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**Under pressure: teaching  
architectural history in higher  
architectural education in USSR  
in 1930s**

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## Introduction

In this work I am trying to discover, how architectural education was organized in the Soviet Union in 1930, and more specifically to discover the place occupied by the history of architecture in the training of architects during this period. History of architectural education can be framed in the various ways. For the full-fledged research in the history of education of any kind, even in such a peculiar subject as teaching architectural history of architecture in schools of architecture, it is necessary to involve many different contexts: this is the history of art, the history of institutions, the history of ideas, the social and political contexts that shape education and so on. As Mary Ann Stankiewicz points out<sup>1</sup>, we can discuss the educational issues in context of historical periods, geopolitical entities, nationalism, international influences, etc. The history of Soviet architectural education cannot be viewed without the ideological context which shaped the curriculum, teaching methods, enrollment of students and staff, courses content and syllabuses, essential and additional reading, etc. Therefore, it is obvious that even the small subject in the history of education brings up a very large layer of research in various fields and contexts.

Why is the answer to the question of how the history of architecture was taught to future architects in the 1930s is important for understanding the general context of the history of Soviet architecture? Usually, research in the history of architecture of a particular period of a particular country is done within the same subject field. However, in this work, I consider the architectural schools of the USSR as part of a large social institution – education, which was undergoing major changes in the 1930s. Thus, sociological and political aspects of research in education are added to the historical and architectural narratives. The transformation of the education system was superimposed on changes in the profession of an architect, values and directions of work in the professional community, therefore, even in such, at first glance, a secondary plot, as the peculiarities of teaching one discipline, various conflicts and interests inherent in the era are reflected.

The 1930-s in Soviet architecture is a period of constructing a social realism – the new style that should have been based on the “acquisition of the historical heritage”, where “heritage” meant mainly the Greece and Roman Antiquity and the Italian Renaissance. The search for the place of the heritage in the social realism took several years and was very well

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<sup>1</sup> Mary Ann Stankiewicz, ‘Capitalizing Art Education: Mapping International Histories’, in *International Handbook of Research in Arts Education* (Springer, 2007), pp. 7–38.

described in the professional press<sup>2</sup>. The community of architects was trying to find out, what kind of past can the social realism call its “own” and how can it acquire this past to build a new architecture. This discussion reflects a redefinition of the architectural profession and its place in the social hierarchy: by 1930 the only customer on the architectural scene was the Soviet state, the market and, thus, the diversity and the variety of preferences, have been eliminated. The architects turned back to the history in search of the coping strategies.

The “social realism in architecture” or “Stalinist empire style” in the recent years became an object of attention of scholars both in Russia and abroad. The main questions of their studies are related to the essence of the style. Some scholars and critics try to define the origins of the style through its relations to the previous stylistic periods (the most important works in this area are Vladimir Paperny’s “Culture two”<sup>3</sup>, Grigory Revzin’s “Neoclassicism in Russian architecture in the beginning of XX century”<sup>4</sup>, Boris Groys “Gesamtkunstwerk Stalin”<sup>5</sup> and multiple studies by the Moscow Institute of the History and Theory of Architecture and Urbanism), some look for the neoclassicism’s social drivers (for example, Vadim Bass’s papers on the reinvention of classics in early XX century Russia<sup>6</sup> and other works which will be analysed in the following sections). These studies will constitute the background of my research.

Another important issue is the institutional settings of 1930s neoclassical movement. From 1929 Soviet architecture experienced the process of the alignment of multiple ideas and movements within the profession to the Party’s general ideology. Throughout the 1930s we can observe two parallel processes. First is the establishing of ideological context in architecture through the Union of the Soviet Architects (1932), in which representatives of all

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<sup>2</sup> The main journal of Soviet architects – “Arkhitektura SSSR” (“Architecture of the USSR”) from 1933 to 1937

<sup>3</sup> Paperny V., *Culture Two* (New Literary Review, 2016). 414 p. (In Russian: Паперный В., *Культура Два* (Новое литературное обозрение, 2016). 414 с.).

<sup>4</sup> Revzin G. I., “Neoclassicism in Russian Architecture of the Beginning of XX Century”. *Archive of Architecture*. – 1992. – Issue 2. 199 p. (In Russian: Ревзин Г. И., “Неоклассицизм в Русской Архитектуре Начала XX Века”, *Архив Архитектуры*. – 1992. – Вып. II. 199 с).

<sup>5</sup> Groys B. *Gesamtkunstwerk Stalin* (Ad Marginem, 2013). 168 p. (In Russian: Борис Гройс, *Gesamtkunstwerk Сталин* (Ad Marginem, 2013). 168 с.).

<sup>6</sup> Bass V. G. “Russian Palladio: on one mechanism of acquisition of the classics in Russian architecture of XX century”, *Actual problems of history and theory of art*, – 2015 – Issue 5. P 774–782. (In Russian: Басс В. Г., “«Русский Палладио»: об одном механизме освоения классики в отечественной архитектуре XX века”, *Актуальные проблемы теории и истории искусства*, – 2015 – Вып. 5. С.774-782).

artistic movements of the 1920s were forcibly united. Second is represented by the changes in the architectural profession. Several work describing the institutionalization of Soviet architecture and changes in the architectural profession, appeared in the recent years. Among them are Katherine Clark's "Moscow the Fourth Rome" (2011)<sup>7</sup>, Alexandra Selivanova's PhD thesis on postconstructivism in 1930s (2009)<sup>8</sup>, Igor Kazus's works on the architectural competitions (2014)<sup>9</sup> and Moscow architecture (2014), Alessandro De Magistris papers on the social realism (2014)<sup>10</sup> and Moscow metro (2011)<sup>11</sup> and many others.

On the other hand, in the 1930s, the state formulates a new demand for the education system: it is necessary to quickly train sufficiently qualified personnel in order to raise the country's economy. Higher educational institutions are faced with a new system of priorities: not autonomy and the search for new knowledge of the classical Humboldt University, but the unification and standardization of programs so that graduates in Moscow, Leningrad, Vladivostok, Kharkov, Odessa have the same set of knowledge, skills and abilities. Therefore, the question of what and how to teach future architects was decided in the 1930s not individually by a teacher, department, faculty, but centrally, at the level of the entire country. The programs and requirements developed in the central universities of Moscow and Leningrad were taken as a model by all educational institutions of the country. Thus, the one who was responsible for what to include in the curriculum, what textbooks, sources and illustrative materials the teacher can use, made a decision not only for his students.

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<sup>7</sup> Katerina Clark, *Moscow, the Fourth Rome* (Harvard University Press, 2011).

<sup>8</sup> Selivanova A. N. "Creative Searches in Theory and Practice of Soviet Architecture in the 1930s" (unpublished PhD Thesis) Moscow., 2009. 252 p. (In Russian: Селиванова А. Н., 'Творческие Поиски в Теории и Практике Советской Архитектуры 1930-х Годов' (дис. канд. арх., М., 2009) 252 с.); Selivanova A. N. *Postconstructivism: Power and Architecture in 1930-s in USSR* (BuksMArt, 2019). Селиванова А. Н., *Постконструктивизм: Власть и Архитектура в 1930-е Годы в СССР* (BuksMArt, 2019) 320 с.).

<sup>9</sup> Kazus I. A. "Architectural Competitions in the USSR in the 1930s and Formation of Style Directions of Soviet Art Deco and Neoclassicism" *Sztuka Europy Wschodniej | Искусство Восточной Европы | Art of Eastern Europe*, 2, 2014, 267–275 (In Russian: И. А. Казусь, 'Архитектурные Конкурсы в Ссср 1930-х Годов и Формирование Стилевых Направлений Советского Ар Деко и Неоклассики', *Sztuka Europy Wschodniej | Искусство Восточной Европы | Art of Eastern Europe*, 2, 2014, 267–275); Geydor T. I., Kazus I. A., *Styles of the Moscow Architecture* (Iskusstvo – XXI vek, 2014) (In Russian: Гейдор Т. И., Казусь И. А., *Стили Московской Архитектуры* (Искусство-XXI век, 2014).

<sup>10</sup> Alessandro De Magistris, '(Soc) Realisms in Practice: Re-Reading the Soviet Experience in the 1930s', 2014.

<sup>11</sup> Alessandro De Magistris, 'Underground Explorations in Synthesis of the Arts: Deineka in Moscow's Metro', 2011.

My work consists of the following thematic parts. As in any other field, the historical context is very important in the history of art and architectural education. Therefore, in the first paragraphs, I make a brief foray into the history of the formation of architectural education in Russia. Since education in my work is considered an important social institution, I begin this foray with the founding of the Imperial Academy of Arts – the first formal institution in the field. In the 1930s, architects educated in the Academy before the revolution were at the peak of their professional careers, their views and values gained during their studies largely determined the educational ideas that they promoted.

The next section is also important to provide context: in it, I briefly describe what social and institutional processes took place in Soviet architecture in the 1930s. The creation of the Union of Architects, the emergence of a system of planning and design workshops, major competitions (Palace of Soviets, Narkomtyazhprom), preparation and holding of the First Congress of the Union of Architects - these events affected the system of architectural education. In the same part, a separate paragraph is devoted to a description of what happened during this period in the education system as a whole

The next section is devoted to a discussion about architectural education that took place in the professional community in 1932-1937. During this period, many different events took place that determined the status and content of Soviet architectural education. First, dissatisfaction with the level of training of young specialists has accumulated in the professional environment. Secondly, the creation of the Union of Soviet Architects and the decree “On architectural education” demanded immediate changes from architectural schools, but the content of these reforms had yet to be worked out. Finally, the system of higher education in the USSR itself was undergoing significant changes in the 1930s, and of course they could not but affect the professional training of architects, as a part of it. The professional architectural community faced a difficult task: it was necessary to coordinate the requirements of the state to ensure the rapid and mass training of specialists with their own ideas about a good architectural education, in which the master works with the student practically one-on-one. This has become the main subject of discussion about architectural education, and, as we shall see, it has not been possible to find an unambiguous answer to the question of how the transfer of professional experience should be arranged.

Next, I consider what happened in the country’s central architectural challenges. The centre of this narrative, of course, is the All-Union Academy of Architecture, created in 1933 “as a central scientific and educational institution in the field of architecture.” It was the



Academy that other architectural schools of the country were equal to, it was from it that they expected instructions on how to teach and what to research in the architecture of the period of socialist realism. However, its activities were so diverse that it is not possible to cover it in one dissertation in all details. I focused on two aspects: educational work at the Academy with a special focus on teaching the history of architecture and art history, and publishing activities – in this section I dwell in detail on the publication of translations of treatises by Renaissance authors. In addition to the Academy, I am considering the situation at the Moscow Institute of Architecture and Civil Engineering and the Academy of Arts in Leningrad, which became the successor of pre-revolutionary pedagogical traditions and quite successfully combined them with the requirements of the new reality.

Thus, in my work, I try to answer the following research questions:

- 1) How was architectural education arranged in the USSR in the 1930s and what factors led to this arrangement?
- 2) What role did the history of architecture play in the professional training of an architect in the 1930s?

## The higher architectural education in Russia: a brief history

In this paragraph I will briefly review a history of architectural education in Russia. I consider education as a social institute, so in this review I will start from the point of establishment of the first formal educational institution for arts and architecture – the Imperial Academy of Arts, founded by Peter the Great in 1723. Peter the Great brought to Russia from Europe the main academic principles of artistic education and training, and during the centuries the Academy was open to the western influence.

So, in the first part of this paragraph I will mostly focus on the history of the Imperial Academy of Arts, from its establishment in 1718 and until the Russian revolution in 1917 – after this point the Academy’s life had dramatically changed. The pre-revolutionary life of the Imperial Academy of Arts is important for my story because the main figures of the architectural scene of 1930s in the USSR (such as Ivan Zholtovsky, Ivan Fomin, Vladimir Schuko and others) were educated there. So, the Academy shaped their professional values and views and, as we shall see, they considered the Academy as an example of the best teaching experience. Of course, in XVIII and XIX centuries other schools for artists and architects appeared all over the Russia, but the Academy was always a first example for them. Academy’s alumni taught in these schools, and thus transferred the educational principles and curricula all over the country – both through official (some art school directly complied the Academy) and unofficial channels. So, until the end of XIX century the Imperial Academy of Arts was the most influential educational institution in the field of arts and architecture.

After the Revolution the situation had changed. The country’s capital had moved to Moscow, so there is no wonder that the Moscow institutions started to play the main role in defining the educational processes. In 1918 the world-famous VKhUTEMAS (The Higher Artistic and Technical Workshops) opened its doors to the new students, new teachers and new ideas. VKhUTEMAS had quickly became famous for attracting the leaders of the avant-garde art and architecture, but in reality, it was a home for artists with different (sometimes the opposite) artistic views and values. For example, the workshop of Ivan Zholtovsky, who brought his adherence to the Italian Renaissance and Palladio’s architecture in particular, through all his career, was as popular among the VKhUTEMAS students, as the avant-garde workshop of the constructivist Moisey Ginzburg or the so-called “united left workshops” of the rationalists Nikolay Ladovsky, Vladimir Krinsky and Nikolay Dokuchaev. So, in the second part of this paragraph I will move the focus of my research to Moscow and will try to

show, how the artistic processes in the early Soviet Russia (from 1918 to 1931) were reflected in the educational processes.

The main goal of this paragraph is to show, how the architectural education in 1930-s, which was completely rebuilt in 1932, succeeded the principles of the Imperial Academy of Arts, though it was never officially admitted neither by the communist authorities, nor by the architect themselves. However, this paragraph is auxiliary, its purpose is to give necessary context before moving on the main part of the research. The complete description of the history of Russian architectural education is very important and interesting topic, where there are still a lot to investigate, however, it is out of the scope of my study.

## The Imperial Academy of Arts – the central artistic institution in the pre-revolutionary Russia

The formal architectural education in pre-revolutionary Russia can be traced back to the reforms of Peter the Great and the erection of Saint Petersburg as a capital of a newly born empire. Massive construction required a large number of people, skilled in architecture and construction. Peter the Great wanted to build a new, European-type city and thus requested that those who were in charge of the building, would have obtained the western experience. As a part of this request in 1720s Peter Eropkin, Ivan Korobov, Timofey Usov and others were sent to Europe (and had spent most of their time in Italy) to study architecture. They were required to study, measure and draw the “best buildings” with the full cost coverage from the Russian state. This practice was later obtained by the Imperial Academy of Arts for the best alumni in painting and architecture – so-called “pansionism”. Eropkin was particularly known for his admiration of Palladio and Alberti, and after his return to Russia translated the Fourth Book of Palladio. Unfortunately, this translation had never been published, and remained only as a manuscript. Another important piece of work was a summary of his learning and professional experience abroad – the “Regulation of the Architectural Dispatch”<sup>12</sup> (1737 – 1741), where a special part was dedicated to the description of the architect’s skills and knowledge. This manuscript was published only in 1946 by David Arkin – one of the important figures on the Soviet architectural scene that I will often refer to in the next paragraphs.

In 1723 the Chancellery of Construction in Saint Petersburg was founded<sup>13</sup>. Initially, it was a state agency responsible for the planning and regulation of the construction processes in Saint Petersburg. This Chancellery created the “teams” from architects, artists, stonemasons, masters of tapestry, woodcarvers and so on. Those “teams” included the experienced masters, alongside with the novices, who received the opportunity to gain professional experience, working side by side with the masters. Thus, these “teams” obtained the classic workshop principles of art education, but they were not functioning on a regular basis. The idea of these teams was reproduced after the 1917 revolution, when the Soviet state established the

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<sup>12</sup> Arkin D. E. “Russian Architectural Treatise-Codex of the XVIII Century”, *Architectural Archive*, 1, 1946, pp. 7 – 100. (In Russian: Д. Е. Аркин, ‘Русский Архитектурный Трактат-Кодекс XVIII Века’, *Архитектурный Архив*, 1, 1946, сс. 7–100).

<sup>13</sup> Dmitry Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2007).

architectural workshops in many Soviet cities. The most famous of all were the Mossovet and the Leningrad workshops.

In 1718 Peter the Great ordered to establish the first Academy, which was aimed to unite “those who might be good in arts and science”. In 1724 the equality of arts and science was fixed in Academy’s name: not long before his death Peter the Great signed a decree, which established the “Academy of science and noble arts”. But within the Academy, the artistic part was considered as a service for science and was mostly focused on drawings for books and maps, and there was no special room for architecture.

1757 is considered a starting point of the Russian artistic and architectural education. In this year in Saint Petersburg “The Academy of Three Most Noble Arts” – painting, sculpture and architecture – was founded. From that point and until 1763 the curator of the Academy was Ivan Shuvalov, who also curated the Moscow University. It meant that the principles of university education were transferred to the newly born Academy. At the beginning of 1758, about 30 young men started their education in the Academy; 16 young men from the gymnasium at the Moscow University were selected and brought to Saint Petersburg, others were found on place, mostly from the military families. Shuvalov tried to find students with different backgrounds: the state payed for their education, so the only sufficient criterion was any proofs of artistic abilities. Vladimir Lisovsky in his book on the history of the Imperial Academy of Arts<sup>14</sup> says that this way of selection showed the good results: among the first Academy graduates were famous Russian artists and architects Fedor Rokotov, Vasily Bazhenov, Fedot Shubin, Ivan Starov and others.

First teachers were mostly foreigners – French and German. Drawing and painting were taught by Louis-Joseph le Lorren (who, however, did not make a big contribution in the educational process, as he died in less than a year after he started teaching), Jean-Louis Devilly, Louis Jean- François Lagrenée, Georg Friedrich Schmidt and others. The elder students became the teaching assistants and after the graduation continued working in the Academy.

The head of the architectural class was Alexander Kokorinov, the only Russian professor among the first generation of the Academy’s teaching staff. He was a former pupil of an architect Dmitry Ukhtomsky from Moscow and alongside with Jean-Baptiste Vallin de la Mothe was responsible for the training in the field of architectural theory.

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<sup>14</sup> Lisovsky.

Shuvalov built his educational principles on the classical cannon. In 1764 Shuvalov fell out of favour and was sent abroad; Ivan Betskoy became the new head of the Academy, but classical antiquity as a basis for the artistic education remained intact. Under Betskoy's guidance, the Academy received the new statute given by Catherine the Great. According to it, in the "classes" (of painting, sculpture, architecture and engraving) students were required to follow the programme, divided for several stages (or "ages") and organised from the propaedeutic and academic subjects in the beginning to the practical tasks in the end. The study process was divided into two periods. In the Academy students had to make a long way, the artistic education started very early. All students enrolled to the Academy, started from the instructional class ("vospitatelny klass"). This class had three "ages": from 6 to 9, from 9 to 12 and from 12 to 15. The main focus in this period was on the drawing skills. This way was obligatory for all students, no matter what kind of art they selected for their further education. So, at the beginning of their studies students could receive the best possible instruction from different sources.

Despite the organisational changes under the guidance of Betskoy, the ideology inside the Academy remained intact from the Shuvalov's times. All educational system that was built in the Imperial Academy of Arts was oriented to the knowledge that reframed the aesthetics of the antiquity and classical art and architecture. The main way of studying the artistic subject was copying the antique and classic examples in the variety of techniques. In the drawing classes of the first three "ages" (in the instructional class) students started from simple geometrical forms, but soon proceeded with copying the pieces of art from the past (mostly, engravings, as described in the literature<sup>15</sup>). After that they moved on to the drawing of the plaster copies of antique sculptures; the great number of these copies were stored in the museum of the Academy as well as the miniatures of some pieces of antique architecture, for example, 32 architectural miniatures by Antonio Chichi, which were also used as the models for the students. Only on the final stage of their instructional class the students were allowed to draw from the life models.

The last two "ages" (another six years) were called the Academy itself and gave training in the selected area – painting, sculpture, architecture or engraving. During this period, students

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<sup>15</sup> Lisovsky; Vaitens A. G., "Architectural Education at the All-Russian Academy of Arts, 1932-1941". Annotation to PhD Thesis, 1982. (In Russian: Вайтенс А.Г., 'Архитектурное Образование Во Всероссийской Академии Художеств, 1932-1941 гг.: Автореф. Дис. На Соиск. Учен. Степ. Канд. Архитектуры: (18.00.01)', 1982).

should have performed the monthly projects, and every four months they had to pass the “great examination”. Best works on these exams were awarded by the silver and gold medals. In the architectural class Kokorinov was responsible for the so-called theoretical classes, which included architectural drawing and composition; in this part the students also studied mathematics, geometry and other subjects, including “Theory of classical orders”. Scholars<sup>16</sup> say that in the Academy it was also taught from the “Renaissance treatises”. De la Mothe was responsible for the students’ practical projects – each month the students were assigned to develop a project of different kinds of buildings or their parts (facades, interiors, stairs, galleries, etc.) under de la Mothe’s guidance. First generations of the Academy’s students could train their construction skills and get familiar with different kinds of materials on the Academy’s building construction site on the Vasilievsky island. Other options were the Saint Petersburg Public Library and the building of the stock exchange – one of the most significant construction projects in the city in the end of the XVIII century.

The gold medal on last “great examination” gave a right to a study tour (or a “pension voyage”) fully funded by the Academy – a tradition ran by the Peter the Great. This voyage usually took several years after the graduation. Award-winning graduates usually spent their time abroad between France (which is not surprising, considering the close relations between Russian and French cultures and a large number of French professors in the Academy) and Italy (which was considered as a centre of the classical art). Architects usually went to Italy to study, draw and measure classical architecture from the antiquity and the Renaissance.<sup>17</sup> During their voyages, “pensioners” must have visited museums and memorials, do some work under the guidance of the foreign master and, in case of architects, make the drawings and measurements of the Roman and Renaissance buildings. “Pensioners” were obliged to send to Saint Petersburg their works (drawings, measures, paintings, etc.) and detailed reports about their studies – it was a condition of funding. So, the archives of the Imperial Academy of Arts have a large number of materials related to pensioners’ studies: letters, reports, money requests, which are now being actively studied. Later, in the 1830s – 1840s the geography of the pension voyages was expanded. In 1843 Alexander Ivanov, a famous Russian artist who lived abroad for quite a long time, described in a letter a typical voyage of the pensioner-architect: “In Rome

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<sup>16</sup> Vaitens.

<sup>17</sup> Topchiy I. V., ‘The Role of Additional Architectural and Art Education in the Architecture and Fates of Russian Architects’, *Architecture and Construction of Russia*, 9, 2015, 14–23. (In Russian: Топчий И. В., ‘Роль Дополнительного Архитектурно-Художественного Образования в Архитектуре и Судьбах Российских Архитекторов’, *Архитектура и Строительство России*, 9, 2015, 14–23).

architects need to measure the best buildings of antiquity, getting used to the clear taste through the restoration of the buildings from the better times. Other places in Italy give them the beauties of the middle ages. They also need England to get to know the comfort of the residential buildings; and to discover the roots of the Russian church style, they need to learn fourteen and fifteen centuries, which are so alive in Italy, but also to come over Greece and Syria”.<sup>18</sup>

After the return, the “pensioner” could apply to the Academy membership. After becoming an academic (this title could also be received as a result of the works on the requests of the Academy’s Council), an artist or an architect could become an adjunct professor and start teaching. The highest degree in the Academy was a professor – he had a right to become a head of the class and a member of the Academy’s Council. The professorship was usually given as a prize for the significant works of art. The Academy’s statute allowed to select and promote the members of the Academy not only from its graduates but also those who studied in other institutions. The Academy’s membership was very significant for receiving commissions, especially from the state, so it was the instrument of influence to the cultural policy in Russia.

The 1764 statute was valid for more than a century, though the educational process went through some minor changes. Thus, in 1802 Alexander Stroganov replaced Ivan Betskoy on the position of the head of Imperial Academy of Arts. In 1802 he added some new items to the statute to strengthen the academic traditions and the quality of education in the Academy. Thus, the courses on perspective, optics, anatomy, aesthetics, art history were introduced. The first mention of the history of architecture as a course taught in the Academy is also from this period. It was given by Jean-François Thomas de Tomon, who moved to Saint Petersburg in 1802. There is not much information available on the courses in art and architectural history in the XIX century, but scholars mention that there was a severe lack of resources (the literature as well as a teaching staff, who were able to give these courses) in that period. In 1832 the new Academy’s head Alexey Olenin, who took this place after Stroganov’s death in 1811,

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<sup>18</sup> Lisovsky.

«В Риме архитекторы начитываются, меряют лучшие произведения древности, привыкают к чистоте вкуса посредством реставрации зданий лучшего времени. Другие места Италии представляют им красоты среднего века. К удобствам частных домов нужна Англия, а познанию корней, откуда родился русский стиль церковный, нужно изучить четырнадцатое и пятнадцатое столетие, столь живо ещё живущее в Италии, нужно затем заглянуть в Грецию и Сирию»



developed a “Full course of a theory of architecture”, where he combined history and theory of architecture. This course, though, never was fully implemented.

However, Olenin managed to implement many other important changes to the educational process in the Academy. For example, he introduced the workshop system, where a group of students worked under the supervision of one professor, who established a close contact with each student in a group. In a previous period, the so-called professors on duty, who changed constantly, were obliged to control all students’ works. Thus, these professors did not have much opportunities to influence students’ styles through the close personal contact. The workshop system, on the contrary, gave space for the informal cooperation between a professor, a master, and his students, which was very important for the students’ professional development. But, alongside with the workshops, Olenin kept the professors on duty, so each student could receive feedback not only from his own master, who was deeply involved with the work, but also from a more independent source of the professional opinion.

The teaching methods in the Academy throughout the XIX century remained traditional. In the first three years the students must have complete the propaedeutic course which consisted of a sequence of tasks, where a student should make a copy of a famous drawing, or draw from the clay ornamental models, architectural designs, wooden copies of the famous antique or classic buildings, etc. The next three years were devoted to the independent tasks on composition: the students should have to prepare the projects of the buildings, first small, then bigger, and then “the huge public buildings”. The new tasks were assigned each month, and three times a year the students should have passed the exams. The Olenin’s statute stressed that the professors in the workshop should respect students’ independence and support their original thinking.

Of course, the technical progress and new techniques gave an impact on the educational process. Since 1832 architecture was also taught in the School of Civil Engineers, so the Academy had to compete with it for the students and commissions. This competition resulted in the strengthening of the theoretical part of the education in the Academy (both technical and historical disciplines) and broader attention to the construction practices. The courses on art and architectural history, as well as more drawing and painting classes, were an advantage of the Academy over the School of the Civil Engineers, where education was more technical and less oriented to the artistic peculiarities of the architectural practice.

The raise of the national ideas also influenced the architectural education. The biography of Nikolay Benua (1813 – 1898), an architect, a member and professor of the Imperial Academy of Arts, who spent 6 years in the pension voyage, says: “Since 1830s till 1880s in Russia, as well as in the rest of the Europe, for the architects, to develop a delicate taste, was enough to study just ancient Greece and Roman buildings, and all Academies considered beautiful only things, created by ancient Greeks and Romans; all other ancient monuments – Egyptian, Indian, Arabic, gothic and... Russian – as if did not exist for the study”. That is why Benua on the graduation from the Academy was well familiar only with Greek and Roman architecture. But when Konstantin Ton sent him to Moscow in 1838, Benua enjoyed the beauty of the original Russian architecture and started to study it with a great relish, alongside with A. Rezanov and A. Krakau. That is why, when Benua went abroad in 1840, he did not study only classical architecture, but also, traveling in Germany, Italy, France and England studied the architecture of the middle ages; and that was the Moscow influence, which made Benua, Rezanov and Krakau to consider the cathedral in Orvieto as an example of the perfect style and integrity”.<sup>19</sup>

Drawings and measures of Orvieto cathedral made by Benua, Rezanov and Krakau during their pension voyage, were of great value in the Academy and used as the study materials for the young architects.

In 1859, after Olenin’s death, the Imperial Academy of Arts received a new statute, which made it more dependant from the state and brought some changes to the educational process, including the increase of theoretical courses, in both technics and humanities. The competition with the School of Civil Engineers and Institute of Railroad Engineers (founded

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<sup>19</sup> Lisovsky.

«До 30-х годов настоящего столетия в России, как и в остальной Европе, для развития вкуса изящного в зодчем считалось достаточным изучение только древнегреческих или римских зданий, и все Академии признавали прекрасным лишь то, что создали в искусстве древние греки и римляне, все же другие древние памятники – египетские, индийские, ассиро-арабские, готические и... древнерусские – как будто и не существовали для изучения... Поэтому и Бенуа по выходе из Академии знал хорошо лишь греческую и римскую архитектуру. Но при переводе его К. А. Тоном в 1838 г. в Москву Бенуа вкусил всю прелесть самостоятельного древнерусского зодчества и с удовольствием приступил к изучению его, работая вместе с товарищами А. И. Резановым и А. И. Кракау, что и было побудительною причиною, что за границу, куда он отправился в 1840 году, он не занялся исключительно классическою архитектурою, а, объезжая Германию, Италию, Францию, Бельгию и Англию, изучал высокие произведения средневекового зодчества, и только под московским влиянием Бенуа с Резановым и Кракау выбрали лучший в Италии памятник итальянского средневекового стиля и совершенной цельности Орвиетский собор...».

in 1802) made Academy to create a special commission to discuss the place of Academy's graduates on the labour market. After the discussion, the commission (which included N. Benua, A. Rezanov, A. Krakau, E. Zhiber, R. Gedicke) took note that: "1. Russia has two main educational institutions for the architectures, first is an Imperial Academy of Arts, the second is the School of Civil Engineers; and both places have different curricula: Academy develops the artistic part of the process... and the School... puts it on the background. 2. The need for the young artists started to decrease, partly because of the wealth, earlier invested to the construction, went to other areas, partly because the nature of buildings themselves had changed; instead of monuments, people build factories and other service buildings, among which the railroads have an important place. Significant amount of civil buildings at the railroads are seldom built by the architects; the constructive elements often predominates the artistic, so they are usually designed by engineers. Needs of time and living conditions in the state awoke the construction, which... does not need an artistic element".<sup>20</sup>

These conclusions give a clear picture of the problems in the architectural education at the end of the XIX century, which were admitted by the professional community. The changes in the curriculum, at the first hand the increase in number of the technical courses, were meant to compete with the new engineering schools. Another part of changes affected the new area of works – restoration and conservation of the monuments of the past. This area gave new birth to the historical research, though it was mostly focused on the roots of the Russian national architecture: inside the country (Yaroslavl, Novgorod, Pskov, Russian North) as well as outside (the "Byzantine influence" in Russian culture). The results of these research were embedded

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<sup>20</sup> Lisovsky. PP. 115–116

«1. Что в России есть два главных заведения для приготовления молодых людей на поприще гражданской архитектуры: одно из них... Академия художеств, другое – Строительное училище; что в обоих заведениях планы образования различные: Академия развивает художественную сторону предмета..., тогда как Строительное училище... поставило художественное развитие своих воспитанников на второй план. 2. Что потребность в молодых художниках стала в последнее время уменьшаться, отчасти от того, что средства дворянства и других богатых людей, строивших в прежнее время, направлены на другие отрасли приращения, а отчасти потому, что характер самих построек изменился; вместо прежних повсеместно воздвигаемых монументальных построек ныне преимущественно устраиваются фабрики и учреждения акционерных компаний, в числе которых железные дороги занимают первое место... Немаловажное число гражданских зданий по линиям железных дорог редко возводятся архитекторами, да они большею частию такого рода, что в них преобладает не художественный, а конструктивный элемент, вследствие чего и естественно доверяется их исполнение инженерам... Потребность времени и жизненные условия в государстве вызвали строительную деятельность, которая... пока не очень нуждается в художественном элементе».

into the curriculum: the separate course on the history of Russian art appeared in the Academy in 1872.

In the last third of XIX century the Imperial Academy of Arts actively developed the network of the artistic vocational schools in Russian provinces. These schools usually worked in a close contact with the Academy: Academy provided schools with teaching staff, materials and curricula, and the schools sent their best alumni to the Academy. Academy was also a superior institution to the Moscow School of Painting, Architecture and Sculpture, which in the XIX century had a status of a vocational school. Many alumni from Moscow were eager to continue the artistic education in Saint Petersburg.

Also, in this period the Academy was more and more often criticised for its conservatism. Students complained that most professors completely ignored the new movements in arts and architecture and was stuck in the classical forms of the late Renaissance and the French classicism. So, in the 1890 the new secretary of the Academy, Ivan Tolstoy initiated a work over a set of reforms which were presented to the students, staff and the authorities in 1893. In the new order there was no more place for the professors on duty, and all the work with the students was concentrated in the workshops with the constant supervision of one professor. Three years of propaedeutic course were eliminated to two, and the prospective students should have provided a certificate from the vocational artistic school or to pass very hard entrance examinations. After three or four years of intensive drawing the students from the architectural department entered the workshops where they could have worked on their independent projects under the master's supervision for two years. During the first period students must have also attended the theoretical courses on the art and architectural history, philosophy and also the courses on technics and engineering. In summer students worked on the construction sites. The last two years were free from the other classes, except the work with the master; the last year of these two were dedicated to the one project which a student must have presented for the final exam. Ivan Zholtovsky, who entered the Academy in 1887 and graduated in 1897 (the official biographies say that he was forced to intercept his studies to earn some money for living in the capital), as we shall see, considered this order as a best way to teach an architect.

The main consequence of the 1893 reform was the introduction of a workshop system for the senior years. In fact, the educational process at the Academy began to combine two teaching methods - collective in the first years (in the general class) and individual (in

workshops)<sup>21</sup>. The question of the proportion between these two forms was constantly raised by the leadership of the Academy until its closure in 1918. Three workshops were created at the Faculty of Architecture - under the leadership of Leonty Benois, Alexander Pomerantsev and Anthony Tomishko. The most popular was the workshop of Benois, one of the main initiators of reform at the Faculty of Architecture. According to the new Charter, the principle was the condition according to which the students of the workshop were exempted from any educational work, except for design and drawing in a full-scale class. Accordingly, all other courses, including art history, which included the history of architecture), which lasted three years, ended in a general class. In addition, in the first two years, students studied the graphic history of monuments - thus fulfilling the requirement to draw all the studied monuments. The importance of drawing in the study of the history of architecture was separately discussed at the 4th Congress of Russian Architects in 1911, where the participants in the discussion came to the conclusion that the graphic study of monuments is a necessary condition for the study of the history of architecture<sup>22</sup>.

