Ivan Vladislavovich Zholtovskii and His Influence on the Soviet Avant-Garde

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THE CONTEXT OF THE DEBATES BETWEEN THE WESTERNIZERS AND THE SLAVOPHILES

In the teaching of Modernism in architecture schools in the West, the historical canon has tended to ignore the influence of prerevolutionary Russian culture on Soviet avant-garde architecture in favor of a heroic-reductionist perspective which attributes Russian theories to the reworking of western European precedents. In their written manifestos, didn't the avantgarde artists and architects acknowledge the influence of Italian Futurism and French Cubism? Imbued with "revolutionary" fervor, hadn't they publicly rejected both the bourgeois values of their predecessors and their own bourgeois pasts? Until recently, such writings have been accepted largely at face value by Western architectural historians and theorists. Little attention has been paid to the Russian intellectual and cultural sources of avant-garde architectural theories. Thus, while some of these avant-garde theories are well-known and much-discussed in Western schools of architecture, they are usually represented as Russian reflections of ideas and ideologies imported from the West. Their interpretation is ungrounded in an understanding of their derivation from Russian culture, and thus the significance of their Russian roots remains unappreciated.

Nineteenth-century Russian philosophical and theoretical writing, in comparison to that of western Europe, might be characterized as primarily intuitive and only secondarily as rational or systematic. The disciplinary boundaries separating philosophy, theology, mathematics and aesthetic theory were considerably less distinct in Russia than in the West. Such writing placed great emphasis on social questions. In Russian philosophical writing, the word *pravda*, meaning truth, carried less the Western connotations of abstraction and idealism; it referred more to concepts of the practical applications of social justice. It contained the suggestion that truth could ultimately only be achieved in a community of people linked by bonds of unselfish common interest and love. Nineteenth-century Russian philosophy, and architectural theory as well, addressed the most hotly-debated issues of the day: religion, revolution and the national character of the Russian people. This was a synthetic, wholistic intellectual tradition that integrated philosophical, spiritual, artistic, mathematical, mystical, scientific and architectural ideas, which in the West would more likely only be considered within the confines of separate disciplines.[1]

Thus the architectural-theory climate into which Zholtovskii was born in 1867 may with justification be characterized as "rich and polemical." Questions of architectural heritage and style were at the center of heated debates on architectural theory. Neo-classicism had reigned supreme in Russian cities in the 18th century. By the 1830s this had been largely supplanted by a peculiarly Russian Romanticism. Philosopher/theorist/writers such as Aleksandr Galich, Nikolai Gogol and Nikolai Nadezhdin looked for ways for architecture to achieve unity out of diverse elements, such that it expressed the character of the nation and the spirit of its people *(nnrodnost')*.[2]

Theories of art became inseparably linked to the hotly-debated socio-political issues of nationalism, ethnicity and class in Russia. "The history of any nation's architecture is tied in the closest manner to the history of their own philosophy," wrote Mikhail Bykovskii, and Nikolai Dmitriev propounded Russia's equivalent of Laugier's primitive hut theory based on the *izba*, the Russian peasant's log hut. Such writers as Apollinari Krasovskii, Pavel Salmanovich and Nikolai Sultanov called for "the transformation. . . of the useful into the beautiful" in ways which could serve as a vehicle for social progress as well as satisfy a society's "spiritual requirements".[3]

Russia's humiliating defeat in the Crimean War in 1856 brought new focus to the issues of modernization and industrialization. The industrial revolution had progressed much more rapidly in western Europe and America than it had in Russia; could Russia modernize without Westernizing, i.e. absorb western technologies without diluting her national character and culture? The social and cultural impact of the industrial revolution in Russia, occurring decades later than in the West, was at least as important as its material impact. In Russia, then, the absorption of industrialism into the culture and thus into its architecture, while more deliberately intentional, created deeper ideological conflicts and fostered responses of a different nature than in the West.

In philosophy, the debates polarized into two basic camps, the so-called Westernizers and Slavophiles. The Westernizers, whose most important members were Vissarion Belinsky, Aleksandr Herzen and Mikhail Bakunin, emphasized Russia's backwardness and the need to catch up with the West intellectually, socially, culturally and technologically. The Slavophiles, particularly Ivan Kireevsky and Aleksei Khomiakov, focused on the values and virtues unique to Russian culture which could save western Europe from the "rationalism" and "impersonalism" to which they believed it was losing its very soul.[4]

In Kireevsky's view, Western philosophy, derived from Aristotle, "broke the wholeness of man's intellectual self-consciousness and transferred the root of man's inner convictions from the moral and aesthetic sphere into the abstract consciousness of deliberative reason." On the other hand, Russian thought, based on Orthodoxy, did not consider "abstract logical capacity as the only organ for the comprehension of truth," to the exclusion of creative intuition and religious faith. According to Kireevsky, man "should constantly seek in the depth of his soul that inner root of understanding where all the separate forces merge into one living and whole vision of the mind."[5]

Khomiakov formulated the philosophical concept of *sobornost'*, a word which derives from the Russian for conciliarism or

