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From the History of the Musical Culture of Krasnoyarsk During the First World War and the Civil War (1914-1919): on the Role of Migratory Waves in the Creation of Professional Musical Culture of Siberia

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This paper discusses some issues of professional musical culture of the European type in Siberia in pre-Soviet period, from the perspective of the problem of “centre-periphery”, and the “centres” are the European part of Russia and foreign Europe, and the Siberian region acts as the “periphery”. The study indicated the role of the centrifugal forces of this relationship, namely, the migratory waves from the centre into the region. These waves were intensive during extreme events and contributed greatly to the development of professional musical culture of Siberia. Attention is given to such a typological feature of professional musical culture of Siberia (the periphery) as a direct dependency on creating culture migratory waves from the centre, which affected the dynamics of culture development. Listing the most massive waves of migration, which happened due to the socio-political and economic disasters and brought into the region major musical creativity, the author focuses on the analysis of musical reality in Krasnoyarsk during the First World War and the Civil War (1914-1919). Research work, based on historical records, reveals the role of migrants (POWs of the First World War, refugees, foreign military allies of the White movement) in the development of musical life and culture of Krasnoyarsk.

Keywords: professional musical culture of Siberia, centre, periphery, migration waves, prisoners of war, refugees, foreign allies of the White movement.

Formation and development of professional musical culture in Siberia, a typical periphery, was due much to the accumulation of impulses from the outside, flows from the centre. In this statement of the problem of the “centre-periphery” under the “centre” we mean pretty broad cultural space: European Russia, as well as the cities of Europe, which greatly excelled Siberia at their musical and artistic development. The semantic

content of a pair of correlative notions of centre-periphery is extremely multi-layered and thus includes the whole range of issues and approaches to their solution (Periferiya v kul'ture ..., 1994). With regard to the history of the development of the system of professional musical culture of Siberia as peripheral and provincial, in this paper we consider only some of its centrifugal components.

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It is agreed that the impact of one culture on another, as well as spreading the culture of the same type to the broad geographic ranges occurs through the mediation (Nedospasova, 2012: 150, 154). Considering professional musical culture in Siberia as a result of the spread of Western professionalism, we see direct bearers of the European musical culture and representatives of the Russian version of music culture of the European tradition as mediators in this process (Beniumov, 2011: 3).

Condition of musical life and culture of many Siberian cities depended on the migratory waves from the centre, which performed the function of the donor to the periphery as a recipient. This donation occurs as a result of communication processes of cultural interaction, namely borrowing and diffusion, and as a result of entrenched tradition. The obstacles were basically temporary character of migrants' stay and the lack of Siberian own sufficiently developed musical and cultural environment. This in turn endows the development of professional musical culture of Siberia with such features as non-linearity, discontinuity, discretion (Belonosova, 2007: 10, 16; Borovikova, 1999: 140; Kayak, 2006: 63, 80, 192; Koroleva, 1996: 13-14).

It should be noted that the cultural interaction (not just in the music aspect of the problem) is one of the most debated issues of modern scientific knowledge (Sevriugina, 2007; Kalganova, 2004, Kayak, 2006, 2011). Researchers, speaking of such process as cultural diffusion, which is a spatial translation of cultural achievements into some other societies, dissemination and adoption of cultural models, emphasize the fact that this may not imply the physical movement of bearers of a specific culture media (Semenov, 1998 : 177-178). However, many scientists admitted that migration accelerates cultural processes of such interference. I.V. Kucheruk writes: "The culture poles in the process of interaction contact

by certain modes, but in general their contact is personalized. The history of world culture shows that the diffusion process is more active in personalized dialogue from different cultures ..." (Kucheruk, 2007: 44). Also I.V. Kucheruk says that the process of cultural interaction is continuous, as well as the development of cultures, but at the same time, under the influence of external, often political factors, the rate of diffusion processes in the culture can become weakened, "frozen" or increased (Kucheruk, 2007: 44).

