

Olesya Bobrik

The GAKhN “Musical Encyclopedia”: Lost in the Fog of History

Abstract: The idea of creating a musical Encyclopedia had existed among Russian musicians since the early twentieth century. This is evidenced by the Russian-language edition of Hugo Riemann’s *Dictionary of Music* in translation, with additions by Iulii Engel’ (1900), and numerous articles on music in *The Brockhaus and Efron Encyclopedic Dictionary* (1890–1907) and in the *Granat Encyclopedic Dictionary* (1910–1929). The *Musical Encyclopedia* project became one of the first discussed at the meetings of the Music Section of GAKhN (1922), with Iulii Engel’ as its initiator. According to his plan, the *Musical Encyclopedia* was to comprise 250 printer’s sheets. Numerous sources, both published and unpublished (preserved mainly in the archive of GAKhN: RGALI, f. 941), indicate that the work on the *Musical Encyclopedia* continued until 1930. Research on the history of the GAKhN *Musical Encyclopedia* is a kind of scientific detective story, in which numerous facts contradict each other. The most astonishing fact about the history of the GAKhN *Musical Encyclopedia* is that it disappeared: only 16 articles have been preserved (15 by Ivanov-Boretskii, and one by Kuznetsov). All of this raises the question: did the GAKhN *Musical Encyclopedia* ever exist? This article is dedicated to finding out the answer.

Keywords: Musical Encyclopedia, Music Division of GAKhN, Mikhail Ivanov-Boretskii, Konstantin Kuznetsov

The history of the State Academy of Artistic Sciences (GAKhN)’s *Musical Encyclopedia*, worked on by the members of the Music Division between 1922 and 1930, is full of enigmas. The information about it found in the Academy documents – both published and archival (at the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI) and the Manuscript Department of the Russian State Library) – is abundant yet contradictory. A study of the body of documents, including reports, plans, minutes of meetings of the Music Division, its

subsections and commissions, as well as publications in the GAKhN Bulletins and elsewhere, allows us to outline the chronological contours of the Encyclopedia's creation. The members of the GAKhN staff involved in the project at various stages are known, as is the total number of articles they produced. At the same time, information about the articles themselves is extremely scarce (in most cases even their titles remain unknown).

All of this raises numerous questions for the researcher. Did the plans and reports of the Music Division of GAKhN correspond to reality? Who was responsible for counting the completed articles? And, most importantly, what happened to the substantial body of texts authored by the leading musicologists of the 1920s?

To attempt an answer to these questions, we shall undertake a step-by-step reconstruction of the process by which the *Musical Encyclopedia* was created and provide an account of the few articles identified to date that were written for it by members of the Music Division of GAKhN.

The History of the Project: a Dotted Line, Broken off with an Ellipsis

The appearance of the GAKhN *Musical Encyclopedia* project was evidently prompted by the initiatives of the Academy's Presidium to establish a special "terminological commission" in the summer–autumn of 1921,¹ as well as by the beginning of work on the study of "art terminology" in the Philosophical Department, founded in February 1922 (Plotnikov 2026).

The connection between the idea of creating the GAKhN *Musical Encyclopedia* and these initiatives is indirectly confirmed by their chronological correlation. On 15 March 1922, at a meeting of the Music Division of the Commission on Art Research, Iulii Engel'² proposed the *Musical Encyclopedia*

1 Zasedanie Prezidiuma RAKhN 26 avgusta 1921 g. RGALI. F. 941. Op. 1. Ed. khr. 1. L. 3.

2 Iulii Dmitrievich Engel' (1868–1927) was a Russian and Palestinian musicologist, editor, translator, journalist, folklore scholar, lecturer, and composer. A graduate of the Moscow Conservatory (1897, classes of Sergei Taneyev and Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov), he headed the music department of the newspaper *Russkie vedomosti* from 1897 to 1918. He translated Hugo Riemann's *Dictionary of Music* from German into Russian and edited the supplements to its Russian edition. He authored articles on Petr Tchaikovsky, Nikolai Rimsky–Korsakov, Taneyev, among others, as well as numerous entries in the seventh edition of the *Granat Encyclopedic Dictionary* (1910–27). A prominent advocate of Jewish folk music, he collected and

project. Engel's emergence as the initiator of the project was entirely natural: he had many years of experience working in the encyclopedic genre, first as editor, translator, and one of the contributors to the Russian part of Riemann's *Dictionary of Music* (Riman 1901–04), and later as the author of numerous articles for the *Granat Encyclopedic Dictionary* (1910–27). (It is worth noting that not only Engel', but all subsequent heads of the *Musical Encyclopedia* project, also wrote articles for the *Granat*.)

The need to produce a Russian Encyclopedia of music was beyond doubt. In the early 1920s, original publications of this kind in Russian were virtually nonexistent.³ The members of the Division present at the meeting on 15 March 1922 – Leonid Sabaneev, Nadezhda Briusova, Aleksandr Kastalskii, Nikolai Miaskovskii, Aleksandr Khessin, and Nikolai Petrov – approved Engel's proposal. According to his plan, the *Musical Encyclopedia* was to comprise 250 printer's sheets, with nearly a third of them – 80 sheets – expected to be prepared within the current year.⁴ This collective decision was not put into effect in 1922. The reason may have been Engel's emigration to Germany a few months after the meeting.

A "Musical Encyclopedia" was how the project was originally designated in the minutes, plans, and reports of the Music Division. However, as the work progressed, the title varied. This is evidenced, for example, by the "Otchet o nauchnoi rabote Muzykal'noi sektsii G.A.Kh.N. za 1926–1927 god" ("Report on the Scholarly Work of the Music Division of GAKhN for the 1926–27 Academic Year"), which noted the activity of the Commission for the *Musical Encyclopedia* in connection with the *Dictionary of Artistic Terms*.⁵ At the final stage (1928–29), new variants of the title appeared in the Music Division's reports:

arranged Jewish folk tunes. In 1922 he emigrated to Berlin, and from 1924 until his death he lived in Palestine.