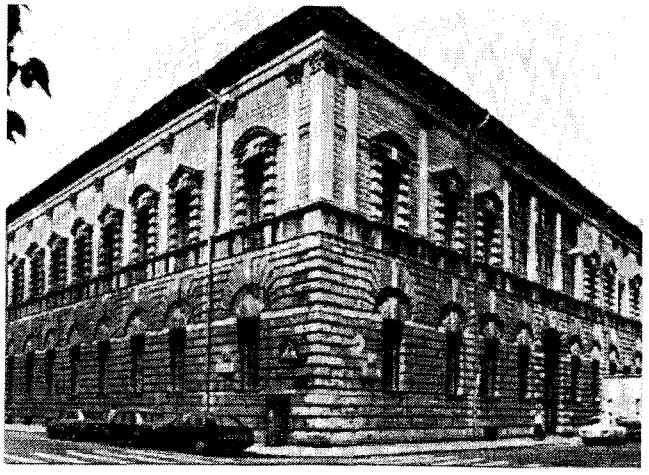

Fig. 1. Ivan Zholtovskii, Tarasov Mansion, Moscow, 1909-1912

ecumenicism, although in modern Russian the wordsobor has come to mean cathedral. In philosophy, *sobornost'* refers to a communal or village-based approach to social organization, to an ideal of a free community united by bonds of love and common ideals. in which members retain both their social responsibility and their individuality. Khomiakov and his fellow Slavophiles called for "unity in diversity and multiplicity in one." In short, Slavophile philosophy was "anti-rationalistic, anti-positivistic, and anti-materialistic."[6]

Konstantin Leontiev (1831-1891) developed an aesthetic theory consistent with the principles of Slavophilism. The concept of beauty as the point of contact between materiality and divinity was the basis of his mystical-religious philosophical system.' This, in turn, was fully consistent with the Russian tradition of religious philosophy expressed in paint, the "theology in colors" of icon-painting.[8] Leontiev wrote, "Culture is lofty and influential when there is abundant beauty and poetry in the historical picture as it develops before us; and the basic law of beauty is diversity in unity."[9] Two of his main concepts were the priority of aesthetic over moral values, and the beneficial effects of social conflict on cultural creativity."' He was among the ranks of nineteenth-century Russian thinkers who predicted a violent revolution in Russia's future.

Leontiev explained the decline of European culture and the imminent flowering of Russian culture as manifestations of a tripartite, cyclical scheme of organic growth and decay, based on the socio-historical theories of the biologist Nikolai Danilevskii. According ro this scheme, cultures. like living organisms, progress from an infantile phase of "initial simplicity" through a mature phase of "flourishing complexity", culminating in a declining phase of "leveling interfusion" leading to a rotting "organic death".[11] Leontiev argued that western European culture had achieved its "flourishing complexity" in the Middle Ages and was well into the process of decay, while Russian culture, born of Byzantiurn, was in its adolescent stage and about to blossom.

Vladimir Soloviev (1853-1900), "the most important Russian speculative thinker of the nineteenth century,"[12] took the Slavophilist concepts of *sobornost'*, "integral knowledge" and "unity in diversity, multiplicity in one" to the next level. Soloviev called for the organic synthesisof theology, philosophy, experimental scienceand all branches of art as a step toward his goal of the human achievement of an '.all-embracing unity of being itself." He believed that recognition of the interdependency of all forms of human cognition would lead to the nonfragmented mode of understanding the Slavophiles called "integral knowledge." Soloviev developed these concepts into a triune system for the synthesis of the three ideals, goodness, truth and beauty:

> Human *making* — whose objective principle is beauty - when purified and unified, assumes the ideal form of "integral creativity." Purified and unified *knowing* — whose objective principle is truth — assumes the ideal form of "integral knowledge." Purified and unified *doing* — whose objective principle is the good — assumes the form of "integral society." Each of these three, in turn, is an integrating synthesis of a triad of subordinate elements: "integral creativity" of mystical experience (*mistika*), fine art, and technical art; "integral knowledge" of theology, philosophy, and science; "integral society" of church, state, and the economy. The inclusive synthesis of integral creativity, knowledge and society constitutes "integral life."[13]

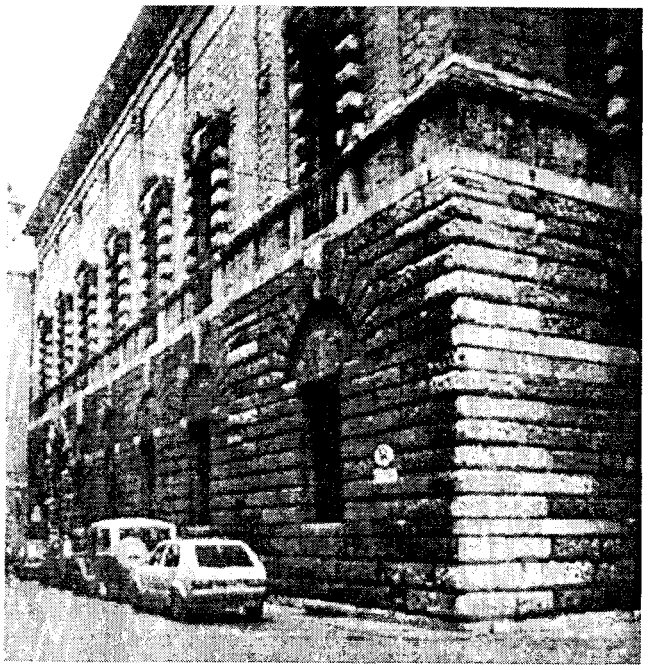

Fig. 2. Andrea Palladio, Palazzo Thiene, Vicenza, 1542-1548

The architectural Historicists of the 1860s to 1890s were strongly influenced by the philosophical writers and radical social thinkers of their time. The architectural theory debates, and the buildings produced in Moscow and St. Petersburgin relation to them, were part of the response of architects to issues of the significance, meaning and "Russian-ness" of the Russian national character. Vladimir Stasov and Vladimir Shervud sought to create universal aesthetic theories based on Medieval Russian architecture and the concept of *narodnost'*, the expression of the national character of the Russian common people. The social motivations of the client and the social purposes of the building were seen as important criteria of its architectural worth.[14]

