock in the Reservation*, 43–45, 80–81.

46. Claims that the lyrics of Soviet rock music are its most significant achievement are numerous. See, for example, Troitsky, *Back in the USSR*, 40–42; Nicholas Glossop, "On the Peculiarities of Soviet Rock and Roll," in *Intersections and Transpositions: Russian Music, Culture and Society*, ed. Andrew Baruch Wachtel (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1998), 275, 286–88; Cushman, *Notes from Underground*, 103–7; Julia P. Friedman and Adam Weiner, "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Holy Rus' and Its Alternatives in Russian Rock Music," in *Consuming Russia: Popular Culture, Sex, and Society since Gorbachev*, ed. Adele Marie Barker (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 110–37; Aleksei Didurov, *Soldaty russkogo roka* (Moscow: MP "Rus'-90," 1994), 5–71; and Il'ia Kormil'tsev and Ol'ga Surova, "Rok-poeziia v russkoi kul'ture: Vozniknovenie, bytovanie, evoliutsiia," *Russkaia rok-poeziia: Tekst i kontekst. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov* (Tver) 1 (1998): 5–33. Two critiques of these claims are Yngvar B. Steinholt, "You Can't Rid a Song of Its Words: Notes on the Hegemony of Lyrics in Russian Rock Songs," *Popular Music* 22, no. 1 (2003): 89–108; and A. V. Shcherbenok, "Slovo v russkom roke," *Russkaia rok-poeziia: Tekst i kontekst. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov* (Tver) 2 (1999): 1–8.

47. Most prominent was Andrei Voznesenskii, "Belye nochi Borisa Grebenshchikova," *Ogonek* (Moscow) 46 (1986): 14–15. The article was reproduced on the sleeve of the first LP release of *Akvarium* recordings by *Melodiia* in 1987.

48. Smirnov, *Prekrasnyi diletant*, 230–33.

49. "Letopis' rok-kluba." Restrictions on *Zoopark*'s performances as a consequence of "performing without a certified program" are mentioned in the reports of LRK meetings for 23 April and 17 September 1983. The web page for these reports, www.prima-donna.ru/chronicle/chronicle, last accessed 15 January 2007, is no longer available.

50. See Artemii Troitskii, Oleg Tarasov, and Evgenii Dodolev in Dimamishenin, "Tsennye bumagi: Vvedenie v kvartirnuiu kul'turu dlia nachinaiushchikh (2009)," *Peremeny* (Moscow), www.peremeny.ru/column/view/870, accessed 13 September 2012.

51. Dodelov in Dimamishenin, "Vvedenie v kvartirnuiu kul'turu."

52. Tarasov in Dimamishenin, "Vvedenie v kvartirnuiu kul'turu." Diagileva died in 1991; she apparently also committed suicide.

53. Ol'ga Sagareva, "Aleksandr Lipnitskii: Na uglu Sadovoi i Karetnoi," in *Akvarium 1972–1992: Sbornik materialov*, ed. Ol'ga Sagareva (Moscow: Alfavit, 1992), 86. Gakkel recalled that *Akvarium* played one of its first Moscow *kvartirniki* in 1980 in honor of Lipnitskii's birthday; Gakkel', *Akvarium*, 97.

54. Marcus, "The Rooms off Nevsky," 30.

55. Cushman, *Notes from Underground*, 132.

56. Smirnov, "Iz goroda v gorod."

57. Smirnov, "Iz goroda v gorod." The figure of one hundred is recalled by *kvartirnik* veteran Sergei Ryzhenko, a Moscow multi-instrumentalist who performed with Tsoi, Naumenko, and others; he is quoted in Marochkin, *Povsednevnaia zhizn'*, 33.

58. Aleksei Rybin, *Kino s samogo nachala i do samogo kontsa* (Rostov-on-Don: Feniks, 2001), 89.

59. Rybin, *Kino s samogo nachala*, 178–79.

60. Rashid Nugmanov in Dimamishenin, "Vvedenie v kvartirnuiu kul'turu."

61. Romanov, *Kniga fleitista*, 155. This seems to have been common by 1986, when concerts organized by Pasha Kraev, Vadim Serovtsev-Butov, and Anton Ter-Grigorian, among others, circulated in *magnitizdat*.