- 3 In 1919, *A Concert Guide* by Igor' Glebov (the pseudonym of Boris Asaf'iev) was published; it was a concise – and in some places expanded – retelling of selected entries from Riemann's *Dictionary* (Glebov 1919).
- 4 Protokoly nos. 1–15 zasedanii muzykal'noi sektsii RAKhN, nos. 1–2 komissii po izucheniiu novykh zvukoriadov i nos. 1–2 redaktsionnoi komissii sektsii za 1921/1922 gg. RGALI. F. 941. Op. 5. Ed. khr. 1. L. 64 ob.
- 5 "Otchet o nauchnoi rabote Muzykal'noi sektsii G.A.Kh.N. za 1926–1927 god", in: Otchety otdelenii i sektsii GAKhN o rabote za 1926–1927 gody. RGALI. F. 941. Op. 1. Ed. khr. 104. L. 60. This fragment of the report was quoted verbatim in the *Biulleteni GAKhN* 1927/28: 48.

“Musical Volume of the GAKhN Dictionary of Artistic Terms”⁶ and “Musical Volume of the Encyclopedia of Artistic Terms”.⁷ (In what follows, we shall use the titles “Muzykal’nyi tom Slovaria Khudozhestvennykh terminov GAKhN” (*Musical Encyclopedia*) and *Dictionary of Artistic Terms* as synonymous, since this is how they were understood by the participants in the events described.)

Some documents of the Music Division make it possible to assume that, at least in the 1925–26 academic year, the *Musical Encyclopedia* was conceived as a project connected with, yet distinct from, the *Dictionary of Artistic Terms*. In a handwritten draft of the Music Division’s report for the 1925–26 academic year, it was noted that the Commission for the *Musical Encyclopedia* “collected substantial biographical material on Moscow musical figures. Then, in connection with the forthcoming *Encyclopedia of Artistic Terms*, a ‘word list’ for the music-related volume [...] was developed and submitted to GAKhN”.⁸ Thus, the Commission’s responsibilities at that time were not limited to the study of musical terminology, and the scope of the project appeared to its members to extend beyond the boundaries of the *Dictionary of Artistic Terms*.

The work on the *Musical Encyclopedia* resumed a year after the first discussion about it. By March 1923, an Editorial Board of the *Musical Encyclopedia* had been established within the Music Division, comprising the following members: Chair – Sabaneev; Secretary – Petrov; Members – Briusova, Kastalskii, Nikolai Zhiliaev, Konstantin Kuznetsov, Viktor Beliaev, Boleslaw Javorskii, Aleksei Losev, Mikhail Ivanov–Boretskii, and Georgii Konius (“Muzykal’naia sektsiia” 1923: 429). The choice of Sabaneev⁹ – a major scholar, biographer of

6 “Otchet o rabote Muzykal’noi sektsii GAKhN za 1928–1929 god”, in: Plany i otchety o rabote sektsii, podsektsii i komissii za 1929–1930 god. RGALI. F. 941. Op. 5. Ed. khr. 55. L. 15.

7 “Protokol no. 19 Zasedaniia Prezidiuma Muzykal’noi sektsii GAKhN ot 26 apreliia 1929 g.”, in: Protokoly nos 1–18 zasedanii prezidiuma <Muzykal’noi> sektsii za 1929/1930 g. i materialy k nim. RGALI. F. 941. Op. 5. Ed. khr. 42. L. 80.

8 «[...] собрала значительный биографический материал о московских музыкальных деятелях. Затем в связи с готовящейся Энциклопедией художественных терминов [...] <был> выработан и представлен в Г.А.Х.Н. „словник“ тома, посвященного музыке» (“Otchet o nauchnoi rabote Muzykal’noi sektsii G.A.Kh.N. za 1925/26 ak<ademieskii> god (oktiabr’–1/2 iunia vkluchitel’no”, in: Godovye otchety o rabote sektsii i otdelov Gosudarstvennoi akademii khudozhestvennykh nauk. 1925–1926 gg. RGALI. F. 941. Op. 1. Ed. khr. 69. L. 9 ob.).

9 Leonid Leonidovich Sabaneev (1881–1968) was a Russian musicologist, music critic, and composer. He belonged to Scriabin’s close circle in 1910–15 and became known above all as the author of “Vospominaniia o Skriabine” (“Memoirs of Scriabin”, 1925). Sabaneev grad-

Alexander Scriabin, and author of numerous articles for the *Granat Encyclopedic Dictionary* – as Chair of the Board was entirely natural. However, subsequently, his name was not mentioned again in connection with the *Musical Encyclopedia*.

During 1923, fifteen articles for the Encyclopedia were written by Ivanov-Boretskii and one by Kuznetsov. These have been preserved among the documents of the GAKhN Literary Division for 1923.¹⁰ Continuation of work on the project was recorded in the minutes of the Theory Department of the Music Division of GAKhN meeting on 31 January 1924, where Petrov presented a list of terms for the *Dictionary of Artistic Terms*.¹¹ This List has not survived, and the absence of any references to it in the documents of the Music Division throughout 1924 and the first half of 1925 may be interpreted as a renewed pause in the activity of the Editorial Board of the *Musical Encyclopedia*.

Evidence that the project was resumed is provided by a handwritten draft of the Music Division's report for the 1925–26 academic year, which notes the work of Ivanov-Boretskii, Chair of the Commission for the *Musical Encyclopedia*, who collected biographical data on Moscow musicians and compiled a word list for the GAKhN *Dictionary of Artistic Terminology*.¹² (We should note that this passage did not make its way into the final typescript of the report.)

uated from Moscow University (defending a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Pure Mathematics in 1905) and from Moscow Conservatoire (1908). He studied with Taneev and Rimskii-Korsakov (taking private lessons with the latter). He published articles and reviews in the newspapers *Utro Rossii*, *Russkoe slovo*, *Poslednie novosti* (Paris), and in the journals *Muzyka*, *Muzykal'nyi sovremennik*, *Melos*, *Apollon*, *The Musical Quarterly* and many others, as well as in the almanac *Der blaue Reiter*. He was the author of the books "Muzyka rechi" ("The Music of Speech", 1922), "Evreiskaia natsional'naia shkola v muzyke" ("The Jewish National School in Music", 1924), "Istoriia russkoi muzyki" ("A History of Russian Music", 1924), *Modern Russian Composers* (1927), *Music in the Cinema* (1930), "Vospominaniia o Taneeve" ("Memoirs of Taneyev", 1930), among others. He emigrated in 1926, first to Germany and then to France.