The web of relationships linking industrial policies, political motives and social goals (and thus the future of Russia) to the choice of construction materials and the selection of ornamental motifs was understood explicitly by the architects who participated in or closely followed the social-philosophical debates of the mid- and late-nineteenth century. Architectural expression, then, came to be understood as a mode of political expression. inasmuch as each of the predominant architectural styles was explicitly identified with a particular political ideology. To paraphrase Randolph Starn, it was clear that, to those familiar with these visual languages, the different architectural styles and their modes of form-making and ornamenting encoded distinct political messages and ideologies." The spiritual content of the visual language was, in the Russian context, aprofoundly significant issue as well. Inarchitecture, the Russianists were ideologically associated with the Slavophiles and the Classicists were identified with the Westernizers.

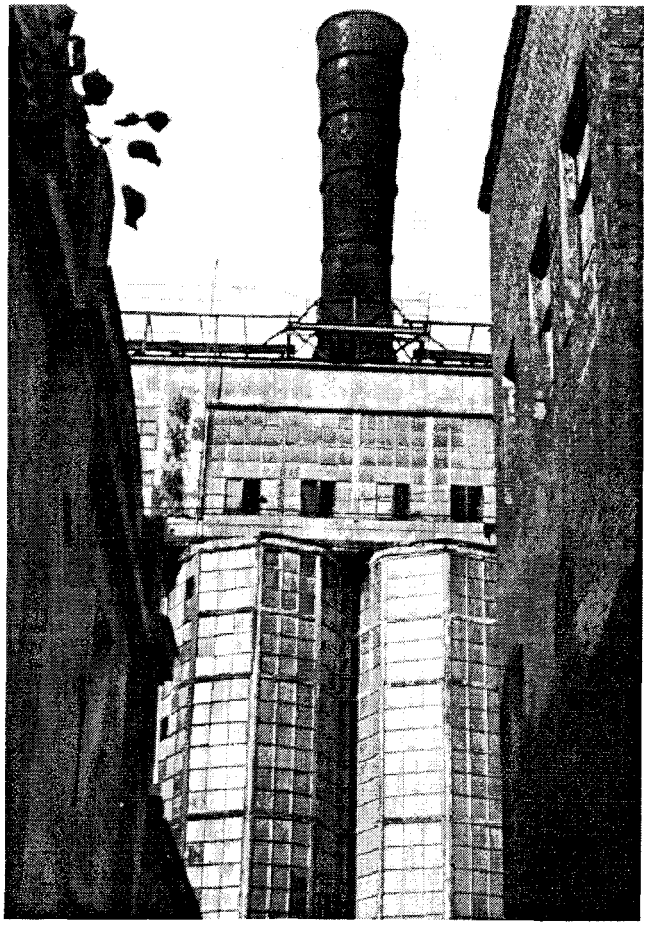

Fig. 3. Ivan Zholtovskii with Sergei Kozhin. Moscow Central Power Statio (MOGES), Moscow, 1927.

By the turn of the century, the dominating influence of the Russianists had for the most part given way to the *Russkii modern* movement, closely related to the French Arr *nouveau* and the German *Jugendstil*. Vladimir Apyshkov and B. N. Nikolaev, both publishingin 1905. wereamong those writing ofarchitecture'squest to bring about mankind's spiritual transformation through transformation of the physical environment, withnatureserving as the model of how the material is to be made into the beautiful. There was also preaent a strong neo-classical counter-movement, calling for a return to order and the solution of overwhelming social problems en masse through universally applicable norms of beauty.[16]

These issues and ideas, then, formed acritically important part of the cultural base for Russia's major influence on and contribution to Western architecture and architectural theory, the avant-garde "architecture for world revolution" of the 1920s. Before that time, the flow of architectural ideas and influence had been primarily from the West into Russia. This changed dramatically with the rise of the Soviet avant-garde. Melnikov's 1925 Soviet Pavilion in Paris, Lissitzky's exhibitions and publications in Germany throughout the 1920s, Kandinsky's move to the Bauhaus in 1922 and Le Corbusier's interest in the Constructivist publication *Sovremennaia Arkhitektura* all contributed to a dramatically increased awareness in the West of architectural ideas originating in Russia. However, most Western interpreters of Soviet avantgarde architecture have lacked sufficient familiarity with Russian culture and understanding of the unique visual language of nineteenth-century Russian architecture to recognize its legacy in the work of the avant-garde. This is not such a surprise considering the barriers of language and the Cold War, not to mention the severe censorship which occurred within both Tsarist and Stalinist Russia.

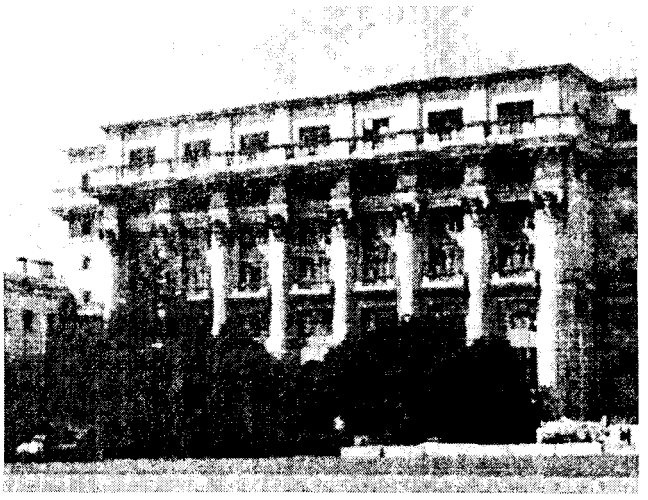

Fig. 4. Ivan Zholtovskii, Apartment Building on the Mokhovaia. Moscow, 1932-1934.