The Paris *École des Beaux-Arts*, became an example of the modernized Academy. *École des Beaux-Arts*, as part of the Academy of Arts, contrasted her teaching methods with those used in guilds and workshops<sup>23</sup>. Traditionally, the *École des Beaux-Arts* paid more attention to Roman architecture, and in the context of the study of theories - Vitruvius and commentators: Palladio, Scamozzi and Vignola became reference books for students and absolute authority<sup>24</sup>. The study process in *École des Beaux-Arts* was organized as following: once admitted, the students were considered mature enough to manage their own schedule. In lecture courses, no attendance was required; all that was necessary was to pass the examination. No time limit was given for the completion of the courses; however, no one could remain a student after turning thirty. In regard to design and construction, the student may choose any professor as supervisor from the three workshops (or ateliers) of the school. Lectures in history and theory of architecture were given since 1820s<sup>25</sup>. Benois spent some time in *École des Beaux-Arts* and was well acquainted with the workshop system, therefore, when in 1893 he

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<sup>21</sup> Лисовский, “Академическая Архитектурная Школа. Проблема Стилистической Самоидентификации.”

<sup>22</sup> Эвальд, *Дневник IV Съезда Русских Зодчих*.

<sup>23</sup> Cret, “The Ecole Des Beaux-Arts and Architectural Education.”

<sup>24</sup> Cret.

<sup>25</sup> Chafee, “The Teaching of Architecture at the *École Des Beaux-Arts*.”

moved from the Institute of Civil Engineers to the Academy of Arts, he was actively engaged in its implementation, considering it the most effective for the professional training of an architect.

In April 1918 the Imperial Academy of Arts was closed by the communist authorities, as well as all other institutions of the tsarists Russia. On its place was established the Petrograd Higher Artistic Workshops, where the artistic and educational policy was defined mostly by the left artists, like Malevich or Tatlin, who did not have any relationship to the Academy in the previous years. In the next paragraph I will describe the main changes and challenges of the architectural education in 1920s.

### The Institute of Civil Engineers

In the 19th century in St. Petersburg, architects were trained not only by the Academy of Arts, but also by the Institute of Civil Engineers, formed in 1842. The main goal of the Faculty of Architecture of the Institute is to meet the need for qualified engineers and architects with sufficient knowledge and skills to work with modern industrial technologies. In the modern history of Russian architectural education, a common position has developed that describes the differences between graduates of the institute and graduates of the Academy: the former had a higher level of artistic training, and the latter – technical, construction skills. For our story, it is important to dwell on how the history of architecture was taught at the Institute. In 1852, at the suggestion of Professor Appolinarius Krasovsky, it became a separate discipline, while its obligatory element was the drawing of facades and plans of monuments included in the program. From 1873 to 1906, the history of architecture was taught by Nikolay Sultanov (1850–1908). On the basis of his lectures in 1878, he published the first volume of the textbook “History of Architecture”. In 1883, he published his textbook with an atlas of lithographed author’s drawings, dedicated to the architecture of the Ancient and New World. The textbook was reprinted three times and was very popular: generations of architects studied on it. It was the only Russian-language textbook on the general history of architecture (translated editions of Fletcher and Choisy will appear only at the beginning of the 20th century). In 1896 Sultanov published a book on the architecture of Western Europe and Rome. Sultanov’s approach also followed the Institute’s tradition of constructive study of monuments.

## Architectural education in Moscow in pre-revolutionary period

The first Russian regular school of architecture was settled in Moscow in 1749 by Dmitry Ukhtomsky (1719 – 1774), the main architect of the Moscow University. It also used the workshop principle: young people should have worked in groups under the supervision of the experienced master. On the graduation, each student should have produced his own “onefold project”. During the study students had to learn arithmetic, geometry, fortification and “the rules of five architectural orders”. Ukhtomsky’s school worked in Moscow until 1764, and after that, it was transferred to the School of architecture of the Kremlin Dispatch. This school followed the Ukhtomski’s educational principles and was headed by his former student V. Bazhenov (who, however, also was one of the first graduates of Saint Petersburg Academy of arts). This school existed in Moscow for a century and in 1865 was united with the school of painting and sculpture under the common name “The Moscow School of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture”. The educational process in Moscow school, in general, repeated the one in the Imperial Academy: students studied the classical examples from the models (from drawings, engravings, clay or wooden models).

## VKhUTEMAS – the centre of architectural education in 1920s

By 1918 the students of two Moscow main artistic schools – the Stroganov School of Arts and the Moscow School of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture were completely dissatisfied with the educational processes and requested for changes. Unlike Imperial Academy of Arts, Moscow did not adopt the workshop system, and young artists and architects were still studying in “classes” under the supervision of the professors on duty and predefined program. All students of architectural departments started from studying the classical orders, and as a final task they should have created their own project in classics, so the language of classical architecture was the only one they had after the graduation. Of course, this language rarely corresponded to what, they saw, was requested in real life. So, the students advocated the workshop system, the example of which they saw in Saint Petersburg and commended.<sup>26</sup>

Thus, in April 1918 the students of two Moscow artistic schools initiated the conference, where proposed to create a “free artistic school”. The freedom meant that the students should have unlimited access to the school, a right to work in any time of the day, a right to invite any artist they want as a professor and a right to the professors to promote any artistic values and ideas. As a result, in September 1918 the two Moscow schools were first renamed to the First and Second Free State Artistic Workshops and then, in 1920 – united in the Higher Artistic and Technical Workshops (VKhUTEMAS). According to the new rules, any person after 16 y. o. could be enrolled to the VKhUTEMAS without providing any documents on previous artistic education or passing any entrance examinations. First two years of study were dedicated to the mastering of the basic artistic skills. It was supposed that during the two years the students should go through a series of tasks which became more and more complicated. On the architectural department the main course of that period was called “The space”. It was run by the group of like-minded professionals, rationalists and the proponents of an “objective method” in architecture, whose leader was Nikolay Ladovsky. His professional ideology was based on the desire to embed the psychological laws of perception to the architectural practice. The assignments in “The space” were organized from simple to complex, and the complexity included, for example, the increase of the number of the elements and factors, which students should have taken into account. Moreover, each task has two parts:

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<sup>26</sup> Khan-Magomedov S. O., *VKHUTEMAS-VKHUTEIN (Complex Architectural and Art School. 1920-1930s)* - М (Moscow: Knowledge, 1990) (In Russian: Хан-Магомедов С. О., *ВХУТЕМАС-ВХУТЕИИ (Комплексная Архитектурно-Художественная Школа. 1920-1930 гг.)*-М (Москва: Знание, 1990).



“conceptual” (where students dealt with the “pure concepts” of “space”, “form”, “volume”, etc.) and “manufactural” (where students had to perform the same studies on the “real-life” task). For example, the conceptual part of the first assignment a student had to construct a projection of parallelepiped and clearly show the visible surfaces and ribs. In the manufacturing part of this assignment a student had to project and elevator, based on the form from the conceptual task.

The following years were given to the studies in workshops, where the head of the workshop determined the curriculum and the assignments. Any artist could apply to the position of the head of the workshop, and if a candidate received the votes of 20 students, he could have opened his own workshop. The VKhUTEMAS authorities could not have had any influence on the study process in the workshop, and the masters (the workshops’ heads) were free to teach students in any manner they liked. Thus, the new system removed any bureaucratic barriers between students and those artists who wanted to establish his own school and promote his or her artistic values among the youth. Strictly speaking, those artists who wanted to become the professors, did not need any formal confirmation of their status or authority as a master. More important than any titles and papers was to persuade a young audience that you are good and modern enough to teach it. And this was the way, how young students became familiar with the current artistic tendencies: those, who created these tendencies, often did it right in the VKhUTEMAS’s classrooms. Students spent there most of their time, and what they learned often looked more like a system of artistic tools and tricks of a peculiar avant-garde idea, then a systematic – “academic” in a general sense – education. As Khan-Magomedov, the scholar who had carefully studied the history of the Soviet avant-garde architecture, writes in his book on VKhUTEMAS, “the structure and the methods of study in the Free Workshops were opposed to the academic teaching methods. It was considered that there (in VKhUTEMAS) they use the best from the past, in particular, from the Renaissance artistic workshops. Even the terms were adopted from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The head of the workshop was called “the main master”, his helpers – “the master” and students – “the apprentices”. The workshops were artistically autonomous. The head of the workshop personally defined the curriculum and the content of the artistic disciplines”.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Khan-Magomedov S. O., *VKHUTEMAS-VKHUTEIN (Complex Architectural and Art School. 1920-1930s. P. 27* (In Russian)

“Структура и методы учебы в Свободных мастерских противопоставлялись академическим методам обучения. Считалось, что в них используют все лучшее из прошлого, в частности, из опыта организации художественных мастерских в эпоху Ренессанса. Даже термины были

According to the regulation “On the personnel of the workshops” (1921)<sup>28</sup> on the architectural department of VKhUTEMAS were the following four workshops:

- 1) A workshop of the monumental architecture (a head – Vladimir Krinsky);
- 2) A workshop of planning (a head – Nikolay Dockuchaev)
- 3) A workshop of the decorative and space architecture (a head – Nikolay Ladovsky)
- 4) A workshop of the communal architecture (vacant)

Later, in 1924 the number of workshops was increased. Among the new ones was “an academic” workshop of Ivan Zholtovsky and “an experimental” one ran by Konstantin Melnikov and Iliia Golosov. However, throughout the 1920-s, the debates between the various professional groups resulted in organizational changes and the appearance of the new workshops with various ideological attitudes. These debates are not in the focus of my study, but this description should underline the atmosphere of artistic and academic freedom, which ended with the 1920s and contrasted with the debates on architectural education later in 1930s.

Apart from the workshop studies, the VKhUTEMAS curriculum on the architectural department consists of three groups of subjects. Main time (all afternoons and evenings) was given to studies in the workshops (drawing and designing under the supervision of the head of the workshop, and here we should say that the students started to perform their independent projects on the given topic right from the beginning). Plus, the students had a permanent access to the classes, so they could continue their work and interact with each other and the professors after the formal end of the studies. In the mornings they had a number of so called “scientific” classes, most of which (43 out of 47) were given to science and engineering. And finally, only 4 classes in the curricula were given to the humanities: it was “Historical materialism”, “The history of the Communist Party”, “Theory of Architecture” and “History of architecture”.

The professor of the last one was Moisey Ginzburg (1892 – 1946). He was one of the leading figures in the Soviet architecture in the first half of XX century: the chief ideologist of constructivism, the author of several influential books and essays, and architect of several iconic modernist buildings (among which are “The House of Narkomfin” (People’s

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заимствованы из эпохи средневековья и Ренессанса. Глава мастерской назывался главным мастером, его помощники – мастерами, а студенты – подмастерьями. Мастерские были творчески автономны. Руководитель мастерской сам определял программу занятий и круг изучаемых художественных дисциплин»)

<sup>28</sup> “On the Workshops Personnel” RGALI (Russian State Archive of Literature and Art) F. 681. Inv. 1 File 32. P. 27. (In Russian: ‘О Сотрудниках Мастерских’, РГАЛИ. Ф. 681. Оп. 1. Ед.Хр. 32. Л. 27).

Commissariat for the Finance) and the residential building for the employees of the State Insurance company, both in Moscow). He was also well known and respected in the architectural community for his professional erudition. Ginzburg was born in Minsk (Belorussia), and after the graduation from school in 1909 we went to study architecture, not to one of the capitals (Saint Petersburg or Moscow) but in Europe, first to Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, then in Toulouse, and after that – to the architectural department in the Academia Brera in Milan. Thus, he brought back from his studies very progressive and multidisciplinary views on architecture. In his books and essays, unlike many of his contemporaries, he quotes not only the most prominent art historians of the late XIX – early XX century (like Wölfflin, Riegl, Worringer) but also refers to psychologists, especially to those who studied visual perception. Unlike many of his colleagues, who consciously avoided references to other artists and scholars in their manifestoes, Ginzburg wrote more like an academic than an artist. In “Rhythm in architecture” Ginzburg argues and develops Wölfflin’s ideas; in “Style and Epoque” tries to apply modern psychology, based on the experimental data, to the architectural practice. Later, in 1940, Ginzburg will be highly criticized for the development of the “bourgeois” and “formal” ideas in his texts and lectures. However, throughout Ginzburg’s career as a scholar and teacher, his knowledge and professional erudition gave his students an only chance to get familiar with the European ideas and tendencies in art and architectural history.<sup>29</sup>

In VKHUTEMAS’s archive, one can find a curriculum for Ginzburg’s course on Renaissance architecture.<sup>30</sup> In the introductory part, Ginzburg starts with the early Christian architecture: basilicas, catacombs, baptistries. Then he moves on to Byzantium and gives an overview of the early Muslim architecture and only after this introduction moves on to the Renaissance itself.

The Renaissance part starts from Giuliano da Sangallo and the Tuscan quattrocento and the church and the palace as the typical examples of Florentine architecture. This part finishes with Alberti – his buildings and ideas on the architecture described in *De Re Aedificatoria*.

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<sup>29</sup> Bass V. G., Moisey Ginzburg: Architect of Constructivist Ideology // Formal Method: Anthology of Russian Modernism / ed. S. A. Ushakin. T. 4. Yekaterinburg: Cabinet scientist. 2020 (In Russian: Басс В. Г., Моисей Гинзбург: архитектор конструктивистской идеологии // Формальный метод: антология русского модернизма / под ред. С. А. Ушакина. Т. 4. Екатеринбург: Кабинетный ученый. 2020).

<sup>30</sup> Moisey Ginzburg. Syllabus on Architectural History. 1923. RGALI. F. 681. Inv. 2. File 32. P. 64 (In Russian: Моисей Гинзбург, ‘Программа По Истории Архитектуры’, 1923, РГАЛИ. Ф. 681. Оп. 2. Д. 32. Л. 64).

In High Renaissance part, Ginzburg describes the local peculiarities of the Italian provinces: Renaissance in Lombardy (Milan and Pavia); Brescia – Bergamo – Verona – Padova – Mantova; Bologna – Forli – Faenza – Rimini – Imola – Ravenna – Ferrara; Renaissance in Venice. Here Ginzburg also introduces to the students the treatises of Serlio and Scamozzi. Interesting that this curriculum does not have any particular part on Palladio, though in the other course of a general history of architecture Ginzburg dedicates him a particular part.

In the curriculum, Ginzburg, after Wölfflin, refers to the Mannerism as a “corruption of the High Renaissance”. In this part, he includes Raphael, Giulio Romano, Antonio da Sangallo and Baldassare Perruzzi.

Finally, Ginzburg moves to Barocco where he introduces the works of Michelangelo, Vignola, Giacomo della Porta, Carlo Maderna and Bartolomeo Ammannati.

Ginzburg’s devotion to modernist ideas in architectural history is quite apparent, and of course, he transferred them to his students. His European education followed the Enlightenment tradition, where a search for the general principles which constitute style was more important than the analysis of the peculiar forms. We can assume that in teaching history of architecture Ginzburg followed Viollet-le-Duc, who wrote: “In a state of uncertainty, when the best minds are shaken in their beliefs, it is necessary to explain to students not so much the form of art as its invariable principles, that is, its meaning, its structure, its methods, their change depending on needs and customs”.<sup>31</sup> Thus, being a leading ideologist of the constructivist architecture, Ginzburg based his views on the in-depth and careful analysis of the historical heritage – at least ten years before it became a mainstream dictated by the Communist Party.

However, here we should note that the courses on humanities, including the history of architecture, was not a priority both for the students and their teacher. Ginzburg was also very busy with his architectural practice and teaching in other places (for example, in the Moscow Institute of the Civil Engineers) and did not have much time for the teaching. For example, the VKhUTEMAS report to Narcompros (People’s Commissariat for the Enlightenment) from 1922 says that on that year students did not have any classes on the history of architecture, and

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<sup>31</sup> Viollet-le-Duc E. E. *Lectures on architecture* (Moscow: All-Union Academy of Architecture Publishing House, 1938) (In Russian: Виолле ле Дюк Э. Э., *Беседы об архитектуре* (Москва: Изд-во Всесоюз. Акад. Архитектуры, 1938).

from 1923 – that during the year there were only several classes because the professor was very busy with other activities.<sup>32</sup>

In 1920s the history of art and architecture for the students could be presented in three major strategies. First, there were the old school representatives, like Zholtovsky, whose approach to the teaching these subjects were academic (in a strict sense, which means that he carefully carried the values and views of an Imperial Academy of Arts, which alumnae he was himself. Further we will see, how important for him were these values). They gave students very detailed information about the monuments and supported the anecdotal information and theory with the drawing practice, so by the end of their studies the students could draw the studied monuments from memory and had in their hands a full number of artistic tricks from the Renaissance. Others, first of all, Ginzburg, were trained in a different manner: Ginzburg, as mentioned above, was very well aware of the modern tendencies in art history and brought his Woelflinian views to the classrooms. And finally, there were those who denied history of arts and architecture as a part of the curriculum and considered very important for students to be “tabula rasa” to express their own artistic personalities. The results of the very extreme part of this last point of view we can see in the memoirs of the sculptor Ariadna Arendt, who in the late 1920s was a student at VKhUTEMAS and in the Leningrad Institute of the Proletarian Visual Art (INPII)<sup>33</sup>: “In the assembly hall I saw the walls covered with cloth. On my question they [people from INPII who met the new students from Moscow] answered that behind the cloth there are the copies from the old masters’ paintings, and they are covered to prevent the bad influence on the students. [...]

We were preached that INPII should not have anything in common with an old art, that we should not work from life, that anatomy is death. To love Michelangelo and other classical artists is vulgar, to visit museums is shameful, it means that one does not rely on his or her power. We, students, should discover the methods and forms of the new art and to invent a style for our epoch. And thus, sad students and models, who lost their jobs, wandered on the

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<sup>32</sup> “A Report on Teaching Work in 1923/24 yy”. RGALI. F. 681. Inv. 2. File 32. P. 116 (In Russian: ‘Отчет Об Учебной Работе в 1923/24 Гг.’, РГАЛИ. Ф. 681. Оп. 2. Д. 32. Л. 116.)

<sup>33</sup> In 1929 the VKhUTEMAS students from the department of sculpture were transferred to Leningrad for their final year.

corridors of the Academy<sup>34</sup>. We were sitting for hours in the dormant workshops and dreamt the bell for the end of the class to ring”.<sup>35</sup>

This reminiscence is an evidence from another VKhUTEMAS department, but it is important, as it expresses the very common point of view on the necessity to teach art history. We can see that those who was responsible for teaching art, was hoping that the new generation will invent a style that will be appropriate for the Soviet country. However, no one knew what exactly this “appropriate” was, and thus throughout 1920s and the beginning of 1930s the discussions on the new style in art and architecture took place. However, in architecture the context of these discussions shifted dramatically: until late 1920s there was still possible to try to invent a complete new approach to the architecture without any reference to the previous epochs, but in 1930s the paradigm changed and all the debates in the professional community focused on the “mastering of the architectural heritage” – how an architect of the 1930s should chose a “right” past to work with. In the next paragraph I will describe one of these discussions which took place in 1930s and which main topic was how to teach a soviet architect in the context of the mastering the architectural heritage.

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<sup>34</sup> INPII was situated in the former building of the Imperial Academy of Arts.

<sup>35</sup> Ariadne Arendt at the Circle of Moscow Sculptors. ‘Your art will not go anywhere’. Memoirs, Letters, ed. by N. Yu. Menchinskaya (Moscow: ‘Link of Epochs’ Foundation, 2019) (In Russian: Ариадна Арендт в Кругу Московских Скульпторов. ‘Искусство Твое Никуда Не Уйдет’. Воспоминания, Письма, под ред. Н. Ю. Менчинской (Москва: Фонд ‘Связь эпох’, 2019).

## Social and institutional aspects of Soviet architecture in 1930s

Much has been written about what happened in Soviet architecture in the 1930s, so this part is a generalization of previous research on this topic in order to outline the context in which Soviet architectural education developed during this period. This section will focus on what institutional processes took place in Soviet architecture and how they influenced the formation of architectural education. The history of Soviet architecture of the Stalinist era is no less confusing and contradictory than the entire history of Stalinism. In the form in which it exists, is presented and taught now, the history of Soviet architecture is a jumble of theses and dogmas, most of which originated in Stalin's times. In the Khrushchev, Brezhnev and post-Soviet eras, the history of architecture was replenished with new innovations, often opposite in meaning, but strikingly did not dispute each other in any way. The work on a critical understanding of the processes taking place in the architecture of the 1930s is still ongoing. A significant breakthrough in this direction was made in the 1990s, when many previously inaccessible archival materials were opened to researchers, and nevertheless, critical texts that separate facts and myths are still incredibly in demand among researchers of Soviet architecture. For this part, I will rely on research on the works of Sheila Fitzpatrick, Katerina Clark, Vigdaria Khazanova, Alessandro De Magistris, Hugh Hudson, Karl Schlögel, Selim Khan-Magomedov, Alexandra Selivanova, Mark Meerovich, Danilo Udovicki-Selb and others.

The purpose of this section is not to add something to the existing critical analysis of Soviet architectural theory and practice of the 1930s, but to show the events in the professional field that determined the changes in architectural education during this period. Therefore, I will not go deep into discussions about the nature of socialist realism in architecture or analyze significant monuments of the era, but I will try to describe the important events that influenced the change in professional values. As Mark Meerovich, a researcher and historian of architecture and urban planning of the 1930s, writes, a single and consistent picture that many researchers studying the history of Soviet architecture aspired and still strive to recreate can hardly be built at all, since this history was largely determined social processes taking place in the USSR, which are not subject to theoretical art criticism. The history of "mass marches of Soviet architects" defies any logic of "general laws of the development of art."<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Meerovich M. G. "Problems of Studying the Stalinist Period of Soviet Architecture" 2008 (In Russian: Meerovich, "Проблемы Изучения Сталинского Периода Советской Архитектуры.")

### *Artistic movements in Soviet architecture of the late 1920s*

To better understand the context, one needs to go a few years back and see what happened in Soviet architecture in the late 1920s. In the previous sections, we looked at contexts directly related to education, but this is not enough. By the end of the 1920s, several influential art groups had emerged in the USSR in Soviet architecture, each of which had its own clearly defined artistic position and intention to influence new generations of professionals. Consequently, one way or another, all these groups competed for an educational resource: managing the workshops of VKHUTEMAS or attracting students-architects from the Moscow Higher Technical School was considered the main source of expanding the ranks of creative trends. In this section, we will focus on three main groups: rationalists (ASNOVA), constructivists (OSA) and the All-Union Society of Proletarian Architects (VOPRA), because then it is their representatives who will play leading roles on the Soviet architectural scene of the 1930s, including the processes associated with education.

#### *ASNOVA (rationalism)*

The Association of New Architects (ASNOVA) was formed at the turn of 1922-1923, chronologically the first among other movements that will be described in this section. It was a group of like-minded people united around the architect and teacher of VKHUTEMAS Nikolai Ladovsky. Ladovsky and his followers considered themselves to be representatives of rational architecture. Here is what Ladovsky himself wrote about rationalism: “Architectural rationality is based on an economic principle, just like technical rationality. The difference lies in the fact that technical rationality is the saving of labor and material in the creation of an expedient structure, and architectural rationality is the economy of mental energy in the perception of the spatial and functional properties of the structure. The synthesis of these two rationalities in one structure is the rational architecture.”<sup>37</sup> In the eyes of the architectural community, rationalism as an innovative trend opposed neoclassicism.

Rationalism, as the name of an architectural trend, has many different meanings. Most sources (!) trace it back to the Enlightenment and neoclassical architecture. However, within rationalism, there was no single interpretation of the “rational”. In the Russian tradition, A.

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<sup>37</sup> Ladovsky N. A. Basics of Building Theory of Architecture (Under the Sign of Rationalist Aesthetics) (In Russian: Ладовский, “Основы Построения Теории Архитектуры (Под Знаком Рационалистической Эстетики).”)



Krasovsky, speaking in the middle of the 19th century about rationalism<sup>38</sup>, proceeded from the needs that the building was designed to satisfy, and the issues of decoration, although they are raised by him, are not key in determining the boundaries of the direction. V. Apyshkov defined rationalism as a “healthy” architecture that rejects everything superfluous, and communicates an art form to the necessary, “free from influences of the engravings of the monuments of the past”,<sup>39</sup> but at the same time does not raise the question of where the necessary ends and the unnecessary begins.

An analysis of the few surviving texts of Ladovsky himself and of secondary literature on rationalism and propaedeutics of VKHUTEMAS allows us to quite unambiguously identify two key concepts of his architectural theory - space and energy. Ladovsky complements the understanding of rationality by including in it the economy of the energy of the subject’s perception, at least at the theoretical level.

The principle of saving energy leads us to an important social process that developed in the USSR in the 1920s - this is the rationalization of labor and the associated movement NOT (scientific organization of labor). It was very extensive: the branches of NOT worked at all large organizations, and there were more than 50 independent institutions in the country dealing with the problems of NOT. In the NOT movement, many different currents stood out, differing in their goals and ideology, but three main ones can be distinguished that most influenced public life. The first is presented by A.K. Gastev, director of CIT. He was a consistent follower of J.W. Taylor and believed that any work can be optimized according to the uniform principles of rational management. In Taylor’s concept (and after him in Gastev’s works) there is no worker as a carrier of individual characteristics: it is assumed that if everyone follows the same rules, then the result will also be the same. The second trend, somewhat similar to Gasta Taylorism, was represented by the followers of AA Bogdanov, the founder of the “general organizational science of tectology.” Bogdanov viewed the organization of labor as a system in which the worker was included, and looked for ways to influence the system in order to make its work more rational. Finally, the third trend of importance for the NOT movement is psychotechnics, the leaders of which were I. N. Shpilrein and S. G. Gellerstein. Their principles were, in many ways, opposite to those of Gasev. Based on the works of W.

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<sup>38</sup> Krasovsky, Civil Architecture. Красовский, Гражданская Архитектура.

<sup>39</sup> Apyshkov V. P. *Rationality in the Modern Architecture* (In Russian: Апышков, Рациональное в Новейшей Архитектуре).

Stern on differential psychology and G. Münsterberg on industrial psychotechnics, Spielrein and Gellerstein recognized the importance of individual differences in labor efficiency. Therefore, for each job, you can find the most suitable (in terms of physical and psychological characteristics) performer. This is the basis of the principle of professional suitability, which Ladovsky tried to apply in the practice of teaching architects.

Ladovsky and his followers - N. Dokuchaev, V. Krinsky, A. Rukhlyadev, A. Efimov, V. Fidman, S. Mochalov, V. Balikhin in 1923 formalized their creative union institutionally, registering it with the Moscow Architectural Society (MAO) - an organization that united Moscow architects and existed since 1867. The organization was named the Association of New Architects (ASNOVA), it was drawn up according to the general scheme adopted in those years for “art societies, unions and associations that do not pursue the goal of making a profit.” In the first paragraph of the Charter of ASNOVA it was written:

“ASNOVA “aims to unite rationalist architects and related workers in the field of architecture and construction in an effort to raise architecture as an art to a level corresponding to the modern state of technology and science”<sup>40</sup>

The charter made it possible to involve senior students of higher education institutions in the work of the association. This, as well as the fact that Ladovsky himself and many other members of ASNOVA taught at different courses of VKHUTEMAS, allowed attracting a fairly large number of students of the Faculty of Architecture. It was supposed to gradually unite in ASNOVA all architects-innovators, to expand work in specialized sections, to establish publishing activities, to take over the organization of competitions, etc.

However, the development of creative trends in Soviet architecture went in such a way that ASNOVA did not become the only centre of the Soviet architectural avant-garde. A little later in time, but no less intensively, the Society of Contemporary Architects (OSA) began its work, uniting those who adhered to constructivist positions around the Vesnin brothers.

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<sup>40</sup> Khan-Magomedov, S.O., *Architecture of the Soviet Avant-garde: Masters and Movements*. (In Russian: Хан-Магомедов, Архитектура Советского Авангарда: Проблемы Формообразования. Мастера и Течения).

«АСНОВА» имеет целью объединение архитекторов рационалистов и примыкающих к ним работников в области архитектуры и строительства в стремлении поднять архитектуру как искусство на уровень, соответствующий современному состоянию техники и науки»

### *OSA (constructivism)*

The second most important trend of the Soviet architectural avant-garde - constructivism - was finally formed several years later than rationalism. The ideological basis of constructivism came from the ideas of left-wing artists (V. Tatlin, V. and G. Stenberg, N. Gabo, A. Rodchenko, K. Medunetsky, etc.) and the theory of “industrial art” (O. Brik, B. Arvatov, B. Kushner, A. Gahn, etc.) The future core of the organization of constructivists OSA (Association of Modern Architects) was formed in three centres independent of each other (the architectural group of students of VKHUTEMAS at INKHUK and LEF; graduates of MIGI and MVTU 1924-1926) under the influence of the competition projects of A. Vesnin in 1923-1925.

The new organization was named the Association of Contemporary Architects (OCA). It was founded at the end of 1925. The founders of the OCA were A. Vesnin, M. Ginzburg, J. Kornfeld, V. Vladimirov, A. Burov, G. Orlov, A. Kapustina, A. Fufaev, V. Krasilnikov. Chairman of the OCA - A. Vesnin, his deputies - M. Ginzburg and V. Vesnin, secretary - G. Orlov. Just like the charter of ASNOVA, it was drawn up on the basis of the standard charter of art societies, unions and associations that do not pursue the goal of making a profit.

The first general meeting of the OCA was held on December 19, 1925. It was attended by both the founders of the new organization (A. Vesnin, M. Ginzburg, Y. Kornfeld, V., Vladimirov, A. Burov, A. Kapustina, A. Fufaev), and a number of other architects (I. Golosov, K. Melnikov, G. Wegman). At this meeting M. Ginzburg and J. Kornfeld made reports; they both spoke about the need to organize an association aimed at studying and promoting ideas of a new style of architecture, participation in state building, rallying of architects of the Union, looking for new ways in architecture “. Decided: “to recognize the creation of the Association of Modern Architects as necessary, to call it abbreviated OSA”.<sup>41</sup>

In addition to the Vesnin brothers, one of the main ideologists of the OCA was M. Ginzburg, who made a significant contribution to the development of the theoretical platform of constructivism, and also contributed to the fact that the OCA received official status and its own magazine - since 1926, Ginzburg and Vesnin became editors of the magazine “Contemporary architecture” (CA). On the pages of the magazine, a functional method was promoted and revealed, which required the architect to take into account the peculiarities of the functioning of buildings, structures and complexes by creating their rational plan and

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

equipment. In addition, the magazine became a platform for polemics between OSA and ASNOVA, constructivists and rationalists. In this regard, Khan-Magomedov, in his study of the history of the Soviet avant-garde, cites a significant episode: a series of articles by R. Heeger of 1928-1929 (and answers to it), devoted to the criticism of rationalists. According to Khan-Magomedov, this is the first episode of controversy between creative associations, when ideological and political arguments were used that had nothing to do with the actual issues of architecture.<sup>42</sup> Further, this kind of rhetoric will become more and more common. Nevertheless, throughout its existence (until 1930) the magazine enjoyed great popularity in the professional community; this and the active activity of the OCA members contributed to the emergence of new supporters of the organization; branches of the OCA appeared in Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Kazan, Kharkov, Tomsk, Novosibirsk, Kiev, Baku and a number of other cities.

In the summer of 1927, the OCA organized the “First Exhibition of Contemporary Architecture” in Moscow, the task of which, according to the organizers, was “to widely promote the ideas of modern architecture not only among architects, but also among the general public.” It also contributed to the recognition and popularity of Constructivist ideas. So by 1930 - a turning point in Soviet architecture - the Constructivists approached as a fairly strong and close-knit group.

#### *All-Union Association of Proletarian Architects (VOPRA)*

Another important group on the architectural scene of the USSR in the late 1920s is the All-Union Association of Proletarian Architects (VOPRA), which arose in 1929. Unlike OSA and ASNOVA, VOPRA members have united not around some kind of creative concept, but against the existing ones. So, in the declaration of VOPRA (1929), which was signed by K. Alabyan, V. Vlasov, M. Kryukov, I. Matsa, A. Mikhailov, A. Mordvinov and others, it was said:

“... We reject constructivism, which has grown on the basis of financial capital. The main features of monopoly capital: the desire for capitalist planning, rationalization and powerful industrialization defined this architecture. Constructivism, which came to reject art and replace it with technology, engineering, was a reflection in the architecture of the psychoideology of the large capitalist groups of the bourgeoisie, the conductor of which

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

(psychology) was the technical intelligentsia with its characteristic machine fetishism, antipsychologism and vulgar materialism ...

... We reject all attempts to gloss over the class role of architecture and to impose a non-class architecture on the proletariat, the implementation of which is possible only in a communist society. We believe that in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the struggle for the socialist reorganization of the world, architecture should be class in its content and forms ... the architecture of this period should participate in the class struggle with all its means on the side of the struggling proletariat.

... We reject tendencies towards meaninglessness (non-objectiveness), striving to organize only sensations (formalism) and admiration for “beauty” (eclecticism and constructivism). We are for proletarian art, which by its content expresses the deepest intentions and aspirations of the working class and covers the entire sphere of sensations, the entire complex system of human emotions and thoughts.”<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> «... Мы отвергаем конструктивизм, выросший на базе финансового капитала. Основные черты монополистического капитала: стремление к капиталистической плановости, рационализации и мощной индустриализации определили эту архитектуру. Конструктивизм, пришедший к отрицанию искусства и замене его техникой, инженерией, явился отражением в архитектуре психоидеологии крупнокапиталистических групп буржуазии, проводником которой (психологии) явилась техническая интеллигенция с характерным для нее машинным фетишизмом, антипсихологизмом и вульгарным материализмом...