10 RGALI. F. 941. Op. 6. Ed. khr. 14. L. 53, 126–130, 138–139, 221a, 131–137; *ibid.*: Ed. khr. 13. L. 247–251a.

11 List of papers presented in the Music Division of GAKhN in January 1924 (RGALI. F. 941. Op. 1. Ed. khr. 30. L. 159, 162 ob.).

12 "Otchet o nauchnoi rabote Muzykal'noi sektiis G.A.Kh.N. za 1925/26 ak<ademicheskii> god (oktiabr'–1/2 iunია vkluchitel'no)", in: *Godovye otchety o rabote sektiis i otdelov Gosudarstvennoi akademii khudozhestvennykh nauk. 1925–1926 gg.* RGALI. F. 941. Op. 1. Ed. khr. 69. L. 9 ob.

More detailed information on the same subject was published in the GAKhN Bulletins for 1926. According to this material, the *Musical Encyclopedia* was conceived by its initiators “as containing general guiding articles on all branches of music scholarship and as an exhaustive reference work. The sociological method is to serve as the basis for all articles. Contemporary music in all its manifestations, folk music, and, insofar as possible, all directions of scholarly research in the field of music theory are to be represented in the Encyclopedia. The Commission <on the *Musical Encyclopedia*> has already collected substantial biographical material on Moscow musical figures. Then, in connection with the forthcoming *Encyclopedia of Artistic Terms*, a ‘word list’ for the music-related volume has been developed and submitted to GAKhN” (by Ivanov-Boretskii).¹³

From 1926 to 1930, Ivanov-Boretskii, a member of the GAKhN Subsection for the History of Music, served as Chair of the Commission for the *Musical Encyclopedia* and as its sole editor.¹⁴ His appointment to this position was entirely natural, given his authority as a scholar and organiser. Fluent in sev-

13 «[...] как содержащая в себе общие руководящие статьи по всем отраслям музыкальной науки и как исчерпывающий справочник. В основу изложения всех статей должен быть поставлен социологический метод. Современность, взятая во всех ее проявлениях, музыкальное народное творчество, все, по возможности, направления научно-исследовательской мысли в области теории музыки — должны быть представлены в Энциклопедии. Комиссия <по Музыкальной энциклопедии> собрала уже значительный биографический материал о московских музыкальных деятелях. Затем в связи с готовящейся энциклопедией Художественных Терминов <М. В. Ивановым-Борецким> выработан и представлен в ГАХН „словник“ тома, посвященного музыке» (Biulleteni GAKhN 1926: 62–63).

14 Mikhail Vladimirovich Ivanov-Boretskii (1874–1936) was a musicologist, journalist, composer, teacher, and musical public figure. He graduated from the Faculty of Law of Moscow University (1896). He studied privately with Rimsky-Korsakov in 1898–1900, and in 1903–04 he pursued the study of music history in Florence under A. Falconi. Upon his return to Moscow he engaged in educational and scholarly activities (he was one of the founders of the “Musical-Theoretical Library” society, 1908), and published books on foreign composers (Orlando di Lasso, Palestrina, Mendelssohn, Josquin des Prez, among others), as well as articles in various periodicals (*Russkaia muzykal'naia gazeta*, *K novym beregam*, *Muzykal'noe obrazovanie*, etc.). In 1921 he became a full member of SIMS and in 1923 a member of the Music Division of GAKhN. Starting in 1921 he taught music history at the Moscow Conservatoire (in 1922 he was appointed professor); in 1924 he created and headed the Conservatoire's Music Research Department; and from 1932 to 1934 he led the Department of Historical and Theoretical Studies and the graduate programme. Ivanov-Boretskii was one of the founders of Soviet music-historical scholarship.

eral foreign languages, he was among the most respected Russian specialists on the music of the Renaissance and Baroque. What is particularly important in this context is that in the 1920s Ivanov-Boretskii contributed articles to the *Granat Encyclopedic Dictionary*, to the eleventh German-language edition of *Riemanns Musiklexikon* (1929), and to the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*. At the same time, we should note that issues of musical-theoretical terminology had never been central to his scholarly interests.

The archival documents of the Music Division of GAKhN for 1925–28 contain only information on the number of articles prepared for the Encyclopedia and occasional mentions of their authors' names. Discussions of specific texts are not reflected there (it is likely that the Division did not, as a rule, discuss Encyclopedia articles at its meetings). However, individual articles on music for the *Dictionary of Artistic Terms* were at times discussed in other GAKhN subdivisions. Thus, on 20 February 1926, Aleksandr Sakketi's article "Music" was considered at a meeting of the Presidium of the GAKhN Commission for the Study of Artistic Terminology; it elicited criticism from Sofia Beliaeva-Ekzemplierskaia and Losev.¹⁵

Judging from GAKhN Bulletin No. 10 for 1927/28, by this time the work on the articles on music for the *Dictionary of Artistic Terms* was nearing completion:

[...] музыкальный том намечен первым к выпуску. За время с октября по январь <1927/28 гг.> сдано выше 130 статей следующих авторов: Я. А. Богатенко, К. А. Кузнецова, М. И. Медведевой, Э. К. Розенова, З. Ф. Савеловой, В. Фермана, Б. П. Юргенсона и редактора тома М. В. Иванова-Борецкого. Ряд других статей уже готовы и над ними ведется в настоящее время редакционная работа, а также подбирается материал для иллюстрационных таблиц.