ZHOLTOVSKII AS WESTERNIZER: THE EVIDENCE OF HIS BUILT WORK

This. then, was the politically-charged architectural climate within which Zholtovskii lived and worked. Throughout his life he maintained a steadfast allegiance to the principles of classical methodology and to a Palladian visual idiom. Zholtovskii's career was long and prolific: his productivity in terms of building. writing and teaching lasted from pre-revolutionary times through the avant-garde period and well into the Soviet era (he outlived Stalin by six years, during which time he was still writing and building).

Zholtovskii was enamored of Italian culture in general and Palladian architecture in particular. He managed, with the support of his wife's Riabushinskii inheritance, to visit Italy twenty-six times during his lifetime,[18] an extraordinary level of primary contact for a man of his time and place. His Russian translation of and commentary on Palladio's Four Books of Architecture was published in two volumes in 1938 by the Russian Academy of Architecture.[19] His two most highly regarded built works, the Tarasov mansion of 1909-12 (Figure 1) and the Mokhovaia apartment building of 1933-34 (Figure 4), are most often described as direct imitations of Palladio's Vicenzan Palazzo Thiene, 1542-58, (Figure 2) and Loggiadel Capitaniato, c. 1565-72, respectively.[20] In external appearance, these imitations differ from the originals primarily by virtue of changes to the proportions or scale of the façade.

Although Zholtovskii built in the style he called "Harmonized Constructivism" (Figure 3) in the 1920s and was prolific during the years of Stalin's Socialist Realism, even late in his career his built work again made direct reference to Palladio, as we see in a comparison of his Urban Cinema of 1955 (Figure 5) and Palladio's Villa Poiana (Figure 6).[21]

Because of this, his work is often superficially dismissed as simply that of a Palladian copyist. On the basis of the visual evidence of his built *ouvre* and the facts of his biography, he has been assumed to beasympathizer with the tradition of the Westernizers. However. closer examination of his theoretical writings gives rise to an entirely different interpretation.

ZHOLTOVSKII AS SLAVOPHILE: THE EVIDENCE OF HIS THEORETICAL WRITINGS

It is Zholtovskii's theoretical writings (to date unfortunately published only in Russian [22]) that offer the most revealing evidence of his architectural philosophy, its relation to Russian culture. and the significance of this with respect to his influence on avant-garde

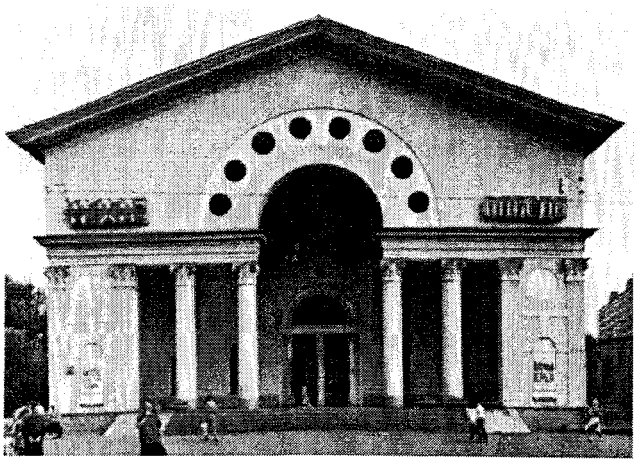

Fig. 5. Ivan Zholtovskii, Urban Cinema, Moscow, c. 1952-1957.

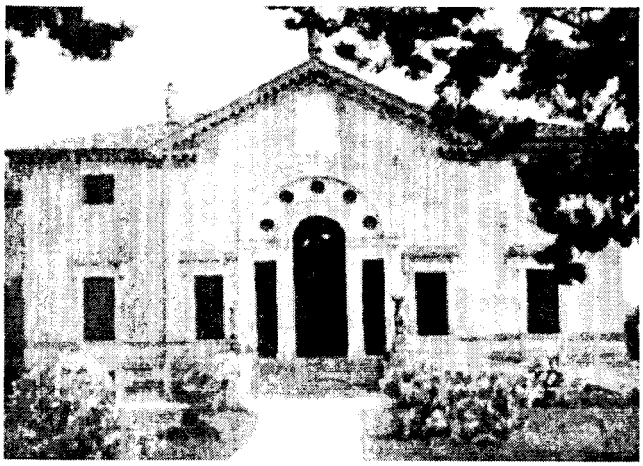

Fig. 6. Andrea Palladio, Villa Poiana, Vicenza, c. 1549-1556.

theory. Contrary to my prior expectations, and the visual evidence of his debt to Palladio notwithstanding, the ideas expressed in Zholtovskii's architectural theory bear very little relationship to Palladio's writings on architecture, or to Western architectural theory in general. What then were their sources?