Focusing in this paper on the history of the musical culture of Siberia in pre-Soviet period, we can see how many social and political upheavals in the history of Russia gave rise to strong waves of migration from the centre into the region (periphery). In turn, these migration flows due to the bearers of "cultural models" – or rather, the traditions of musical professionalism of European type – essentially fueled the musical life of cities in Siberia and had a determining role in the development of local professional musical culture. The main mechanism of social and cultural communication is a dialogue that might imply either two-way information exchange or unidirectional impact. Interaction of creating culture migrants and Siberians was often based on a form of relationship as "the text is between the speaker and its perceiver" (Kalganova, 2004: 10). However, depending on the evolution process of music education in Siberia and the cultural level of the participant of the creative contact, it could also be a peer communication – the exchange of artistic values, which, of course, is necessary for the harmonious development of musical culture of any society.

As a consequence of Russian military campaigns captured enemy soldiers and officers flocked to Siberia in a great number. The influence of professional musicians being among them on the state of the musical life and cultural development of the region has begun to

be actively explored as an independent subject in recent years. The notable work in this area was done by A.P. Nedospasova. Her thesis discloses the role of Swedish prisoners of war as the first representatives and guides of the Western European tradition in playing music and songs in Siberia in the early 18th century (Nedospasova, 2012).

There remained scattered information on the contribution of prisoners of war from Napoleon's army to the creation of professional musical culture of Siberia, in particular Omsk. There are interesting memories of the governor-general of Eastern Siberia S.B. Bronevsky. While still an assistant of a chieftain of the Siberian Cossacks in Omsk, he did much to raise the level of military band music, a great help to him in this case was given by professional musicians from prisoners of war of 1812 (Matkhanova, 2007: 45-46).

Undoubtedly, Decembrists made a significant contribution to the development of musical culture of the European tradition in Siberia. Analyzing the musical-historical process in Tobolsk, Irkutsk, Chita, Petrovsky Zavod and other cities in the region in the first half of the 19th century, T.A. Romenskaya writes about the work of the Decembrists and their wives in the development of creative activity of old professional and amateur musical institutions, the foundation and maintenance of new ones, the development of music-making at home, the formation of public concert life, the organization of the first local centres of secular music education, the creation of material base of the regional musical culture (Romenskaya, 1997: 266-268). For example, in the Chita ostrog (prison) from 1827 to 1830 there were eighty five of the ninety-three exiled to Siberia Decembrists. Nineteen exiled nobles organized first concerts and theatrical performances in Chita. (Belonosova, 2007: 16). In Krasnoyarsk, this process was on a smaller scale, from 1826 to 1855 at various times ten

Decembrists all in all lived in the city (Bykonya, Fedorova, Berdnikov, 1990: 124). However, their social activity made a significant contribution to the creation of the cultural space of Krasnoyarsk. Decembrist V.L. Davydov, who spent last years of his life with his family in Krasnoyarsk (1839-1855), played an important role in the field of musical enlightenment¹. Thanks to his wife Alexandra I. Davydova, there appeared one of the first harpsichords in the city, which she brought in 1839 together with other possessions, including the family library. With the advent of the harpsichord Krasnoyarsk received a strong incentive for home music-making. Davydov's house was the centre of culture and education, the venue for home concerts and literary evenings with the involvement of the local intelligentsia. That was a prototype of music salon, which was one of the components of the Europe-oriented musical and cultural environment of the city (Prygun, 2007: 21-23).

An important factor in the creation of professional of musical culture in Siberia was the work of Polish exiles, including members of major uprisings in 1830 and 1863. In the research literature we find numerous facts of their musical and social activities, which enriched the concert and theatrical life in Siberia greatly. We can note a significant "Polish" contribution to the professionalization of performance, as well as a participation of the Polish musicians-enlighteners in the development of music education in the region (Romenskaya, 1997; Romenskaya, Selivanov, 1997).