(Biulleteni GAKhN 1928: 44)

15 Protokol no. 11/25 zasedaniia Prezidiuma komissii po izucheniiu khudozhestvennoi terminologii GAKhN ot 20 fevralia 1926 g. RGALI. F. 941. Op. 14. Ed. khr. 19. L. 29. See Plotnikov 2026.

[...] the music volume is scheduled to appear first. Between October and January <1927/28>, more than 130 articles have been submitted by the following authors: Ia. A. Bogatenko, K. A. Kuznetsov, M. I. Medvedeva, E. K. Rozenov, Z. F. Savelova, V. E. Ferman, B. P. Iurgenson, and the volume's editor, M. V. Ivanov-Boretskii. A number of other articles are already finished and are currently undergoing editorial revision, and material for the illustrative plates is also being assembled.

On 6 September 1927, the Presidium of the GAKhN decided to pay for 10 articles by Ivanov-Boretskii prepared for the *Encyclopedia of Artistic Terminology*: "Anonimnyi," "Ansambl," "Aranzhirovka," "Artist," "Bardy," "Benediktinskii orden," "Virtuoz," "Debiut," "Diletant," "Diletantizm" ("Anonymous," "Ensemble," "Arrangement," "Artist," "Bards," "Benedictine Order," "Virtuoso," "Debut," "Dilettante," and "Dilettantism").¹⁶

A similar announcement of the *Music* volume's imminent completion appeared in the Production Plan of the Music Division for the 1928–29 academic year, which listed "the final work on the *Dictionary of Artistic Terms*."¹⁷ The report on the work of the Music Division for 1928–29 attested to the intensification of the activities of the Commission for the *Musical Encyclopedia*, headed by its editor, Ivanov-Boretskii.¹⁸ By early summer 1929, its work was again described as "close to completion" ("blizkaia k zaversheniiu"; *ibid.*: 14 ob.). Judging from the same document, the list of Section members involved in the project had expanded considerably. The report concluded by indicating the projected size of the volume: 25–27 printer's sheets (*ibid.*).

One of the key documents shedding light on the state of affairs in the music-related part of the *Dictionary of Artistic Terms* is the "Count of Articles for the Encyclopedia,"¹⁹ preserved in the Manuscript Research Department

16 Zasedanie Prezidiuma GAKhNA 6 sentiabria 1927. RGALI. F. 941. Op. 1. Ed. khr. 80. L. 18–18 ob.

17 «[...] заключительная работа по Словарю Художественных Терминов» (Proizvodstvennyi plan Muzykal'noi seksii G.A.Kh.N. na 1928–1929 ak<ademicheskii> god. RGALI. F. 941. Op. 1. Ed. khr. 23. L. 48 ob.).

18 "Otchet o rabote Muzykal'noi seksii GAKhN za 1928–1929 god", in: Plany i otchety o rabote seksii, podseksii i komissii za 1929–1930 god. RGALI. F. 941. Op. 5. Ed. khr. 55. L. 12–15 ob.

19 Podschet statei dlia entsiklopedii – spisok avtorov s ukazaniem kolichestva statei i strok, predstavlenykh dlia <Entsiklopedii khudozhestvennykh terminov> na 1.08.1929. NIOR RGB. F. 81 (GAIS). Kart. 16. Ed. khr. 14. L. 1–2.

of the Russian State Library (NIOR RGB) and dated 1 August 1929. This list, which contains 78 names, includes 28 authors of articles on music (Table 1).

Name	Number of articles	Number of lines
Aleksandrov N. G.	1	84
Bagadurov V. A.	9	1,392
Beliaiev V. M.	1	81
Beliaeva-Ekzempliarskaia S. N.	2	1,002
Bogatenko Ia. A.	6	618
Briusova N. Ia.	1	85
Gnesin M. F.	1	284
Zhilinskii B. L.	6	1,837
Zavsegdataev N. F.	1	351
Ivanov-Boretskii M. V.	201	10,193
Kuznetsov K. A.	3	174
Kondrat'ev S. A.	1	170
Medvedeva M. I.	12	1,515
Nikol'skii V. A.	4	978
Oganezashvili A. A.	1	39
Paskhalov V. V.	5	554
Renchitskii P. N.	2	1,117
Rogal'-Levitskii D. R.	6	1,114
Rozenov E. K.	3	928
Savelova Z. F.	7	725
Senitsia P. A.	1	70
Tolstoi S. L.	12	256
Usov D. S.	1	63
Ferman V. E.	3	704
Khokhlovkina A. A.	2	294
Shishov I. P.	1	189
Iurgenson B. I.	2	189
Iakovlev V. V.	1	206

Table 1

According to this document, by August 1929, the total number of articles written by musicologists for the *Dictionary of Art Terminology* amounted to 296. The main – and, at present, unsolvable – question concerns why so few of them have survived. Earlier we discussed the 15 articles written for it in 1923 by Ivanov-Boretskii and one by Kuznetsov. These 16 articles make up about 5 % of the total number in the table above.²⁰

These materials are supplemented by two documents: the above-mentioned minutes of the meeting of the Presidium of the GAKhN Commission for the Study of Artistic Terminology, dated 20 February 1926, at which Sakketi's article "Music" was discussed,²¹ and the presentation, in the form of a report, of Kuznetsov's article "Styles in Music".²²

Nine articles by Renchitskii (a GAKhN staff member from 1923 to 1931) have been preserved in the Russian National Museum of Music. They are typewritten copies with handwritten additions in ink and pencil.²³ Six of them are complete: "Nevmy" ("Neumes"), "Noty" ("Notation"), "Oktava" ("Octave"), "Obertony" ("Overtones"), "Osnovnoj ton (zvuk)" ("Fundamental Tone (Sound)") and "Ottenki" ("Nuances"). Two articles "Javanskaja muzyka" ("Javanese Music") and "Ehngarmonizm" ("Enharmonicism") are extant in draft form. None of them are dated, but a number of features allows us to associate them with the projects of the *Musical Encyclopedia* or the *Dictionary of Artistic Terminology*. First, the number of completed articles (six) corresponds to the figure indicated in the list cited above ("Count of Articles for the Encyclopedia"). Their titles follow an alphabetical order (the Cyrillic letters N and O). In the article "Osnovnoi ton (zvuk)", there are references to works by Nikolai Garbuzov, Georgii Katuar (Catoire), and Hugo Riemann's *Musiklexikon* in the edition by Alfred Einstein published in the mid-late 1920s.²⁴ The mention of the two of them – Katuar and Garbuzov – is accompanied by the