... Мы отвергаем всякие попытки к замазыванию классовой роли архитектуры и навязыванию пролетариату внеклассовой архитектуры, осуществление которой возможно только в условиях коммунистического общества. Мы считаем, что в эпоху диктатуры пролетариата и борьбы за социалистическое переустройство мира архитектура должна быть классовой по своему содержанию и формам... архитектура этого периода должна участвовать в классовой борьбе всеми своими средствами на стороне борющегося пролетариата.

... Мы отвергаем тенденции к бессодержательности (беспредметности), стремления к организации только ощущений (формализм) и любований “красотою” (эклектизм и конструктивизм). Мы - за пролетарское искусство, которое своим содержанием выражает глубочайшие замыслы и стремления рабочего класса и охватывает всю сферу ощущений, весь сложный комплекс эмоций и мыслей человека

Danilo Udovitsky-Selb, in his recent study of Soviet architecture in the 1930s,<sup>44</sup> argues that VOPRA was created by direct order of Lazar Kaganovich (1893–1991), who in 1928 was transferred to Moscow and became secretary of the Central Committee. Kaganovich was considered one of Stalin’s closest confidants<sup>45</sup>, in 1930 he took the post of first secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee, where, in particular, he was responsible for the modernization and construction of Moscow. In the early 1930s, Kaganovich was also in charge of agriculture in the country, and, in particular, his orders provoked the 1932-33 famine in the southern parts of the country. Also, as part of his party activities, Kaganovich was responsible for “cleaning” the party from members disloyal to the leadership. However, to prove his words, Udovitsky-Selb refers to one of the documents of the Leningrad branch of the VOPRA, dated at the end of 1930, which says that “Our society was established by the Central Committee of the Party,” which is somewhat broader than the personal initiative of Kaganovich, but nevertheless, this document shows that the members of the VOPRA emphasized their connection with the state authorities. This was completely uncharacteristic for other creative unions of architects of the late 1920s.

Another important event showing that VOPRA became an alliance which aimed to be against other creative unions was the campaign against the architect Ivan Leonidov (1902 - 1959), a student of the Vesnins who belonged to the Constructivist group. By the end of the 1920s, Leonidov had earned a reputation as one of the most talented architects in Moscow. The campaign against him began in the first half of 1930, and the main participants were members of the board of VOPRA Mordvinov and Kozelkov. The project of the ZIL Palace of Culture was the first to be hit: Kozelkov at a meeting of the competition committee accused Leonidov of “sabotage”, and the project itself was “a product of the bourgeoisie.” Then Shchusev, who had great authority in the architectural community, stood up for Leonidov, but this did not save Leonidov from further persecution. Further, the main driver of the campaign was Mordvinov: he made accusations of “petty-bourgeoisism”, “leftism”, claimed that “[Leonidov] inflicts special harm in personnel training”, that his work “promotes sabotage in production” and so on. All these accusations sounded both orally (at numerous meetings (for example, at a meeting about the newly created on the basis of the Faculty of Architecture of VKHUTEMAS and the Faculty of Civil Engineering of the Moscow Higher Technical School of Architecture and Civil Engineering), and in the press (in the magazines “Art to the masses” and “Soviet architecture”).

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<sup>44</sup> Udovitsky-Selb, *Soviet Architectural Avant-Gardes*.

<sup>45</sup> Fitzpatrick, *On Stalin’s Team: The Years of Living Dangerously in Soviet Politics*.

One cannot say that Leonidov and his teachers - the Vesnin brothers and Moisey Ginzburg - did not defend themselves. A resolution in defense of Leonidov was adopted at a meeting of the OCA (also published in the journal *Contemporary Architecture*). Nevertheless, this did not save Leonidov's reputation: he was forced to leave his teaching position at ASI and leave for Siberia for a while, until the echo of the unfolding campaign dies down.

Nevertheless, despite the obviously strong psychological pressure, the consequences of which probably affected his future work, Leonidov returned to Moscow in 1932 and became the head of one of the workshops of the Moscow City Council (the creation of these workshops will be described later in this paragraph). In 1934 he moved to a similar workshop to Moisey Ginzburg, where he headed the design group. In the same 1934 Leonidov participated in the competition for the building of the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry (Narkomtyazhprom).

Thus, in all likelihood, the goal of VOPRA did not include the complete destruction of opponents: from the examples of mass repressions in the 1930s, we know that the colossus of persecution could be brought to the complete physical destruction of an ideological adversary. Moreover, in a few years, one of the leaders of the VOPRA, Mikhail Kryukov, himself will become a victim of repression without a strong public campaign. With the help of loud public speeches "against", members of the VOPRA asserted their positions in the professional community. Of course, it is possible that in Mordvinov's speeches, as Udovitsky-Selb writes, "you can hear the voice of Kaganovich," but you can also discern the socio-psychological process of the formation of the group. Lacking a meaningful idea of their own, around which VOPRA members could unite, they maintained group integrity with the help of aggressive attacks against those who were not part of their group. In social psychology, this process is called "outgroup hostility" and was first described in the works of Henri Tajfel.<sup>46</sup> It was completely unnecessary for Kaganovich to personally instruct Mordvinov and Alabyan - the general ideological support and authority of the party were enough to accompany the socio-psychological processes.

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<sup>46</sup> Tajfel et al., "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict."

*1932 Decree on the literary and artistic organizations and the Emergence of the Union of Soviet Architects (SSA)*

Another significant date for all creative professions in the USSR is April 23, 1932, the day of the release of the decree “On the restructuring of literary and artistic organizations.” The decree concerned primarily writers, who were ordered to liquidate all associations created at the initiative of the “bottom” and unite into a single union. Representatives of other creative professions were instructed to do the same.

Now representatives of all major architectural groups had to unite and share positions in the newly created Union of Soviet Architects. Its creation was officially announced on June 11, 1932 by the *Izvestia* newspaper. Formally, all ideological groupings (MAO, ASNOVA, OSA, VOPRA and others) were considered no longer existing, however, naturally, connections between people and the competition of ideas did not disappear anywhere. The first Board of the SSA was attended by leaders and active figures of all architectural trends in Moscow; Constructivist Viktor Vesnin became the president of the SSA, and Karo Alabyan, the chief ideologist of VOPRA, became his first deputy. Most researchers<sup>47</sup> agree that in this way a balance of power was achieved between representatives of conditionally independent architectural groups and people from VOPRA who had strong ties with the party leadership of Moscow. At the first meeting of the Board of the SSA, the issue of preserving creative associations in the structure of the Union was considered, and, judging by the protocol, this idea did not cause strong objections, however, it was not included in the final Charter of the Union, therefore, formally, the SSA was considered a homogeneous structure, all members which were supposed to develop in architecture a new method of socialist realism. Since the summer of 1933, the SSA has its own magazine - “Architecture of the USSR”. It was published 12 times a year, and Karo Alabyan became its editor-in-chief, and David Arkin became his deputy. The journal has never published the composition of the editorial board<sup>48</sup>.

Each creative union was supposed to hold its own Congress, and architects were no exception. At the first meeting, the SSA board intended to hold it very quickly - already at the

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<sup>47</sup> Udovicki-Selb, *Soviet Architectural Avant-Gardes*; Selivanova A. N. “Creative Searches in Theory and Practice of Soviet Architecture in the 1930s” (In Russian: Селиванова, “Творческие Поиски в Теории и Практике Советской Архитектуры 1930-х Годов.”)

<sup>48</sup> The role of the journal “Architecture of the USSR” in soviet architectural community is carefully described in the article by Alessandro De Magistris: De Magistris, “Il Dibattito Architettonico Degli Anni ’30-’50 Nelle Pagine Di Architettura SSSR.”



end of 1932, but as we will see later, these hopes will not come true. The first Congress of the Union of Soviet Architects will take place only in 1937, and further I will analyze in detail the section of the Congress devoted to architectural education. The Congress was postponed for various reasons, including the intervention of the Party, which allegedly did not want the voices of the former constructivists and functionalists to sound too loud. Another factor was that by the time the Congress was held, the leading members of the SSA had to agree among themselves what the very method of socialist realism in architecture was, which was now supposed to become the only one in the arsenal of all the architects of the country. The problem was that there was no ready-made answer to this question.

The method of socialist realism itself was born in the depths of literature: for the first time its official definition was given in the Charter of the Writers' Union, adopted at the first Congress of the Union, held in 1934: "Socialist realism, being the main method of Soviet fiction and literary criticism, requires truthfulness from an artist, a historically concrete depiction of reality in its revolutionary development. Moreover, the truthfulness and historical concreteness of the artistic depiction of reality should be combined with the task of ideological alteration and education in the spirit of socialism. "How to realize the "historically concrete image of reality in its revolutionary development" by means of architecture was not quite obvious.

The discussion of how to embed a new method into the work of an architect is directly related to the topic of this work: the questions of what a Soviet architect should know and be able to work within the framework of socialist realism are directly related to the question of how and what to teach new generations of professionals ... Therefore, these issues will be discussed in more detail later in the relevant sections devoted to the professional profile of the architect and the discussion about architectural education. In this section, I deliberately do not delve into the discussion about the nature of this method, because it is the subject of a separate large body of research. In this work, socialist realism interests me as a basis for building an education system.

Nevertheless, it is impossible not to mention the main points of the discussion about socialist realism in architecture, which unfolded since the founding of the Union and lasted at least until the First Congress in 1937. These are questions about "mastering the classical heritage" and "synthesis of the arts." Both of these issues directly influenced the content of architectural education. Discussion of the issue of "legacy", in fact, boiled down to a decision about what parts of the world and Russian past the Soviet architect can consider "his": to study

and then use in his projects.<sup>49</sup> The importance of this issue for architectural education is based on two aspects: firstly, the very need to “master the classical heritage” means that the study of the past - the history and theory of architecture - becomes an important element of preparation (as we remember, modernists did not always recognize the need for this) , and the question of what should become the content of this heritage determined the content of curricula and published literature. Next, I will try to show how this was implemented in the framework of the upcoming reform of architectural education.

The second question - about the synthesis of arts - is to a lesser extent the subject of this work, since it is aimed at studying the place of courses in history and theory of architecture in the framework of higher professional education. “Synthesis of arts” is “a combination of heterogeneous properties, qualities, sides and relations of works belonging to different types of art, into a qualitatively new whole, the properties of which are not reducible to a simple sum of initial components.”<sup>50</sup> In practice, this was solved by attracting pictorial and sculptural elements to the design of facades and interiors (which, after the sweeping away of Stalin, led to accusations of “excesses” in the architecture of the 1930-50s). The need for the synthesis of arts within the framework of an architectural project was not questioned, the question was rather what principles should underlie the design, if one has to take into account the participation of sculptors and artists. This study pays less attention to the issue of “synthesis of arts” (although it will be reviewed again in the section on the professional profile of the architect), however, it also influenced the content of education, since the architect had to receive full-fledged artistic training.

SSA became a new reality for the architectural life of the 1930s. Its appearance is a reflection of the same processes of unification of all social institutions, which we will see later when we turn to the consideration of the education system. Since the members of the SSA Board also held leading positions in various architectural organizations, including educational ones, it turned out that a small group of people simultaneously became customers for specialists with a certain set of knowledge and skills and performers implementing the educational program.

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<sup>49</sup> Creative Ways of Soviet Architecture and the Problem of Architectural Heritage (1934) (In Russian: “Творческие Пути Советской Архитектуры и Проблема Архитектурного Наследства.”)

<sup>50</sup> Makarov, “Synthesys of Arts” (In Russian: Макаров, “Синтез Искусств.”)

### *Mossovet workshops*

As mentioned above, the purpose of this section is to provide a context for what happened in Soviet architecture in the 1930s, and this context should be relevant to the topic of the work - the structure of architectural education. The creation of the design architectural workshops of the Moscow City Council just fits well into this task, because it allows you to show what happened to the graduates after they graduated from their education, how their professional life was arranged.

In 1933, on the initiative of Kaganovich, design and planning workshops were created in the structure of the Moscow City Council, which were supposed to become the main engine of Moscow's modernization. Against the background of the unification of creative processes that took place within the framework of the creation of the SSA, the Mossovet workshops became, in part, the successors of the 1920s groupings, allowing their leaders to maintain some ideological independence both from the general SSA line and from each other. Workshops of two types were created: design and planning. The former mostly solved the problems of designing buildings, and the latter - planning and urban planning. As we will see later, it cannot be said that the division was very tough, both types of workshops solved a very close range of problems.

Alexandra Selivanova argues that this freedom was the result of poor organization of the work of the SSA, and not at all a reflection of the authorities' desire to transfer creative discussions to a different format. According to her, Kaganovich introduced a control system into the workshops: if the workshop was managed by one of the leaders of the avant-garde of past years, then his deputy was necessarily one of the "proven party members who have proven themselves since the time of VOPRA." To prove this scheme, we present a table from Alexandra Selivanova's dissertation, which lists all the heads of the workshops and their deputies, indicating their affiliation with VOPRA (the group that had the strongest party ties).

*Table 1. Governance in the Mossovet workshops: the balance of power.<sup>51</sup>*

<b>Mossovet project workshops (1934 – 1935)</b>	
Workshop № 1	head: I. Zholtovsky vice: L. Bumazhny*, Naletov*

<sup>51</sup> Selivanova A. N. "Creative Searches in Theory and Practice of Soviet Architecture in the 1930s" (In Russian: Селиванова, "Творческие Поиски в Теории и Практике Советской Архитектуры 1930-х Годов.")

Workshop № 2	head: A. Schusev vice: E. Chernov*
Workshop № 3	head: I. Fomin vice: A. Mordvinov*
Workshop № 4	head: I. Golosov vice: K. Djus*
Workshop № 5	head: D. Fridman* vice: M. Muraviev
Workshop № 6	head: N. Kolly vice: M. Kupovsky*
Workshop № 7	head: K. Melnikov vice: V. Lebedev, T. Kuzmenko
Workshop № 8	head: P. Golosov, A. Vesnin
Workshop № 9	vice: –
Workshop № 10	head: V. Kokorin vice: V. Bazilevich
Workshop № 11	head: M. Kryukov* vice: A. Turkenidze*
Workshop № 12	head: Borov
<b>Mossovet planning workshops (данные на 1934 год)</b>	
Workshop № 1	head: S. Chernyshev vice: G. Kozelkov*
Workshop № 2	head: B. Iofan vice: N. Zapletin*
Workshop № 3	head: M. Ginzburg

	vice: A. Kelmishkait*
Workshop № 4	head: G. Barkhin vice: E. Veis*
Workshop № 5	head: N. Ladovsky vice: S. Babaev*
Workshop № 6	head: K. Mayer vice: M. Cherkasov*
Workshop № 7	head: V. Mayat vice: A. Chaldymov*
Workshop № 8	head: A. Meshkov vice: A. Tizenberg*
Workshop № 9	head: V. Baburov* vice: V. Shkvarikov*
Workshop № 10	head: V. Semenov
* VOPRA ex-members	

A year after the workshops of the Mossovet were created, the magazine “Architecture of the USSR” began polling their leaders. The question was to assess the value of the new system. The heads of all 12 workshops, including Melnikov, Ladovsky, Shchusev, Kolli, Krutzhikov, Vesnin brothers, Ginzburg and others, assessed this experience positively - although otherwise their texts would hardly have been published. Still, the decisions on the creation of the workshops were made by the highest leadership, and it is difficult to expect that the magazine, which is the official print organ of the SSA, will allow on its pages a real polemic about the decisions of the party. Nevertheless, one can look at Ginzburg’s article, with the heading “Unleashed Creativity”<sup>52</sup>, which is a fairly typical statement of the workshop leaders. Ginzburg begins with warm praise for the undertaking:

“As a result of the organization of the Mossovet workshops, the work of the architect has been raised to an enormous social and creative level.

<sup>52</sup> Ginzburg M. Y. “Unleashed Creativity” (In Russian: Гинзбург, “Освобожденное Творчество.”)

Instead of the hustle and bustle that characterized architectural design in all past years, a truly creative atmosphere has now been created. First of all, this affected the increasing demands of architects towards themselves, then the nature of the relationship between the designer and the customer. ... everyone has already understood that the project should not satisfy the subjective tastes of this or that developer, but the objective requirements of our urban planning [...]”<sup>53</sup>

At the same time, it is not entirely clear why Ginzburg chose the new system of relations with the customer as the main argument for the effectiveness of such an organizational structure. It seems that the new possibilities of a single customer in the person of the state (although in fact the workshops still worked with different commissariats, and their wishes for projects differed among themselves, which means they were not so uniform) does not depend on the organization of the work of the team of architects themselves. Further, when Ginzburg turns to critical remarks, it becomes clear that over a year of work he has accumulated a number of very specific complaints about the organization of the work of the workshops:

“The situation with the deadlines given to architects to fulfill their assignments is completely unfavorable. [...] Customers spend more time not only on the development of software assignments, but also on signing a contract with an architect, than an architect on a project”<sup>54</sup>

“The principle of strict division of workshops into planning and design works also raises doubts. The design should only be comprehensive, and only then the architect can be

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<sup>53</sup> Работа архитектора в результате организации мастерских Моссовета поднята на огромную общественную и творческую высоту.

Вместо той суеты, которая была характерна для архитектурного проектирования во все прошлые годы, создана сейчас подлинно творческая атмосфера. Прежде всего это сказалось на повышении требовательности архитекторов к самим себе, затем на характере взаимоотношений проектировщика с заказчиком. ... все уже поняли, что проект должен удовлетворять не субъективным вкусам того или иного застройщика, а объективным требованиям нашего градостроительства [...]

<sup>54</sup> Совершенно неблагоприятно обстоит дело со сроками предоставленным архитекторам для выполнения своих заданий. [...] Заказчики затрачивают не только на разработку программных заданий, но и на оформление договора с архитектором больше времени, чем архитектор на выполнение проекта

fully responsible for the person of the highway, quarter, district. [...] In fact, workshop No. 3, working in close contact with workshop No. 8 (meaning design workshop No. 8, leaders P. Golosov and A. Vesnin, Ginzburg's associates in the OSA) overcame this organizational convention. We are working on the architectural design of the Proletarsky District together, planning and designing all industrial, residential, cultural and domestic buildings, embankment decoration, etc. for the highway and the district.”<sup>55</sup>

In fact, under the guise of proposals for eliminating “minor defects” in the existing organizational system, Ginzburg reports that the results of this work are not as rosy as it might seem at first glance. The managers of other workshops, who gave their assessments, use the same rhetorical scheme: praise for positive experience - listing of shortcomings - hope that “minor defects” will be eliminated as soon as possible. Moreover, such statements are characteristic not only of the former leaders of the avant-garde, from whom some opposition was quite expected (Ladovsky<sup>56</sup>, Melnikov<sup>57</sup>, Ginzburg), but also the former members of the VOPRA (Kryukov<sup>58</sup>) who are completely inscribed in the system.

Nevertheless, these texts demonstrate several important aspects of the work of the Mossovet workshops. First, all the same, the architects had some opportunity to unite according to their artistic preferences (the heads of the workshops had the opportunity to independently select employees). Secondly, even those who were severely criticized a couple of years ago (first of all, Ivan Leonidov) got the opportunity to realize it. Thirdly, as we see from Ginzburg's remarks about the merger with workshop No. 8 to solve a common problem, some freedom of

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<sup>55</sup> Сомнения вызывает и принцип строгого разделения мастерских на планировочные и проектные. Проектирование должно быть только комплексным, и только тогда архитектор может нести полную ответственность за лицо магистрали, квартала, района. [...] Фактически мастерская №3, работающая в тесном контакте с мастерской №8 (имеется в виду проектная мастерская №8, руководители П. Голосов и А. Веснин, соратники Гинзбурга по ОСА) преодолела эту организационную условность. Мы работаем над архитектурным оформлением Пролетарского района сообща, планируя и проектируя совместно для магистрали и района все сооружения промышленные, жилые, культурно-бытовые, оформление набережных и пр.

<sup>56</sup> Ladovsky N. A. “Basis for the Creative Work” (In Russian: Ладовский, “База Творческой Работы.”)

<sup>57</sup> Melnikov K. S. “Creative Wellbeing of an Architect” Мельников, “Творческое Самочувствие Архитектора.”

<sup>58</sup> Kryukov M. V. “On the Right Way” (In Russian: Крюков, “На Верном Пути.”)

organizing work within the bureaucratic framework was still possible. The position of the head of the workshop in a sense defended its bearer: even when a year later Alabyan sent a critical note about their work to the presidium of the Archplan, who was in charge of the workshops, only Melnikov and Ladovsky were mentioned in a negative way; he did not criticize either Ginzburg or the Vesnins.

Thus, the Moscow system of organizing the work of an architect allowed those graduates who had their own creative vision to find jobs that, to one degree or another, reflect their artistic preferences. The work in Leningrad was organized in approximately the same way.

### ***What is not mentioned***

In this brief overview of the events of the architectural scene of the USSR in the 1930s, of course, many events are not mentioned: large competitions (Palace of Soviets, Naromtyazhprom and others), the new general plan of Moscow (Genplan), “a nail in the coffin of constructivism” - Zholtovsky’s neo-Palladian house on Mokhovaya (with obvious references to the Loggia del Capitano and Palazzo Valmarana), the construction of a “house on the embankment”, the construction of the USSR pavilion at the 1936 World’s Fair and much more. This was done deliberately so as not to blur the focus of the work and to remain within the framework of the study of architectural education.

However, before moving on directly to the topic, it is worth mentioning another important figure of the Soviet architectural scene, who was completely not involved in the training of young specialists. We are talking about Boris Iofan (1891 - 1976), as he is sometimes called, “Stalin’s personal architect.” He was born and received his first art education in Odessa, and then went to study at the Roman Academy of Arts, which he graduated in 1916. In 1924 he returned to Russia and immediately established himself as an excellent master, who, in addition to excellent artistic and historical knowledge, also had excellent technical training. It seems that only Iofan managed to implement so many projects of truly national importance: a sanatorium in Barvikha (1929, a traditional place for restoration and recreation of the party elite), a residential building on Serafimovich Street (1927 - 1931, the famous Moscow “house on the embankment”, where many members of the Presidium lived The Central Committee and honored heroes of the revolution, notorious for the fact that during the repressions of 1937-38 mass arrests were carried out in it), the pavilions of the USSR at world exhibitions in Paris (1936) and New York (1939, these pavilions were the “face” of the USSR for the whole world,



and their design was given special attention to the party and Stalin personally). A person who has implemented projects of this magnitude could be an incredibly in-demand source of professional experience. However, as we will see later, the name of Iofan never came up in discussions related to education issues. He seemed to stand apart from the entire system, was outside it, was engaged in design, but was not immersed in any institutional structures of Soviet architecture, in addition to the leadership of the planning workshop of the Moscow City Council. The very fact that a master of this magnitude had the opportunity to remain outside the structures of the transfer of professional experience, it seems, may be an interesting aspect that should be kept in mind when examining in detail the system of architectural education that is being built.

## Architectural Educational as a Part of the Soviet vuz system

By 1935 architectural education bore significant changes, not only as a part of artistic process, but also as a part of the transformation of the national educational system. Since 1928 and throughout 1930s Soviet higher education was a subject of significant transformation. The main goal of this transformation was to create a system of mass professional training, as quickly, as possible. By 1918, after the Revolution, in Soviet Russia there were only five universities and twenty-four higher polytechnical schools<sup>59</sup>, which was obviously not enough for quick restoration and development after the World War I, October Revolution and a Civil war of 1917–1923. Thus, in the second half of the 1920s a Soviet academia (as a system of higher education and science) emerged “as a hybrid between an idealistic social forecast and severe Russian realities”<sup>60</sup>. At the end of 1920s the Communist Party leadership focused on the construction of the national system of higher educational institutions – vuz (acronym for *vysshee uchebnoe zavedenie*), which was dedicated only to the educational purposes. The scientific work was given to the USSR Academy of Sciences, so the only goal of the vuz system was to provide a mass professional training. Alexey Kuraev, a historian of Soviet educational system from University of Colorado, gives the following characteris of the vuz system, which make it completely different from the Humboldtian academic tradition: uniformity, top-down administration and one-man management<sup>61</sup>. Kuraev defines uniformity as a “principal of Soviet organization, rooted into the original plan of the Soviet authorities to format Soviet society as a “socially unified camp... using education as a weapon”<sup>62</sup>. Kliment Voroshilov, a marshal of the Soviet Union in his reflections over Red Army, writes, that Soviet higher education system is aimed “to lift academic training... to an equal height with the level of training in the Red Army military schools”<sup>63</sup>. Of course, the equation between army training and civil professional

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<sup>59</sup> Alex Kuraev, ‘Soviet Higher Education: An Alternative Construct to the Western University Paradigm’, *Higher Education*, 71.2 (2016), 181–93.

<sup>60</sup> Fitzpatrick S., *Education and Social Mobility in the Soviet Union 1921-1934* (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

<sup>61</sup> Kuraev.

<sup>62</sup> Stalin I. V., ‘Conversation with the English Writer GD Wells’, *Collected Works*, 14 (1939), 24–39. (In Russian: Сталин И. В., ‘Беседа с Английским Писателем Г. Д. Уэллсом’, *Собр. Соч.*, 14 (1939), 24–39.).

<sup>63</sup> Voroshilov K. E., *Red Army In Defense of the Socialist Motherland* (Moscow: Military Bulletin, 1927) <[http://militera.lib.ru/science/voroshilov\\_ke02/index.html](http://militera.lib.ru/science/voroshilov_ke02/index.html)> [accessed 11 May 2020]. (In Russian: Ворошилов К. Е., *Красная Армия На защите Социалистической Родины* (Москва:

education was never reached, however, this citation gives a very clear picture of the representation of the purposes of higher education among high Soviet authorities. The Soviet vuz system was based on the unified All-Union state regulations. Every higher educational institution had a comparable structural composition of administration, students, faculty and staff. In each vuz, rector was the head-administrator and his (first Soviet woman took the rector position only in 1972) scientific or, in our case, artistic achievements were not that significant on this position. The rector's office also was the institutional managerial headquarters. According to Kuraev, all relationships with external world were administered through three "numbered" units – army recruitment, NKVD/KGB supervision and an archival service, which collected students' portfolios, or "personal files" that followed an individual through his or her employment. Uniformity was present in all vital academic issues, such as curricula formation, organization of classes and student services. Unified curricula together with the unified textbooks were developed at the central level for each professional specialization and were mandatory for all vuz in the field. That is why the work of the All-Union Academy of Architecture was so important for the professional community all-over the country, and that is why the delegates of the of the 1935 Leningrad meeting named the establishment of the Academy as a major event in the transformation of the architectural education. The tutorial board of the Academy was meant to issue the curricula for architectural educational institutions, and the Academy's Publishing House had an important mission of providing the students all-over the country with "right" textbooks and related literature. The Academy was meant to become a source of the unified components of the educational process and finally define to the regional educational institutions, how to teach a Soviet architect, so the one trained in Tbilisy was equal by his or her knowledge and experience to the one trained in Kyiv or Tomsk.

By the top-down management system Kuraev means the central support of Soviet higher education from the Communist Party leaders. Decision-making in Soviet system of higher education started at the highest political level of the Party Politburo. Architecture here was not an exception. The dialogue between Kaganovich and Zholtovsky about the rector's position in the Academy of Architecture, presented above, is a clear representation of this characteristics in the field of architectural professional training. The highest positions in the Academy of Architecture were not even the matters of decision of the professional community

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Военный вестник, 1927) <[http://militera.lib.ru/science/voroshilov\\_ke02/index.html](http://militera.lib.ru/science/voroshilov_ke02/index.html)> [обращение 11 May 2020].

(represented by the Union of the Soviet Architects, another centralised organization, subordinated to the Party Politburo), but the matters of the direct decision of the head of the Moscow Politburo, who never was a member of the professional community.

The educational process on the various levels was also a matter of the top-down management. Students of all levels were enrolled not to an institution, but in a “professional speciality” assigned to the institution by the ministry of education. It was the ministry which obliged vuz to provide to the students the required training according to the state “control numbers of enrolment” – each year the ministry decides, how many professionals in a certain field the state needs, and gives to vuzes the exact number of students to enrol in a certain year. Enrolling more students required a special permission from the ministry, enrolling less meant that in the following years the “control number of enrolments” will decrease, which is bad for the vuz, that needs to give work to the certain amount of the teaching personnel. In this context, the planned number of 100 postgraduate students in the Academy of Architecture, was not the dream or desire of Kryukov, it was a plan given from above, and not reaching this plan meant a quite serious consequences for the whole institution and its personally to its rector.

Students’ life was also a matter of the top-down management. Once enrolled, a Soviet student was considered a state trainee, obliged to follow orders, rules and regulations. He or she could not decide the academic or artistic focus of his or her studies, except (in some cases) for choosing the topic of the final project (however, even this topic could be assigned to the student by the professor or the head of the workshop). In the next chapter the curricula for the Institute of Postgraduate Studies and the Department of the Architectural Improvement of the All-Union Academy of Architecture will be presented. One will not find in these curricula the electives – all students must follow the one educational trajectory defined by all the management levels above them.

Finally, the one-man management principle, according to Kuraev, provided undivided authority to the chief administrator of an educational institution and was intended to engender strict discipline and personal responsibility throughout the national educational system. Thus, Mikhail Kryukov carried a personal responsibility for everything that happened in the All-Union Academy of Architecture, both in the eyes of Politburo and in the eyes of professional community. The protocol of the meeting of the academic board of the Academy that took place in 1938, after the Kryukov’s arrest, clearly shows, that the members of the board names

Kryukov as a reason of everything that happened during his work, and the new administration should start working from the scratch<sup>64</sup>.

By the beginning of 1930s the higher architectural educational institutions appeared all-over the country. In 1935 their representatives also presented in the Leningrad meeting and were very eager to know, how the work in the Academy of Architecture is progressing. In Moscow there were the Moscow Institute of Architecture and Construction and the architectural department of the Moscow Higher Technical Institute. In Leningrad in 1932 the Leningrad Institute of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture succeeded the Imperial Academy of Arts. The architectural departments were opened in the higher polytechnical schools in Tbilisy (Georgia), Kyiv (Ukraine), Tashkent (Uzbekistan). Of course, all of them had various history and traditions, and the centralized scheme described above had some nuances in each case, despite of the strict regulations of the relationships between educational institutions and state authorities. Let's discuss the relationships between architectural vuzs and the state on the examples of the Moscow Institute of Architecture (which formally followed the VKhUTEMAS/VKhUTEIN architectural department) and architectural department of Leningrad Institute of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture (which followed the traditions of the Imperial Academy of Arts).

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<sup>64</sup> Transcript of the meeting of scientists of the Academy of Architecture dated June 28, 1939. RGAE (Russian State Archive for Economics). F. 293. Inv. 1. File 14. P. 1. (In Russian: Стенограмма совещания научных работников Академии Архитектуры от 28 июня 1939г. РГАЭ. Ф. 293. Оп. 1. Ед.хр. 14. Л.1.).

## How to teach a Soviet architect? A debate on architectural education in 1930-s

In 1930-s the architectural community had to completely rebuild their relationships with the Soviet state. The 1932 decree “On the Restructuring of Literary and Artistic Organizations”<sup>65</sup>, which ordered all representatives of the creative profession to unite in your unions, in fact, put an end to the variety of artistic ideas. The consequences of this decree and the formation of creative unions (the Union of Soviet Writers, the Union of Soviet Artists, the Union of Composers, etc.), including the Union of Soviet Architects, are well described in the literature<sup>66</sup>. At the same time, the tasks of creative unions included not only regulation of the community and its relations with society and the party, but also issues of education and professional training. This section will be devoted to the discussion of the goals and content of architectural education in the Union of Soviet Architects. Starting from 1932 the professional architectural community was involved in the debates on how, where and on what kind of examples the new generation of the architects should be taught and what kind of requirements a young architect should meet to successfully start his or her career.

This debate had three stages. The first one can be located within August 1932 and October 1933. It involved, mostly, the members of the Board of the Union of the Soviet Architects and the discussions did not come to the wider public. This stage finished with the publication of the decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party “On Architectural Education” on 14<sup>th</sup> of October 1933.

The second stage took place in Leningrad, in May 1935, where the Union of the Soviet Architect organized a meeting of its members. The meeting itself embraced a large number of topics, including “the role of mindset in the creative work, the problem of image in architecture, the issues of the functional and artistic origins in architecture, the eclectics and architectural

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<sup>65</sup> ‘On the Restructuring of Literary and Artistic Organizations’, in *Power and the Artistic Intelligentsia. Documents of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) - VKP (b), VChK - OGPU - NKVD on Cultural Policy. 1917-1953*, ed. by A. N. Yakovlev (Moscow: International Fund ‘Democracy’, 1999), pp. 173-174. (In Russian: ‘О Перестройке Литературно-Художественных Организаций’, in *Власть и Художественная Интеллигенция. Документы ЦК РКП(б) — ВКП (б), ВЧК — ОГПУ — НКВД о Культурной Политике. 1917-1953*, под ред. А. Н. Яковлева (Москва: Международный фонд ‘Демократия’, 1999), pp. 173–174.)

<sup>66</sup> Clark; Selivanova, *Postconstructivism*; Паперны.

discipline <...> mastering the cultural heritage <...> and architectural education”<sup>67</sup>. The problems of education were risen on the wide professional community for the first time, since the issue of the decree and were discussed in the context of “the reclaiming of the cultural heritage” described in the previous paragraph.