Taking as the example the consequences of the North and the Civil Wars, the Decembrists' and Polish uprisings we see how significant centrifugal waves of migration, that had the powerful cultural impulses providing bursts of culture (including music culture, which is of particular interest for us) in the periphery, became one of the consequences of dramatic pages of

Russian history. Perhaps the most unique period in the musical past of Siberia, from the point of view of the unprecedented concentration of “outside” creating culture forces, were the times of the First World War and the Civil War (1914-1919). Overlapping each other social upheavals of the second decade of the 20th century provoked the interference in the Siberian region of several previously unknown large-scale migratory waves that brought thousands of prisoners of war, refugees and military men. Despite its importance, the aforesaid period remains a blank spot in the musical annals of the region. Turning to the analysis of this cultural phenomenon, through a brief illustration we focused mainly on the events of musical life in Krasnoyarsk during war years. It must be noted that many other cities in Siberia followed the course of the identical musical-historical processes that differed in the scale of activity.

Krasnoyarsk in the early 1910s significantly lagged behind in many ways from its neighbors – Omsk, Tomsk, and Irkutsk. It did not have, in contrast to them, special music schools. Krasnoyarsk was inferior to the cities, mentioned above, in a number of amateur musicians and professionals, in the content of the concert and theatrical life, in the educated listening audience. Through the entrenchment of a large number of professional creative forces a musical and social environment of the city during the war period experienced significant, if not revolutionary changes in all of the aforesaid “musical fronts” in the shortest time.

First of all, in Krasnoyarsk in 1914-1919 there has increased dramatically the level of professionalism of the performing arts. Special credit in this regard goes to the professional musicians, graduates of European music schools, who were among the prisoners of war of World War I. Unable to listen to the performance of local forces serious program of symphonic, chamber

and instrumental music to professional musicians, graduates of European music schools, is among the prisoners of war of World War II. Unable to listen to the local musicians performing serious program of symphonic, chamber and instrumental music², at that time Krasnoyarsk received, due to the prisoners of war, a range of academic instrumental music groups that played serious European and Russian classical repertoire. Among them there were the Symphony Orchestra of the prisoners of war under the control of the Hungarian conductor D. Boldish, the Symphony Orchestra of Krasnoyarsk union of musicians (the conductor was I.M. Sukhodrev), the line-up of which was significantly strengthened by the prisoners of war, the string “artistic” Hungarian Quartet. In addition, the concert practice was made by the choir of officers, prisoners of war, conducted by O.Kashich.

Musical life of Krasnoyarsk was enriched by recitals of musicians-prisoners of war – high-class professionals and participants of European orchestras and theatres – violinists G. Godoshi, A. Melesh, cellist I. Mayngold, composers-pianists A. Knan and O. Kashich, tenors Kuy and F. Pogan, etc. Their performances at the city’s main concert venues that carried a powerful musical and educational charge were widely available from the financial point of view, and their audience has increased exponentially (Tsareva, Contribution of musicians, POWs..., 2012: 19-22).

The uniqueness of this period in Krasnoyarsk was characterized by truly massive infusion of the bearers of European musical culture into the city’s concert life and the sphere of common music perception in the city. In addition to prisoners of war the professional music activity in Krasnoyarsk was carried out from June 1918 to January 1920 by various European regimental music groups, composed by foreign military allies of the White movement. Among them the brass



Symphony Orchestra of prisoners of the First World War. In the centre – conductor Desiderius Boldish (with beard), to the left – violinist Albert Melesh (in a dark suit). Krasnoyarsk, military camp, 1916

bands dominated (three Czechoslovak – from 2nd, 10th, and 12th Regiments; the orchestra of the 1st Infantry Regiment of Latvia; Italian regimental band), but there were also some symphony orchestras (the orchestra of the 5th Czechoslovak Regiment named after Masaryk, conducted by V. Forman, consolidated Legionary Symphony Orchestra, led by conductor and composer R.Karel), and the string orchestra (the orchestra of the 9th Czechoslovak Regiment). And the 10th Czechoslovak Regiment along with the orchestra had its own choir. Foreign artists demonstrated their mastery by playing not only the military-orchestral repertoire and works of the genre of mass entertainment, but also masterpieces of world classics, including the rich heritage of Russian musical creativity; Krasnoyarsk got acquainted with the works of composers of the European countries as well as with European folk music (Tsareva, From the history of musical life ..., 2012).