20 RGALI. F. 941. Op. 6. Ed. khr. 14. L. 53, 126–130, 138–139, 221a, 131–137; *ibid.*: Ed. khr. 13. L. 247–251a.

21 Protokol no. 11/25 zasedaniia Prezidiuma komissii po izucheniiu khudozhestvennoi terminologii GAKhN ot 20 fevralia 1926 g. RGALI. F. 941. Op. 14. Ed. khr. 19. L. 29. There was also an article entitled "Music" by Aleksei Losev. For further details, see: Plotnikov 2026.

22 Protokol no. 11 zasedaniia plenuma Podseksii istorii muzyki Muzykal'noi seksii GAKhN ot 19-go aprelia 1929 g. RGALI. F. 941. Op. 5. Ed. khr. 53. L. 37–39 ob.

23 RNMM. F. 18 (Petr Renchitskii). No. 93. Ed. khr. 1277. L. 1–41.

24 The reference is most likely to the first part of Garbuzov's *Teoriia mnogoosnovnosti ladov i sozvuchij* (Moscow, 1928) and to Katuar's *Teoreticheskij kurs garmonii* (Moscow, 1924–25).

remark that their ideas were formulated "in our own day". (The articles by Ivanov-Boretskii, Kuznetsov, and Renchitskii will be discussed in more detail below.)

On 26 March 1929, the chair of the Presidium of the Music Section, Medvedeva, reported that she had been instructed to purchase catalogue cards for compiling an alphabetical index of the articles in the *Music* volume of the *Encyclopedia of Artistic Terms*.²⁵ The rather extensive work of preparing the index, which, according to her own account, took twenty hours, was almost completed by 4 April.²⁶

On 22 September 1929, Protocol No. 22 of the meeting of the Presidium of the Music Section of GAKhN recorded a long-awaited event: "[...] all articles for the Mus<ic> volume of the *Dictionary of Artistic Terms* have already been completed".²⁷ In connection with this, the editor of the volume, Ivanov-Boretskii, was to convene a meeting of the Music Division to hear the articles.²⁸

Several articles written for the *Music* volume of the GAKhN *Dictionary of Artistic Terms* were read and discussed at the Plenum of the Music Division on 4 October, 15 and 29 November 1929; meetings devoted to their discussion were also held within individual subsections.²⁹ The minutes of the sessions discussing the following articles have been preserved: "Garmonia" ("Harmony") by Ivanov-Boretskii, Galina Van'kovich,³⁰ and Boris Zhilinskii;

Renchitskii also cites the eleventh edition of Riemann's *Musiklexikon*, edited by Alfred Einstein and published in 1929 (Riemann/Einstein 1929).

25 "Protokol no. 19 Zasedaniia Prezidiuma Muzykal'noi sektsii GAKhN ot 26 marta 1929 g.," in: *Protokoly zasedanii prezidiuma <Muzykal'noi> sektsii za 1929/1930 g. i materialy k nim*. RGALI. F. 941. Op. 5. Ed. khr. 53. L. 80.

26 "Protokol no. 20 Zasedaniia Prezidiuma Muzykal'noi sektsii GAKhN ot 4 apreliia 1929 g.," in: *Ibid.* L. 82; "Protokol no. 24 Zasedaniia Prezidiuma Muzykal'noi sektsii GAKhN ot 6 iunია 1929 g.," in: *Ibid.* L. 111.

27 «[...] все статьи для Муз<ыкального> тома Словаря Художественных Терминов уже закончены».

28 "Protokol no. 27 Zasedaniia Prezidiuma Muzykal'noi sektsii GAKhN ot 22 sentiabria 1929 g.," in: *Ibid.*: L. 123.

29 *Ibid.*: L. 15.

30 This collaborator was not listed among the authors of the *Dictionary of Artistic Terms* in the Report on the Work of the Music Division of GAKhN for 1928–29.

“Kontsert” (“Concerto”) by Ivanov-Boretskii and Khokhlovkina;³¹ as well as the aforementioned article, “Stili v muzyke” (“Styles in Music”) by Kuznetsov.³²

The final meeting at which issues concerning the *Music* volume of the *Dictionary of Artistic Terms* were discussed took place at the plenum of the Music Division on 29 December 1929. On 5 December, the Division’s leadership once again asked Ivanov-Boretskii to designate the articles to be read and discussed.³³ However, judging from the minutes of 29 December 1929, no articles were read at the meeting; instead, only a request was recorded that Jaworskii write an article on the theory of modal rhythm. Should he decline, the assignment was to be redirected to his student Viktor Tsukkerman.³⁴

The Commission on the *Musical Encyclopedia* within the Music Division continued to exist in GAKhN until 1930. In the Division’s plan for that year, the completion of the body of articles for the Encyclopedia was once again noted. What remained to be completed, was only their final editing, as well as the selection of illustrations and music examples.³⁵

In the Report on the Work of the Music Division for the period from mid-February to 15 May 1930, reference to the *Musical Encyclopedia* (*Dictionary of Artistic Terms*) disappeared.³⁶ The matter of the *Encyclopedia* nevertheless remained within the purview of the Division’s new leadership, Chairman Nikolai Cheliapov and Secretary Aleksandr Veprik: in early June they asked Ivanov-Boretskii to submit to the Presidium the articles written for the GAKhN *Dictionary of Artistic Terms* with a view to their subsequent

31 Protokol no. 1 Zasedaniia Plenuma Muzykal’noi sektiis GAKhN ot 4 oktiabria 1929 g. RGALI. F. 941. Op. 5. Ed. khr. 46. L. 1.