The third and the final stage (at least for 1930-s) of the debate is the meeting of the commission on architectural education during the I All-Soviet Congress of the Soviet Architects, 23<sup>rd</sup> of July 1937. Two key-note speakers – Mikhail Kryukov, the rector of the All-Union Academy of Architecture, and Ivan Zholtovsky – presented their (quite opposite) views on the educational goals, process and outcomes to the wide professional community of architects.

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<sup>67</sup> «Наиболее важные из них: о роли мировоззрения в творчестве, о проблеме образа в архитектуре, вопросы функционального и художественного начала в архитектуре, об эклектике и архитектурной дисциплине, о формализме и проблеме социалистического реализма, об основах творческого метода, об овладении культурным наследством, об ансамбле, о гигантомании и монументальности, о подготовке кадров». Results of the All-Union Creative Meeting of Architects, *Architecture on USSR*, 7, 1935, 1–5. (In Russian: ‘Итоги Всесоюзного Творческого Совещания Архитекторов’, *Архитектура СССР*, 7, 1935, 1–5.).

A decree “On architectural education” as a result of the first stage of the debate

On 14<sup>th</sup> of October 1933 the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued a decree “On Architectural Education”<sup>68</sup>, which aimed to completely rebuild an educational system in architecture to improve its quality. The decree stated that “at present there is a vast disadvantage in the architectural practice in meeting the country needs, mostly defined by the lack of proficiency in the development of the qualified specialists in architecture and scientific research in the most important problems of architecture”<sup>69</sup>. This “lack of architectural proficiency” clearly refers to the 1920-s, the period of different movements in avant-garde architecture and particularly – to the world-famous VKhUTEMAS. The more detailed discontent on the current state of architectural education can be found in the editorial policy article of the magazine “Academy of Architecture”, № 1–2 1934 («Академия Архитектуры» which is spelled “Akademia Arkhitektury”): “The main weaknesses of the Soviet architecture are: insufficient ideological commitment, integrity and frankness, low-level culture of architectural proficiency of many works and, as a consequence, reductionism, primitivism of the artistic proposals. The main part of the responsibility for this retardation lies on the unsatisfying state of the training of the qualified architectural manpower and on the extreme weakness of the scientific development of the important domains of architecture.”<sup>70</sup>

How Central Committee of the Communist Party was going to improve the architectural education? The decree published in 1933 consists of 4 items. The first one established the All-Union Academy of Architecture, which would combine research and post-graduate education and united the doctoral school for architects, research centres, laboratories, workshops, a library, a museum of architecture and a publishing house.

The second item was dedicated to the reorganization of the Moscow Institute of Architecture and Construction. It was organized in 1930 by the consolidation of the department of architecture of VKhUTEIN (ex-VKhUTEMAS) and the department of the engineering and

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<sup>68</sup> ‘On Architectural Education. A Decree of the Central Committee of All-Union Communist Party (bolsheviks) from 4th of October 1933’.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> «Важнейшими недостатками советский архитектуры являются: недостаточная идейность, цельность и правдивость, невысокая культура архитектурного мастерства многих работ и, как следствие, упрощенчество, примитив творческих предложений. Значительная доля ответственности за это отставание лежит на неудовлетворительном состоянии дела подготовки квалифицированных архитектурных кадров, в крайней слабости научной разработки важнейших вопросов архитектуры». “Our Tasks” *Academy of Architecture*. Issue 1–2. (1934) P. 4–6. (In Russian: ‘Наши задачи’. Академия Архитектуры. Вып. 1–2 (1934). С. 4–6.).



construction of the Moscow Higher Technical School. The decree prescribed to establish (on the basis of the existing one) the new Moscow Institute of Architecture, to review the enrolment rules (“according to the new high requirements”) and “to provide the elevation of the quality of education”. That was all information related to the level of higher architectural education.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> item proposed to modify several constructional vocational schools, that existed in the country by that time, to the architectural ones, and therefore to establish a level of vocational education in architecture.

And finally, the 4<sup>th</sup> item of the decree provided a list of books for the architectural students and professionals that should be published by the All-Union Academy of Architecture’s publishing house in the following year.

As we can see, from the formal point of view, the decree embraces all the levels of professional development: vocational schools, higher and post-graduate education. However, the closer look reveals the different level of details and precise steps that should be made to reach the decree’s goal. Another point is that most of the steps prescribed by the decree, are related only to the Moscow institutions, though by the beginning of 1930-s the architectural schools successfully worked all-over the country: in Leningrad, in Kharkov, in Odessa and some other cities across the USSR. Moreover, the second item that was related directly to the Moscow Institute of Architecture, was very vague and limited by the very general statements, such as “the new higher requirements” and “the improvement of the quality of education” without any further clarifications, what was the exact content of the new requirements, what steps should be made to increase the quality of the educational process and who is responsible for the renovation of the Institute. On the contrary, the aims, the organizational structure and even the publishing plan of the All-Union Academy of Architecture are described with the high degree of details. One gets the impression that it was the organization of the Academy that was the main purpose of the publication of the decree, the other levels of education were of much lesser interest of decree’s authors.

In the light of this it is very interesting to reveal the preparatory work behind the decree. To do this, we should go back to the summer of 1932, when the newly established Union of the Soviet Architects initiated the work on the educational reforms. In 15<sup>th</sup> of August 1932, a month after the establishment of the Union, the Board of the Union discussed the problem of

architectural education<sup>71</sup>. All of the members of the board (among whom were architects well-known in the professional community Karo Alabyan, the vice-president of the Union, Ivan Zholtovsky, Boris Iofan, Nikolay Ladovvsky, an art-historian David Arkin and others) agreed that the current quality of architectural education was non-satisfactory. But the proposed ways of improvement were different. Some of them (like Alabyan and his colleague from the Union Nikolay Vlasov) proposed major changes in the educational process in the Moscow Institute of Architecture and Construction. Some (like Nikolay Ladovsky, the ex-leader of the rationalist group of architects and the professor of the introductory class for architects in the Institute) insisted that the students and professors needed more time to show their efficiency and any changes then would do only harm. And finally, Mikhail Kryukov (the architect, Alabyan's close companion in the All-Soviet Union of Architects) proposed a new post-graduate institution, where the working architects could improve their proficiency under the supervision of accomplished masters. As a result of the meeting, the Union's board established a special committee on this issue and Mikhail Kryukov, became its head.

Mikhail Kryukov (1884 – 1944) graduated from the Moscow School of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture in 1911, where he was studying, probably, under the supervision of Ivan Zholtovsky. There is not much information about Kryukov's life and work (he was arrested in 1937 and died in GULAG, and his files are not available for the researchers), but in one interview his daughter mentions, that he worked with Zholtovsky on several projects in 1910-s<sup>72</sup>. However, it is known that after graduation Kryukov had received a gold medal and a trip to Italy, where he spent two years, studying Palladio's villas. Kryukov even prepared a book with his drawings and measures of villas, but it had never been published. After his return to Russia he went to study again, at this time – to the Academy of Arts in Saint Petersburg – as many alumnae of Moscow architectural school, Kryukov went to improve his proficiency. Imperial Academy of Arts admitted the alumnae of other architectural schools on the third year of study, so they went straight to the workshop without the necessity of repeating the propaedeutical disciplines. Unfortunately, we don't know, which workshop Kryukov graduated from, but his educational path definitely gave him professional connections in both capitals.

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<sup>71</sup> “Record № 4 of the Board of the Union of the Soviet Architects Meeting” 1932. RGALI. F. 2324. Inv. 3. File 34. P. 32–33. (In Russian: ‘Протокол №4 Заседания Правления ССА’, 1932, РГАЛИ, Ф. 2423. Оп. 3. Ед. хр. 34. Л. 32–33.).

<sup>72</sup> Shulgina T., ‘First Rector of the All-Union Academy of Architecture’, *Architecture of the USSR*, 3, 1990. (In Russian: Шульгина Т., ‘Первый Ректор Всесоюзной Академии Архитектуры’, *Архитектура СССР*, 3, 1990.).

His professional career had started after the Revolution in 1917, and all the way he was more a manager than an architect – his daughter remembers that “he barely had time to construct”<sup>73</sup>. In 1917 he became a head of the first All-Russia Union of Architects; in 1921 established and became a head of Mosstroy – a state organization that coordinated all the construction in Moscow; in 1920s he also was a member of the board of the Moscow Union of the Construction Workers. However, Kryukov is named as an author of commercial apartment building on Novoslobodskaya street, Moscow (1910), residential building on Podkolokolny side street, Moscow (1929), and in 1930 he was appointed as a construction superior on the Palace of Soviets construction site. This appointment, alongside with his activity of the field of architectural education, ended in 1938, when Kryukov was arrested and sent to GULAG, where he died in 1944. But, by the beginning of 1930-s Kryukov was more a skilled bureaucrat with good connections both with the professional architectural community and the authorities responsible for the architecture and construction in Moscow, than a practicing architect.

In the personal archive of an art-historian David Arkin, who also became a member of the Union’s committee on architectural education, there is one of the drafts of the decree, which differs significantly from the version published in October 1933<sup>74</sup>. Unfortunately, this document does not have the exact date, but we can suppose that this working paper was written around December 1932, when the next meeting of the Union’s Board dedicated to the architectural education took place. The preface of the draft is the same as in the published version, but, unlike it, the draft consists of 6 items, instead of 4, and 5 of them are related to the architect’s professional development.

The first item of the draft is more or less the same as in the published version, with one significant difference: in the Academy should also establish the curricular board, which should have regulated the content of the education in all the architectural educational institutions, despite their level and subordination. This point, excluded from the final version, would establish Academy’s superiority over the all other educational institutions of any level.

The second item of the draft is also related to the Moscow Institute of Architecture but consists of much more detailed plan of its reorganization. The authors of the draft (the members of the committee) set the organizational structure of the institute (departments, workshops,

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<sup>73</sup> Shulgina.

<sup>74</sup> “A Draft of the Decree “On Architectural Education”, ed. by D. Arkin. RGALI. F. 2606. Inv. 2. File 56. P. 28–34. (In Russian: ‘Проект Указа “Об Архитектурном Образовании”’, ed. by Д. Е. Аркин, РГАЛИ. Ф. 2606. Оп. 2. Ед. хр. 56. Л. 28–34.).

laboratories), the number of students, the enrolment requirements and defined the members of the staff who would be responsible for the new curricula. Overall, this item constitutes quite clear and detailed programme of work, though it still represents the whole level of the higher architectural education by one Moscow institution.

The third item of the draft is the same as in the published version and relates to the establishment of the architectural vocational schools.

According to the fourth item of the draft, the Academy of Architecture and the Moscow Institute of Architecture together should have established a Moscow School of Design and Decorative Arts, an item, that is completely missed in the final document. This School should have united the Academy and the Institute and provide the country with the designers and craftsmen.

The fifth item, as No 4 in the published document, defines a publishing plan for the Academy's publishing house and the final item prescribes to make an exhibition of the Soviet architecture of the last 15 years.

In general, this draft gives an impression of a more careful and detailed approach to the problems of architectural education. There is no information about why, for example a plan of reorganization for the Moscow Institute of Architecture was removed from the final document, but we can assume that the main reason was the lack of qualified staff who could perform this task. Most of the members of the Union's committee on the architectural education, except Kryukov and maybe Ladovsky, were the practicing architects, in the first hand, and after that the teachers, the managers or the bureaucrats. To perform the massive reforms in education they should have given up their practice and fully dedicate themselves to the administration and bureaucracy. We can imagine that none of them would be happy about that. The only exception was Mikhail Kryukov, who by that time was a right person for these tasks: good administrative experience, connections both with architectural community and the authorities, and rather small architectural practice, however of high responsibility and weight – the Palace of Soviets was the most important construction site in the Soviet Union. Also, he was the one who proposed to establish the Academy of Architecture, so it would be logical to assume that he also proposed the items, related to the Academy (which did not change significantly in comparison to the final document), defended them in front of the other member of the Union's committee and the Soviet authorities and finally became Academy's rector.

However, Sergey Kozhin, an architect and one of the closest Zholtovsky's student, in Zholtovsky's obituary gives another story of the establishment of the Academy of Architecture<sup>75</sup>. "In 1933 the architectural school was reorganized and the Academy of Architecture, the higher scientific and research institution on the various architectural issues in USSR was established. The Political Bureau of the Communist Party commissioned to perform all these changes to Lazar Kaganovich, the secretary of the Moscow city Communist Party Committee since 1930, who personally invited Zholtovsky to lead the Academy. At the Academy there also was an Institute for the postgraduate studies, where the talented young architects could for three years improve their theoretical and practical knowledge resulting their studies with thesis and a degree of the Candidate or Doctor of Architecture<sup>76</sup>. Most of all Kaganovich<sup>77</sup> wanted Zholtovsky to lead the Institute of the postgraduate studies. "For other departments we will find you the good helpers," – he said to Zholtovsky. The academic responded evasively: "Let my young students begin, and we'll see". Kaganovich looked at us four (at that time we were 35 years old)<sup>78</sup>, Zholtovsky's longstanding students and employees, and noticed: "These young students are at their late 30s". And added with laughter: "Have it your way, Ivan Vladislavovich, let them start". Thus, Zholtovsky was never officially involved in the Academy.

Moral and scientific participation of Zholtovsky was huge. His doctrine on theory as a function of natural-philosophic views, his theory of proportions formed the basis of almost all postgraduate works that we supervised"<sup>79</sup>.

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<sup>75</sup> Kozhin S. N., 'Ivan Vladislavovich Zholtovsky. Obituary', in *Architect Ivan Zholtovsky, Episodes From An Unwritten Biography*, ed. by I. E. Pechenkin and O. S. Shurygina (Moscow, 2017), pp. 105-112 (In Russian: С. Н. Кожин, 'Иван Владиславович Жолтовский. Некролог', в *Архитектор Иван Жолтовский, Эпизоды Из Ненаписанной Биографии*, ред. И. Е. Печенкин and О. С. Шурыгина (Москва, 2017), сс. 105–112.).

<sup>76</sup> Candidate of science and Doctor of science are the levels of scientific degrees, which were established in Soviet Union in 1934.

<sup>77</sup> Lazar Kaganovich, in 1930-s a first secretary of the Moscow committee of the Communist Party

<sup>78</sup> He means "Zholtovsky's quadriga" that will be presented on the following pages.

<sup>79</sup> S. N. Kozhin.

«В 1933 году была проведена реорганизация архитектурной школы и создана Академия Архитектуры, высшее научное и исследовательское учреждение в СССР, ведающее всевозможными вопросами архитектуры. Политбюро поручило проводить в жизнь все эти изменения Кагановичу, который лично предложил Жолтовскому стать во главе Академии. При ней же открывался Институт аспирантуры, в котором талантливые молодые архитекторы могли бы совершенствовать свои практические и теоретические познания, завершая свои исследования написанием диссертации и получением ученой степени кандидата или доктора архитектурных наук после ее защиты. Каганович больше всего рассчитывал заполучить согласие Жолтовского

The obituary was written in 1969, after Second World War and Kozhin's immigration to the United States, so he probably forgot some details from the beginning of 1930's. In this citation Kozhin confuses two superior positions in the Academy. In his first sentence he writes about the Kaganovich's proposal to Zholtovsky to lead the whole Academy, which meant that Zholtovsky should have become a rector instead of Kryukov. But further Kaganovich speaks about the Institute of postgraduate studies – one of the Academy's division, which in reality was led by Heinrich Ludvig (his figure will be presented in the next chapter). It seems more probable, that Kaganovich initially meant for Zholtovsky this particular position, as he spoke mostly about teaching but not the other activities of the Academy, like research or publishing.

Closer look to the Kozhin's memories reveals some more inconsistencies. By “four of us” Kozhin means the famous “Zholtovsky's quadriga” – a group of four of his young colleagues and followers Sergei Kozhin, Georgy Goltz, Ivan Sobolev and Mikhail Parusnikov. This “quadriga” appeared by 1932, and precedent literature suggests the story that all of them were the convinced representatives of various avant-garde movements, but at once could not resist Zholtovsky's erudition in classical architecture and reoriented to neoclassic<sup>80</sup>. After Khan-Magomedov, Russian scholar tradition presents “quadriga” as a solid group of followers that formed around Zholtovsky in late 1920-s<sup>81</sup>. However, it seems to be more a myth that supports legendary Zholtovsky's charisma. Each of the members of “quadriga” had their own way to neoclassical architecture. Goltz turned to neoclassic during his last year in

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на его руководство и Институтом аспирантуры. «Для других отделов Академии мы найдем вам хороших помощников», – говорил он Жолтовскому. Академик отвечал уклончиво: «Пусть начнет моя молодежь, а там видно будет». Каганович, посмотрев на нас четверых, долголетних учеников и сотрудников Жолтовского (нам тогда было по тридцать пять каждому), заметил: «Да эта молодежь бальзаковского возраста...» И, засмеявшись, добавил: «Пусть будет по-вашему, Иван Владиславович, пусть они начнут...». Так Жолтовский никогда официального участия в работе Академии не принимал.

Моральное же и научное участие Жолтовского было огромным. Его учение о теории как функции натурфилософских воззрений, его теория о пропорции легла в основу почти всех аспирантских работ, руководимых нами».

<sup>80</sup> Khan-Magomedov S.O., ‘The Italian Renaissance of Ivan Zholtovsky’, *Academia. Architecture and Construction*, 1, 2010 <<https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/italyanskiy-renessans-ivana-zholtovskogo>> [accessed 6 May 2020]. (In Russian: Хан-Магомедов С.О., ‘Итальянский Ренессанс Ивана Жолтовского’, *Academia. Архитектура и Строительство*, 1, 2010 <<https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/italyanskiy-renessans-ivana-zholtovskogo>> [accessed 6 May 2020].).

<sup>81</sup> Firsova A.V., ‘The Creative Heritage of I. V. Zholtovsky in the Domestic Architecture of the XX Century’ (unpublished PhD Thesis, [MV Lomonosov Moscow State University] M., 2004). (In Russian: Фирсова А.В., ‘Творческое Наследие И. В. Жолтовского в Отечественной Архитектуре XX Века’ (дисс. канд. арх., [МГУ им. МВ Ломоносова] М., 2004).

VKhUTEMAS (1922), when he left Ladovsky's functionalist workshop and defended his final project in a simplified neoclassical manner. Kozhin was Zholtovsky's student in VKhUTEMAS, and worked with him during 1920s, and thus did not have much opportunities to acquire the avant-garde methods. Parusnikov went almost the same way: first graduated from Zholtovsky's workshop in VKhUTEMAS (1924) and then after a short break, when he worked with the constructivist Ilia Golosov, returned to Zholtovsky in 1926. The one who really corresponds the myth of converted avant-gardists is probably Sobolev, who graduated from Vesnin's constructivist workshop and followed his ideas until 1932 when he finally joined Zholtovsky's workshop. All four members of the "quadriga" probably first met in 1923 on the works on the Agricultural Exhibition led by Zholtovsky. By that time all of them were young architects or even students, and the work on the Agricultural Exhibition was a good opportunity to enter the architectural practice. But after the construction had finished in 1923, they went separate ways. Kozhin joins Zholtovsky in his 1924–1926 long trip to Italy, Parusnikov works with Golosov, Golz also goes to Italy but he has an independent rout, and Sobolev returns to Vesnin brothers. First three architects started to work Zholtovsky in late 1920s, but Sobolev joined the group only in 1932, and this is the date when "quadriga" comes into being.

In Kozhin's text even the ages of "quadriga's" members do not correspond with the reality. He writes: "at that time we were 35 years old", which makes readers think that they were coevals. However, by 1933, when Zholtovsky and Kaganovich talk took place, Golts and Parusnikov were 40 years old, Kozhin – 35 and Sobolev – 30. So, neither by their professional experience nor by age the members of the "quadriga" were not that similar, as presented in literature<sup>82</sup>.

In All-Soviet Academy of Architechure all of them also played different roles. Georgy Golts became a head of the department of architectural design, and probably was the closest to the role of Zholtovsky's representative inside the Academy. Sergey Kozhin was his deputy and a professor on the same department. However, Parusnikov and Sobolev mostly dedicated themselves to the architectural practice and were not deeply involved to the life of the Academy.

Thus, we can see that the Academy became a part of Zholtovsky's personal myth to support his image as a wise and influential teacher whose heritage is deeply embedded to the main research and educational institution in the field of architecture through the everyday work

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<sup>82</sup> Khan-Magomedov S.O., 'The Italian Renaissance of Ivan Zholtovsky'.

of his closest pupils. Further his attitudes towards teaching architecture will be discussed in detail. The All-Union Academy of Architecture from the very beginning became, by all means, the most important educational and research institution and an example and an authority for all other schools of architecture. So, the practices which were considered as best in the Academy, were the examples for all who was involved in teaching, despite of the fact that sometimes, as we shall see, these practices were unimplementable in the real life.

The decree “On architectural education” became only a starting point in the debate on the architect’s professional development. After the formal institutions were settled, the professional community needed to define, what it expects from its prospect members. To explore this, we should again turn to the editorial article from the first issue of the magazine “Academy of Architecture” (late 1934, the moment when Academy first opened its doors to the students and researchers)<sup>83</sup>. Describing the Academy’s educational goals, the author(s)<sup>84</sup> starts with the critique of the current state of the architectural education: “Architectural education in our country had two pivotal taints: the school gave to the future architect bad and deficient development in the field of best and classical examples of architecture. Deep study of the architectural history, without which a good architect could not exist, was absent. From the other hand, the school taught the students a paper design, leaving behind the tasks of the acquisition of a true mastery, to the end, to the details; the school did not teach the project implementation, performance techniques, techniques of the mastery. Thus, an architect who had graduated from the school found himself helpless to participate in solving the tasks of a great Soviet architecture”<sup>85</sup>.

From these words and also from the report of the head of the Academy’s doctoral school about the entering examinations (will be presented below) we can try to deduce, what now is called “a professional profile” of an architect – what the professional community expected from

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<sup>83</sup> “Our Tasks” *Academy of Architecture*. Issue 1–2. (1934) P. 4–6. (In Russian: ‘Наши задачи’. Академия Архитектуры. Вып. 1–2 (1934). С. 4–6.).

<sup>84</sup> Unfortunately, it is unsigned, but we can assume that the author or authors should be from the same circle that worked on the decree – Mikhail Kryukov, David Arkin, Karo Alabyan, Alexander Vlasov.

<sup>85</sup> Academy of architecture. 1934. №1–2. «Архитектурное образование в нашей стране имело два решающих порока: вуз мало и плохо воспитывал будущего архитектора на классических и лучших образцах архитектуры. Глубокое изучение истории архитектуры, без которого не может быть хорошего архитектора, отсутствовало в стенах вуза. С другой стороны, вуз фактически учил бумажному проектированию, оставляя в тени задачи овладения подлинным мастерством работы до конца, до деталей, вуз не учил реализации проекта, технике исполнения, технике мастерства. Таким образом, архитектор, окончивший вуз, оказывался беспомощным участвовать в разрешении задач большой советской архитектуры».



its prospect members, what he or she should know, be able to do and what kind of values and personal characteristics have to be accepted to the community. In the next chapter we will discuss this profile.

Thus, from the paragraph cited above, we can see, that two main expectations from the graduates of schools of architecture were good knowledge of architectural history, especially “in the field of best and classical examples” and an ability to perform a designed project on practice. Further details we can find in the report on Henrich Ludvig (1893–1973), an architect and engineer, educated in Warsaw Polytechnical Institute and Moscow Higher Technical School, who in 1934 became a head of the Institute of Postgraduate Studies, the doctoral school in the All-Union Academy of Architecture. In his report Ludvig describes the results of the first enrolment procedure to the Academy, which took place in April and May 1934. Applicants should have graduated from the architectural school and “to prove with their projects, built structures and research works”, that they met the Academy’s high requirements. In the next paragraph we will describe the enrolment procedure in detail, and here we would like to give more attention to the Ludvig’s analysis of its results.

In 1934, 99 of 164 applicants were admitted to the entering examinations (applicants should have demonstrated their drawing skills and an ability to design an architectural composition). All the applicants had previously graduated from the various schools of architecture from all over the Soviet Union. Among those 99 only 24 were finally admitted to the Academy’s doctoral school.

In the report, published in the first issue of the “Academy of Architecture” Ludvig claims that applicants demonstrated significant disadvantages of their previous educational experience: low cultural awareness, lack of associative thinking, architectural imagination and creativity, and finally, amateurism and incompetence. So, if we try to invert these claims, we would see that architectural school’s graduate in 1934 should have high level of cultural erudition and especially a good knowledge of history and theory of architecture, be good in design and have some practical skills in construction. But what was the barriers that prevented architectural schools from raising the professionals of this kind? These issues were in the centre of the second stage of the debate on architectural education, which took place on 20 – 23 of May 1935 in Leningrad, where the Union of the Soviet Architects called a conference of its members.

## Debates on Architectural Education: Stage 2

The artistic conference of Soviet architects in May 1935, in fact, was preparatory to the 1st Congress of the Union of Soviet Architects. Each creative union formed as a result of the 1932 decree “On literary and artistic organizations” held congresses at which program documents were adopted, ideology was developed, and general questions of creative work were discussed. Writers were the first to hold their congress (1934), while architects needed more time to organize such a large-scale event. The artistic conference, which will be discussed in this section, became a kind of rehearsal for the First Congress, therefore it received a lot of attention from the professional press.

The main question raised at the meeting was formulated as follows: “an assessment of our architectural practice in recent years, an assessment of those creative positions and methods that govern our architecture.” Of course, the main questions were about socialist realism in architecture, the attitude to the classical heritage and the concept of the classics, but in the light of the famous Stalinist speech about cadres (“Cadres decide everything!”)<sup>86</sup>, Which he uttered before the graduation of the academicians of the Red Army on May 4, 1935, questions professional training of architects took an important place on the agenda of the meeting.

The editorial article published following the May 1935 meeting in the journal “Architecture of the USSR” states that “unfortunately, the most important historical decision of the party on architectural education is being implemented by the relevant institutions very slowly”.<sup>87</sup> However, the authors of the article continue, “in recent years, architecture has been enriched by such an important achievement as the organization of the All-Union Academy of Architecture, which is intensively adjusting its educational and research work; [...] The quality of teaching and the general routine of educational life in the central architecture universities have improved significantly”.<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless, the authors argue, “the general condition of the higher and secondary schools of architecture is still far from being up to par.”

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<sup>86</sup> Stalin I. V. “Speech at the Kremlin Palace at the Graduation of Academicians of the Red Army on May 4, 1935” (In Russian: Сталин И. В. «Речь в Кремлевском Дворце на Выпуске Академиков Красной Армии 4 мая 1935 года»)

<sup>87</sup> «...к сожалению, важнейшее историческое решение партии об архитектурном образовании проводится в жизнь соответствующими учреждениями весьма медленно». (Architecture of USSR, 1934, no. 7, P. 4)

<sup>88</sup> «... за последние годы архитектура обогатилась таким важнейшим достижением, как организация Всесоюзной академии архитектуры, интенсивно налаживающей свою учебную и исследовательскую работу; [...] значительно улучшилось качество преподавания и общий распорядок учебной жизни в центральных архитектурных вузах» (Architecture of USSR, 1934, no. 7, P. 5)

The reference to the decree “On architectural education”, which was examined in detail in the previous section, allows us to compare the positions from the decree and the claims of the leadership of the Union of Architects. In fact, as we discussed above, the decree itself concerned mainly the capital’s educational institutions – the Academy of Architecture and the Moscow Institute of Architecture and Construction – and did not offer any systemic measures to modernize architectural education in general. Therefore, the claims expressed are hardly caused by dissatisfaction with the failure to comply with the specific requirements of the decree – they were just implemented. By 1935, the Academy of Architecture had already begun active work and was a significant player in both the educational and scientific fields. Significant reforms have taken place in the schools of architecture in Moscow and Leningrad, the results of which are reflected in positive feedback from the leadership of the Union of Architects. All this, as we have already seen above, fully complies with the requirements of the decree. Apparently, the claims made at the May meeting and reflected on the pages of the main professional media were caused not so much by the non-fulfilment of the letter as by the spirit of the decree, as well as by the general bewilderment about what else needs to be done in order to establish an educational process corresponding both the values of the architectural community and the requirements of the state and society for the organization of professional education in general.

The leadership of the Union sets out its ideas about how the professional training of an architect should be organized in the same article:

“The preparation of an architect has always been, in all eras, very long and multi-stage. Of great importance in this training is the direct transfer of skills and techniques of craftsmanship by major architects to young novice architects. Meanwhile, our architectural school has not yet succeeded in attracting the greatest masters of architecture to pedagogical work, to the leadership of educational design. The teaching of architectural disciplines is, moreover, for the most part an armchair character, the introduction of future architects with the great works of architecture, with the monuments of world architecture is very poorly organized. If, we repeat, more or less tangible successes have been achieved by central universities (the Moscow Architectural Institute, the Leningrad Academy of Arts), then the organization of training at the architectural faculties of local construction universities still requires a radical reorganization, the involvement of qualified forces, a decisive update of textbooks, laboratories, library funds, etc. etc.

The setting of art disciplines in secondary schools is of great importance for the training of highly qualified architectural personnel. The development of graphic skills and spatial thinking even in preschool age plays a critical role in shaping the future architect.

The training of an architect, of course, does not end within the walls of a higher school or even an academy. A long period of actual apprenticeship within the walls of a design workshop and at a construction site begins. In our design workshops and offices, too little attention is paid to creative work with young personnel. Young architects should receive help and qualified guidance from the master within the walls of the workshop. The whole arrangement of the work of the design workshop should be aimed at creating a creative environment for both senior and young architectural personnel.”<sup>89</sup>

If one may look at this text through the lenses of an educational researcher, one will notice that different educational forms are mixed in presented picture of a desired professional path: the development of artistic skills should begin at school and for those children who show high abilities and interest in drawing, continue in additional classes (or “kruzhki” – the form of the out-of-school educational activity which was popular in USSR; more complex description of “kruzhki” will be presented later); then a period of formal vocational training begins, after which, however, the graduate cannot be considered a mature specialist; he

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<sup>89</sup> «Подготовка архитектора была всегда, во все эпохи, очень длительной и многоступенчатой. Громадное значение в этой подготовке имеет непосредственная передача навыков и приемов мастерства крупными зодчими молодым начинающим архитекторам. Между тем, нашей архитектурной школе до сих пор еще не удалось привлечь крупнейших мастеров архитектуры к педагогической работе, к руководству учебным проектированием. Преподавание архитектурных дисциплин носит к тому же большей частью кабинетный характер, очень слабо поставлено ознакомление будущих архитекторов с великими произведениями зодчества, с памятниками мировой архитектуры. Если, повторяем, более или менее ощутимые успехи достигнуты центральными вузами (Московский архитектурный институт, Ленинградская академия художеств), то постановка обучения на архитектурных факультетах местных строительных вузов еще требует коренной реорганизации, привлечения квалифицированных сил, решительного обновления учебных пособий, лабораторий, библиотечных фондов и т.д. Громадное значение для подготовки высококвалифицированных архитектурных кадров имеет постановка художественных дисциплин в средней школе. Развитие графических навыков и пространственного мышления еще в дошкольном возрасте играет важнейшую роль в формировании будущего архитектора. Подготовка архитектора, понятно, не заканчивается в стенах высшей школы или даже в академии. Начинается вслед за тем длительный период фактического ученичества в стенах проектной мастерской и на стройке. В наших проектных мастерских и конторах уделяется еще слишком мало внимания творческой работе с молодыми кадрами. Молодые архитекторы должны получать в стенах мастерской помощь и квалифицированное руководство со стороны мастера. Вся постановка работы проектной мастерской должна быть направлена к тому, чтобы создать творческую обстановку как для старших, так и для молодых архитектурных кадров» (Architecture of USSR, 1934, no. 7, P. 8)

completes his studies in the workshop through a system of informal mentoring relationships with senior members of the team. The problem, however, as we have seen, was that not all masters had the opportunity and ability to be involved in the pedagogical process even at the level of their own workshop, not to mention teaching students in schools of architecture. Therefore, the main principle of architectural education, voiced by the Union of Architects at the May meeting in 1935 - “direct transfer of skills and techniques of mastery by large architects to young novice architects” - could not be implemented in the existing system. The success of such work is too dependent on the individual relationships that develop in the “student - master” pair, therefore it is impossible to replicate it for mass practice. Nevertheless, it is precisely the mass and rapid training of specialists that is what the Party demanded from the education system. It is important that specialists leave the educational institutions for the labour market at a predictable moment in time (hence the strict time limits for training adopted in the Soviet education system) and with a predictable set of knowledge, skills and abilities that is the same for all representatives of this profession from Moscow to Vladivostok (a consequence of this requirements are educational standards adopted at the state level – they describe what a graduate of any university should know and be able to do in each specialty). Of course, the individual approach did little to fit into such a rigid framework. However, as we will see later, the idea of a personal touch has been cultivated in the professional environment for some time.

Thus, conference’s participants were not satisfied with the work that had been done since the issue of the decree “On architectural education” (1933). Despite the positive steps (among which they mention the establishment of the Academy of Architecture), “the general situation in the higher and vocational architectural schools is far from its peak”. The participants were not satisfied with the resources available to the schools and institutes, with the curricula, but most of all – with the quality of teaching. They discussed the direct transfer of knowledge from a master to a student as a main mechanism of the professional development and complained that “our architectural schools still fail to attract the great masters of architecture to the teaching and supervising”. Looking ahead, it is possible to say that every discussion on the educational issues started from the complains that those who taught, were not skilled enough, and those who were good enough as the architects, did not want to teach.

Unlike the previous stage of the debate, where the number of participants was limited by the stakeholders from the Board of the Union of the Soviet Architects, this stage was open to the professional community. The participants of the 1935 conference focused on the peculiar

weaknesses, like the lack of the qualified teaching staff, outdated textbooks, lack of students' practice on the construction sites, not enough visual materials that could introduce "cultural heritage" to the students. The "mastery of cultural heritage" was named as a main goal of the higher architectural education by every speaker. Another important thing is that participants from all-over the country were eager to discuss the problems of education in general, not only in one or two metropolitan institutions which were mentioned in the 1933 decree. It turned out that regional educational institutions had similar problems.