To be sure, like Palladio, Zholtovskii writes about the imitation of nature by art and develops an organic model of architecture, but his organic theory is entirely unlike Palladio's: it represents a synthesis ofclassical methodology with nineteenth-century Slavophile thought. Zholtovskii's way of thinking, outlined below, is revealed by his writings to be much more closely related to the Slavophile philosophers Leontiev, Danilevskii and Soloviev than to Palladio or the Russian Westernizers.

Zholtovskii wrote that the basic development of architecture lay in two different lines: one, the "antique" line, which reachedits peak in the age of Pericles and was characteristic of the democratic Greek city-state; and the other, the "baroque," characteristic of imperial Rome and especially of the period of the counter-reformation.[!] He proposed not classicism as a style, but the classic as a creative method:

> If a young architect understands theclassic as a method, ... he will see not the forms but the principles in the history of architecture.... He learns to value the optimistic, lifeaffirming conception ofthearchitectural organism, whichexpresses the eternal victory of growing youth over the power of gravity, embodied in the works of the ancient Greeks and through Byzantium coming into old-Russian architecture and into Russian folklore."[24]

This he contrasted with the pessimistic, even tragic, "baroque" classicism of the west, fundamentally alien to Russia, in his eyes tragic in that its declining life-force has been defeated by gravity.

Zholtovskii's organic model of architecture is based on the concept of the unifying, dominant "static source," to which are subordinated multiple, diverse dynamic elements. Like the limbs of a tree branching from the trunk, these elements becomelighter, finer, more delicate and more dynamic the farther they move from the static source. As they multiply and branch out, they diversify. But they must always refer, or "incline," back to the dominant, unifying, firmly-rooted base. He reminds us that "in a living organism, all parts are subordinated to the idea of the whole." The static source, in "giv[ing] birth to its subordinate forms," conforms to certain laws: "The law of differentiating development leads us to the law of the growing organism, growing to overcome the power of gravity in the vertical direction and inertia in the horizontal."[25]

Proportion, in Zholtovskii's theory, is the visible manifestation of the interactions between the parts and the whole, and as such becomes the expression of an organism's stage in its life-cycle (infancy, maturity, decline):

> The relation of the parts to the whole and to each other expresses different moments of living growth, different stages of its struggle with gravity and inertia, different ages of the organism: 1) the rapid, headlong flight of the young branch, 2) the wonderful equilibrium of the flowering, 3) the fatigue of fading, 4) the heaviness of ripe fruit. Proportions in the hands of a genuine artist should be no dead mathematical scholasticism, but a powerful means of expressing living life, derived from the observation and study of organic material.[26]

Thus, Zholtovskii's manipulation of the proportions of the Palazzo Thiene by changing the relative heights of the two storeys was intended to give the Tarasov Mansion the proportions of a youthful organism. It was a translation of Palladio's palazzo into a Russian culture at the life-stage of optimistic, youthful robustness, just coming into its own internationally, in contrast to the maturity of the Veneto culture in which Palladio was building.

Now we begin to appreciate the paradox presented by Zholtovskii: that while his built work, clearly related to western European neoclassicism, would appear to align him with the Westernizers, his writings make evident his deeper philosophical affiliation with Slavophilism. Zholtovskii was attempting to use the organic, integrated aesthetic theories of the Slavophiles to develop a methodology for architecture appropriate to Russia in the twentieth century.

Zholtovskii was convinced that there must exist some "laws of beauty" and a method for their application as used by the masters of classical antiquity, based on principles of composition and construction, which he set for himself the task of discovering. "By studying classical works we can learn to understand the highest wisdom, the logical and tectonic construction of an architectural organism," he wrote.[?]

> First of all is the law of unity, complicated, which subordinates to itself all variety of elements belonging to it.... The creative thinking of artists must always go from the whole to the parts, and not the opposite, even when working with a separate element of the whole, for example an apartment building which is part of a complex.
>
> What is the relationship between unity and its multiple constituent parts? The relationship is dual. Parts are subordinate to the whole.... Every organic unity has a static base.... Theelements in their essence are dynamic. They have the gift of movement, they are oriented to their static base, and it is unimportant if this movement goes from it or is directed toward it.[28]

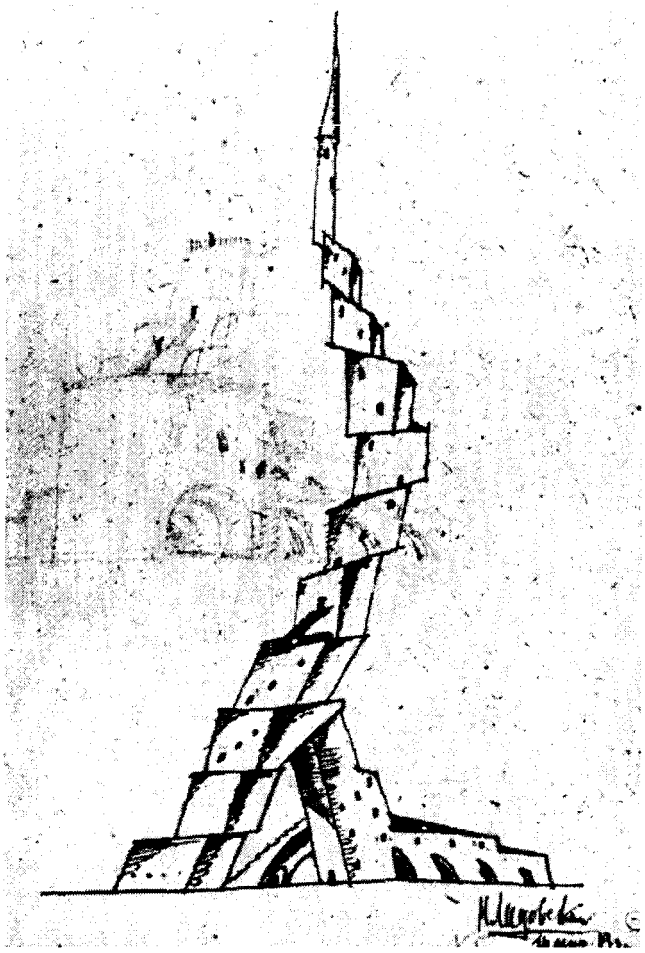

Fig. 7. Nikolai Ladovskii, Experimental design for a Temple for the Congregation of Nations, 1919.