32 “Protokoly nos. 1, 2 Zasedanii Podsektiis Istorii Muzyki Muzykal’noi sektiis GAKhN ot 15 i 29 noiabria 1929 g.,” in: Protokoly nos 1–5 zasedanii Podsektiis istorii muzyki za 1929/1920 g. i materialy k nim 1929–30. RGALI. F. 941. Op. 5. Ed. khr. 56. L. 2–12 ob.

33 “Protokol no. 3 Zasedaniia Prezidiuma Muzykal’noi sektiis Gos. akademii khudozh. nauk ot 5 dekabria 1929 g.,” in: Protokoly nos. 1–18 zasedanii prezidiuma <Muzykal’noi> sektiis za 1929/1930 g. i materialy k nim. RGALI. F. 941. Op. 5. Ed. khr. 53. L. 6.

34 “Protokol no. 9 Zasedaniia Plenuma Muzykal’noi sektiis Gos. akademii khudozh. nauk ot 29 dekabria 1929 g.,” in: Protokoly nos. 1–15 zasedanii prezidiuma <Muzykal’noi> sektiis za 1929/1930 g. i materialy k nim. RGALI. F. 941. Op. 5. Ed. khr. 54. L. 21–21 ob.

35 Proizvodstvennyi plan muzykal’noi sektiis GAKhN na 1930 g. RGALI. F. 941. Op. 1. Ed. khr. 148. L. 6.

36 Plany i otchety o rabote sektiis, podsektiis i komissii za 1929–1930 god. RGALI. F. 941. Op. 5. Ed. khr. 55.

publication.³⁷ What happened next is unknown: no evidence has survived indicating that this request was fulfilled.

What Remained in the End?

Let us turn directly to the articles written by the staff of the Music Division of GAKhN for the *Musical Encyclopedia (Dictionary of Artistic Terms)*. Most of them begin with the first five letters of the Cyrillic alphabet (A–D). The selection of the sixteen articles completed in 1923 by Ivanov-Boretskii and Kuznetsov appears almost random. What determined this choice is unknown, but it is evident that the authors preferred topics not directly related to specifically musical matters ("Anonymous", "Ensemble", "Arrangement", "Artist", "Bards", "Benedictine Order", "Byzantium", "Virtuoso", "Dilettante", "Dilettantism", "Debut", "Composition")³⁸. Only four articles pertain directly to the field of music ("Durchkomponiert", "Military Music", "Conducting", "Sound Editing").³⁹ The title of Kuznetsov's article, "Byzantium", seems inaccurate in relation to its content – it is more a sketch or a fragment of a more extensive work on the history of notation.

The texts by Ivanov-Boretskii and Kuznetsov are entirely original – no literal similarity can be found between them and the corresponding articles in *Granat Encyclopedic Dictionary* or in the Russian and the most recent German editions of Riemann's *Music Dictionary* mentioned above. Moreover, some terms (for example, "Zvukomontazh" ("Sound Editing")) are absent from both the Russian and German editions of Riemann's *Dictionary*. It is noteworthy that the lexeme 'Benediktinskij orden' (Benedictine Order) was introduced by Ivanov-Boretskii earlier than it appeared in Riemann's *Music Dictionary*: the article "Benediktiner", absent from the 10th edition (Reimann/Einstein 1922), appeared in the 11th (Einstein 1929), prepared with the contribution of Ivanov-Boretskii.

37 "Protokol no. 15 Zasedaniia prezidiuma Muzykal'noi sektsii Gos. Ak. Khud. Nauk 8 i iunია 1930 goda", in: Protokoly nos. 1–18 zasedanii prezidiuma <Muzykal'noi> sektskii za 1929/1930 gg. i materialy k nim. RGALI. F. 941. Op. 5. Ed. khr. 53. L. 91.

38 «Анонимный», «Ансамбль», «Аранжировка», «Артист», «Барды», «Бенедиктинский орден», «Византия», «Виртуоз», «Дилетант», «Дилетантизм», «Дебют», «Композиция».

39 «Durchkomponiert», «Военная музыка», «Дирижировать», «Звукомонтаж». All the articles mentioned will be published as a part of a special volume in *Wiener Slawistischer Almanach*.

It is evident that the specific selection of article titles was to some extent determined by the preferences of Ivanov-Boretskii, a specialist in the music of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the Baroque. Even where excursions half a millennium back would seem uncalled for (as in the article “Virtuoz” (“Virtuoso”)), he still found room for them. It is precisely Ivanov-Boretskii’s substantial texts, rich in historical detail, that are of special interest. For example, the sequence of facts he constructs in the article “Dirizhirovanie” (“Conducting”) is particularly valuable, tracing changes in the perception of the conductor’s function over three and a half centuries, up to the early twentieth century (Maurice Kufferath, Felix Weingartner, Nikolai Malko). The distinctiveness of his interpretation of certain terms – for instance, his choice of exemplary march models in the article “Military Music”: the “Pilgrims’ March” from Berlioz’s *Harold in Italy*, Op. 16, and the theme of the second movement of Goldmark’s symphony *Rustic Wedding*, Op. 26 – does not diminish the value of his observations but, on the contrary, lends them additional interest, prompting discussion and giving well-known facts a touch of novelty.

Compared with the texts by Ivanov-Boretskii, the articles by Rentshchikii generally give the impression of being more substantial, thoroughly developed, and balanced in length (on average about 600 words). Their subjects pertain especially to primary music theory, including “Neumes”, “Notes” (“Musical Writing”, “Notation”), “Harmonics”, “Octave”, “Fundamental Tone (Sound)”, and “Enharmonicism”.

And yet, from what has been said, it is clear that the authors’ understanding of their tasks in the GAKhN *Musical Encyclopedia* did not fully correspond to the ideas of the Academy’s leadership, which envisioned a higher level of conceptual generalisation:

Изложение в словарных статьях представлялось Шпету, прежде всего, как систематическое установление современной эстетической терминологии, необходимой для организации знания в художественных науках. Соответственно, изложение исторической эволюции понятий должно было быть подчинено этой систематической задаче.