62. Marochkin, *Povsednevnaia zhizn'*, 203.

63. Rybin, *Kino s samogo nachala*, 89–90.

64. Marcus, "The Rooms off Nevsky," 30; and Smirnov, "Iz goroda v gorod."
65. Two compact discs of joint *kvartirniki* by Tsoi and Naumenko were released in 1998 by Moroz Records, with the titles *Kontsert u Pavla Kraeva (CD1)* and *Seishen na Petrogradskoi (CD 2)*. The former is labelled rather vaguely "recordings of apartment concerts 1983–1985."
66. "Rasskaz Pashi Kraeva ob odnom iz tipichnykh kvartirnykh kontsertov," in *Viktor Tsoi: Illiustrirovannaia istoriia zhizni i tvorchestvo Viktora Tsoia i gruppy "Kino,"* ed. Marianna Tsoi (Moscow: Lean, 2001), 389.
67. "Rasskaz Pashi Kraeva," 388–89; and Marochkin, *Povsednevnaia zhizn'*, 204.
68. Tarasov in Dimamishenin, "Vvedenie v kvartirnuiu kul'turu."
69. The recording was made by Anton Ter-Grigorian, and is known as "*Akvarium, Kontsert na Kropotkinskoi v Barykovskom pereulke*."
70. Mikhail Krassovskii, "Kvartirnik v Barykovskom pereulke," *Pustye mesta gruppy "Akvarium"* 67 (1 May 2000), at *subscribe.ru*, subscribe.ru/archive/music.aquarium/200005/01010511.html, accessed 13 September 2012.
71. Krassovskii, "Kvartirnik v Barykovskom pereulke."
72. According to another account, the police forced the door open on the fourth song. Anastasiia Rakhlina in Dimamishenin, "Vvedenie v kvartirnuiu kul'turu." In Krassovskii's recollection, the audience had not heard the police arrive, and one person simply answered the door.
73. The police department is named in the recording. Other details are from Krassovskii, "Kvartirnik v Barykovskom pereulke."
74. "Letopis' rok-kluba," minutes for meeting held on 19 April 1986, www.prima-donna.ru/chronicle/chronicle, accessed 15 January 2007. This web page is no longer available. Information on the prizes awarded by the juries at the LRK's festivals can be found in Zhitinskii, *Puteshestvie rok-diletanta*, 159–62.
75. Krassovskii, "Kvartirnik v Barykovskom pereulke."
76. This point is also made in Smirnov, "Iz goroda v gorod."
77. Anatolii Gunitskii, "Nezabyvaemye dni pod krylom pterodaktilia," in *Zapiski starogo rokera* (St. Petersburg: Amfora, 2007), 238.
78. Dodelov in Dimamishenin, "Vvedenie v kvartirnuiu kul'turu."
79. Dimamishenin, "Vvedenie v kvartirnuiu kul'turu."
80. Marochkin, *Povsednevnaia zhizn'*, 204; and Dimamishenin, "Vvedenie v kvartirnuiu kul'turu."
81. The song's title and refrain refers literally to "goats," but in colloquial Russian the term means an unpleasant or unscrupulous individual; "asshole" might also be a suitable translation. The song's text can be found in Grebenshchikov, *Pesni*, 243–44.
82. Krassovskii, "Kvartirnik v Barykovsom pereulke."
83. Rakhlina in Dimamishenin, "Vvedenie v kvartirnuiu kul'turu."
84. The doorbell ringing cannot have been an uncommon experience at *kvartirniki*; the same sound can be heard on the recording of a *kvartirnik* by Grebenshchikov and Mikhail Fainshtein on Lermontovskii Avenue in Leningrad, which took place on 6 March 1983. On this occasion, no one comments.
85. Grebenshchikov, *Pesni*, 510.
86. Boris Grebenshchikov, *Plokhoi konets Nevskogo prospekta* (1983).
87. Smirnov, *Vremia kolokol'chikov*, 70; and Romanov, *Kniga fleitista*, 155.
88. Smirnov, *Prekrasnyi diletant*, 290.
89. On one occasion in the early 1980s this song enraged a member of the audience so much that she shouted back "You're the one who's trash!" [*Sam ty drian'!*]. Marina Timasheva, "Ia ne liubliu pustogo slovaria," *Teatral'naia zhizn'* (Moscow) 12 (1987): 33.
90. Mikhail "Maik" Naumenko, *Pesni i stikhi* (Moscow: Sokol, 2000), 35-36.
91. Grebenshchikov, *Pesni*, 157–58 and 159–60.
92. Discussing this experience in a question-and-answer session during a concert, Grebenshchikov remarked, "I think that all the members of *Akvarium* have worked as night-watchmen at some time or another." Boris Grebenshchikov, *BG rasskazyvaet i pokazyvaet* (1983). The prevalence of this job among rock musicians was commemorated on *Akvarium*'s first *Melodiia* album, *Equinox* [*Ravnodenstvie*] (1987), in a song entitled "A Generation of Janitors and Night Watchmen" [*Pokolenie dvornikov i storozhei*]; Grebenshchikov, *Pesni*, 218-19. See also Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever*, 151–55.

93. K. Kich, "Akvarium 'Ikhtiologiia,'" *Roksi* (Leningrad) 7 (1984). Here and in footnote 96, articles from *Roksi*, a journal originally published in *samizdai*, are cited as reproduced at "Arkhiv muzykal'noi literatury," in Pavel Severov, *Akvarium: Spravochnoe posobie dlia "BG-ologov" i "Akvariumofilov,"* handbook.severov.net/handbook.nsf/Main?OpenFrameSet&Frame=Body&Src=Archive%3FOpenPage, accessed 13 September 2012.
94. Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever*, 131–57.
95. Grebenshchikov, *Pesni*, 157.
96. This exchange did not make it into the program as broadcast, but it was quoted in Nikolai Soldatenkov, "Boris Grebenshchikov," *Sel'skaia molodezh'* (Moscow) 11 (1987): 41.
97. Alek Zander [Aleksandr Startsev], "Dolgii put' domoi," *Roksi* (Leningrad) 15 (1990).