The contradiction that defines the whole discussion on architectural education in 1930-s on this stage becomes very clear. On the one hand, the Soviet state required a large number of architects to be prepared in a very short time to fulfil the needs of the mass construction. According to the official documents, for example, Moscow Institute of Architecture should have taught 600 students in total and the Academy of Architecture should have provided places for 100 post-graduate students (as we shall see, only 24 students were accepted to the Academy in the first year). On the other hand, as mentioned above, the close contact between a master and his students (one to one or in the small groups) was still considered as the best teaching method. Thus, if the real number of students in architectural educational institutions reached the target indicators, it was an extremely low probability, that every student had a highly qualified supervisor who could spend with him or her enough time. However, as we can see from the conference's results, published in the official magazine of the Union, this contradiction was not perceived by the Union's authorities and rank-and-file members.

## The First Congress of the Soviet Architects: A Section on Architectural Education

The third stage of the discussion took place on the I Congress of the Soviet Architects in June 1937, where problems of education and professional development received a special attention. The Congress was an extremely important event for the professional architectural community: the preparations took almost six years, and the key decisions on the most important professional problems were expected. Architectural education received a special section, which took one day – 23<sup>rd</sup> of June. It consisted of two key-note presentations (Mikhail Kryukov spoke about current state of the architectural education in the USSR and Ivan Zholtovsky described the ideal way of architect's professional development) and a debate; 35 delegates from all over the country (Moscow, Leningrad, Tomsk, Novosibirsk, Tbilisi, Tashkent, Kharkov and other cities) took part in it.

Mikhail Kryukov started his talk from the statement that, despite the quality of professional development in architecture improved since 1933, many problems still needed to be solved. He complains that many architectural schools aim to produce “a universal artist-architect” and mechanically combine disciplines that have little to do with architecture and represent the political interests of departments. As a representative of such approach to teaching process Kryukov names Leningrad Institute of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture<sup>90</sup> – as we have already seen, this institution was quite independent in the organization of the teaching process, and unsurprisingly caused resentment in the capital. Kryukov claims that neither artistic, nor engineering parts of educational process are not satisfactory in a vast majority of architectural schools all over the country: the teachers of the artistic disciplines do not pay attention to the peculiar architectural needs, and thus, for example, students cannot produce architectural drawings of satisfactory quality; and the time given to the engineering disciplines is enough only to get students familiar with the very basic principles of construction, which, according to Kryukov, is definitely not enough for a real-life architectural practice. As a reason for that, Kryukov names a lack of highly qualified teaching staff, lack of textbooks and relevant literature, lack of supplies – all these reasons are already familiar to us from the previous stage of the discussion. Moreover, when Kryukov proceeds to consider the situation in the All-Union

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<sup>90</sup> Report by M.V.Kryukov at the I All-Union Congress of Soviet Architects. 1937. RGALI. F. 674. Inv. 2. File 40. P. 4 – 22. (In Russian: ‘Доклад М. В. Крюкова На I Всесоюзном Съезде Советских Архитекторов’, 1937, РГАЛИ. Ф. 674. Оп. 2. Ед.хр. 40. Л. 4–22.).

Academy of Architecture, his rhetoric remains the same: best architects don't want to teach and the students want to study only under a supervision of the best architects and refuse to work with anyone else (what leads to the increase of the drop-out rates), lack of resources (buildings, dormitories, paper, drawing supplies, etc.), low quality of research and publications in most of the workshops, lack of Soviet (written in the USSR, not translated from other languages) books on architectural theory and practice, etc. At the end Kryukov does not provide any answers, leaving the problems unsolved. All he does is asking a professional community for help but does not propose any mechanisms that would stimulate architects to involve in the educational process deeper, relying only to the community's good will. His speech raises the institutional issues of mass architectural education in the context of limited resources and the lack of support from the professional community. For the Soviet state and for the community of architects Academy still was the leading institution which should be an example for the rest of the country. So, the public on the Congress was not satisfied with Kryukov's report, even though the problems he raised were absolutely familiar to every member of the Union involved both in teaching or in supervision over the young colleagues. Here we should remember that in less than a year after the Congress, in February 1938 Kryukov will be arrested and sent to GULAG and those people who came to the Academy after him, blamed Kryukov in all Academy's failures.

But was the situation really as bad, as Kryukov describes? By 1937 Academy's publishing house provides architects and general public with great amount of literature of various kind: historical treatises, handbooks, manuals, images and even the postcards (total number of printed items in 1937 was more than 120 000 – this will be described in the following paragraphs). The Academy's Cabinet of History and Theory of Architecture worked on the new multi-volume textbook "The History of World Architecture". The professors in the Academy's workshops were well-known and respected professionals, like an architect of Lenin's Mausoleum Alexey Schusev, Zholtovsky's closest pupils Georgy Golts and Sergei Kozhin, or Heinrich Ludvig, an architect known for his talent as a teacher of architectural design. Thus, the Academy's students were supplied with all the things that were necessary to become "the best architects in the world", as the Communist Party and the Union of the Soviet Architects required. However, in his talk Kryukov decided to emphasize the negative aspects of the teaching process. The reason for this strategy probably was the popularity of the concept "self-criticism" (samokritika) in the Stalinist society. A person, who is making a public statement, first should have admit his or her mistake to "pay a symbolic taxation to a higher



authority”.<sup>91</sup> Kryukov, as a skilled bureaucrat, was obviously well-aware of this ritual. On the other hand, as a historian J. Arch Getty points out, the self-criticism ritual took place in the very peculiar circumstances. It is an example of an “apology ritual” in which the apology element served to affirm the “mistake,” to pronounce a lesson to others below not to make the same mistake, and to recognize the status and rights of the party receiving the apology (the leadership) to set the rules”<sup>92</sup>. On the other hand, this ritual occurred when a person did not fit into the Party or community guidance. Thus, considering Kryukov’s arrest in the following year, he might have been aware, that neither professional community, nor the Party leaders were not satisfied with his work as Academy’s rector, and this act of self-criticism was aimed to aware both sides, that he concedes his mistakes.

Finally, it seems interesting to describe, how Kryukov perceives foreign experience: during 1935–1936, one year before the congress, he visited several European countries (including Italy, where in 1935 he attended the World Congress of Architecture in Rome) and USA with a particular aim to learn the best practices of the leading architectural schools. For instance, he was very excited by the project of MIT dean of the department of architecture William Emerson, who, according to Kryukov, had implemented a following practice on a regular basis. Each year the university buys a piece of land, where the first- and the second-year architectural students build a house under the supervision of the faculty members and, when a house is complete, sells it to buy another piece of land. However, Kryukov does not mention that Emerson managed to bring this idea to life only once – one year **after** Kryukov’s talk on the Congress and one year before Emerson’s own retirement – in 1938.<sup>93</sup> Before that date, Emerson was trying to receive permissions from university and faculty members. The implementation of this project obviously was not as simple, as it sounds in Kryukov’s talk. Emmerson himself and his successors on the dean’s position were never able to repeat this experience. It is likely that Emerson shared his idea to Kryukov, when he was visiting US, and Kryukov perceived it (or wanted to present to the Soviet community) as an established real-life practice. We can only guess, if a reason for that was Kryukov’s lack of language and

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<sup>91</sup> J. Arch Getty, ‘Samokritika Rituals in the Stalinist Central Committee, 1933-38’, *The Russian Review*, 58.1 (1999), 49–70.

<sup>92</sup> Getty.

<sup>93</sup> Emily Mace, ‘Emerson, William (1873-1957)’, *Harvard Square Library*, 2012 <<https://www.harvardsquarelibrary.org/biographies/william-emerson/>> [accessed 27 May 2020].

communication skills during the visit, so he misunderstood Emerson, or he deliberately wanted to embellish the story.

On the second part of the Congress session dedicated to the architectural education, Ivan Zholtovsky presented his speech in a completely different manner. He dived into to the general problems of the architect's professional development and presented it as an informal narrative – one of which he was so famous for. Zholtovsky shared to the community his own thoughts and ideas on how to raise a good professional without any references to the formal requirements and institutions. Here are some examples:

“In front of me there is a young man<sup>94</sup> aged 18–20: an open and bold face, a cheerful, inquisitive look. This is one of those young men who conquer the north pole and vigilantly guard the borders of our country. He just graduated from a 10-year-school or art college and assures me that he feels a calling for architecture and wants to become an architect.

I must make sure in him, because architecture, like other arts, requires special talent. Architect-artist has a special susceptibility to the outside world, a special mentality.

I ask my interlocutor, listen to him, look at his drawings and see that he was not mistaken. First of all, I see that he is not a white-handed woman, and if he does not master carpentry or any other craft, he still has a tendency to do this kind of work, he loves the material.

I see in my interlocutor an extremely valuable trait - technical curiosity, interest in how this or that device functions, how this or that structure is built. From all this, I can conclude that my interlocutor does not perceive the outside world schematically, that he does not think ..., that he imagines the forms of objects tangibly, voluminously, in three dimensions. That is what every architect, not even a beginner, should always think. All thoughts should be formed in him not in the plane, but in volume, he should think in volume. This is the most important moment of an architect's formal talent.

Further, I am convinced that he sees and correctly distinguishes not only form but also colour, in other words, he perceives the outside world with all its concrete completeness. But such a perception is always associated with a great love of nature, and I feel this love in my interlocutor, although it may not be realized and manifests itself only in a heightened interest in science lessons at school. In turn, love of nature is for me a sign of the presence, although not even developed, of an aesthetic feeling, a sense of beauty, the rudiment of artistic taste, and

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<sup>94</sup> In his narrative Zholtovsky always refers to male students.

without taste there will be no architect. Thus, I see the ability of aesthetic judgment, the ability to distinguish beauty from the ugly, truthful and expressive from everything far-fetched and formless.

The young man knows and loves Pushkin, he is a diligent listener, already versed in classical music and masters of vocal and instrumental performance. Finally, I find out that he managed to acquire, albeit modest, but still necessary skills for image on the plane. He can correctly depict on a scale the diagram of the device that he is talking about, he can provide a drawing in watercolour, no worse than his comrades in school. My interlocutor really was not mistaken in choosing a profession”.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> I. V. Zholtovsky's report at the 1st All-Union Congress of Soviet Architects. 1937. RGALI. F. 674. Inv. 2. File 40. P. 98 – 132. (In Russian: 'Доклад И. В. Жолтовского На I Всесоюзном Съезде Советских Архитекторов', 1937, РГАЛИ. Ф. 674. Оп. 2. Ед.хр. 40. Л. 98 – 132.).

«Передо мной молодой человек лет 18 – 20: открытое и смелое лицо, веселый, пылкий взгляд. Это один из тех юношей, которые завоевывают северный полюс и зорко охраняют границы нашего отчества. Он только что окончил 10-летку или художественный техникум и уверяет меня, что чувствует в себе призвание к архитектуре и хочет сделаться архитектором.

Я должен убедиться, ведь архитектура, как и другие искусства, требует особой одарённости. Архитектор-художник обладает особой восприимчивостью к внешнему миру, особым складом ума.

Я расспрашиваю своего собеседника, прислушиваюсь к нему, приглядываюсь к его рисункам и вижу, что он не ошибся. Прежде всего, я вижу, что он не белоручка, и, если он не владеет столярным или каким-нибудь другим ремеслом, он всё же обладает тяготением к такого рода занятиям, он любит материал.

Я вижу в моем собеседнике чрезвычайно ценную черту – техническую любознательность, интерес к тому, как функционирует тот или иной прибор, как построено то или иное сооружение. Из всего этого я могу заключить, что мой собеседник воспринимает внешний мир не схематично, что мыслит не..., что формы предметов он представляет себе осязательно, объёмно, в трёх измерениях. Так и должен думать всегда каждый архитектор, даже не начинающий. Все мысли должны у него оформляться не в плоскости, а в объёме, он должен думать объёмно. Это самый важный момент формальной одарённости архитектора.

Далее я убеждаюсь, что он видит и правильно различает не только форму, но и цвет, иначе говоря, он воспринимает внешний мир со всей его конкретной полнотой. Но такое восприятие всегда связано с большой любовью к природе, и эту любовь я чувствую в своём собеседнике, хотя она может быть не осознана и проявляется только в повышенном интересе к урокам естествознания в школе. В свою очередь, любовь к природе является для меня признаком наличия, хотя даже не развитого, но эстетического чувства, чувства красоты, зачатком художественного вкуса, а без вкуса не будет архитектора. Таким образом, я вижу способность эстетического суждения, способность отличать прекрасное от безобразного, правдивое и выразительное от всего надуманного и бесформенного.

Юноша хорошо знает и любит Пушкина, он прилежный радиослушатель, уже разбирающийся в музыкальной классике и в мастерах вокально-инструментального исполнения. Наконец, я узнаю, что он успел приобрести, правда скромные, но всё же необходимые навыки изображения на плоскости. Он может правильно и в масштабе изобразить схему прибора, о котором говорит,

As we can see, Zholtovsky gives no formal requirements for his perfect student (nothing like “he should be able to draw this and that or should have an experience in this or that”) but the listeners get the full impression of what kind of person the perfect candidate should be: brave, honest, educated, curious, loving nature, music and poetry. Most of Zholtovsky’s requirements are related to a personality, not to the skills that the candidate should already have. Skills are what Zholtovsky is going to give, so he is looking for the right person to take them. In other words, Zholtovsky claims that he can turn any young man into architect, if he or she “feels calling” to architecture and have certain personality characteristics, that Zholtovsky considers relevant.

After he found a right person, Zholtovsky starts to train him or her. According to Zholtovsky, each architect should pass two stages with his master, before he or she could become an independent professional. Each stage takes 2 or 3 years (here one can recall the “ages” system in the Imperial Academy of Arts), but sometimes can be even longer, depending upon the student’s individual pace and his or her relationships with the master. Here, again we see no formal requirements, which would be so important to a bureaucrat like Kryukov and to the Soviet vuz system as a mass production of skilled professionals; the specific relationships of master and student completely define the educational process. During the first stage Zholtovsky would simultaneously work with a student in three areas. First of all – the development of his or her drawing skills, so the student should be able to perform his or her idea in a variety of technics. Zholtovsky gives a lot of attention to the description of how exactly his student should be able to draw. Describing the necessity of one or other drawing technique to a modern Soviet architect, Zholtovsky often refers to the “masters of Renaissance” who, in his mind, considered some skills as necessary.

But more important for the topic of this research is that Zholtovsky perceives drawing as a basis for the history of architecture: “Along with the full-scale drawing, it is necessary to develop the ability to copy good originals, whether it be ornamental casts or model drawings by great masters. And here again, it is necessary to ensure that the student thinks and works not algebraically, but stereometrically, three-dimensionally. So, for example, it is not enough to draw three-dimensional ornamental fragments. At the same time, the practical study of beautiful examples and the ability to reproduce them are an excellent occasion to bring the

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он может дать рисунок акварелью, не хуже товарищей по десятилетке. Мой собеседник действительно не ошибся в выборе профессии»

young architect to the problem of history. Having worked through a section of the Florence dome or an antique frieze ornament, a student will never forget what I tell him about Brunelleschi or the construction of an antique ornament. And if I show him other works of the same master in connection with his work or compare the construction of a Greek ornament with the construction of a Roman one and advise him to read some interesting passages concerning these eras, he will receive useful and specific information on the history of architecture, which in two half - three years in their entirety will bring more real benefits and will be better remembered than the usual course in the history of architecture with countless flickering before the eyes of transparencies”.<sup>96</sup>

Alongside with the development of the drawing skills, Zholtovsky insists that a young architect from the very first day of his or her training should be involved to the construction process. “Under the guidance of experienced craftsmen, he should see how the foundation is laid, how the masonry is made, how the masonry, carpentry, carpentry, plastering, painting work are performed. Moreover, he must not only see all this, but also learn to do the simplest work himself, he must, for example, with his own hands, with his own muscular feeling, make sure that the mortar is more elastic under the weight of a brick, compared to cement. He should get a clear idea of what are the properties of each material and the role of construction, what is the sequence and meaning of the totality of the construction process. Listening to a course in construction equipment and material technology will allow him to systematize and consolidate the knowledge that he has gained from experience and in kind”.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid. P. 114.

«Наряду с натурным рисунком, необходимо развивать умение копировать хорошие оригиналы, будь то орнаментальные слепки или образцовые чертежи и отмывки крупных мастеров. И здесь опять-таки необходимо следить за тем, чтобы ученик мыслит и работал не алгебраически, а стереометрически, объемно. Так, например, недостаточно срисовать трехмерные орнаментальные фрагменты. Вместе с тем практическое изучение прекрасных образцов и умение их воспроизводить, являются прекрасным поводом подвести молодого архитектора к проблеме истории. Проработав разрез Флорентийского купола или орнамент античного фриза, учащийся никогда не забудет того, что я ему расскажу о Брунеллеско или о построении античного орнамента. И если я ему в связи с выполняемыми им работами покажу другие произведения того же мастера или сопоставлю построение греческого орнамента с построением римского и посоветую ему прочесть несколько интересных отрывков, касающихся этих эпох, он получит полезные и конкретные сведения по истории архитектуры, которые за два с половиной – три года в своей совокупности принесут больше реальной пользы и крепче запомнятся, чем обычный курс истории архитектуры с бесчисленным количеством мелькающий перед глазами диапозитивов.»

<sup>97</sup> Ibid. P. 114–115.

«Под руководством опытных мастеров он должен видеть, как кладется фундамент, как производится кладка, как производятся каменотесные, плотничьи, столярные, штукатурные,

But the most important role in the architect's professional growth Zholtovsky gives to the development of the student's creative personality and architectural thinking. For this purpose, Zholtovsky advises to send student to the real workshops, so he or she could watch, how "real" architects do their job. "He will see the big board, the big drawings on them, he will think – "that's who I will soon become". He will get the hope for the future and a purpose to study". But of course, the creativity could not be developed without the constant exercises. Zholtovsky propose to give student an individual task (to design at the beginning simple and then more and more sophisticated objects) each month: "this should not be an abstract task, or a task to copy an example. He should know how to use the principles of different solutions, but in no case to copy them, and all the more, to copy the selected forms or details". All these tasks master should narrowly discuss with a student to help him to find what was good and what should be improved further. To do so, a master should establish with a student a very close – "intimate", as Zholtovsky says – contact. A master should talk to a student as often as possible and discuss not only the problems that raise during the learning process, but to develop student's prospects, values and views. A master should encourage student to give his or her opinion on the various problems of culture and nature.

After two or three years of such training Zholtovsky propose to introduce student to the workshop and make him or her to compete with the more experienced architects – he insists that the student, who completed the first stage of education, should start working in workshop and participate in external and internal (ran by a master) competitions on equal basis with more experienced colleagues. On this stage a student will learn mostly from his peers, from older and more experienced ones. A master should support him or her in crisis and help to deal with loses and learn from every mistake he or she makes. So, for the next years a master becomes a coach, and all the knowledge and skills that are necessary for the real-life work student would gain by himself in a very competitive environment.

Zholtovsky does not conceal that he takes his perfect model from the old, pre-Revolutionary Imperial Academy of Arts, the model, that he experienced himself, while he was

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малярные работы. Причем он должен не только все это видеть, но и научиться самому производить простейшие работы, он должен, например, собственными руками, собственным мускульным чувством убедиться в большей эластичности известкового раствора под тяжестью кирпича, по сравнению с цементом. Он должен получить ясное представление, каковы свойства каждого материала и роль постройки, какова последовательность и смысл совокупности строительного процесса. Прослушивание курса по строительной технике и технологии материалов позволит ему систематизировать и закрепить те знания, которые он получил на опыте и в натуре».

a student. In this context, there is no wonder, that he does not care about the exact timing: he belonged to the Academy of Arts for 11 years, much longer than an average architect student in the end of the XIX century.

Zholtofsky's talk shows very clearly, why, by that moment, he was the most highly sought teacher. He represents a role model of a perfect teacher, a master that every student is eager to have – attentive to the student's capabilities and needs, sympathetic to his or her achievements and failures, believing in his or her strength. A teacher of this kind builds close – “intimate” – relationships with his student; he is interested not only in a professional development, but in a personal growth of the student, which, by his own opinion, will lead to the great professional success. It is interesting to mention that in his long and passionate speech Zholtofsky never uses plural when relates to the student. It helps him to create an impression of one-to-one interaction with the student, where other people relegate to the background and become the silent helpers in a growth of a new talent. Of course, this had little to do with the reality, where the Soviet state required a mass production of the skilled workers, and the professoriate in schools of architecture shared its time between practice, teaching and administrative duties, when teaching often was not a priority. As we saw earlier, Zholtofsky himself refused to become a head of the Academy of Architecture and left formal teaching responsibilities to his pupils. Thus, he was free to create an image of a perfect workshop (in a medieval sense) where a master and the older workers put all their effort to a professional training of the younger colleague, and this colleague enters the world of architecture, like Alice enters the Wonderland. He was free from any institutional responsibilities and thus able to create a perfect picture which would support his charisma as a great master.

Zholtofsky represents the second side of the contradiction that have been described earlier: for him, as for the many other members of the professional community, the professional development of an architect is a path that the student should pass side by side with a master. A master looks for a person with a very peculiar (and quite rare, we should say) set of characteristics – Zholtofsky's description, where he mentions a love to Pushkin and classical music reminds a principal character of 1936 Soviet movie “The Severe Young Man” by Abram Room and Yury Olesha – a young sportsman and Komsomol member Grigory, who is concerned with the essential problems of love and existence. It is doubtful that Zholtofsky saw it, because the studio decided to avoid it in wide release for the censorship reasons. However, considering the similarities of the perfect student image by Zholtofsky and Room's “severe

young man” it is worth mentioning that the main reason why this film was kept away from the wide public, was “the gross deviations from the style of socialist realism”.<sup>98</sup>

A master from Zholtovsky’s perfect world is involved in student’s everyday life, he knows his student’s habits and dispositions, and he does not care, where to work with the student: in the vocational school, in the institute, in the Academy, at home, in his own workshop, etc. Zholtovsky’s talk is about the relationship in a couple of the master and the student, but not about the staff, dormitories, libraries and other formalities. For a perfect student in a perfect world, described by Zholtovsky, the master is an only source, which replaces all the curricula, textbooks, lectures, slides, and the master’s feedback worths more than any examination mark. Zholtovsky’s teaching work is unique: the master could not have a lot of students like this. Unfortunately, this approach does not meet Kryukov’s (and the declared Soviet state’s) needs in mass architectural education.

But what was it really like to be Zholtovsky’s student? From the vast amount of statements we know, that his teaching method was highly attractive to the young architects<sup>99</sup>, not only the students from the Moscow Institute of Architecture or the Academy of Architecture, but for the young professionals, who had already received their training under the supervision of other well-known architects, the faces of Russian architectural avant-garde: Moisey Ginzburg, Konstantin Melnikov, Ivan Leonidov, etc. For example, as we saw earlier, the members of “Zholtovsky’s quadriga” supported the story that they came to Zholtovsky to improve their artistic skills but obtained also his ideology and values and worked as the neoclassics till the end of their days.

In Zholtovsky’s obituary the member of “quadriga” Sergey Kozhin writes: “Zholtovsky strongly believed in the consistent development of art, in its steadiness. He ran contrary to the theory of “abruptness”, on which some philosophical and aesthetical doctrines insist. He habituated us, his students, to read and study Vitruvius, Alberti, Palladio, Daniele Barbaro, as well as Diderot, Rousseau, Viollet-le-Duc. Aestetical and philosophical system of

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<sup>98</sup> Blyumbaum A.B., ‘The Living Statue and Embodied Music: The Contexts of the’ Strict Youth ‘, *New Literary Review*, 1, 2008 <<https://magazines.gorky.media/nlo/2008/1/ozhivayushhaya-statuya-i-voploshhennaya-muzyka-konteksty-strogogo-yunoshi.html>> [accessed 27 May 2020]. (In Russian: Блюмбаум А. Б., ‘Оживающая Статуя и Воплощенная Музыка: Контексты «Строгого Юноши»’, *Новое Литературное Обозрение*, 1, 2008 <<https://magazines.gorky.media/nlo/2008/1/ozhivayushhaya-statuya-i-voploshhennaya-muzyka-konteksty-strogogo-yunoshi.html>> [accessed 27 May 2020].

<sup>99</sup> Firsova.



Zholtovsky's thought in architecture was based on the scrupulous study of nature, its perfection, laws, harmonious proportionality".<sup>100</sup> It is worth mentioning, that by Zholtovsky's death in 1959 Kozhin lived in USA for more than 10 years and successfully worked in Richard Neutra workshop: during the Second World War Kozhin was taken prisoner and was released by American army and managed to immigrate in the USA. Thus, he obtained extremely diverse professional experience and could reflect on it from the various points of view.

Selim Khan-Magomedov, one of the most important scholar in the field of architectural history of 1930-s in USSR, names two reasons of the increase of the Zholtovsky's popularity. First, after the second, open, stage of the competition for the Palace of Soviets (1931-32) where Zholtovsky receives one of the three highest prizes with his extremely conservative, by that time, neoclassical project (the other two were received by Boris Iofan and an American architect Hector Hamilton), his authority as a master of highest qualification, especially in the artistic field, was supported by the official acknowledgement. In 1930 – 1932 the ideas of constructivists and functionalists still dominated in the professional community, and Zholtovsky with his defiant adherence to Renaissance looked marginal. After the winning the first prize, his popularity among young architects increased rapidly. In 1933, on the place of workshops of Mosproekt, which was a system of small interrelated workshops, led by young architects, as well as the known masters (including Zholtovsky), were created the famous Mossovet workshops. One of the workshops was given to Zholtovsky, and some others were supposed to be given to the young architects, like already mentioned Grigory Goltz or Mikhail Barsch, who previously were the heads of workshops in Mosproekt. Many of them refused to lead their own workshops and insisted to join Zholtovsky's workshop, even though it was a step back in their careers. Alongside with Zholtovsky, the Mossovet workshops were headed by such a known architect, like Ivan Fomin, Konstantin Melnikov and Alexey Schusev, but they were way less popular employers.

Khan-Magomedov in his book "The Architecture of the Soviet Avant-Garde" provides the pieces of interviews with those, who were in this "third call of Zholtovsky's school" in the

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<sup>100</sup> S. N. Kozhin, 'Ivan Vladislavovich Zholtovsky. Obituary.

«Жолтовский убежденно верил в преемственность развития искусства, в его непрерывность. Ему была чужда теория «скачкообразности», на которой настаивают некоторые философские и эстетические учения. Нас, своих учеников, он приучал к чтению и изучению Витрувия, Альберти, Палладио, Даниеле Барбаро, а также – Дидро, Руссо, Виолле-ле-Дюка. Эстетико-философская система мышления Жолтовского в архитектуре покоилась на основах тщательнейшего изучения природы, ее совершенства, закономерности, гармоничной пропорциональности».

middle of 1930-s, where they try to explain why they gave up their independence and went to Zholtovsky's workshop as the ordinary architects<sup>101</sup>. All of them say that the main reason was to increase their artistic skills, which, they thought, they would apply to their own ideas, mostly constructivist. But they have quickly changed their mind, as they fell for Zholtovsky's charm. For example, Mikhail Sinyavsky, who came to work with Zholtovsky in 1933, says: "Zholtovsky is a mysterious figure. He proposed a specific science, philosophy, and theory of architecture. This is the number one thinker in architecture, the most educated architect of our time, but maybe he is still not a modern architect, an architect not of the 20th century. Huge knowledge, great taste. Scientist and real architect. And although he accumulated much more than generated, he translated the accumulated meaningfully". An architect Georgy Zundblat agrees: "Zholtovsky had an impeccable taste. He showed that architecture is not as simple as the constructivists thought, that it is a very complex and difficult art. It was from Zholtovsky that he first learned that it is necessary to look for the proportions of the volume, the place of the window, the division, etc. And all this was very convincing. It is not a matter of concrete classical forms, but precisely of the artistic culture that Zholtovsky gave. Nobody had such an artistic culture then. If constructivists knew the principles and techniques for constructing artistic composition that Zholtovsky gave and used the system of its proportions, then their work would be at a higher artistic level. If I know anything in architecture, then I got it from Zholtovsky. In the creative team Zholtovsky dominated. His creative authority was such that, working with him, you feel like nothing".<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Khan-Magomedov, S.O., *Architecture of the Soviet Avant-garde: Social Problems* (Stroyizdat, 2001). P. 214. (In Russian: Хан-Магомедов, С.О., *Архитектура Советского Авангарда: Социальные Проблемы* (Стройиздат, 2001). С. 214.).

<sup>102</sup> Ibid. P. 217.

Синявский: «Жолтовский — это загадочная фигура. Он предложил определенную науку, философию и теорию архитектуры. Это мыслитель номер один в архитектуре, самый образованный архитектор нашего времени, но, может быть, он все же не современный архитектор, архитектор не XX в. Огромные знания, великолепный вкус. Ученый и настоящий зодчий. И хотя он многое скорее аккумулировал, чем генерировал, но транслировал аккумулированное осмысленно».

Зундблат: «Жолтовский имел безупречный вкус. Он показал, что архитектура не так проста, как считали конструктивисты, что это очень сложное и трудное искусство. Именно от Жолтовского впервые узнал, что надо искать пропорции объема, место окна, членения и т.д. И все это было очень убедительно. Дело не в конкретных классических формах, а именно в художественной культуре, которую давал Жолтовский. Такой художественной культуры тогда не было больше ни у кого. Если бы конструктивисты знали те принципы и приемы построения художественной композиции, которые давал Жолтовский, и пользовались системой его пропорций, то их работы были бы на более высоком художественном уровне. Если я что-нибудь знаю в архитектуре, то

All of Zholtovsky's students, who left any evidence of their interactions with the master, confirm, that he had a dramatic influence on their careers, professional values, artistic preferences, etc. Zholtovsky raised several generations of architects; some of his former students managed to find their own voice, and some of them remained with the master until the end of his days. Evgeny Zavadsky, Zholtovsky's student from the latest (after-War) generation, who left Zholtovsky's workshop in early 1950s to become film and theatre director, describes the situation in the workshop: "Ivan Vladislavovich raised several generations. Young people went through his school and scattered self-realization, and these last ... The master is already in his late 80s, well, it is not possible to leave him. Leaving him is impossible! You have to be with him! Till the end! But "there is no end in sight", the young people had become men a long time ago, but still remained "in the nest", although they themselves were already languishing in their independence and cut off the possibilities of an influx of fresh forces. The situation was tragicomical and, paradoxically, tied hands to both sides. Gradually, a certain sequence was established: the workshop received an order, for example, for the panel houses. Ivan Vladislavovich perceived the task as a fundamental decision – to find a new image of modern housing, a new compositional principle, a new scale, etc. After serious reflection (often out loud with us), he sketched out several designs (options) for the solution. Pupils received the right to further develop them under the scrutiny and consultation of the master. The author, of course, remained Zholtovsky. The students are brilliant developers of his ideas. Over time, each of them received an independent object and his constant consultation. But almost each of them grew into a major independent master, maybe later than he could."<sup>103</sup>

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это я получил у Жолтовского. В творческом коллективе Жолтовский господствовал. Его творческий авторитет был таков, что, работая с ним, чувствуешь себя ничем».

<sup>103</sup> Evgeny Zavadsky, 'ABOUT MARCHI. About Zholtovsky ', in MARCHI, XX Century: Collection of Memoirs in Five Volumes, 5 vols (Moscow: Salon-Press, 2006), II. (In Russian: Евгений Завадский, 'О МАРХИ. О Жолтовском', in МАРХИ, XX Век: Сборник Воспоминаний в Пяти Томах, 5 vols (Москва: Салон-Пресс, 2006), II.).

«Иван Владиславович вырастил несколько поколений. Молодые люди проходили его школу и разлетались самореализовываться, а эти последние... Учителю уже под 90, ну как его оставить. Бросить – невозможно. Надо быть с ним. до конца! А "конца и края не видно", юноши давно становились мужами, но все еще оставались "в гнезде", хотя и сами уже томились по самостоятельности и отрезали возможности притока свежих сил. Ситуация складывалась трагикомическая и, как ни парадоксально, связывала руки обеим сторонам. Постепенно установилась некая последовательность: мастерская получала заказ, например, панельные дома. Иван Владиславович воспринимал задание как принципиальное решение – найти новый образ современного жилья, новый композиционный принцип, новый масштаб и т.д. После серьезного размышления (часто вслух при нас) он набрасывал несколько эскизов (варианты) решения. Ученики получали право на дальнейшую разработку под пристальным вниманием и

From Zavadsky's memoirs we can also find out, what was it like – to compete with the older students. He describes how on his first year in the Zholtovsky's workshop he participated in the competition for the building of Borodinsky cyclorama (a memorial for the Borodino battle of 1812 in Moscow). "I remember that they entrusted us with the Borodino cyclorama, and Zholtovsky declared a "clause." At the institute, they translated this to us as "locked up," that is, without leaving the room we had to "give birth" to one or more sketches on the topic. Ivan Vladislavovich appointed it for the next day (they say, think until the morning). I became inspired and designed my favourite white-stone tent of the Ascension Church in Kolomenskoye on a huge artificial hill, crushing and rounding it a little. The next morning, sitting down at the drawing board, I drew it on a scale and received the unconditional approval of the senior comrades who put my sheet in the common folder for the boss. However, a serious analysis of our proposals for some reason did not follow. A few days later, the senior students received several sketches of Ivan Vladislavovich and began developing ... And I could only drag their drawing boards and arrange them for the Council in a best possible way..."<sup>104</sup>. We can hardly call this situation "a competition" that would stimulate a young architect to develop his or her skills and follow the best examples of the more experienced colleague. From Zavadsky's story, we more likely see that a rather strict hierarchy has been established in Zholtovsky's workshop, where older students had more access to the ideas and projects of the master, and younger ones were busy with the auxiliary functions. Thus, we can see that Zholtovsky did not always follow his own principles. The everyday life in his workshop could be in many ways different from the perfect picture that he drew in his talk in the 1937 Congress.