(Plotnikov 2026)

For <Gustav> Shpet, the presentation in dictionary articles was conceived above all as the systematic establishment of a modern aesthetic terminology that is necessary for the organisation of knowledge in the arts. Accordingly, the exposition of the historical evolution of concepts was to be subordinated to this systematic task.

This idea of "establishing a modern aesthetic terminology" was more fully reflected in Kuznetsov's article "Stili v muzyke", presented as a report at the meeting of the Plenum of the Subsection for the History of Music on 19 April 1929.⁴⁰ The minutes of the meeting read:

Докладчик определяет стиль как совокупность конкретных музыкальных признаков, обуславливающих характер или отдельного музыкального явления, или целой группы музыкальных явлений: творчество одного композитора в целом или в каком-либо отдельном этапе его пути или целого ряда за долгий период времени, в продолжении целой эпохи. Но эти признаки должны быть характерны, не свойственны иным музыкальным явлениям; в противном случае они не служили бы подлинными показателями данного стиля [...]. В этом смысле стилевая характеристика является «выделением», а не «объединением» характеризуемых музыкальных явлений и относится к области историко-музыкальных определений. История музыки есть, главным образом, история стилей, устанавливающая их последовательность и обусловленность по законам диалектического развития и вскрывающая смысл целого ряда музыкальных явлений и каждого звена его. При таком понимании для историка не может быть вопроса о преимуществах того или иного стиля над каким-либо другим, так как каждый стиль есть часть историко-диалектической цепи. В 19-м столетии история, в лице Адлера выработала методы стилистического анализа, в 20-м она пользуется формулами стилей для социологического построения истории музыкальных стилей. Эту задачу уточняет доктрина марксизма, стремящаяся привести преобладание тех или иных стилистических признаков в связь с преобладанием того или иного общественного строя; му-

40 Protokoly nos. 1–12 zasedanii Podseksii istorii muzyki za 1928/1929 g. i materialy k nim. RGALI. F. 941. Op. 5. Ed. khr. 46. L. 37–39 ob.

зыкальное творчество входит, таким образом, как часть в широкий процесс жизненной борьбы в самоутверждении общественных групп. Музыкальная наука также, как и вообще искусство, нуждается в марксистской доктрине. Например, до сих пор было принято подчеркивать в музыке 18-го века ее галантность, ее элементы орнаментики, и не замечались элементы здоровой бодрой ритмической пульсации, знаменующей восхождение к власти молодого 3-го сословия; точно также в новейшей западной музыкальной литературе, рядом с судорогами разлагающегося мещанства можно заметить и отзвуки грядущих побед трудовых масс.⁴¹

The speaker defines style as a set of specific musical features that determine the character either of a single musical phenomenon or of an entire group of musical phenomena: the work of one composer as a whole or at a particular stage of his development, or of a whole series of works over a long period of time, throughout an entire epoch [...]. In this sense, stylistic characterisation is a matter of “distinguishing” rather than “uniting” the musical phenomena under consideration, and it belongs to the sphere of music-historical definitions. The history of music is, above all, the history of styles, establishing their sequence and interdependence according to the laws of dialectical development and revealing the meaning of a whole range of musical phenomena and of each of its links. Under such an understanding, for the historian there can be no question of the superiority of one style over another. In the nineteenth century, history, in the person of Adler,⁴² developed methods of stylistic analysis; in the twentieth, it uses stylistic formulas for the sociological construction of the history of musical styles. This task is further specified by the doctrine of Marxism, which seeks to relate the predominance of certain stylistic features to the predominance of a particular social order; musical creativity thus becomes part of the broader process of social struggle in the self-assertion of social groups. Music scholarship, like art in general, requires the Marxist doctrine.

41 Протокол no. 11 zasedaniia plenuma Podseksii istorii muzyki Muzykal'noi sektiis GAKhN ot 19-go apreliia 1929 g. RGALI. F. 941. Op. 5. Ed. khr. 53. L. 37–37 ob.

42 Guido Adler (1855–1941) was an Austrian musicologist and teacher. Adler had been developing the problem of musical style since the 19th century; his principal work on this topic – *Der Stil in der Musik* (1911) – was published already in the twentieth century.

Thus, proceeding from an academic understanding of the category of style, the speaker arrived at its interpretation in the spirit of the Marxist concept of class struggle. Entering the discussion, Losev objected to what he regarded as the empiricism present in Kuznetsov's report. At the same time, he had no doubts about the choice of the "sociological method as applied to musical material"⁴³:

Определение стиля как совокупности приемов с эстетической точки зрения неправильно. Слушая музыку, мы не воспринимаем приемы, даже можем совсем не знать их, так как мы непосредственно переживаем ее. Все в музыке есть совокупность разных приемов — ритма, гармоний и т. п., поэтому определение докладчика эмпирично. [...] у музыки есть еще внутренняя сторона — это и есть стиль. [...] Социологический метод в применении к музыкальному материалу не вызывает возражений и на Западе все науки уже социологизировались. [...] Но социология должна дать нам и нечто большее. [...] нужно показать внутреннюю необходимость, например, перехода ренессанса к барокко. Нужно показать, как применять диалектический, строго логический метод.

(Ibid.: 38)

To define style as a set of devices is incorrect from an aesthetic point of view. When we listen to music, we do not perceive devices; we may not even know them at all, because we experience the music directly. Everything in music is a combination of various devices – rhythm, harmonies, and so on – therefore the speaker's definition is empirical. [...] Music also has an inner dimension – and this is what style is. [...] The sociological method as applied to musical material raises no objections, and in the West all the sciences have already become sociologised. [...] But sociology must give us something more. [...] It is necessary to show the inner necessity, for example, of the transition from the Renaissance to the Baroque. One must show how to apply the dialectical, strictly logical method.

The discussion continued with an exchange of remarks:

43 «[...] социологического метода в применении к музыкальному материалу».