Zholtovskii applies this principle to the organization of cities as well:

> Even the most beautiful buildings are dead if they are not linked to one another with ideas of a unified city as a living, social and architectural organism.... The role of each element of an ensemble is determined not by its own qualities, but by its place and its expressiveness of function in the whole artistic organism.... The problem of the ensemble is nothing else than the problem of the relationship of the whole to its parts, in other words the most important problem of any artistic composition."

He concludes, "Unity in multiplicity is the leading principle of artistic ensembles.""

Through Zholtovskii, then, the applicability to architecture and urban planning of Leontiev's organic model of cyclical growth and decay and Soloviev's system of integral creativity and integral knowledge became a part of the theoretical foundation on which the Rationalists and Constructivists built their own divergent theoretical systems. These themes remained a part of architectural thinking in Soviet times, even after Stalin's censors removed the writings of the Slavophiles from library shelves.

ZHOLTOVSKII'S INFLUENCE ON THE ARCHITECTURAL AVANT-GARDE

The avant-garde architects tended to be critical of the buildings and urban designs produced by Zholtovskii and his associates. calling them the work of "passeists and eclectics" or "Utopians."" yet they were deeply indebted to Zholtovskii's teaching and mentorship, and, indeed, he employed many of them early in their careers, especially during the difficult civil war years following the 1917 revolution. He was renowned in architectural circles as a talented and highly influential teacher, particularly as a teacher of history and theory.[32] Zholtovskii's lectures at the VkhUTEMAS were attended by his younger colleagues as well as the students, and he also held regular discussion meetings with his students and colleagues, described years later by Konstantin Melnikov as "wonderful evenings." Melnikov was "convinced that without Zholtovskii's influence there would not have been many important innovators in the nineteentwenties, for... it was Zholtovskii who awoke in them a full appreciation of contemporary architecture.""

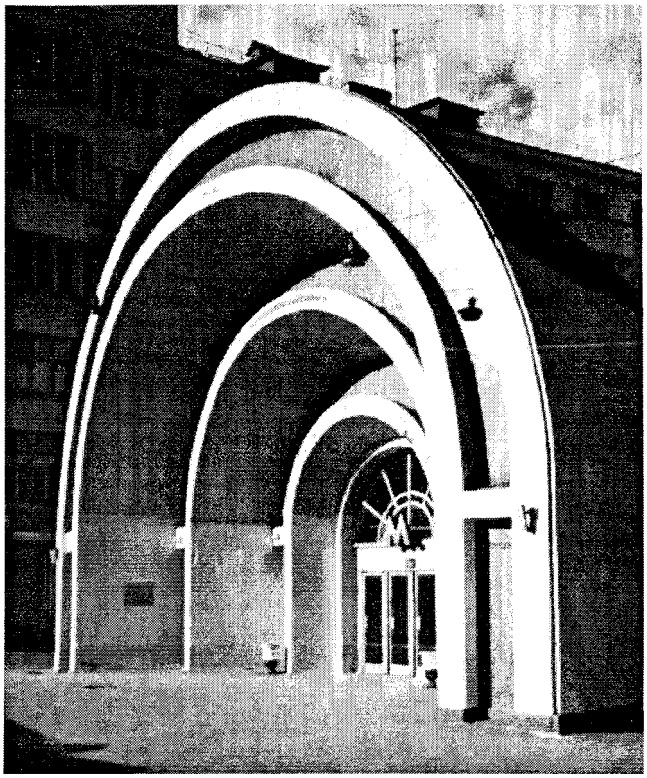

Fig. 8. Nikolai Ladovskii, Entrance to the Metro Station *Krasnye Vorota* (Red Gates), Moscow, 1935.

Zholtovskii taught for many years at the Stroganov College of Art, the Moscow School of Painting. Sculpture and Architecture (MUZhVZ), the VKhUTEMAS, VKhUTEIN and MARKhI, during which time he had enormous impact on many of the future prominent members of the architectural avant-garde. Mikhail Barshch, Moisei Ginzburg, Ilia and Panteleimon Golosov, Georgii Golts, Vladimir Krinskii, Nikolai Ladovskii and Konstantin Melnikov were among those who worked in his atelier and/or attended his VKhUTEMAS lectures in the early 1920s.[34] During the terrible years of Stalin's purges in the 1930s and 1940s, Zholtovskii and his contemporary Aleksei Shchusev, another of the architects favored by Stalin, were able to protect their younger associates.