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консультациями мэтра. Автором, естественно, оставался Жолтовский. Ученики – блестящие разработчики его идеи. Со временем каждый из них получал самостоятельный объект и его постоянную консультацию. Но почти каждый из них вырос в крупного самостоятельного мастера, может быть, позднее, чем мог.»

<sup>104</sup> Завадский, П. С. 261

«Помню, нам поручили Бородинскую панораму, и Жолтовский объявил "клаузуру". В институте нам перевели это как "взаперти", то есть не выходя из помещения надо было "родить" один или несколько эскизов на данную тему. Иван Владиславович же назначил ее назавтра (мол, подумайте до утра). Я загорелся и на огромном насыпном холме соорудил свой любимый белокаменный шатер храма Вознесения в Коломенском, малость придавив и округлив его. Наутро, сев за доску, вычертил в масштабе и получил безусловное одобрение старших товарищей, положивших мой лист в общую папку для шефа. Однако серьезного разбора наших предложений почему-то не последовало. Через несколько дней старшие ученики получили несколько эскизов Ивана Владиславовича и начали разработку... А мне оставалось только таскать их доски и как можно лучше расставлять их для Совета...»

Thus, from the 1930-s discussion on the architectural education we can see that the professional community did not have a solid view on how to raise the young professionals. On the one hand, schools of architecture were a part of the Soviet vuz system, which since the beginning of 1930s turned into the machine for the mass production of the skilled workforce. It had nothing to do with a perfect picture drawn by Ivan Zholtovsky, a picture where a master's hand leads the student to the heights of architectural excellence. This was more Zholtovsky's mental representation of the ideal (in Platonic sense) medieval workshop, where every architect should have worked a long way from apprentice to master in his or her own pace. I describe Zholtovsky's idea of perfect architectural education in details, because this archaic picture was extremely popular among professional community. From the words of Sinyavsky, Zundblat and Kozhin, cited above, we can see that Zholtovsky's charisma influenced a whole generation of the architects who were trained in 1920s–1930s (although it is also true for the later generations, which are out of the scope of this study). The common narrative about Zholtovsky, relevant also on today's agenda, present him as a genius teacher, not available for critics<sup>105</sup>. Here I have made a first attempt to look at his ideas on professional training not only through the lenses of his close students, those, who were influenced by his charisma and professional erudition, but also through a wider context of the Soviet system of higher education. The research that would present his intellectual biography in the historical context still needs to be done.

Despite the popularity of Zholtovsky's talk among those who attended the section on architectural education on the Congress, further discussion quickly turned back to the problems of mass production of professionals with a certain set of artistic and engineering skills. In the final presentation a representative of the Leningrad branch of the Union of the Soviet Architects, professor Miron Roslavlev, a then dean of the department of architecture of Leningrad Institute of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, presented a “scheme of the preparation of the architectural staff” (see Figure 1 in the Appendix).<sup>106</sup>

This scheme reflects another part of the problem of mass professional training: the deficit of the artistic skills among general public. Young people, who wanted to become an architect, quite often did not have an opportunity to obtain basic drawing skills, necessary for

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<sup>105</sup> Firsova.

<sup>106</sup> Roslavlev M. I., ‘Scheme for the Training of Architectural Personnel’. RGALI. F. 674. Inv. 2. File. 40. P. 34. (In Russian: М. И. Рославлев, ‘Схема Подготовки Архитектурных Кадров’, РГАЛИ. Ф. 674. Оп. 2. Ед.хр. 40. Л. 34.).

the entrance examination. The proposal from the Leningrad architects was aimed at solving this problem. Their idea was to create a network of art schools as a part of the system of supplementary education for children and adults (“kruzhki”, literally translated as “circles” – a study groups on various disciplines, art, theatre, music, etc., where people study after school or work. Usually, they were separated from the school or higher education curriculum, and provided more advanced knowledge and skills, than formal education).<sup>107</sup> According to this scheme, a network of supplementary art schools should have embraced all ages, provide general public with basic drawing and painting skills, detect those who demonstrate outstanding capabilities in art and guide them to the system of professional art education. Of course, more attention was given to the youth, however, this proposal recommended to create artistic “kruzhki” also for adults, to raise artistic awareness among those who have already found their professional way.

To conclude, I can say that this discussion, which took five full years, did not bring the architectural community to any clear and performable solution on how to change the architectural education. On the one hand, the drastic requirements from the state system of higher education, demanded architects to establish a system of mass unified professional training. On the other hand, the archaic ideas of face-to-face training with no formal limits, was still popular in the professional community. Zholtovsky expressed it with a great mastery, but he would not get the tribune of the most important professional event of the decade, if his thoughts were not supported by the influential members of the community. Thus, the main contradiction between the state and the architectural community was not solved: the requirement of the mass production of the architects could not be fulfilled by the community, which considered the best way of teaching the one-to-one long and routine work of the master and a student.

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<sup>107</sup> Alexandrov D. A., ‘The Politics of Scientific’Kruzhok’: Study Circles in Russian Science and Their Transformation in the 1920s.’, in *Watershed: Soviet Biology in 1920s–1930s* (Sant Petersburg, 1997), p. 255. This article describes the “kruzhki” in the field of biology at the same period. It gives a good representation of what the “kruzhki” movement was, and I, from my personal experience, can say that it didn’t change much and that supplementary art schools had the same peculiarities, as the science ones.

## “The best architect in the world”: a professional profile of the Soviet architect in 1930s

In one of the previous paragraphs, I have already mentioned the “proficiency profile” of the Soviet architect in 1930-s. Now it is time to discuss it in detail. The expectations towards the young professionals graduating from the Soviet schools of architecture were published in 1934 in the editorial article of the Academy’s official journal “The Academy of Architecture” entitled “To educate the best architect in the world”. The journal’s editorial board included Mikhail Kryukov (Academy’s rector), Alexander Alexandrov (second vice-president of the Union of the Soviet Architects), Ivan Matsa (the head of the workshop of the history and theory of architecture in the Academy and an essential person in the Union), Heinrich Ludvig (the head of the Academy’s doctoral school) and Alexey Schusev (a professor at the Academy) – all of them were the important figures in the Soviet architectural scene, and usually the editorial article was accorded with all members of the editorial board. We can consider this text both as a deconstruction of the “proficiency” in architecture and as guidelines for all architectural schools in the country. Here they are (emphasized by me)<sup>108</sup>:

1. “A Soviet architect should acquire a correct creative method. [...] ***Socialistic architecture can be created only on the basis of the social realism.*** Realism in architecture is not simply a photoshoot of something specific, singular. Social realism in architecture is an image of typical, generalized objects, it is a method of transfiguration the reality into the synthesis of the general”<sup>109</sup>.
2. “A ***fully-featured architect cannot exist without a deep knowledge at all history of architecture, without a mastery of all richness of the culture of the past***”<sup>110</sup>.
3. “Architect is not only an artist, but also a constructor, he does not only create the image of the future monument, but he also must develop all artistic and

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<sup>108</sup> To Teach A Best Architect In the World. *Academy of Architecture*, 3, 1935, 3–5. (In Russian: ‘Воспитать Лучшего Архитектора в Мире’, *Академия Архитектуры*, 3, 1935, 3–5.).

<sup>109</sup> «Советский архитектор должен владеть правильным творческим методом. [...] Создать социалистическую архитектуру можно только на базе социалистического реализма. Реализм в архитектуре есть не просто фотоснимок с конкретного, единичного. Социалистический реализм есть прежде всего образ типического, обобщенного, он есть метод преобразования реально-конкретного в синтез общего». Академия Архитектуры, 1935б №3, стр. 4.

<sup>110</sup> Не может быть полноценного архитектора без глубокого знания всей истории архитектуры, без овладения всем богатством культуры прошлого»

technical bases of it; he must fully master the mastery, the technique of the implementation – only at this rate an architect will provide the high-quality make-up. Only this will let a soviet architect *to eliminate the inconsistency between architectural design and implementation*”<sup>111</sup>.

4. “*An architect must resolve the most complex practical and utilitarian, as well as functional and constructive tasks in the deeply elaborated artistic forms.* [...] One cannot forget that the diapason of architectural oeuvre is so wide, that its borders touch both sculpture and engineering”<sup>112</sup>.
5. “*Socialistic architecture needs an architect, who is fully armed with both the artistic mastery and technical culture.* The united architectural school should prepare this kind of architect”<sup>113</sup>.

On reading these descriptions, one may recall the definition of the “good architect” given in XVIII by Vasily Bazhenov: “A good architect should have a good understanding of the word sciences and history, be able to draw and know mathematics, stone carving and perspective; but this is not enough, he must be an honest, reasonable and reliable person; must have liveliness and taste in his considerations; without these qualities, he cannot be a perfect architect or a person useful to society”;<sup>114</sup> or remember the definition of an architect, given by the founder of the Royal Institute of British Architects Thomas Leverton Donaldson given in

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

«Архитектор не только художник, но и строитель, он не только создает образ будущего сооружения, он обязан его разработать во всех художественных и технических основах, он обязан овладеть в полной мере мастерством, техникой исполнения, – только при этих условиях архитектор обеспечит высококачественную натуру. Только это позволит советскому архитектору *ликвидировать несоответствие между архитектурным замыслом и исполнением*».

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

«Архитектор обязан разрешить сложнейшие утилитарно-практические и функционально-конструктивные задачи в глубоко проработанных художественных формах. [...] Нельзя забывать, что диапазон архитектурного творчества настолько широк, что его границы соприкасаются и со скульптурой, и с чисто инженерным искусством». Там же.

<sup>113</sup> «Социалистической архитектуре нужен архитектор, который находился бы во всеоружии художественного мастерства и технической культуры. Такого архитектора должна готовить единая архитектурная школа».

<sup>114</sup> «Добрый архитектор должен иметь хорошее понятие о словесных науках и об истории, уметь рисовать и знать математику, камнетесательство и перспективу; но сего еще не довольно, он должен быть честный, разумный и рассудительный человек; должен иметь живость и вкус в соображениях своих; без сих качеств ни совершенным архитектором, ни полезным обществу человеком он быть не может».



the middle of XIX century: “To uphold in ourselves, the character of Architects, as Men of Taste, Men of Science, Men of Honour”<sup>115</sup>. Recalling an image of a perfect student, given by Zholtofsky, it is possible to admit that there were no dramatic changes in the representation of the architectural profession since XVIII century.

Summarizing these items, we can present a “best architect in the world”, according to the leaders of the Soviet professional community. He or she is a person who perfectly mastered both the artistic skills and the required skills and knowledge in engineering and construction. In addition, this person must have deep knowledge in the field of history and theory of architecture – without them he or she cannot be considered a full-fledged specialist. The creators of the Soviet architect’s “professional profile” intended to eliminate the difference between those who graduated from art higher education institution (for example, Moscow Institute of Architecture, which succeeded VKhUTEMAS’s Department of architecture, or Leningrad Institute of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, which succeeded the Imperial Academy of Arts) and the engineering ones (such as Moscow Institute of Engineering and Construction on Institute of the Civil Engineers in Leningrad). The institutions from the first group focused on the artistic development, while disciplines in engineering and construction played an important but still secondary role in the curriculum; the situation in the second group was the opposite. So, the proposal to introduce the united architectural schools aimed to eliminate the difference in knowledge and skills between architects of various background. The Academy of Architecture should have pioneered this reform. The analysis of the Academy’s curriculum would show how successful this process was.

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<sup>115</sup> J. Mordaunt Crook, ‘Architecture and History’, *Architectural History*, 27 (1984), 555 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/1568497>>.

## Studying in the All-Union Academy of Architecture

In the previous paragraph I have described in detail the process of the establishment of the All-Union Academy of Architecture in late 1933. In this paragraph I will focus on the postgraduate education in the Academy. This paragraph continues the research line on the All-Union Academy of Architecture started in the works of Anna Opocinskaya<sup>116</sup> and Julia Kosenkova<sup>117</sup>. Its work initiated immediately. The decree “On architectural education” from 14th of October 1933 stated the Academy’s primary purpose, but of course, it required further clarifications, which followed almost immediately. At 27th of November 1933, the Central Executive Committee of Communist Party issued an additional provision<sup>118</sup>, dedicated entirely to the concise activities of the Academy of Architecture. According to it, the Academy should build its work on two interrelated tasks. First one was to develop a theory of Soviet architecture, “as a part of a socialistic culture”, which would provide new architectural theory (on the basis of Social realism), deep technical experience and artistic mastery. According to the second, the Academy should have been able to prepare “the highly qualified masters of architecture from a number of the most talented alumni of the architectural schools or the most skilful practitioners”. Mikhail Kryukov, as it was already said, became the rector of the Academy.

In the field of teaching, the Academy became home for a postgraduate school of architecture, which included two divisions: An Institute of the Postgraduate Studies and a Department of Architectural Improvement. The first one was a two years full-time postgraduate programme “for the talented architectural youth” – for those who could afford to dedicate three more years to the profound studies of architectural practice, history and theory. The second one provided part-time educational programmes for more mature professionals who already worked in the architectural workshops and would have liked to improve their qualifications on the job. These programmes lasted for two or three years. Belonging to one of this programmes meant that the students would spend half of their time on developing their knowledge in the field of history and theory of architecture, artistic mastery and construction skills, and apply this knowledge and skills immediately in their architectural practice. At the end of studies,

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<sup>116</sup> Opocinskaja, “Per Una Storia Dell’Accademia Di Architettura Pansovetica.”

<sup>117</sup> Kosenkova J. and Samokhina T. *Academic Science and Education in the History of Soviet Architecture (1933 – 1963)* (In Russian: Косенкова Ю. Л., Самохина Т. Н., “Академические Наука и Образование в Истории Советской Архитектуры (1933-1963)).”

<sup>118</sup> M. Kalinin and A. Yenukidze, ‘A Provision on The All-Union Academy of Architecture’, *The Academy of Architecture*, 1–2, 1934, 126. (In Russian: М. Калинин и А. Енукидзе. Указ о работе Всесоюзной Академии Архитектуры. Академия Архитектуры, 1–2, 1934, С. 126.).

students from both divisions must have defended their project to receive a degree of “the candidate of architecture”<sup>119</sup>. The Academy was willing to create the perfect environment for the creative learning of all groups of students: to give them the best teachers, supplies, libraries, opportunities for the independent research work, so they could “creatively acquire a true mastery based on the best examples of the classical heritage and modernity and develop their cultural awareness freely”<sup>120</sup>.

As we can see, Academy, as a representative of a broad professional community, from the one hand, and the Communist Party authorities – from the other, judged students’ development in the field of history and theory of architecture at the same level, as practical artistic and construction skills. Later the governing body of the postgraduate school established a special division of history and theory of architecture for prominent scholars in the field – first in the Department of Architectural Improvement in 1939 and 1940 – after the Department was closed – in the Institute of the Postgraduate Studies.

The provision set a number of postgraduate students in the Academy – 100 students in total, which gives approximately 20 students per year, both for the full- and part-time programmes. However, during the period of our interest, the Academy’s postgraduate school managed to reach (and exceed) this number only once – in 1934, at the very first year. The table below shows the actual number of students in the first ten years of work<sup>121</sup>.

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<sup>119</sup> Candidate of sciences (in case of architecture the degree’s holder is called “a candidate of architecture”) is the first of two doctoral level scientific degrees in USSR. It is formally classified as UNESCO ISCED level 8, “doctoral or equivalent”, and is thus officially translated into English and other languages as Doctor of Philosophy (i.e. PhD) and recognised as such. As in Germany, USSR had an additional doctoral degree, Doctor of Sciences (“doctor of architecture” in our case), which by official agreement is equivalent to habilitation. The Soviet system of academic degrees was first introduced in the USSR on 13 January 1934 by a decision of the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR, as all previous degrees, ranks and titles were abolished immediately after the October Revolution in 1917.

<sup>120</sup> ‘Our Tasks’. «... могли творчески учиться подлинному мастерству на лучших образцах классического наследия и современности, могли бы свободно развиваться и в общекультурном отношении».

<sup>121</sup> Academy of Architecture of the USSR, 10 years of the All-Union Academy of Architecture of the USSR (1934-1944): Materials for the VI session of the All-Union Academy of Architecture of the USSR. (Moscow: Publishing house of the All-Union Academy of Architecture, 1944) (In Russian: Академия Архитектуры СССР, 10 лет Всесоюзной Академии Архитектуры СССР (1934–1944): Материалы к VI сессии Всесоюзной Академии Архитектуры СССР. (Москва: Изд-во Всесоюзной академии архитектуры, 1944).).

Table 2. Number of students of the All-Union Academy of Architecture in 1934–1940

Year	The Institute of the Postgraduate studies	The Department of the Architectural Improvement
1934	24	20 (18) <sup>122</sup>
1935	6	11
1936	10	–
1937	17	14
1938	7	10
1939	12	7 (division of architecture) 5 (division of history and theory)
1940	16 (division of architecture) 6 (division of history and theory)	
Total – 1	98	67
Total – 2	165	

Among all those accepted students in the first ten years period of Academy’s existence, only 14 alumni received the degrees – 1 doctor of architecture and 13 candidates of architecture (in USSR, as now in Russia, one could graduate from the doctoral school without a degree). Two degree-projects were brought into life: a residential house by Mikhail Barkhin and a city-plan for the Frunze city (now Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan) by Yury Sutyagin-Gradov. Some of the alumni were involved in the great Soviet construction sites, for example, Moscow metro (Dmitry Chechulin<sup>123</sup>, Yakov Likhtenberg, Boris Vilensky), Exhibition of Achievements of National Economy in north-east of Moscow (Karo Alabyan, who received after the graduation the title of the Member of the Academy of Architecture; Dmitry Chechulin, Ivan Taranov, Mikhail Olenov and others). Several alumni (Alabyan, Chechulin, Likhtenberg, Mordvinov) in early 1940-s became the recipients of the Stalin award – the highest state prize for the distinguished achievements in arts and science. Looking through the list of names of the first students of the Academy, one cannot but note that a significant number of students were already skilled professionals, famous in the architectural community: Mikhail Barkhin, Karo Alabyan, Alexander Mordvinov – all of them by the beginning of 1930s had quite successful practice,

<sup>122</sup> First number is provided in the report mentioned above, and the second is taken from the article in “The Academy of Architecture” published in late 1934 which described the admission to the Academy’s first year.

<sup>123</sup> In 1945 Chechulin became a Head architect of the city of Moscow.

were important figures in the Union of the Soviet Architects, but still decided to go study at the Academy. On the one hand, it was a good opportunity to get a degree – a Soviet system of scientific degrees appeared in 1934, and Academy could quickly provide the important members of the professional community (Alabyan and Mordvinov, for instance, were vice-presidents of the Union of the Soviet Architects) with new social status. On the other hand, the fact that those people came to study, raised the value of the Academy in the eyes of the regular members of the community and became an additional factor in attracting “the cream of the cream”.

The following curricula (

Table 3 –

Table 5) represent mastering of the architectural proficiency for the Academy's full- and part-time postgraduate students.

Table 3 Curriculum for the Institute of the Postgraduate Studies (3 years full-time programme)

Disciplines	# of hours	% to the total number of hours	Semesters							Thesis
			I*	II*	Total # of hours per year	III*	IV*	Total # of hours per year	V*	
1. Architectural design	1400	38,9	6/132	6/120	252	6/132	6/120	252	8/176	24/720
2. History of architecture with analysis	292	8,1	2/44	4/80	124	4/88	4/80	168	–	–
3. History of arts	172	4,8	4/88	2/40	128	2/44	–	44	–	–
4. Drawing	508	14,1	6/132	6/120	256	4/88	4/80	168	4/88	–
5. Aquarelle drawing	168	4,8	2/44	2/40	84	2/44	2/40	84	–	–
6. Etching	44	1,2	–	–	–	–	–	–	2/44	–
7. Sculpture	84	2,3	–	–	–	2/44	2/40	84	–	–
8. Interior and furniture	88	2,4	–	–	–	–	–	–	4/88	–
9. City planning	84	2,3	–	–	–	2/44	2/40	84	–	–
10. Art of parks and gardens	40	1,1	–	–	–	–	2/40	40	–	–
11. Foreign languages	508	14,1	6/132	6/120	256	4/88	4/80	168	4/88	–
12. Electives	212	5,9	2/44	2/40	84	6/44	2/40	84	2/44	–
Total # of hours	3600	100,0	28/616	28/560	1176	68/616	28/560	1176	24/528	24/720

\* Numerator – a number of hours per week (6 study days); denominator – a number of hours per semester.



Table 4. Curriculum for the Department of Architectural Improvement (3 years part-time programme)

Disciplines	# of hours	% to the total number of hours	Semesters							
			I*	II*	Total # of hours per year	III*	IV*	Total # of hours per year	V*	Thesis
1. Architectural design	1070	43,7	5/110	5/100	210	5/110	5/100	210	5/110	540
2. History of architecture	234	9,8	1/22	1/20	42	3/66	3/60	126	3/66	–
3. History of arts	84	3,4	2/44	2/40	84	–	–	–	–	–
4. Drawing	212	3,7	2/44	2/40	84	2/44	2/40	84	2/44	–
5. Aquarelle drawing	168	6,8	2/44	2/40	84	2/44	2/40	84	–	–
6. Etching	44	1,8	–	–	–	–	–	–	2/44	–
7. Sculpture	84	3,4	–	–	–	–	2/40	40	2/44	–
8. Construction	106	4,3	1/22	1/20	42	1/22	1/20	42	1/22	–
9. Foreign languages	340	13,8	4/88	4/80	168	4/88	2/40	128	2/44	–
10. Electives	106	4,3	1/22	1/20	42	1/22	1/22	42	1/22	–
Total # of hours	2448	100	18/396	18/360	756	18/396	18/360	756	18/396	540
* Numerator – a number of hours per week (6 study days); denominator – a number of hours per semester.										

Table 5. Curriculum for the Institute of Postgraduate Studies (3 years full-time programme)<sup>124</sup>.

Disciplines	# of hours	% to the total number of hours	Semesters							
			I*	II*	Total # of hours per year	III*	IV*	Total # of hours per year	V*	Thesis
13. Architectural design	1400	38,9	6/132	6/120	252	6/132	6/120	252	8/176	24/720
14. History of architecture with analysis	292	8,1	2/44	4/80	124	4/88	4/80	168	–	–
15. History of arts	172	4,8	4/88	2/40	128	2/44	–	44	–	–
16. Drawing	508	14,1	6/132	6/120	256	4/88	4/80	168	4/88	–
17. Aquarelle drawing	168	4,8	2/44	2/40	84	2/44	2/40	84	–	–
18. Etching	44	1,2	–	–	–	–	–	–	2/44	–
19. Sculpture	84	2,3	–	–	–	2/44	2/40	84	–	–
20. Interior and furniture	88	2,4	–	–	–	–	–	–	4/88	–
21. City planning	84	2,3	–	–	–	2/44	2/40	84	–	–
22. Art of parks and gardens	40	1,1	–	–	–	–	2/40	40	–	–
23. Foreign languages	508	14,1	6/132	6/120	256	4/88	4/80	168	4/88	–
24. Electives	212	5,9	2/44	2/40	84	6/44	2/40	84	2/44	–
Total # of hours	3600	100,0	28/616	28/560	1176	68/616	28/560	1176	24/528	24/720
* Numerator – a number of hours per week (6 study days); denominator – a number of hours per semester.										

<sup>124</sup> Ludwig H. M., 'Graduate School Program,' *Academy of Architecture*, 1-2, 1934, 82. (In Russian: Людвиг Г. М., 'Программа Института Аспирантуры', *Академия Архитектуры*, 1–2, 1934, 82.).

As we can see, the curricula for the full-time and part-time programmes had a common core which included:

- Architectural design (main discipline which took almost a half of the study time)
- History of architecture and history of arts
- Drawing
- Foreign languages.

Construction, which in the architect's "professional profile" considered to be of equal importance with the artistic disciplines, is presented only at the Department of Architectural Improvement for the part-time students. Probably it happened because part-time students were more mature and experienced professionals than those who studied full-time, and they had very practical requests on how to incorporate everything they learn in the Academy into their everyday practice. Those who came to the Academy immediately after the graduation from the schools of architecture, were less experienced in architectural practice. The authors of the curricula could have decided that students would be able to master the technical skills during the classes of architectural design. From the syllabus of this discipline, we can see that starting from the second year, students should design the real projects under the supervision and participate in the competitions, suitable for their level of experience. The thesis, which, as we can see from the curricula, was assigned to the class of architectural design, should be a complex work that consisted of "a) a design-project; b) an essay on the various topics related to architecture, for example the analysis of the works of art of any master; extended review of a significant monument or an independent work on other topic; c) etching, composition, scenery, drawing or aquarelle drawing (composition or from life)"<sup>125</sup>.

Comparing the content of the curricula for the two part-time programmes of the Department of Architectural Improvement (tables 4 and 5), we can see that the difference between the two forms of studying was minimal. Students involved into the three-years programme spent a little bit less (18 versus 23 hours per week) in classes, and the difference between the total preoccupation in the two forms of the study was not significant (2448 hours

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<sup>125</sup> Rylsky I. V., 'Architectural Design Program', *Academy of Architecture*, 1-2, 1934, 75-76. (In Russian: Рьльский И. В., 'Программа По Архитектурному Проектированию', *Академия Архитектуры*, 1-2, 1934, 75-76.).

«Дипломная работа представляет собой комплексную работу, определяющую степень мастерства оканчивающего аспиранта, и состоит из: а) проекта; б) сочинения на тему архитектуры, например анализ творчества какого-либо мастера, развернутая рецензия крупного труда, самостоятельная работа по архитектуре и т. п.; в) офорт, композиция, декорация, картина акварелью, или рисунок (композиция или с натуры).

per three years versus 2131 hours per two years). The number and the titles of the disciplines were also the same. The Academy assumed that full-time students would spend the rest of their time in the independent studies in the Academy, and part-time students – developing their proficiency through the work in the architectural workshops.

As we can see, despite the declared intention to give equal space to art and engineering disciplines in one curriculum, the list of the disciplines clearly shows that the artistic component significantly prevails over all others. Thus, construction takes only 106 hours and 74 hours for three- and two-years part-time programmes respectively, and was completely missing in the full-time curriculum. These hours are less than those given to aquarelle drawing or history of architecture or arts. So, the curriculum proposed by the Academy of Architecture – a leading institution in a field, does not reflect the requirements, given in the architect’s “professional profile”, cited above, at least in the part of a combination of artistic and engineering skills.

The situation with the historical disciplines is opposite. As we saw above, the in-depth knowledge of architectural history was considered obligatory for the “best architects in the world”. Admittedly, the curriculum gives more than 300 hours for the history of arts and architecture, in total (both for full- and part-time students) and distributes them over the whole period of studies. So, students have vast opportunities to dive into the mastering of historical heritage.

Full-time students also received a course on city planning, which in context of the development of the Moscow city plan should be extremely important for the students. Part-time students did not have this opportunity.

Foreign languages were also included in the curricula of all divisions. In the initial plans of the Academy special attention was given to broadening the horizons of students, including educational trips abroad and exploring world architectural monuments. Of course, such trips did not become a regular practice, but in 1935 the trip of the delegation of Soviet architects to Rome for the Architectural Congress was partially paid from the Academy, and its students, respectively, were included in the delegation. With a high degree of probability, these students (such as Alabyan or Mordvinov) were simultaneously important functionaries in the Union of Architects, so they would go there anyway, and it was an opportunity to diversify the sources of money and find additional funding for the trip – unfortunately, Academy’s archive does not

contain the list of the members of group that was sent to Rome. However, overseas travel in the early 1930s was still seen as an important tool for educating an architect.

But Academy's contacts with architects from other countries were not limited by the overseas traveling. There was a Bureau of Scientific Connections with Overseas, which was responsible for the exchange of the various scientific materials, including books, magazines, conference proceedings, photos, images etc, with museums, architectural schools and societies from all over the world. Bureau distributed those materials among the Academy's workshops and divisions, so both the staff and the students had access to the contemporary works of international colleagues.<sup>126</sup> Partially, those materials were translated and published in the "Academy of Architecture", but quite often students and staff had to work with the originals. Of course, acquaintance with these materials required knowledge of foreign languages, and the level of language training of graduates of architectural universities was clearly insufficient for such work.

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<sup>126</sup> Accounting Report 1936. RGAE. F. 293. Inv. 1. File 1. P. 1. (In Russian: 'Бухгалтерский Отчет За 1936.', РГАЭ. Ф. 293. Оп. 1 Ед.хр. 1. Л. 1.).

## Postgraduate Education in the All-Union Academy of Architecture

### First admission to the All-Union Academy of Architecture

In April and May 1934, the All-Union Academy of Architecture conducted the first enrolment of students to the postgraduate school. There were 164 applicants; only 99 of them were allowed to hold the entrance examinations; and 24 students were accepted to the Institute of the Postgraduate Studies. Additional 18 students were accepted to the part-time programmes of the Department of Architectural Improvement.<sup>127</sup> Only those, who already had previous training in architecture, had some professional and research experience and completed projects were allowed to take part in the competition. The accepted students were between 18 and 35 years old, and their social background varied: most of them were from workers and clerks' families, there also were peasants and craftsmen. None of the students reported that he or she was from the family of higher social or at least educational status – from the families of Soviet intelligenzia. It is still a mystery, who was that 18 years old student and how he or she could have entered the postgraduate architectural school at this age and have necessary previous educational and practical experience, however, this age range is stated in the official admission report provided by the head of the Institute of Postgraduate Studies Heinrich Ludvig.<sup>128</sup>

The examinations took several days. On the first stage the applicants should have:

- 1) invent the idea of the complex architectural monument on a given topic (a monument to the crew of steamship “Cheluskin”, which became ice-bound in Arctic in early 1934, and to the pilots who took part in search and rescue operation – a topic which was all-over the news in the time of the examination) (no longer than 6 hours).
- 2) design a draft project of the public building (3 days for 6 hours).
- 3) paint a still-life in water-colour (2 days for 6 hours).
- 4) draw an elaborated image of the life model (still) and provide a series of quick sketches from the moving model.

According to the report of the head of the doctoral school, Heinrich Ludvig, published in the issue 1–2 (1934) of the Academy's magazine “The Academy of Architecture”, the

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<sup>127</sup> Ludvig H. M., ‘Graduate Institute Entrance Exams,’ *The Academy of Architecture*, 1-2, 1934, 67-75. (In Russian: Людвиг Г. М., ‘Вступительные Экзамены в Институт Аспирантуры’, *Академия Архитектуры*, 1–2, 1934, 67–75.).

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

examinations' results turned out to be an unpleasant surprise for the examiners. First of all, writes Ludvig, "the analysis of the provided works confirmed all the inadequacy of the architectural education of the previous years and revealed the lack of mastery among the majority of even the most gifted young architects, despite their experience on the construction sites".<sup>129</sup> According to Ludvig, the first task – the idea of the Cheluskintsy monument – revealed the lack of the associative thinking and architectural imagination – an ability to understand and analyse the different forms of architectural representation in social and historical context.<sup>130</sup> Most of the projects represented the objectless compositions of the architectural fragments, which were suitable for any occasion, or the literary designs, which told the story of "Cheluskin" in too many details – this can be attributed to the obvious manifestations of the literary centrality of Soviet culture. First, according to the conclusions of the commission which assessed the works of applicants, was the evidence of the "deadly routine of the architectural design of some schools of architecture"<sup>131</sup> and the second – of the "amateurism".<sup>132</sup> Altogether, according to the report, commission evidenced a lack of creativity, lack of cultural awareness and ingenuity of architectural design, the qualities "so necessary for the young architects, which can only be obtained in the architectural school of the highest level of culture". Some of the weakest (see Figure 2 in the Appendix) and tolerable (see Figure 3 and Figure 4; the last one also represents the idea of a too literal representation of an architectural form) designs were also published alongside the report, so the readers could evaluate the applicant's level of proficiency by their own eyes. It is worth noticing that none of the projects, published on the pages of "The Academy of Architecture" were called "good".

At the second task the applicant should have designed a public building – a concert hall for 1000 people (see Figure 5 and Figure 6 as the examples). According to Ludvig, this task stressed the lack of architectural thinking and the absence the architectural idea behind the presented designs even harder. Ludvig refers to the famous Marx's quote about the difference

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<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

«Прежде всего, анализ представленных работ лишней раз подтвердил все несовершенство архитектурного образования прошлых лет и выявил отсутствие достаточного мастерства даже у одаренных молодых архитекторов, несмотря на имеющийся у них строительный опыт».

<sup>130</sup> A definition given by Harvard professor of architectural theory K. Michel Hayes in his open course "Architectural imagination".

<sup>131</sup> «Мертвящая рутина архитектурного проектирования».

<sup>132</sup> «Дилетантизм».

between the worst architect and a bee<sup>133</sup>, comparing the applicants to the latter. In most of the projects, says Ludvig, architecture is replaced with picturesque graphics of the landscape, surrounding the absolutely unacceptable buildings. Ludvig supposes, that most of the applicants work “in brigades” – the groups of architects, where just one person is truly responsible for the project, and the others just help him or her with some lateral works and then put their names under the projects. The applicants’ drawing and painting skills do not receive that much attention, but the overall results of the enrolment campaign are, according to Ludvig, unsatisfactory. Ludvig considered them as “an alarming reminder to all leaders of the architectural education in the Soviet Union, that it requires a constant attention and concern from the whole professional community”.<sup>134</sup> Ludvig reminds that the most active and foremost youth took part in the competition and the procedure was highly selective, so the commission could have expected the works of the much higher quality. He concludes that the whole system of higher and vocational architectural education should be revised to assure its quality. Moreover, he adds, “it is necessary to give an opportunity to all architects, despite their age and social status, to finish their education and to master the architectural heritage”.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> “But even the worst architect from the very beginning differs from the best bee – before building a wax cell, an architect has already built it in his head. At the end of the labour process, a man obtains the result that have already been in his mind before the beginning of the work process, that is, ideally. Man does not only change the form of what is given by nature; in what is given by nature, he at the same time performs his own conscious goal, which as a law determines the method and nature of his actions and to which he must subordinate his will” (translated from Russian by author).