К. А. Кузнецов: «[...] всякая стилевая формула, как бы предельна ее конкретность ни была, не заменит, конечно, самого художественного переживания (“внутренних” свойств вещи — по терминологии оппонента). Теоретический анализ обследует предпосылки, элементы музыкального явления, вне которых оно не существует. [...] Благодаря социологии мы видим автора в его живом окружении и метче подходим к творчеству. Марксизм не говорит о влиянии экономических факторов на какой-нибудь каданс — это было бы каким-то мистицизмом. Марксизм доказывает только, что музыкант — проводник жизненных интересов, творческой установки определенного общественного слоя [...]».

А. Ф. Лосев: «[...] нужно отделять стиль от музыкальных признаков; избирая социологический метод, я должен вскрыть признаки стиля независимо от музыки; например стиль Ренессанс не есть лишь музыкальный стиль, так же и романтизм — его нужно определять помимо искусства. Часть здесь берется вместо целого — это методологическая ошибка. Социологическое изучение эпохи или композитора, разумеется, необходимо — это должно дать нам нечто новое».

(Ibid.: 38–38 об.)

К. А. Kuznetsov: “[...] No stylistic formula, however specific it may be, can of course replace the actual artistic experience (the ‘inner’ properties of a work, in my opponent’s terminology). Theoretical analysis examines the premises and elements of a musical phenomenon, without which it does not exist. [...] Thanks to sociology, we see the author in his living environment and approach his creative work more precisely. Marxism does not claim that economic factors influence some particular cadence – that would be a kind of mysticism. Marxism merely demonstrates that the musician is a conduit of the vital interests and creative orientation of a particular social stratum [...]”

A. F. Losev: “[...] One must distinguish style from musical features; in choosing the sociological method, I must uncover the features of style independently of music. For example, the Renaissance style is not merely a musical style, and the same applies to Romanticism – it must be defined apart from art. Here a

part is taken for the whole, and this is a methodological error. The sociological study of an epoch or of a composer is, of course, necessary – it will provide us with something new.”

It is evident that the basis of this polemic lay in the different interpretations of one and the same phenomenon by a philosopher and a musicologist. This difference surfaced not only in this instance, but almost invariably whenever Losev attempted to enter into dialogue with his colleagues from the Music Division. Accusing them of lacking the ability to perceive in music “music as such” and of being incapable of serving as its theorists in the true sense, he found no understanding among them.⁴⁴ Once again, the positions of the opponents did not coincide. What brought them closer (and this is symptomatic) was precisely their shared recognition of the necessity of applying the sociological method in the study of the problem of style.

The many-year effort devoted to the GAKhN *Musical Encyclopedia* came to an abrupt end at the very moment when it was expected to reach its logical conclusion. One can only speculate why this long-term project, in which around thirty staff and external collaborators of the Academy’s Music Division took part, ended so unhappily. Indirect signs – above all, the absence not only of systematic but even of occasional discussion of the Encyclopedia’s articles at the meetings of the Division and its subdivisions – suggest that the project proved of little interest and in low demand among its own contributors. Reports and plans presented a different picture, yet the reluctance to participate in the work on the Encyclopedia was unmistakable. Who knows – perhaps one day this collective work, created by the founders of Soviet musicology, will unexpectedly emerge from the fog of history?

The research is funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation), project number 386757512: „Zwischen Wissensutopie und Archiv. Das Projekt einer ‚Enzyklopädie der künstlerischen Terminologie‘ an der Staatlichen Akademie für künstlerische Forschung in Moskau (1921–1930). Erschließung neuer Quellen“.

44 Cf. on this point: Bobrik 2017: 307–309.

References

- Bobrik, Olesia (2017): "Ot ėmpiriki prikladnogo muzykovedeniia – k muzykal'noi nauke. Formirovanie pervykh russkikh muzykal'no-teoreticheskikh kontseptsii v trudakh Muzykal'noi seksii GAKhN", in: Plotnikov, Nikolai / Podzemskaiia, Nadezhda (Ed.): *Iskusstvo kak iazyk – iazyk iskusstva. Gosudarstvennaia akademiia khudozhestvennykh nauk i ėsteticheskaiia teoriia 1920-kh godov*. Tom 1: *Issledovaniia*. Moskva: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 289–310.
- Biulleteni GAKhN* (1926): 4–5. Moskva: GAKhN.
- Biulleteni GAKhN* (1927/28): 8–9. Moskva: GAKhN.
- Biulleteni GAKhN* (1928): 10. Moskva: GAKhN.
- Einstein, Alfred (Ed.) (1929): "Benediktiner", in: Reimann, Hugo / Einstein, Alfred (Ed.): *Hugo Reimanns Musik-Lexikon*. 11. Auflage. Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag.
- Glebov, I. [Asaf'ev, Boris] (1919): *Putevoditel' po kontsertam, vyp. I. Slovar' naibolee neobkhodimykh muzykal'no-tekhnicheskikh oboznachenii*. Petrograd: Narkompros.
- "Muzykal'naia sektsiia" (1923), in: *Iskusstvo. Zhurnal Rossiiskoi Akademii Khudozhestvennykh nauk* 1, 428–429.
- Plotnikov, Nikolai (2026): "Forma i poniatie. Istoriia projekta 'Ėncyklopedii khudozhestvennoi terminologii' GAKhN". (The manuscript will be published as an introduction to the edition of the *Encyclopedia of Artistic Terminology* as a special volume of the *Wiener Slawistischer Almanach*).
- Reimann, Hugo / Einstein, Alfred (Ed.) (1922): *Hugo Reimanns Musik-Lexikon*. 10. Auflage. Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag.
- Riman, G. [Riemann, H.] (1901–04): *Muzykal'nyi slovar'. Perevod s 5-go nemetsk. izdaniia B. Iurgensona, dopolnennyi russkim otdelom, sostavlennym pri sotrudnichestve P. Veimarna, A. Preobrazhenskago, N. Findeizena, Yu. Engelia, B. Iurgensona, i dr.* Translated/edited by Iu. Engel'. Moskva/Leipzig: Izdatel' P. Iurgenson.