Moisei Ginzburg, the author of the Constructivist manifesto *Style and* Epoch, was known, like many of his contemporaries, to h a w sat in on Zholtovskii's lectures when both were teaching at the VKhUTEMAS. Ginzburg cites the Slavophile Danilevskii in *Style and* Epoch; whether he learned of Danilevskii's theory through Zholtovskii or independently is difficult to say, but clearly it served as a source for his own organic theory of the evolution of architec-

tural styles,: "It is not possible to fix the moment when one styleends and another begins; style, once born, lives out its youth, maturity, and old age; but old age is still not fully spent, atrophy not yet complete, when another new style arises to assumeasimilar course." And later, discussing what follows "virtually every great flowering" of architectural style, he describes how a surfeit of decorative elements disrupts organic life, concluding, *"The youth of a new style is primarily constructive, its mature period is organic, and its withering away is decorative."* The architect becomes "not a decorator of life, but its organizer." The architect must "turn to the more substantive and fundamental problem of finding *the proportional relationships, the hartnonious formulas, which were lost in the labyrinth of historical nccessories."* Ginzburg concludes:

> In this sense, a thoughtful and impartial glance should discern a striving for pareddown, constructively accentuated forms in the essentially classical architecture of I. V. Zholtovsky . . . as well as in the artistic asceticism and rational inventiveness of the foremost disciples of Constructivism, despite the vast gulf separating their respective ideologies and formal vocabularies'[35]

El Lissitzky likewise makes reference to Zholtovskii's theories, although without naming him directly, in his article, "A Series of Skyscrapers for Moscow". He writes, "We consider the part to be subordinate to the whole and the system of a city to determine the character of its various structures.... The city consists of atrophying old parts and growing, living new ones. We seek to deepen this contrast."[36]

It is Nikolai Ladovskii, the theoretician and founder of the Rationalist group ASNOVA, whose theories reflect most clearly their debt to Zholtovskii. According to Konstantin Melnikov, who was one of Ladovskii's classmates at MUZhVZ, Ladovskii was a disciple of Zholtovskii and an avid follower of classicism in his student years. Ladovskii and Melnikov both continued to attend Zholtovskii's lectures after completing their degrees in 1917, and in 1918 they both joined the Architectural Workshop at the Moscow Soviet headed by Zholtovskii and Shchusev.[37] True, Zholtovskii and Ladovskii later had a falling-out, but Ladovskii's writings and teaching methods continued to show that they were formed on the basis of the teachings of Zholtovskii.

For example, Ladovskii's famous dictum, "Space, not stone, is the material of architecture," and his quest to discover the "psychoanalytic" or "psycho-technical" laws of human spatial perception, were consistent with Zholtovskii's insistence on "thinking in space and volume" and that "an architect organizes not only space but human psychology."[38]

Zholtovskii's teaching emphasized a search for solutions to the problems of both composition and construction in architecture; at the core of Ladovskii's teaching program, which dominated the first two years of the curriculum in architecture at the VKhUTEMAS, was a series of formal exercises comparing methods of composition and construction. Ladovskii wrote, 'The main feature of a construction is that it should not contain surplus materials or elements. The chief distinguishing mark of a composition is hierarchy and subordination."[39]

Ladovskii's urban design theory also bears Zholtovskii's stamp:

> The concept of a town's growth cannot be reduced to mere terms of the mechanical increase of its temtory.... Growth must be regarded as organic and representing an organism that is not just quantitatively, but also qualitatively different at various stages of its development... We cannot regard individual buildings as anything but particles of a city as a whole. Our associations must therefore restructure their organizational work and proceed from city to building, not the other way around."

It follows that the task of architecture becomes "to connect groups of buildings into one spatial system in which theindividual buildings are only parts of an integral architectural entity."[41]

Ladovskii refused to publish much of his theoretical writing because he was unwilling to release what he thought would be a direct challenge to his former master Zholtovskii, until he believed his own arguments were as strong. The unfortunate outcome of this was that much of Ladovskii's writing was lost after his death during the upheavals of World War II, and thus never published at all.[42]

Like Ladovskii, Konstantin Melnikov evokes Soloviev's "integral creativity," but Melnikov emphasizes the role of *rnistika* (mystical experience or mysticism) increating an integral architecture. In his autobiography he writes, "Creating is a mystery," and "Architecture continues to be synonymous with mysteriousness."[43]

Inconclusion, Ivan Zholtovskii was an important link between the Slavophiles and the avantgarde architects, but he was just one of many. The time has come when we may begin, in the words of Judith Kornblatt and Richard Gustavson, "to correct assessments... that may have solidified over the decades when creative research was forbidden (in the Soviet Union), or largely ignored (in American scholarship)."[''] It is time we better understood the intellectual origins of the Russian avant-garde theories from which Western architecture has drawn so much inspiration.

NOTES

Two notes about the notes: 1. In the interest of making this material more accessible to non-Russian-reading colleagues, I have tried to reference English-language sources whenever possible, rather than the primary sources in Russian; and 2. Since this paper represents a highly condensed version of a larger work, 1 have in some places taken the liberty of grouping multiple references into a single note at the end of a paragraph.

1 Christopher Read, *Religion, Revolution and the Russian Intelligentsia 1900-1912* (London: MacMillan Press, 1979), p. 8.

2 Evgeniia Kirichenko, "Theoretical Attitudes to Architecture in Russia, 18301910s," *Architectural Association Quarterly* 11/2 (1979): 9-12. (See also E. I. Kirichenko, *Arkhitekturnye teorii* XIX *veka v Rossii* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1986).

3 Kirichenko, pp. 13-15.

4 Edie, Scanlan, Zeldin and Kline, *Russian Philosophy,* vol. I (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965), pp. 160-61.

5 Edie, pp. 185-86, 198-99; Kornblatt and Gustavson, *Russian Religious Thought* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), pp. 7-8.