The dynamics of the concert life in Krasnoyarsk, in both qualitative and quantitative terms, was positively impacted by the integration

into the musical-cultural space of refugees – the inhabitants of European Russia, including Moscow, Petrograd, and other major centres. Among them there were many representatives of the artistic intelligentsia, outstanding professional musicians who continued to conduct their professional activities even in Siberia. These specialists included pianists – S.M. Brudinsky, Petrograd Conservatory student of Professor L.V. Nikolaev, Ya.Kh. Borkovskaya, who graduated from the Moscow Conservatory in the times of N.G. Rubinstein; violinist and conductor Yu. M. Yurovetsky, who graduated from the St. Petersburg Conservatory in the class of Professor L.S. Auer; singer Ye.A. Strannolyubskaya, who received her musical education at the Conservatoire de Paris; composer, conductor, impresario, folklorist A.A. Eichenwald and many others. They were part of the composition of local bands, had solo and ensemble concert practice (Tsareva, 2011: 38-46).

Due to the massive influx of highly educated musicians during the First World and the

Civil War periods there was a rapid qualitative change in the field of music education, that can be observed all over Siberia. The changes were seen, first, in the rapid spread of private music practice and recruitment of teachers from professional musicians, prisoners of war, interned foreigners and refugees. Secondly, the changes led to opening of the musical institutions of a new type: private music schools, colleges, People's conservatories (Romenskaya, Selivanov, 1997: 419). It is important that these processes often occur in urban areas (including Krasnoyarsk), deprived at that time of systematic professional music education. For example, in December 1917 in Khabarovsk, a private music school was opened by a brilliant pianist and an experienced teacher, a founder and a former director of the state Ekaterinodar music school, a lecturer at Rostov Conservatory, A.M. Ruthin. The result of the fruitful creative collaboration of local musicians and prisoners of war was the opening in the same city of Khabarovsk, in 1918, another music school. Its teaching staff included music professors from Europe (Koroleva, 2004: 81). Austro-Hungarian musicians, prisoners of war, participated in the opening of the People's Conservatory in 1918 in Khabarovsk (Koroleva, 2004: 84). In Novonikolayevsk (later it became the city of Novosibirsk) in September 1916 there opened two private music schools, managed by S.N. Zavadovsky (a graduate of the Moscow Conservatory, he had conducted music classes in Ufa) and Ya.S. Sventorzhetskaya (she graduated from the Conservatoire de Paris, came to Siberia following her husband, a Pole, who was exiled, before she went to Novonikolaevsk, she had opened music schools in Khabarovsk and Chita) (Musical culture of Novosibirsk ..., 2005: 41). In Tobolsk, prisoners of war and interned foreigners not only revitalized music classes at the local branch of the Russian Musical Society, but also played an important role in their reorganization in 1918

into the music college, and then they took part in its successful start (Tsareva, Contribution of musicians, POWs ..., 2012: 20). Unfortunately, the activities of the above-mentioned special music institutions were temporary.