«Но и самый плохой архитектор от наилучшей пчелы с самого начала отличается тем, что, прежде чем строить ячейку из воска, он уже построил её в своей голове. В конце процесса труда получается результат, который уже в начале этого процесса имелся в представлении человека, т. е. идеально. Человек не только изменяет форму того, что дано природой; в том, что дано природой, он осуществляет вместе с тем и свою сознательную цель, которая как закон определяет способ и характер его действий и которой он должен подчинять свою волю». К. Маркс Capital, vol. I. - К. Маркс, Ф. Энгельс Complete Works., Vol. 23, p. 189. (In Russia: Маркс К. Капитал, т. I. – Маркс К., Энгельс Ф. Соч., т. 23, с. 189.).

<sup>134</sup> «С этой точки зрения иллюстрируемые нами результаты конкурсного проектирования являются [...] тревожным напоминанием всем руководителям архитектурного образования в Союзе, что оно требует к себе постоянного внимания и заботы всей архитектурной общественности».

<sup>135</sup> “Кроме того, необходимо еще дать возможность всем архитекторам, независимо от возраста и общественного их положения, доучиться и освоить культурное наследство».



## First academic year in the All-Union Academy of Architecture

However, the selection process had been done, and students at both Institute of Postgraduate Studies and Department of Architectural Improvement initiated their studies. The actual distribution of time for the disciplines was as follows (see Table 6):

*Table 6. Distribution of time among disciplines in 1934-35 academic year.*

Discipline	% of time
Architectural design	45,4
Analysis of architectural monuments	6,2
History of art and architecture	12,4
Drawing and aquarelle	13,2
Urban planning	3,1

Unfortunately, it is not clear, whether this percentage refers to the full-time or part-time studies or represents the means for these forms. However, with certain reservation, we can compare these numbers with the ones from the initial curriculum provided in the previous paragraph (see

Table 5 – **Error! Reference source not found.**). We can see that architectural design took even more time than it was initially planned (45,4% versus 43,7% for the full-time programme) and, on the contrary, art and architectural history all-together took a little less time, than in the provided 1934 curriculum. Also, we can see a new discipline of direct relevance to the subject of my interest – “Analysis of architectural monuments”. This course was taught in the format of a research seminar in which graduate students studied in detail the monument they chose, both from artistic and historical perspectives. As a result, each graduate student had to make a scientific report and present it to his or her colleagues, teachers and employees of the cabinet of history and theory of architecture. The best of these reports later was published in the journal “The Academy of Architecture”. The idea of this seminar can be attributed to Zholtovsky’s model of raising an architect described in the previous paragraph: the student carefully studies a wonderful example of the heritage of the past under the supervision of the master, who is responsible for the selection of the examples, and along the way gets acquainted with the features of monument’s construction and some information about its place in history. The reports of graduate students were based on more or less the same principle: the name of the monument, the year of its construction, its detailed description with more attention to the decorum than to the structure, some historical information – the main historical events of this period, what was situated in this place earlier; the analysis of the monument itself – what means of expression were used by the architect, and finally, why this monument is important for developing socialist realism, based on the acquisition of the classical architectural heritage.<sup>136</sup> Most of the students have never seen the analyzed monuments with their own eyes, except, naturally, those that were located on the territory of the Soviet Union.

Naturally, the attention of the entire professional architectural community was riveted to the first admission of students of the Academy. The journal “The Academy of Architecture” continued to publish their studies – best students’ works on various disciplines were published on the regular basis during the first couple of years. However, the reviews on these works were not always positive. Thus, one of the issues of the summer of 1935 (at the end of the academic year 1934-35) was devoted to the analysis of student projects, and the teachers who commented on the projects allowed themselves rather critical remarks. The editorial article divides students’ annual projects on architectural design on three groups:

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<sup>136</sup> See, for example, Mordvinov A. G., ‘Ivan the Great Bell Tower’, *Academy of Architecture*, 5, 1935, 32-36. (In Russian: Мордвинов А. Г., ‘Колокольня Ивана Великого’, *Академия Архитектуры*, 5, 1935, 32–36.).

“In one group of design works, with serious positive achievements in the field of formal craftsmanship, there is a gross disregard for the ideological quality of architecture, its socialist content and image. [...] Graduate students were afraid to become bolder on the path of searches and creative daring. The formal compositional techniques and principles of the classics are mostly uncritically mastered by this part of graduate students.

Another group of design works shows, on the contrary, the quest path, a certain freshness in the approach, in the idea, but an insufficient level of culture and skill nevertheless significantly reduces their value.

Finally, in the third part of the work, the shortcomings of our former university studies, which brought up the elements of gigantomania, scalelessness, and excessive decorativeness, on the basis of paper, irrespective design, are especially pronounced”.<sup>137</sup>

These comments deserve a closer look. What were the reasons that the student’s work could be assigned to a particular group? The first group was accused of thoughtless copying of the classics, on the one hand, and fear and lack of initiative on the other. If we recall the context in which they studied, it immediately becomes clear that both the authorities and the professional community, on the one hand, supported a return to classical forms, and on the other, they punished the creative search beyond the general line of socialist realism. In 1934, Zholtovsky completed the construction of the House on Mokhovaya street in Moscow (see Figure 7)<sup>138</sup>, in which he quoted the Loggia del Capitano in Vicenza. This house caused a great

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<sup>137</sup> “For the Avant-garde Place in Soviet Architecture”, *Academy of Architecture*, 5, 1935, 3-4. (In Russia: ‘За Авангардное Место в Советской Архитектуре’, *Академия Архитектуры*, 5, 1935, 3–4.).

«В одной группе проектных работ, при серьезных положительных достижениях в области формального мастерства сказывается грубое игнорирование идейного качества архитектуры, ее социалистического содержания и образа. [...] Аспиранты побоялись стать смелее на путь исканий и творческих дерзаний. Формальные композиционные приемы и принципы классики в основном некритически освоены этой частью аспирантов.

Другая группа проектных работ показывает, наоборот, путь исканий, известную свежесть в подходе, в идее, но недостаточный уровень культуры и мастерства все же значительно снижает их ценность.

Наконец в третьей части работ особенно ярко сказываются недочеты нашей прежней вузовской учебы, воспитавшей на базе бумажного, безотносительного проектирования элементы гигантомании, безмасштабности, излишней декоративности.»

<sup>138</sup> Initially, this house was constructed as a residential building for the personnel of Mossovet – Moscow city authorities, but no one ever lived there. Shortly after the completion of the construction Mossovet gave this building to the USA Embassy, and in 1953, when Americans received a larger building on Sadovoe Circle, the building was given to “Inturist” – a company responsible for the

resonance, in the press they called it “a nail in the coffin of constructivism”, and for Zholtovsky it became one of the key moments in his career. The beginning of the thirties is also the time of the competition for the Palace of Soviets (see Figure 11, Figure 12 and Figure 13). It took place in three stages, and at each one the advantage was given to neoclassical projects. Young architects saw very well what the authorities preferred, and naturally strove to copy it.

On the other hand, the memory of the critical campaigns of the late 1920s – the very beginning of the 1930s was still strong: VOPRA’s<sup>139</sup> speeches against avant-garde groups, persecution of Ivan Leonidov<sup>140</sup> – the recollections of this clearly did not contribute to free creative search. Here one can also recall the story of Ariadna Arendt (see page 24), from whom teachers demanded a creative search, but did not give any clues in which direction she should move. Students of the late 1920s, including those who later in 1934 came to the Academy as post-graduate students, had to invent a new artistic method, but in fact, the requirements that teachers set for them could be described by the Russian proverb “go there – I don’t know where, bring that - I don’t know what.” To repeat neoclassical studies after the senior masters seems the most secure and logical way out of this situation.

The same applies to allegations of gigantomania: graduate students of the early 1930s live in the context of competitions for the Palace of Soviets and for the People’s Commissariat of Industry (see Figure 14, Figure 15 and Figure 16). These are projects in which a person’s place changes dramatically, Vitruvian proportionality was no longer a key design principle. Moreover, architects of the most varied professional beliefs came forward with similar, in terms of scale, projects in these competitions – the neoclassic Zholtovsky, the socialist realist Alabyan, the constructivists Vesnin brothers. Graduate students received a clear signal – this is exactly how they need to design now, and I think they were very perplexed when their

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international tourism in USSR. In early 2000-s building the building has undergone a major reconstruction and now it is an office for a large corporation.

<sup>139</sup> VOPRA (Vsesoyuznoe Obschestvo Proletarskikh Arkhitektorov) – “The All-Soviet Community of Proletarian Architects” – an organization established in 1929, which declared the creation of the true proletarian architecture. Contrasted itself with constructivists and functionalists. The board of VOPRA included Karo Alabyan, Mikhail Kryukov, Anatoly Mordvinov Ivan Matsa - people who latter occupied the highest posts in the architectural hierarchy of 1930-s.

<sup>140</sup> An architect. Ivan Leonidov belonged to the constructivists and was one of the students of Alexander Vesnin. In 1929–1930 his works were brutally criticized in the professional press, and his attempts to follow the principles of constructivism were called “leonidovschina” and marked as something inappropriate for the Soviet architecture. After this episode Leonidov lost his job as an editor of the magazine “The modern architecture” and had to leave Moscow for some time. After his return, he worked in Mossovet workshops with Moisey Ginzburg.

projects were criticized for what they thought was the best answer to the challenges. Alexandra Selivanova, who studied Soviet architecture of 1930s both from the political and aesthetic perspectives, in her thesis<sup>141</sup> comes to the conclusion that 1930s architectural heritage is a complex combination of Western European art deco tendencies with its “human dimension”, a search of the universal tradition and international aspiration to create monumental, superheavy buildings (and here she refers to the Borsi’s concept of monumental order<sup>142</sup>) and even the development of the avant-garde ideas with the intention to make the abstract forms more specific on the one hand, and vague directions from the authorities that were intended to add ideology to the architectural image, on the other. Selivanova writes, that final establishment of social realism in architecture happened only in 1937, on the 1<sup>st</sup> Congress of the Union of the Soviet Architects, and before that “postconstructivism” as she names the architecture of 1930s (after Khan-Magomedov) allowed some field for discussions. However, for the younger students, the accusations in formalism – very popular argument in these discussions – could be fatal for their careers. Thus, the search for the safest paths in the profession, even contradicting their own ideas about what architecture is and should be, became for young architects a strategy for professional survival. If more experienced senior colleagues still had the opportunity to realize their professional beliefs in projects of the first half of the 1930s, then this path was already closed for graduate students of the Academy.

Some examples of students’ projects are presented in the Appendix. Ludvig’s report on the results of the first year of work states: “It was decided to evaluate on the following grounds: whether the graduate student has found an architectural image corresponding to a given topic, or not; whether there is any idea behind the project; whether the project is sufficiently expressive in architectural terms and whether it is competent in terms of function and construction”.<sup>143</sup> At the end of the first year, students presented two projects in the class of architectural design: a monument to the heroes of the Revolution on Krasnaya Presnya and the new building of the Northern River Station in Moscow.

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<sup>141</sup> Selivanova A. N. “Creative Searches in Theory and Practice of Soviet Architecture in the 1930s”.

<sup>142</sup> F. Borsi, *The Monumental Era: European Architecture and Design 1929-1939*. (London: Lund Humphries, 1987).

<sup>143</sup> Results of the First Academic Year, *Academy of Architecture*, 5, 1935, 5–26. (In Russian: ‘Результаты Первого Учебного Года’, *Академия Архитектуры*, 5, 1935, 5–26.).

«Решено было произвести оценку по следующим признакам: решен ли аспирантом архитектурный образ, соответствующий заданной теме, или нет; положена ли в основу проекта какая-нибудь идея; достаточно ли выразителен проект в архитектурном отношении и грамотен ли он в функциональном и конструктивном отношениях».

The published examples<sup>144</sup> – not the best and not the worst ones – represent the typical works of the first-year students of the Academy of Architecture. Each project was provided with commentary by teachers who noted its strengths and weaknesses. The comments were similar: “the author could not find the image of the revolutionary monument”; “the idea of a river station in the project is not sufficiently expressed”; “formalistic approach to solving the problem”; “there is no unity of scale and interpretation”; “the project contains elements of eclecticism”. Of the positive features, commentators noted “a good elaboration of architectural details”; “graphic skill and clarity”; “technical skill and ability to assemble.”<sup>145</sup> Indeed, if you look at the projects presented in the drawings (see Figure 17, Figure 18, Figure 19 and Figure 20), it seems that the monuments to the Revolution are not much different from the River Stations, and together they remind the projects of the Palace of Soviets or the People’s Commissariat (see, for example, Figure 12 and Figure 14). These are giant, disproportionately large buildings made in generalized classical forms. Sometimes one may notice references to specific monuments, but most often students used “classics in general”, to which sculptural and pictorial details were added to provide a “synthesis of arts”.

The publication of student work in the professional press has not become common practice for the Academy. This honour was awarded only to students of the first year of the Academy (1934–35). This can be considered one of the signs of a special attitude towards these students and special attention to their achievements – both from the professional community and from the Communist Party (as I will show later).

A special attitude to the first students of the Academy was also expressed in the fact that in the autumn of 1935 a group of graduate students went to Italy to study classical monuments and collect materials for their dissertations. It was the only such trip in the entire first decade of the Academy. In October 1935, Rome hosted the International Congress of Architects, organized by CPIA (Comitè Permanent International d’Architectes), and the delegation of the Union of Soviet Architects received from CPIA almost a hundred invitations. However, the delegation set to Rome by the Union consisted only of seven people: general secretary of the Union Karo Alabyan, the member of the Academy of Architecture and the author of Lenin’s Mausoleum Alexey Schusev, architects Viktor Vesnin, Sergey Chernyshev and Nikolay Kolly, Academy’s rector Mikhail Krykov and the art historian David Arkin (and,

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<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

as I have mentioned above, some of the Union members could have been funded from the Academy, what is reflected in the accounting report<sup>146</sup>). The Soviet delegation brought with them an exposition of photographs of finished buildings and projects (a house on Mokhovaya by Ivan Zholtovsky, a Mossovet hotel by Alexei Shchusev, a development project for Kotelnicheskaya Naberezhnaya in Moscow by David Fridman and others), as well as the first volumes of the new series “Classics of Theory of Architecture”, which produced commentary translations of major Renaissance authors. Various political aspects of the work of the Soviet delegation at the Congress are described in detail in an article by Anna Vyazemtseva,<sup>147</sup> so I will not dwell on this subject in detail. For my story, it is interesting that after the Congress a delegation of graduate students from the Academy of Architecture came to Italy and spent four months examining the monuments of Rome, Florence, Venice, Vicenza and Pompeii and after that visited also France and Greece (and probably some other countries, but I could not find information about a specific route). From the Alabyan’s letter to Kaganovich, we learn that during this trip Alabyan once again raised the question of organizing a branch of the Academy of Architecture in Italy, but this time also unsuccessfully. The previous attempt was made by Ivan Zholtovsky in 1922. After completing the Agricultural Exhibition project in Moscow, Zholtovsky went to a three-years trip to Italy. Before the departure, in 1922, Zholtovsky proposed to the All-Russia Central Executive Committee to create an Institute for the Russian Art in Italy and to buy for this purpose Palladio’s Villa La Rotonda in Vicenza, which was on sell during those days.<sup>148</sup> The recent research shows that Zholtovsky probably wanted to become a head of this institute and to work on the Soviet state on the safe distance. But Zholtovsky’s plan never came to life, he returned to Moscow in 1926, though the question of establishing an institution which would represent culture and ideology of the USSR in Italy, was repeatedly raising. Only in 1946 the Russia – Italy Association was settled in Rome.

It is very likely that only part-time students of the Department of Architectural Improvement took part in this trip (only this Department is mentioned in the accounting

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<sup>146</sup> ‘Accounting Report 1936.’

<sup>147</sup> Vyazemtseva A. G. “Rome the first - Rome the Third: the Soviet delegation at the XIII International Congress of Architects, 1935.” *Russia – Italy: ethical and cultural values in history*. 2011. (In Russian: Вяземцева А. Г. “Рим первый-Рим Третий: советская делегация на XIII Международном конгрессе архитекторов, 1935.” *Россия–Италия: этико-культурные ценности в истории*. 2011.).

<sup>148</sup> Pechenkin I. E. and Shurygina O. S. Architect Ivan Zholtovsky, Episodes From An Unwritten Biography, (Moscow, 2017). 157 p. (In Russian: Печенкин И. Е. Шурыгина О. С., ‘Архитектор Иван Жолтовский. Эпизоды Из Ненаписанной Биографии’ (Москва, 2017). 157 с.).

documents related to the trip).<sup>149</sup> Since the main contingent of graduate students of the Department was working people who already had their own architectural practice and reputation in the professional community, this trip can be regarded not only as educational (acquaintance with the monuments of world architecture and collecting material for dissertations), but also as a form of encouragement. At one of the meetings of the Committee on Arts of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, Kryukov said about the post-graduate students of the Department: "Some specificity of the Department of Architectural Improvement is that the post-graduate students work almost without exception on responsible positions, they value their time and, of course, demand to the Academy – to give maximum knowledge in the shortest possible time."<sup>150</sup>

This post-graduate trip abroad has remained a unique case in the practice of the Academy of Architecture. From 1936 onwards, the Academy's accountants regularly report that there were no foreign trips in the reporting year: "The Academy did not take part in foreign congresses or meetings in the reporting year (in 1935, the Rector of the Academy took part in the architectural congress in Rome; at the same time, graduate students from the Department of Architectural Improvement were on a trip abroad in Italy, France, Greece and other countries). There were no other business trips during the reporting year. Foreign experts did not directly participate in the work of the Academy of Architecture, but in some cases, the foreign scholars and masters of architecture visited the Academy, and the Academy organized discussions with foreign guests to exchange experiences and impressions in the field of Soviet and foreign architecture."<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> 'Accounting Report 1936.'

<sup>150</sup> Transcript of the Meeting of the Committee on Arts at the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR', 1937, RGAE. F. 293. Inv. 1. File 5. P. 4. (In Russian: 'Стенограмма Заседания Комитета По Делах Искусств При СНК СССР', 1937, РГАЭ. Ф. 293. Оп. 1 Ед.хр. 5. Л. 4.).

«Некоторая специфичность ФАУ ещё заключается в том, что аспиранты работают почти все без исключения на ответственных должностях, очень дорожат своим временем и, естественно, предъявляют требование к Академии — дать в минимальный срок максимум знаний.»

<sup>151</sup> 'Accounting Report 1936.'

«Участия в заграничных конгрессах, съездах или совещаниях Академия в отчётном году не принимала (в 1935 году Ректор Академии принимал участие в архитектурном конгрессе в Риме; тогда же аспиранты ФАУ были в заграничной поездке в Италии, Франции, Греции и др. странах). Не имели места в течение отчётного года и другие заграничные командировки. Иностраные специалисты непосредственного участия в работе Академии Архитектуры не принимали, но в отдельных случаях Академию посещали иностранные научные работники и мастера архитектуры, причём Академией были организованы беседы с иностранными гостями для обмена впечатлениями и опытом в области архитектуры советской и зарубежной.»



## Studying process in the Academy in 1936 – 1940

In the following years the quality of admission works did not change dramatically – some examples of students' work of that period remained of the same quality. The number of students, however, decreased: in 1934, as we have seen above, there were more than 150 applicants and almost 100 was admitted to the examination, in 1936 there were only 63 applicants and 37 of them took part in the examinations. The dynamics of the number of graduate students at the Academy for 1934-1940 is given in the previous paragraph. Since 1936, the Academy has become a constant object of criticism, both from the professional community and from the authorities. The main complaint against the Academy, as I said in the previous paragraph, was the inability to attract the best teachers. Thus, in the already mentioned accounting report of the Academy for 1936 (which, in fact, contains much more than just items of financing costs allocated to the Academy), it says:

“The Academy of Architecture (...) did not have the opportunity to attract the main staff of scientific workers and leaders among the most qualified masters of architecture. The reasons for this are:

1. The maximum workload of the masters of this rank, whose work does not allow them to constantly devote necessary time to manage a particular part of the Academy's work.
2. The Academy lacks the material and financial opportunities to attract the most valuable architectural masters, from a scientific point of view, and as a result the Academy cannot guarantee them the material conditions that they have outside the Academy.
3. The general lack of staff of highly qualified scientific workers in the field of architecture.

As a result, having limited material and financial capabilities, the Academy of Architecture is forced to carry out its work with the help of scientific personnel, consisting mostly of young workers of medium experience, with some exceptions. Undoubtedly, this situation cannot but affect the breadth of the scientific work, its quality, scientific significance and its pace.

Researchers registered in academic degrees and degrees at the Academy have the following:

1. Members of the Academy – 1

2. Doctor of Architecture – 4
3. Professors – 12
4. Associate professors – 6
5. Assistants – 1”<sup>152</sup>

However, the financial situation of the Academy can hardly be called disastrous: in another archival document, a transcript of a meeting of the Committee on Arts at the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR on the state of affairs at the Academy of Architecture, a professor at the Moscow Architecture Institute Kuznetsov compares the size of scholarships at the Institute and at the Academy: 150 rubles per month against 400.<sup>153</sup> All higher educational institutions of the Soviet Union in the 1930s lacked funding, but it seems that the Academy of Architecture in this sense was in a privileged position with respect to most of them.

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<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

«Академии Архитектуры (...) не представилось возможности организовать основной кадр научных работников — руководителей из числа наиболее квалифицированных мастеров архитектуры. Причинами для этого являются:

1. предельная загрузка мастеров этого ранга работами, не позволяющими им постоянно уделять своё время, необходимое для руководства тем или иным участком работы Академии.

2. отсутствие у Академии материальных и финансовых возможностей для привлечения к своей работе наиболее ценных, с научной точки зрения, мастеров архитектуры, вследствие чего Академия не может гарантировать им те материальные условия, которые они имеют помимо Академии

3. недостаточность вообще кадров научных работников высокой квалификации в области архитектуры.

В результате, имея ограниченные материальные и финансовые возможности, Академия Архитектуры вынуждена проводить свою работу при помощи научных кадров, состоящих большей частью из молодых работников среднего, за отдельными исключениями, масштаба. Несомненно, что это положение не может не отражаться на широте охвата научной работы, на ее качестве, научной значимости и на ее темпах.

Научные работники, оформленные в учёных званиях и учёных степенях, в составе Академии имеются следующие:

- Академики — 1
- Доктора — 4
- Профессора — 12
- Доценты — 6
- Ассистенты — 1»

<sup>153</sup> ‘Transcript of the Meeting of the Committee on Arts at the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR.’

The more important problem of the Academy in the mid-1930s was the engaging of research and teaching personnel. In the paragraph on the debate on architectural education, I already wrote that the leaders of architectural schools from all over the country from year to year repeated the refrain that good masters did not want to teach, and those who worked with students often simply could not find themselves in architectural practice. We find the same rhetoric in the internal documents of the Academy – in 1936<sup>154</sup>, in 1937<sup>155</sup>, when Kryukov was Academy's head, and later, after his arrest in, 1939.<sup>156</sup> From the memoirs by Sergey Kozhin cited above, we know that Zholtovsky, at that time already an absolutely recognized leader of Soviet architecture, refused to formally participate in the life of the Academy, although his pupils (Kozhin, Goltz and Parusnikov) worked at the department of architectural design. Nevertheless, at a meeting of the Committee on Arts on January 7, 1937, Kryukov reports that of the 420 hours planned for the classes of architectural design in the 1935/36 academic year, only 260 hours were actually held, and the classes began only in February, in the second semester. The reason for that was the lack of teaching personnel.<sup>157</sup> Comparing these numbers with time spent on architectural design in the 1934-35 academic year (see Table 6), we can conclude that the Academy was not able to stay at the level that it set for itself in the first year of work.

At the same meeting, there was another talk about the organization of the educational process: the idea of organizing architectural workshops came up again, based on the examples of Imperial Academy of Arts and VKhUTEMAS. Alabyan suggested the idea of returning to the workshop system, but it did not evoke unambiguous approval from the Academy teachers. Thus, Kozhin, the vice-head of the department of architectural design, appealed to the fact that this idea failed in the time of VKhUTEMAS, arguing that criticism of postgraduate works automatically began to mean criticism of the master, the head of the workshop, and this made objective evaluation and constructive feedback almost impossible. Kryukov, not protesting against the idea itself, said that in three-, and even more so in two years-programme, it would

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<sup>154</sup> 'Accounting Report 1936'

<sup>155</sup> 'Transcript of the Meeting of the Committee on Arts at the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR.'

<sup>156</sup> Transcript of the meeting of scientists of the Academy of Architecture dated June 28, 1939.

<sup>157</sup> Transcript of the Meeting of the Commission for the Development of the Final Edition of the Resolution of the Committee for Art Affairs on the Work of the Academy of Architecture ', 1937, RGAE. F. 293. Inv. 1. File 6. P. 5. (In Russian: 'Стенограмма Заседания Комиссии По Выработке Окончательной Редакции Постановления Комитета По Делама Искусств о Работе Академии Архитектуры', 1937, РГАЭ. Ф. 293. Оп. 1. Ед.хр. 6. Л. 5.).

be difficult for graduate students to make a meaningful choice of a workshop, adapt in it and complete a dissertation project. Kryukov was worried, first of all, about graduate students from other parts of Soviet Union who were not familiar with the Moscow architectural school.<sup>158</sup> Interestingly, the chairman of this meeting, Tolmachev, an employee of the Committee for the Arts (that is, a person representing the interests of the Communist Party) sharply objects to comparing the Academy of Architecture with the Imperial Academy of Arts. For the professional community, the old Academy remained a role model, but the party that built the new vuz system to ensure the mass production of qualified personnel did not need to reproduce the pre-revolutionary model of education.

The result of this meeting of the Committee on Culture of the Council of People's Commissars was a decision on the state of affairs at the Academy. It stated that "the Committee notes that the Academy of Architecture has not taken its place on the architectural front for 2.5 years as a leading research institution.

The unsatisfactory state of studies at the Institute of Graduate Studies and Department of Architectural Improvement, expressed in the fact that the Academy was unable to concentrate on the leading disciplines - architectural design, construction disciplines and the history of architecture, in particular, the Academy was not able to consolidate the main leading core in these disciplines."<sup>159</sup> At another meeting of the Committee on Culture, which also took place in 1937, chairman and a head of the Committee Platon Kerzhentsev was very dissatisfied with the quality of the work of graduate students who were to make up the first graduation of the Academy: "Then, with regard to training personnel. Of course, this is the main task of the Academy of Architecture. And it turned out that there wasn't even a proper training plan, there were no curricula, no programs, no work on textbooks, and it turns out now that there really

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> 'Resolution on the State of Affairs in the All-Union Academy of Architecture Based on the Results of the Meeting on January 7, 1937', 1937, RGAE. F. 293. Inv. 1. File 6. P. 50–51. (In Russian: 'Постановление По Положению Дел Во Всесоюзной Академии Архитектуры По Результатам Сопещения 7 Января 1937 Года', 1937, РГАЭ. Ф. 293. Оп. 1. Ед.хр. 6. Л. 50–51.

«Комитет констатирует, что академия Архитектуры в течение 2,5 лет не заняла своего места на архитектурном фронте, как руководящее научно-исследовательское учреждение.

Неудовлетворительное состояние учёбы в Институте Аспирантуры и ФАУ, выразившееся в том, что Академия не сумела сконцентрировать основного внимания на ведущих дисциплинах — архитектурном проектировании, строительных дисциплинах и истории архитектуры, в частности, Академия не сумела закрепить за собой основного руководящего ядра по этим дисциплинам».

hasn't been our release yet, there will be a release in the coming year, and it is not known how it will come out. The first graduation, it consists of 25 people, and what is the quality of this graduation... Everyone has a certain doubt that this is not the material that is needed, that these people are not the masters who were supposed to be here.”<sup>160</sup> Of course, Kerzhentsev is disingenuous: by that time, syllabi and curricula existed and were published – I analyzed them in detail above. Work on writing textbooks was also in full swing. In the next section, I will talk about the great translation project of the major Renaissance text in detail. At the same time, since 1937, the entire Workshop on the History and Theory of Architecture was busy preparing a multi-volume textbook “The World History of Architecture”.

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In this section, I described various aspects of the educational process at the All-Union Academy of Architecture. Great expectations were placed on the Academy, both by the professional community and by the communist authorities. It was supposed to become as soon as possible the leading centre for the training of architects and set the quality standards for other architectural schools in the country. The Academy began to work quite quickly: a decree on its creation was issued in October 1933, and already at the beginning of 1934 its scientific and educational units began to work. Its rector, Mikhail Kryukov, had an important task – to attract the best staff to teaching and quickly establish the work process, both teaching and research. This section of my work was devoted to how studies at the Academy of Architecture went on throughout the 1930s; and in the next section I will dwell on its scientific activities.

Initially, the Academy counted on two groups of graduate students: those who can devote three full years to study (the Institute of Postgraduate Studies was opened for them), and those who, due to their main job, can only afford a two-year part-time course (The Department of Architectural Improvement). However, the curricula for these groups of students were quite similar: most of the time was devoted to architectural design, and of the theoretical

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<sup>160</sup> ‘Transcript of the Meeting of the Committee on Arts at the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR.’

«Затем — относительно подготовки кадров. Конечно это является основной задачей Академии Архитектуры. А что получилось — что даже не было правильного плана подготовки кадров, не было учебных планов, программ, работы над учебниками нет, и получается сейчас, что действительно нашего выпуска ещё не было. Будет выпуск в ближайшем году и неизвестно, как это выйдет. Академия Архитектуры выпускает первый выпуск, она выпускает в свет 25 человек, а какое качество этого выпуска...

У всех зарождается известное сомнение, что это не тот материал, который нужен, что эти люди не являются теми мастерами, какие тут предполагалось иметь».

subjects, the first place in importance was given to the history of architecture and the history of art. Student projects quickly became a matter of concern, both for teachers and the professional community as a whole. They were criticized more than supported, accused of lack of a creative idea, excessive literacy, gigantomania and so on. However, an analysis of these works clearly shows that they are a reflection of the deeper processes that were taking place in Soviet architecture at that time. Students simply tried to choose the safest way, which in many respects denied the possibility of creative expression.

The importance of teaching the history of art and architecture was determined by the general context of the emergence of socialist realism, which in architecture was directly related to the “absorption of the classical heritage” – the selection and study of monuments that could become the basis of a new style. An analysis of the program on the history of architecture shows that the Academy’s teachers, led by David Arkin, tried to combine the approach typical of architectural schools (monuments are studied as a set of examples and examples for subsequent practice, arranged in a chronological order), and the problematization and study of the context typical for historians. The problems selected for the course also reflect the context in which the architectural profession existed in the 1930s: the importance of classics for building socialist realism, the relationship of architecture, sculpture and painting, the so-called “synthesis of arts” - all these are topics that were simultaneously discussed as in the classes of the Academy, and on the pages of the professional press. None of these topics gave room for discussion and the formation of the postgraduate’s own professional position.

The Communist Party, which set the task of Soviet higher education to quickly prepare professional staff, quickly began to criticize the Academy for not coping with it. Indeed, the problems with attracting the best architects to the educational process began almost from the very beginning: from the documents cited above it is clear that the lack of teachers has been the main problem of the Academy since at least 1936. By the beginning of the 1940s, the Academy still did not succeed in finding a solution. The Academy failed to resolve the contradiction between the paths of professional development adopted by the community of architects and the requirements of the Soviet educational system. In the previous paragraph I described this contradiction: on the one hand, the architects themselves considered it crucial to train young colleagues through interaction with the masters, and on the other hand, this approach required time and freedom that the system did not give them.

# Higher architectural education in Moscow and Leningrad

## The Moscow Institute of Architecture in 1930s

1930s for Moscow Institute of Architecture were a difficult period. From 1930 to 1933 it changed two names<sup>161</sup> and four rectors<sup>162</sup>. Dmitry Shvidkovsky, the current rector of the Moscow Institute of Architecture in his article dedicated to the teaching architectural history in Russia, mentions, that in 1934 “the responsibility of creating a policy of construction and architecture was assigned to the newly established Academy of Architecture of the USSR, which founded a special institution to pursue research on the history of world architecture and the building traditions of the different peoples of the Soviet Union. The Moscow Architectural Institute was ordered to prepare a national curriculum, and a Department of History of Architecture and Town Planning was established. Its professors were the same scholars, who conducted research at the Academy of Architecture”.<sup>163</sup> Thus, we can see that the task of the creation of the unified curriculum was shared between two capital institutions and was performed by the same people. The idea of the united teaching board that would have been superior over all educational institutions in the country, that was included to the draft of the decree “On architectural education”, was brought to life, despite the fact that this item was not included to the published version of the decree.

The constant changes in the Moscow Institute of Architecture was accompanied with the difficulties in establishment of the educational process. In the archive of the Union of the Soviet Architects a bunch of documents describing the problems in the Institute is stored. Thus, 1932 protocol of the meeting of the Union’s board states: “Resolved: to raise a question to the related organization about the absolutely intolerable state, in which higher architectural education in general and the Moscow Institute of Architecture and Construction

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<sup>161</sup> In 1930 VKhUTEMAS/VKhUTEIN architectural department was merged with the department of the engineering and construction of Moscow Higher Technical University under the name of Moscow Institute of Architecture and Construction. Later, in 1933 the name was changed to the Moscow Institute of Architecture.