6 Edie, pp. 161-62.

7 Ludmila Avdeyeva, "Konstantin Leontyev," in *A History of Russian Philosophy: From the Tenth Through the Twentieth Centuries,* ed. Valery *A.* Kurabin (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1994), 2:412.

8 Kornblatt. p. 6.

9 V. V. Zenkovsky, *A History of Russian Philosophy,* trans. George L. Kline (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), 1:451.

10 George L. Kline, "Leont'ev, Konstantin," in *Encyclopedia of the Essay,* ed. Tracy Chevalier (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1997), p. 471.

11 George L. Kline, "Russian Religious Thought," in *Nineteenth Century Religious Thought in the West,* ed. Ninian Smart et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 2:195.

12 Ibid., 2:208.

13 Ibid., 2:209-10.

14 Kirichenko, p. 15.

15 Randolph Starn, "Seeing Culture in a Room for a Renaissance Prince," in *The New Cultural History,* ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), p. 205.

16 Kirichenko, pp. 18-22.

17 This is a reference to the ambiguous title of El Lissitzky's book, Russia, *An Architecture for World Revolution,* trans. Eric Dluhosch (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970): Lissitsky, like his friend Vladimir

Tatlin, as discussed by Nikolai Punin in *O Tatline* (Moscow: Literaturno-Khudozhestvennoe Agentstvo RA, 1994), was fundamentally devoted to the cause of an artistic world revolution, and willing to go along with the political revolution in the effort to further this cause.

[18] M. I. Astafeva-Dlugach et al., eds., Zodchie *Moskvy* XX vek (Moscow: Moskovskii Rabochii, 1988), p. 50. The Riabushinskiis were a very wealthy Moscow merchant family, known for their patronage of architecture and the arts.

[19] Andrea Palladio, *Chetyre knigi* ob *arkhitekture*, trans. Ivan Zholtovskii (Moscow: Vsesoiuznoi Akademii Arkhitektury, 1936).

[20] Astafeva-Dlugach, 50; Catherine Cooke, ed., *Russian Avant-Garde* Arr *and Architecture*, AD Profile 47 (London: Architectural Design and Academy Editions, 1983), p. 84; and Andrei Ikonnikov. Russian Architecture of the Soviet Period (Moscow: Raduga Publishers, 1988), p. 189.

[21] There is not the room in this short paper to provide more than a few examples of Zholtovskii's buildings. A larger and more representative sample of his work will be discussed and illustratedin theconference presentation. (For images of Zholtovskii's work, see: Marie Savage, "Zholtovskij e Mosca," Domus 705 (May 1989); Grigorii D. Oshchepkov, I. *V.* Zholtovskii: *proekty i postroiki* [I. V. Zholtovskii: projects and buildings] (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatelstvo Literatury po Stroitelstvy i Arkhitekture, 1955).

[22] M. G. Barkhin, ed.. *Mastera sovetskoi arkhitektury ob arkhitekture* [Masters of soviet architecture on architecture] t. 1 (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1975). This collection is a very useful source of Zholtovskii's writings, both in terms of its breadth of topics and its ready availability in the west. It also contains illustrations. All translations from this source are mine.

[23] N. P. Bylinkin, "Ivan Vladislavovich Zholtovskii (1867-1959)," in Barkhin, p. 26.

[24] Ivan Zholtovskii, in Barkhin, p. 36.

[25] Ibid., pp. 38-9.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., p. 37.

[28] Ibid., p 38.

[29] Ibid., pp. 44-46.

[30] Ibid., p. 52.

[31] Aleksei Tarkhanov and Sergei Kavtaradze, *Architecture* of *the Stalin* Era (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), pp. 18, 80; Cooke, p. 92.

[32] Bylinkin, in Barkhin, pp. 28-29.

[33] Selim O. Chan-Magomedov, "Nikolaj Ladovskij: An ideology of rationalism," Lotus *International* 20 (September 1978): 105.

[34] Selim O. Khan-Magomedov, *Pioneers* of Soviet *Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987). p. 22.

[35] Moisei Ginzburg, *Style and* Epoch, trans. Anatole Senkevitch, Jr. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982), 42-3, 100, 113, 115, 121. Italics in original.

[36] El Lissitzky, "A Series of Skyscrapers for Moscow," trans. S: Frederick Starr, in Art *& Architecture,* USSR, *1917*-32, ed. Max Risselada (New York: Wittenborn & Co., 1971), p. 14.

[37] Chan-Magomedov, "Nikolaj Ladovskij," p. 105.

[38] Ladovskii, and Zholtovskii, in Barkhin, pp. 34, 35, 344, 352; also KhanMagomedov, Pioneers, pp. 544-45.

[39] Bylinkin, in Barkhin, 28; Khan-Magomedov, Pioneers, pp. 57-59, 544.

[40] Khan-Magomedov, Pioneers, pp. 545-47.

[41] Milka Bliznakov, "Nikolai Ladovskii: The Search for a Rational Science of Architecture," *Soviet Union/Union Sovietique* 7. Pts. 1-2 (1980): 186; also Khan-Magomedov, Pioneers, 599.

[42] Personal communication with Professor Milka Bliznakov. November 1995; Chan-Magomedov, "Nikolaj Ladovskij," p. 105.

[43] Konstantin Melnikov, *Mir khudozhnika: Arkhitektura moei zhizni* [The world of the artist: the architecture of my life] (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1985), pp. 81, 91.

[44] Kornblatt, p. 5.