Lively creative communication of exiled to Siberia highly experienced musicians and Krasnoyarsk professionals and amateurs, their joint participation in artistic collectives, were a unique training of excellence for the citizens. Thanks to prisoners of war a special support



Poster of the concert, organized by “Youth House” on May 28, 1918. Among the participants there were musicians, prisoners of war – violinist A. Melesh and cellist I. Mayngold, Krasnoyarsk high school students – pianists L.Ginzburg and L. Kozlov

was given for the development of children and youth music education. For example, from 1916 to mid-1919, instrumentalists, prisoners of war, together with Krasnoyarsk high-school students participated in numerous orchestral productions of the opera for children “Princess Zemlyanichka”, created by local composer P.I. Ivanov-Radkevich, in 1918-1919 they participated in concerts of cultural and educational organization of Krasnoyarsk students – “Youth House”. Finally, one more example: in early 1919 while creating at the “Youth House” music school, teachers were invited from prisoners of war (Tsareva, Contribution of musicians, POWs ..., 2012: 23-24).

Thus, seeing the example of the First World War and the Civil War periods, we can observe how in extreme situations, traditionally inherent conditions for the development of professional music at the centre and the metropolis (more favorable and stable), and on the periphery, in the provincial regions (less favorable and unstable) can exchange their roles. As a result, the tempo, dynamics, and quality content of their musical life may change, which might even lead to exchange of the roles of centre and periphery in the music and cultural space for a certain time period.

Whereas in a given year the artistic life in many major Russian cities in the European part of the country and in the two capitals – Moscow and Petrograd due to the mobilization, then the military situation, and the difficult economic and political situation experienced personnel losses, the musical culture and life in Krasnoyarsk and in the whole Siberia due to the large number of intellectuals in the flow of migrants was going through one of the intensive phase of its development. Certainly, a series of mobilizations, worsening of social and political and economic situation in the region, a temporary state of siege in Krasnoyarsk were also like the

slap on city’s professional musical culture. These years were marked with the reduction of the city’s own artistic resources, requisition of buildings that had served as the city’s cultural and educational centres and concert venues; there was some decline in touring activity. However, talented musical and creative people, who found themselves in the region, carried out not only a compensatory function, but also became a catalyst for progressive musical processes, in particular in the field of local concerts and theatrical life, and special vocational training.

Due to the long-term (at least for several years) integration into the musical-social environment of the city of a large number of bearers of European musical culture and representatives of the Russian version of the European tradition of professionalism, and thanks to their creative collaboration with local musicians and Krasnoyarsk artists’ willingness for active perception the musical life of Krasnoyarsk reached a new qualitative level of Europeanization. Also the change of socio-political formation governing the city, and, most importantly, a “soft” version of Sovietization in the early 1920s both in Krasnoyarsk and throughout the Siberian region (Koroleva, 1996: 21), provided a powerful shift in the creation of urban infrastructure of professional musical culture of the European type. In Krasnoyarsk in 1920 (already under the Bolsheviks), with the direct participation of migrants – former prisoners of war and refugees, there are both academic professional concert music groups (symphonic orchestra, chorus) and chamber forms of vocal and instrumental performance, as well as a musical theatre with opera troupe. There were also committed certain acts to strengthen the material and technical base of musical culture. The culminating achievement of this phase was the foundation of the first permanent professional music school – the People’s Conservatory –

which became the nucleus of professional musical culture in Krasnoyarsk.

The term “core culture”, or “nucleus of culture” in science indicates that part of the cultural space where the forces are concentrated and which ensures the reproduction and translation of social and cultural values, patterns, ideals, traditions, innovations, and provides a communication link between subcultural formations, between the regions and the centre, etc. (Bykova, Ryzhenko, 2002: 22). According to I.V. Belonosova, a core of musical culture traditionally implies a system of special musical education, “as it is a set of norms, standards, methods and ideas about the artistic principles of the creation, execution and distribution of cultural values. “The creation and development of the gene pool of musical culture in the context of the professional European tradition and its ‘conservation’ are carried out first and foremost in the system of music education” (Belonosova, 2007: 12).

Since the end of the 19th century in Krasnoyarsk there had been repeated attempts to found a professional music school that would have combined the best local musical forces, greatly strengthened, and made the system of musical culture less vulnerable to adverse external influences. However, all these special musical and educational organizations turned out short-term and unstable in Krasnoyarsk.

The creation of the first permanent professional music institution in 1920 was the result of a huge pre-creative work of local and “deported” intellectuals, public interest and support. Momentum generated by the migratory wave of professional musicians who came to Krasnoyarsk during the war years (1914-1919), including prisoners of war, refugees, and foreign allies of the White movement, not only prepared a fertile ground for the launch of the People’s

Conservatory, by the way providing it with the best staff that had the highest Russian and Western European musical training, but had a more profound impact. Krasnoyarsk People’s Conservatory is the only special musical educational institution, founded in 1920 in Soviet Siberia, which has not only survived the economic crisis, the years of internal financing, a number of reorganizations (in 1922 – into music college, in 1936 – into school of music), but also has not been relegated in its status as an institution of secondary professional music education. Currently, it is known as Krasnoyarsk College of Arts named after P.I. Ivanov-Radkevich and has by now a long history of more than nine decades.

It is like an ordeal, but at the same time a natural stage in the history of culture, when the periphery experiences the centripetal migration flows. The escape of military units of the White movement, the repatriation of prisoners of war, the return of refugees to their places of origin, were an inevitable blow to all elements of the system of professional musical culture of Krasnoyarsk. In the meantime, the People’s Conservatory, accumulating the best local musical creativity, has become a source of “internal charge” for the cultural sphere. The People’s Conservatory and then music college performed musical educational, concert and enlightenment work. Thanks to them, there was no collapse of performing groups and listening environment in Krasnoyarsk. Despite the outflow of professionals and the periods of severe economic situation there was no consequence of the destruction of the “core” of musical culture. The system of norms, standards, values of the professional European tradition, thanks to the susceptibility and dedicated work of local musicians could take root in the musical-cultural space of Krasnoyarsk

- ¹ V.L. Davydov died on October 25, 1855 in Krasnoyarsk. He was buried in the town cemetery of Trinity (Bykonya, Fedorova, Berdnikov, 1990: 131).
- ² In the field of chamber-vocal and choral (religious and secular) performance, and in the non-academic sphere of playing (brass bands, ensembles and orchestras of folk instruments), the situation in Krasnoyarsk was much more favorable.
- ³ This means in Russian wild strawberry.

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**Из истории музыкальной культуры Красноярска
в период Первой мировой
и Гражданской войн (1914–1919):
к вопросу о роли миграционных волн
в формировании профессиональной
музыкальной культуры Сибири**

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В настоящей статье рассмотрены некоторые вопросы развития профессиональной музыкальной культуры европейского типа в Сибири досоветского периода в ракурсе проблемы «центр-периферия», при этом «центром» выступают Европейская Россия и зарубежная Европа, а «периферией» – сибирский регион. В ходе исследования обозначена роль центробежных сил данного соотношения, а именно миграционных волн из центра в регион, усиливающихся во время экстремальных ситуаций, в развитии системы профессиональной музыкальной культуры Сибири. Акцентируется такая типологическая черта профессиональной музыкальной культуры Сибири (периферии), как прямая зависимость от культуротворческих миграционных волн из центра, влияющих на динамику её развития. Перечисляя наиболее масштабные миграционные волны, обусловленные социально-политическими и экономическими катаклизмами и несущие в регион в том числе и значительные музыкально-творческие силы, мы останавливаемся на анализе музыкальной действительности Красноярска периода Первой мировой и Гражданской войн (1914–1919). С опорой на исторические источники и исследования в статье раскрыта роль мигрантов (военнопленных Первой мировой войны, беженцев, иностранных военных союзников Белого движения) в развитии музыкальной жизни и культуры Красноярска.

Ключевые слова: профессиональная музыкальная культура Сибири, центр, периферия, миграционные волны, военнопленные, беженцы, иностранные союзники Белого движения.