<sup>162</sup> 08–09.1930 – Victor Toot,  
09.1930–06.1931 – Konstantin Mironov,  
06.1931–05.1933 – Yakov Borovkov,  
05.1933–12.1936 – Mikhail Serezhenkin

<sup>163</sup> Dmitry Shvidkovsky and Ekaterina Chorban, ‘Russian Traditions in Teaching the History of Architecture’, *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 62.1 (2003), 110–120.

(“Arkhiteturno-Konstruktorsky Institut”, AKI) is placed. Incredibly low quality of teaching of all artistic disciplines in AKI leads to the situation where young workers that graduate the Institute are, in general, absolutely unprepared to the architectural work. It is necessary to perform a series of actions urgently, which would fundamentally change a state of affairs in AKI”.<sup>164</sup>

The story repeats in 1935–1936. Karo Alabyan, a vice-president of the Union of the Soviet Architect, became a leader of the campaign against the Moscow Institute of Architecture and its then-rector Mikhail Serezhenkin. During those years Alabyan writes several letters and internal memorandums to the Communist Party authorities, in which he blames the Institute’s staff and Serezhenkin personally in ruining the educational process. Here are several extractions from these letters and memos:

“During its existence the Institute not only did not created its artistic face, but also did not become aware of the principal line in the system of training the architectural staff. [...] With few exceptions, the students’ works are lacking the most important thing: constructive literacy and mature artistic idea.”<sup>165</sup>

“The main thing is that the leadership of the Architectural Institute did not cope with the assigned tasks. The teaching staff is the most diverse mass in terms of creative movements and qualifications. Among the teachers there are many, who have not found a place in practical

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<sup>164</sup> Record of the Meeting of the VKP(b) Board of the Union of Soviet Architects. RGALI. F. 674. Inv. 2. File 20. P. 50 (In Russian: ‘Протокол Заседания Фракции ВКП/б/ Правления Союза Советских Архитекторов’, 1932, РГАЛИ. Ф. 674. Оп. 2. Ед. хр. 20. Лист 50.).

«Постановили: поставить вопрос перед соответствующими организациями о совершенно недопустимом положении, в каком находится в настоящее время высшее архитектурное образование, в частности, Высший Архитектурно-Конструкторский Институт. Чрезвычайно низкое качество всей постановки обучения художественным дисциплинам в АКИ приводят к тому, что молодые работники, выпускаемые вузом, оказываются, как правило, совершенно неподготовленными к архитектурной деятельности. Необходимо срочно провести ряд мероприятий, коренным образом изменяющих постановку дела в АКИ»

<sup>165</sup> Alabyan’s letter to the Executive Secretary of the Comintern Regional Committee of the VKP(b) Com. Sevastyanov. RGALI. F. 674. Inv. 2. File 20. P. 21. (In Russian: ‘Письмо Алабяна Ответственному Секретарю Коминтерновского Районного Комитета ВКП/б/ Тов. Севастьянову’, РГАЛИ. Ф. 674. Оп. 2. Ед. хр. 20. Л. 21.).

«За все время своего существования Институт не только не создал своего творческого лица, но и не уяснил себе принципиальную линию в системе подготовки архитектурных кадров.

Просмотр проектировочных работ, как курсовых, так и дипломных, показал, что в учебно-методическом руководстве Института господствует самотек и бесконтрольность. За редким исключением, в проектах студентов нет самого главного: ни конструктивной грамотности, ни зрелого творческого замысла».



work, due to their low qualifications. Among the teachers there are many extreme formalists and constructivists who still continue to cripple young people.”<sup>166</sup>

“Finally, in his zeal, Comrade Serezhenkin came to a clear political short-sightedness, luring all the offended and dissatisfied architects to the Institute, creating at the Institute a centre for elements dissatisfied with modern politics in architecture.”<sup>167</sup>

“Finally, in connection with the process of the counter-Revolutionary Trotsky-Zinoviev centre, a whole group of communists, close to the leadership of the institute, was found who were in one way or another connected with the leader of the terrorist group, the fascist Konstant (the institute’s pet). Serezhenkin at the party committee was forced to admit to participating in a booze at Konstant’s apartment. The case is now in the process of analysis. However, this alone was enough to politically discredit the leadership of the institute. Based on a number of facts, the party group of the Union of the Soviet Architects organizing committee was convinced that without a decisive strengthening of the Institute’s leadership and, in particular, without an immediate change of its director, a real restructuring of the Institute’s work is impossible.”<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

«Главное заключается в том, что руководство Архитектурного Института не справилось с возложенными задачами. Преподавательский состав представляет собой по творческим течениям и по квалификации самую разнородную массу. В числе преподавателей многие, не нашедшие себе места в практической работе, благодаря своей низкой квалификации. Среди преподавателей немало крайних формалистов и конструктивистов, до сих пор продолжающих калечить молодежь.»

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

«Наконец в своем усердии т. Сerezhenkin докатился до явной политической близорукости, сманивая к себе в Институт всех обиженных и недовольных архитекторов, создав в Институте центр для элементов, недовольных современной политикой в архитектуре.»

<sup>168</sup> K. S. Alabyan, ‘Memorandum to the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks to Kaganovich and Andreev and to Ordzhonikidze’s People’s Commissariat for Tyazhprom. RGALI. F. 674. Inv. 2. File 20. P. 23. (In Russian: К. С. Алабян, ‘Докладная Записка в ЦК ВКП(б) Кагановичу и Андрееву и в Наркомтяжпром Орджоникидзе.’, РГАЛИ. Ф. 674. Оп. 2. Ед. хр. 20. Лист 23.).

«Наконец в связи с процессом контрреволюционного троцкистско-зиновьевского центра вскрылась целая группа коммунистов, близких к руководству института, находившаяся в той или иной связи с руководителем террористической группы фашистом Константином (питомцем института). Сerezhenkin на парткоме принужден был сознаться в участии в пьянке на квартирке Константа. Дело находится сейчас в процессе разбора. Однако, одного этого было достаточно для политической дискредитации руководства института. Партгруппа оргкомитета ССА на целом ряде фактов убедились, что без решительного укрепления руководства Института и, в частности, без немедленной смены его директора, действительная перестройка работы института невозможна.»

These words can be clearly classified as denunciation. Serezhenkin's hypothetical connections with "fascists" and "terrorists" described in the last citation, led to his arrest.

In our story we should pay attention to the Alabyan's word about "creating at the Institute a centre for elements dissatisfied with modern politics in architecture" and "many extreme formalists and constructivists who still continue to cripple young people". "Modern politics in architecture" in 1936 was social realism – it's meaning for architecture was very vague, but it obviously denied the heritage of the avant-garde architecture. The Moscow Institute of Architecture, on contrary, inherited the traditions of VKhUTEMAS/VKhUTEIN, and a lot of architects (Nikolay Ladovsky, Moisey Ginzburg, Vesnin brothers, Konstantin Melnikov, etc.), who held very successful constructivist and functionalist workshops in VKhUTEMAS, still were teaching at the Institute throughout 1930s, despite the changes in the "modern politics in architecture".

On the other hand, the complains about the quality of education and the teaching staff, who could not find themselves in architectural practice, also seemed valid. The buildings that could be labelled as "social realistic", are characterized by the richness of decorum on the facades. An architect Boris Marcus, who was a student in the Moscow Institute of Architecture in late 1930s, remembers: "The project of a multi-storey residential building was a serious test for everyone. <...> But for some reason, our teachers led us along some peculiar path. Perhaps they were right. They proposed not to dwell on the design of their sections, not to distract themselves from the main theme, as they said, from the composition of the facade. They suggested simply choosing any section you like from magazines, folding several drawings into one strip and paying all your attention to the facade. And, as I understood then, it was only necessary to carefully study the main facade facing the street or the square. They didn't really think about the side ones, or rather, considered them as a logical continuation of the main thing. And they just didn't think about the back".<sup>169</sup> This quotation shows the level of proficiency of

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<sup>169</sup> Markus B., 'Before the War,' in *MARCHI, XX Century: A Collection of Memoirs in Five Volumes*, ed. by Andrey Nekrasov and Alexey Shcheglov, 5 vols (Moscow: Salon-Press, 2006), II. (In Russian: Борис Маркус, 'До Войны', in *МАРХИ, XX Век: Сборник Воспоминаний в Пяти Томах*, ed. by Андрей Некрасов and Алексей Щеглов, 5 vols (Москва: Салон-Пресс, 2006), II.).

«Серьезным испытанием был для всех проект многоэтажного жилого дома. <...> Но почему-то наши преподаватели повели нас по какому-то своеобразному пути. Возможно, они были правы. Они предложили не останавливаться на проектировании своих секций, не отвлекать себя от главной, как они говорили, темы, от композиции фасада. Предложили просто выбрать любую понравившуюся секцию из журналов, сложить несколько в одну полосу и все внимание обратить на фасад. И, насколько я тогда понял, внимательно надо было прорабатывать только главный

some part of the teaching staff and supports Alabyan's complains about the quality of education.

So, in 1930s the Moscow Institute of Architecture suffered from the various problems, that prevented it to become a leader in Soviet architectural education. On the one hand, the highly qualified architects, who less that 10 years ago had led world-famous Russian avant-garde, were under attack from the Party and the Union of the Soviet Architects for not following "the modern policy in architecture". On the other hand, some random persons among the teaching staff – those, who could not find themselves in architectural practice, – made quality of education in the institute an object of a fair criticism and an opportunity to the Union of the Soviet Architect to force on the unified policy of social realism and to prevent the development of VKhUTEMAS/VKhUTEIN heritage. The administrative mess (four rectors in six years, among whom only one held this position for more than two years) was an additional factor that prevented the Moscow Institute of Architecture to become a leader of Soviet architectural education. Thus, in Moscow the All-Union Academy of Architecture became a centre of the decision-making in the field of training and research in architecture. Even if some tasks (like the development of national curriculum) were formally delegated to the Institute, they were, in fact, performed by the same people, who took the leading positions in the Academy. So, the Academy became truly superior over all other institutions in the capital city.

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фасад, выходящий на улицу или площадь. О боковых как-то не очень думали, вернее, считали их как бы логическим продолжением главного. А о заднем просто не думали.»

## The Leningrad Institute of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture in 1930s

The case of Leningrad Institute of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture and its relationships with such central institutions as the Union of the Soviet Architects and All-Union Academy of Architecture differs from the one that was described in the previous paragraph. Despite all the efforts of the Communist Party to get rid of the pre-Revolutionary heritage in all spheres of social and cultural life, the artistic traditions of the Imperial Academy of Arts were too strong to die. As described in the previous chapter, Academy of Arts was closed in 1918 and during 1920s in the former Academy's building on Vasilevsky island one artistic institution gave way to another. Like in other places, it was a time for artistic experiments. In 1920s in VKhUTEMAS/VKhUTEIN in Petrograd and then Leningrad (the institution bore the same name, as the Moscow one) worked Kazimir Malevich, Vladimir Tatlin, Mikhail Matushin and other significant figures of the avant-garde period. As in Moscow, left movements confronted the traditionalists, which sometimes led to conflicts. In Petrograd and Leningrad, the conflicts were even brighter, because, despite of the changes in names and ideologies, the influence of the Imperial Academy of Arts remained very strong: some of the old professoriate as well as Academy's alumnae continued teaching after the Revolution. For instance, Leonty Benua and Ivan Fomin, who used to be the professors in the Imperial Academy of Arts, kept their positions and ran very successful workshops in Leningrad VKhUTEMAS/VKhUTEIN throughout 1920s.

However, the economic, social and artistic processes of 1920s had a dramatic influence on the former Academy. In the previous chapter we have provided an evidence from the student of the department of sculpture in Moscow VKhUTEIN who came to Leningrad in 1929 for her final year<sup>170</sup>. Students were left completely on their own and literally had to guess, what their teachers meant, when they spoke about "new art" and "a new way of artistic work". In 1929 – 1932 inside the former Academy's building in Institute of the Proletarian Visual Arts was situated. But the quality of education in the Institute was close to disastrous, so there is no wonder, that in the beginning of 1930s it again became a subject of reformation.

In 1932 it receives a new name – a Leningrad Institute of Art, Sculpture and Architecture and becomes a part of All-Soviet Union of Artists, also established in this year. Isac Brodsky, an alumnus of the Imperial Academy of Art (Ilia Repin's workshop, 1909), famous for the series of portraits of the Communist leaders – Lenin, Stalin, Lunacharsky,

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<sup>170</sup> Menchinskaya.

Kalinin and others, receives the rector position. He quickly organizes a commission which aimed to decide, who deserves to continue his or her artistic education and to deliver new requirements for current and perspective students. Vladimir Lisovsky, an architectural historian who documented the history of the artistic and architectural education in Saint Petersburg and Leningrad, provides the following results of the work of this commission: 60 students were expelled because of their absolute incapability, 52 students were transferred to the preparatory class, 62 students were transferred from senior years to freshmen, and 173 had to repeat their year.<sup>171</sup> Brodsky himself defined his task as following: “The task is not to restore the old Academy, which has become dilapidated, only by slightly updating it and repainting the sign. No, it’s necessary ... to build a new Academy ... Such an Academy, which, having absorbed the best traditions of the past ... would be a powerful factor in our entire artistic life, an active participant in socialist construction, a powerful weapon in the struggle to build a classless society... I am sure that there can only be one direction in school - this is the direction of socialist realism.”<sup>172</sup> Thus, the name of the Academy of Arts was mentioned as an example of the best traditions of the past. Brodsky restored the system of individual workshops and preparatory classes. Architectural workshops, ran by former Academy alumnae Noi Trotsky, Iosif Langbard, Lev Rudnev, appeared in 1936. As well as the artists, architects in Leningrad Institute of Art, Sculpture and Architecture, rooted their teaching traditions in the pre-Revolutionary Academy of Arts. For them the centralized pedagogical system planted from Moscow, was a matter of critical review. Leningrad had its own strong teaching tradition, which used to influence the whole country as well, in their eyes it had proved its effectiveness, so they were not going to renounce it.

Mikhail Roslavlev was the dean of the architectural faculty of the All-Russian Academy of Arts in the 1930s. Here is how his activities as dean were described by the famous Leningrad architect, also professor of the Academy Lev Rudnev: “M. I. Roslavlev managed to organize the educational process at the Academy of Arts in such a way, so skillfully combine the traditions of the old Academy with new requirements that the architectural school of the

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<sup>171</sup> Lisovsky.

<sup>172</sup> Lisovsky. P. 169. «Задача заключается не в том, чтобы восстановить Академию старую, обветшавшую, слегка лишь подновив ее и перекрасив вывеску. Нет, надо... строить Академию новую... Таковую Академию, которая, впитав в себя лучшие традиции прошлого... явилась бы мощным фактором всей нашей художественной жизни, активным участником социалистического строительства, сильным оружием в борьбе за построение бесклассового общества... Я уверен, что направление в школе может быть только одно – это направление социалистического реализма»

Academy became an exemplary and leading in the Union ... the Academy owes the integrity and unity of the architectural school to him alone.”<sup>173</sup> This review is kept in Roslavlev’s personal file, among official documents, which means that for Leningrad in the early 1930s, comparison with the traditions of the old Academy was quite acceptable and even honorable.

Even before the 1933 decree “On Architectural Education” was issued and the All-Union Academy of Architecture was created, Roslavlev, together with the architect Sergej Serafimov (the author of the famous complex of the House of State Industry in Kharkov), who held the position of Vice-Rector for Academic Affairs at the Academy, were describing the profession of an architect. Since 1932, the teachers of the architectural faculty of the Academy have been developing the “Profile of an architect - a graduate of the Institute of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture”. This work represented the first attempt to describe the requirements of the Soviet state<sup>174</sup> for the profession of an architect and, on the basis of this, determine the tasks of professional training. As we saw above, the programmatic article describing the professional profile of the Soviet architect – “Raising the best architect in the world”, Academy of Architecture, 1935, no. 3 – came out later, and was largely based on the work of Leningrad teachers. The profile prepared by the Academy of Arts emphasized the importance of acquiring both artistic and civil engineering knowledge and skills, the need for real practice, the importance of knowledge of the history and theory of architecture (“mastering the classical heritage”). The only thing that is much more emphasized is the need for an architect to master all spatial arts - “the faculty prepares highly qualified architects-artists who master architecture as a synthesis of spatial arts.” It was emphasized that full-fledged education within the framework of the ideology of the synthesis of arts (it was described in more detail above, in the section on the institutional characteristics of Soviet architecture in the 1930s) is possible only in those universities where other spatial arts (painting and sculpture) are taught at the same time at a highly professional level. ) - that is, only at the Academy of Arts, where, in addition to the architectural faculty, there were also departments of painting and sculpture. In this statement, one can feel some attempt to gain superiority over the capital: while Moscow is just working out a decree on the modernization of architectural education, creating an

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<sup>173</sup> “Личное Дело Проф. М. И. Рославлева.”

«М. И. Рославлев сумел так организовать учебный процесс в Академии художеств, так умело сочетать лучше традиции старой Академии с новыми требованиями, что архитектурная школа Академии стала образцовой и ведущей в Союзе... ему одному обязана Академия целостностью и единством архитектурной школы»

<sup>174</sup> Вайтенс, “Архитектурное Образование Во Всероссийской Академии Художеств (1932-1941гг.).”

Academy and once again redrawing the curricula of the Institute of Architecture and Construction, in Leningrad they are successfully reviving the traditions of the best pre-revolutionary educational institution in the field of arts and doing critical work to establish standards for the architectural profession, which should be implemented throughout the country.

# Teaching architectural history: an example from the All-Union Academy of Architecture

## The place of architectural history in architect's professional development

Analysing the professional profile of the architect, one could notice that a deep knowledge of the history and theory of architecture, especially with regard to the classical heritage, was one of the key requirements for graduates of Soviet architectural schools. After I analysed the content of the courses on the history of architecture and art, it makes sense to see what place was generally given to these disciplines in the process of preparing architects outside the Soviet Union and how the programs I described are related to international experience.

Despite of the fact that history of architecture is an obligatory element in every architectural school curriculum all over the world, the aim of this discipline is still a subject of the debates<sup>175</sup>. Thus, the content of this course will be very different, depending on where it is taught – at a school of architecture, or at a classical university. In one of the previous paragraphs dedicated to VKhUTEMAS, I have already mentioned that the schools of architecture used to consider history of architecture as a repository of special and tectonic typologies available for use in design projects<sup>176</sup>. On the other hand, the history of arts and architecture as a discipline in the departments of history in the classical universities provides fewer particular details that could be useful in architectural practice, but more conceptualization and reflection of historical and social context. And these approaches to teaching for a long time did not intersect. It was only 1903 when Peter Behrens invited Wilhelm Niemeyer, a former student of August Schmarsow in Dresden, to teach history of architecture in the Dusseldorf's School of Arts and Crafts<sup>177</sup>. It was the first example of the pervasion of the architectural history as a university discipline into the school of architecture.

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<sup>175</sup> Alina A. Payne, 'Architectural History and the History of Art: A Suspended Dialogue', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 58.3 (1999), 292–99 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/991521>>; Crook; Panayiota Pyla, 'Historicizing Pedagogy: A Critique of Kostof's "A History of Architecture"', *Journal of Architectural Education (1984-)*, 52.4 (1999), 216–25.

<sup>176</sup> Stanford Anderson, 'Architectural History in Schools of Architecture', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 58.3 (1999), 282–90 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/991520>>.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.



However, throughout XX century this example remained an exclusion. In the essay discussing the relationship between history of art and history of architecture as disciplines, Alina Payne points out that architectural history operates two arenas – the traditional universalist discourse and schools of architecture and thus is able to address a wider audience in a variety of contexts and ways<sup>178</sup>. According to her, the appropriation of history by a profession-driven discourse added fuel to the debate on the relationship and location of history towards theory of architecture, traditionally the domain of architects since Vitruvius. The most problematic area in this context appeared to be a history of modernity: the discourse of architecture lost its unity, and the internal logic of a self-referential art that requires both synchronic and diachronic study was obscured from view.

Traditionally, since the establishment of the *Accademia del disegno* (1563), architecture was considered as a sister discipline of painting and sculpture, and at the same time, since Vasari's *Vite*, also a part of art history. With the beginning of the modern age (c. 1750), architecture gradually moved towards the world of science and technology, so by 1930s an architect tried on an image of an enlightened engineer, who has in possession both the artistic practices and the achievements of social sciences, industry and modern technology. As an example of such person, Alina Payne refers to Sigfried Giedion, who had left the world of the Beaux-Arts behind and inhabited that of industry, sociology and urban planning. Inevitably, says Payne this shift in the definition of the architectural profession also affected history writing, even when the scholars themselves had no consciousness intention to do that and even when the object of their study was not modernity.<sup>179</sup>

At the turn of the XX century the historical study of art became established as an academic discipline, and architecture made a significant contribution to the ways that art historians refer and interrogate the past. Indeed, Payne reminds us, “architecture played a prominent role in the imbrication of *Stilgeschichte* (history of style), *Geistesgeschichte* (intellectual history), and *Kulturgeschichte* (cultural history) that shaped art historical discourse in the first decades of the century”<sup>180</sup>.

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<sup>178</sup> Payne, ‘Architectural History and the History of Art’.

<sup>179</sup> Alina A. Payne, ‘Vasari, Architecture, and the Origins of Historicizing Art’, *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 40, 2001, 51–76.

<sup>180</sup> Payne, ‘Architectural History and the History of Art’.

However, the very necessity of studying architectural history in the schools of architecture, was questioned throughout the XX century. Thus, Llewelyn Davies, a professor of architecture at Bartlett, UCL, in his inaugural lecture referred to the common doubts: “Is it really necessary to the education of an architect to learn about the past? If we think simply in terms of the ancient buildings themselves, I think we must admit that there is a real difficulty in drawing lessons from them for the present. Their beauty may move us deeply, we may get keen pleasure from them – but do they connect closely enough to give us real help when we sit down to design a building ourselves?”<sup>181</sup>

In the first half of XX century, as Mark Swenarton points out, there were three major strategies to embed the architectural history in the curricula of the school of architecture<sup>182</sup>. First one, Swenarton calls it “realist” was introduced in School of Building in London by W. R. Lethaby in the early 1900s and had “complex intellectual roots, in Ruskin and especially in Viollet-le-Duc”<sup>183</sup>. Then, there was a “classical” system, originated in the Jacques-François Blondel’s *École des Arts*, which was at the head of the following tradition: “my intention above all is to lead those who want to practice the art of building to draw from ancient architecture the first elements of that art...”<sup>184</sup> And finally the “modernist” system set out by Walter Gropius in Bauhaus in 1920s (and then transferred to Harvard from 1937) who insisted that any historical knowledge should be introduced at the late stages of studying, so it could not interfere the development of students’ own creativity. Swenarton’s framework seems quite helpful in deriving the roots of attitudes towards architectural history in Soviet architectural education, so, we will now have a closer look at it.

In 1894 W. R. Lethaby was appointed art inspector to the Technical Education Board of the London County Council (LCC), at the time when Board initiated the reorganization of the training provided for London major skill employments. Lethaby’s task was to provide Council on educational provision for the art industries, including architecture, printing,

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<sup>181</sup> Richard Baron Llewelyn-Davies, *The Education of an Architect: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at University College, London, 10 November 1960* (Lewis for the University College, 1961).

<sup>182</sup> Mark Swenarton, ‘The Role of History in Architectural Education’, *Architectural History*, 30 (1987), 201–15 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/1568520>>.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>184</sup> Reginald Blomfield, *The Mistress Art* (BoD–Books on Demand, 2013). R. Blomfield introduced Blondel’s views to the British architectural education in early XX century. In his book, originally published in 1908, he presents the “classical” system of teaching architectural history in the schools of arts and architecture.

furniture, silverprinting, etc. Under Lethaby's supervision two new art schools were opened, where architecture was also taught: the LCC Central School of Arts and Crafts (1896) and LCC School of Building (1904). The main purpose of the architectural education, according to Lethaby, was to teach students how to build: "the purpose of architectural education is to teach him how to build"<sup>185</sup>. The historical studies, according to Lethaby, should start on a relatively late stages of education: first a student should master the variety of construction materials, then – to get familiar with the "prime factors" (columns, beams, arches, walls, etc.) and "ordinary units" (chimneys, windows, etc.). Only after this, students could begin to design the forms and the space, starting from the single units and proceeding to the more complex types. At this particular point a teacher was allowed to refer to the historical examples, "but it should not be studied as history but as recorded experiment in building, and therefore as ready-made experience. The books of M. Auguste Choisy are excellent guides in this respect"<sup>186</sup>. Thus, for Lethaby, the architectural history was, in the first place, a library of the successful experiences, which students could apply to their own tasks. This quite utilitarian approach to the history of architecture was implemented in schools by the lectures of Beresford Pite. His 1905-06 syllabus stated that the lectures cover "the early development of building – Egyptian, Assyrian and other Eastern Architecture; Greek, Roman, Gothic, Renaissance and modern architecture (which included Inigo Jones's works, Wren and St. Paul's, Les Invalides, the Panthéon and Modern Domed Churches)"<sup>187</sup>. Lethaby's ideas on improvements in architectural education was aimed particularly at schools, which specialize on architecture and construction. The central idea of Lethaby's educational thinking – architecture as a rational solution of structural problems – came, according to Swenarton, from Viollet-le-Duc: the two agreed in key respect of using history to show that architecture had always been based on reason and the main goal of architectural history class is to reveal this reason to the students. At this point one must recall the Zholtovsky's reasoning related to the connections between design classes and architectural history: as we saw above, he suggested giving historical information at the moment when the student would be in practice, that is, through a drawing, studying a particular monument. As a material for such exercises, Zholtovsky offered a whole selection, or library, of monuments related mainly to the Renaissance, of which he was an expert and connoisseur. Thus,

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<sup>185</sup> Godfrey Rubens, *William Richard Lethaby: His Life and Work 1857–1931* (Elsevier, 2014).

<sup>186</sup> Rubens.

<sup>187</sup> Swenarton.

Zholtofsky reproduced the practice of teaching the history of architecture, which was typical for the schools of architecture of the late 19th century.

The second tradition of teaching history of architecture to the architects comes from Jacques- François Blondel. In 1739 he opens the first independent architectural school in Paris. One of his strongest beliefs was that architecture was based on inherited traditions, system of rules and precepts<sup>188</sup>: “My intention above all is to lead those who want practice the art of building to draw from ancient architecture the first elements of that art”<sup>189</sup>. According to Blondel and his successors, students should learn the principles of architectural design by studying the great works of the past. The focus of such study is the building; the context and the history of it were irrelevant – architectural history as a discipline is relevant insofar as it teaches young architects how to design and draw. The only point where the intellectual architectural history could be relevant for architectural students is to learn how to discriminate “between the accidental and the permanent and essential qualities of building”<sup>190</sup>. Describing Blondel’s educational principles as a “classical tradition of teaching architectural history, Swenarton notes that “it was “history” in particular sense, studied for a particular end. For a start, it was the history not of all buildings or all architecture, but only the great masterpieces – an immediate and drastic reduction. The masterpieces, furthermore, were to be studied not in terms of how or why they were built, or of their historical importance (a matter to be left to the historians), but solely in order to learn from them the principles of composition in design”<sup>191</sup>. This approach was implemented in the pre-revolutionary Russia: Leonty Benois (as was described above) borrowed the main principles of architectural education from École des Beaux-Arts; the first Russian textbook on the history of architecture by Nikolay Sultanov (1883) also was, in the first hand, the repository for the drawings and principles of construction of the most prominent monuments of the past. The first Russian translation of Choisy’s “History of architecture” saw light in the first decade of XX century and immediately became highly popular among Russian architects, because it presented history of architecture as a history of constructive techniques. It seems to me that this direction is closer to what Moisey Ginzburg implemented in VKhUTEMAS. If one recalls his program, one can see that it, on the

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<sup>188</sup> Robin Middleton, ‘Jacques François Blondel and the “Cours d’Architecture”’, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 18.4 (1959), 140–48 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/987903>>.

<sup>189</sup> Blomfield.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> Swenarton.

one hand, was oriented towards historical consistency in the study of monuments, and on the other, we know that for Ginzburg the search fundamental principles in architecture was one of the foundations of the profession.

Finally let's have a look at the modernist tradition of teaching architectural history to the architects. Planning Bauhaus curriculum, Walter Gropius left almost no space for the historical disciplines. According to his educational philosophy, studying history was a definite obstacle to the development of creativity. Describing his propaedeutical *Vorkurs*, Gropius wrote that "practical and theoretical studies are carried simultaneously in order to release the creative power of student, to help him grasp the physical nature of materials and the basic laws of design. Concentration on any particular stylistic movement is studiously avoided"<sup>192</sup>. However, on the later stages of education the historical studies are desirable: "Such studies can verify principles, found by the student through his own previous exercises in surface, volume, space and colour; they cannot by themselves, however, develop a structure of principle to be valid for present creation in design. Principles have to be established for each period from new creative work. History studies are therefore the best offered to older students who have already found self-expression"<sup>193</sup>. Analysing Gropius's attitudes towards history, Swenarton says that the purpose of the historical studies was consistent with modernist view of architecture that Gropius espoused. For Gropius the point of teaching history was to demonstrate, why the architectural conception of a past period, as evident from the remaining examples, resulted from its religion, its social set-up, and its means of production. He proposed studying history in discrete periods, like a sequence of case-studies, and each time show, how architecture sprang from its age. This tradition lies at the opposite end to the "realistic" view of architectural history as a repository of successful ideas. For Gropius, the social and historical context becomes a central point and a very sense of historical studies, so these studies give student a way of looking of their own designs and an analytical method to evaluate architecture. Based on the analysed documents, we can confidently say that this approach has never been implemented in the Soviet Union. Even in VKhUTEMAS, which is the closest possible institution to the Bauhaus in terms of the goals and values, Ginzburg chose a more familiar approach for architects in which the monument plays a key role.

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<sup>192</sup> Walter Gropius, 'Theory and Organization of the Bauhaus (1919-1928), New York, Ed', *Herbert Bayer*, 1938.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*

By the end of the 19th century in Russia, thanks to the reform of the Academy and the course of lectures by Nikolai Sultanov at the Institute of Civil Engineers, a “classical” approach to teaching the history of architecture, focused on the study of the structural features of architectural monuments, was fixed. Since, as we saw above, in the 1930s, one way or another, there was a return to the academic traditions of teaching, it can be assumed that the construction of courses in the history of architecture should also have been following them. This question will be studied in detail in the following section.

## Course on history of architecture for the postgraduate students

The syllabi for the disciplines “History of Arts” and “History of Architecture” were published in the first issue of the Academy’s magazine “Academy of Architecture”, alongside with the syllabus on architectural design – a discipline that was considered the most important for the Academy’s students. They were first three documents related to the education in the Academy, published for the professional community and general public. The syllabus on history of architecture was developed by David Arkin and the history of arts – by Alexander Gabrichevsky. According to the topic of this study, I will describe them in detail.

David Arkin (born in 1899 in Moscow, died at the same place in 1957), was an art historian, who specialised on history and theory of architecture and arts and crafts. In 1922 he graduated from the Moscow State University (department of history and philology). In 1930-s he worked as a professor of the history of architecture in the several institutions, including Moscow Institute of Architecture and All-Union Academy of Architecture. He was also involved in Union of Soviet Architects since its establishment and became a member of the board. So, like Kryukov, Arkin was a member of several professional networks.

In the preface of his syllabus for architectural history, Arkin proposed not to repeat the linear history “from Egypt to modernity” (which Academy’s postgraduate students should have already studied on their previous stages of education), but to emphasise the key “nodes” from various epochs and style systems. According to him, “this will not divest the course of the strict historicism, [...] but will allow to study the material and to analyse the monuments deeper, than in architectural schools, and to understand the social and artistic content of the style or the particular architectural problem”. However, as we can see, these “nodes” were also organised in the historical order, and the contextual information became a part of the particular seminars, dedicated to the problems of the history of architecture. Thus, the syllabus has two lines: 1) the historical line which is dedicated to the architecture of the certain epochs “from Egypt to modernity” and 2) the problematic line, which included debates on the architectural heritage, materials and techniques, form and synthesis, etc.

The historical line covered the following topics:<sup>194</sup>

1. Egyptian pyramid and temple.
2. Greece periptery of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, its history and compositional development.
3. The planning of Hellenistic town.
4. Colosseum, Pantheon, and Roman baths (the problems of techniques and artistic expression).
5. Sophia of Constantinople.
6. The Near East architecture in the Middle Ages.
7. The architecture of the Far East.
8. The Notre-Damme and Amienes cathedrals.
9. Kolomenskoe and St. Basil's cathedral.
10. Russian medieval town.
11. Brunelleschi.
12. St. Peter's cathedral and its history.
13. Bernini and Borromini.
14. Italian villas.
15. Versailles.
16. French classicism of the XVIII century.

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<sup>194</sup> Arkin D. E., 'Syllabus for the History of Architecture', *The Academy of Architecture*, 1–2, 1934, 76. (In Russian: Аркин Д. Е., 'Программа По Истории Архитектуры', *The Academy of Architecture*, 1–2, 1934, 76.).

А. Исторические темы: 1. Египетская пирамида и храм. 2. Греческий периптер V века, его история, композиционное развитие. 3. Планировка эллинистического города. 4. Коллизей, Пантеон, и термы (проблема техники и художественного выражения). 5. София константинопольская. 6. Средневековое зодчество Ближнего Востока. 7. Зодчество Дальнего Востока. 8. Соборы Нотр-Дам и Амьенский. 9. Коломенское и Василий Блаженный. 10. Русский средневековый город. 11. Брунеллески. 12. Собор Святого Петра в Риме и его история. 13. Бернини и Боромини. 14. Итальянские виллы. 15, Версаль. 16. Французский классицизм XVIII века. 17. Русский классицизм. 18. Новейшие течения западной архитектуры и современная архитектура.

Б. Проблемы истории архитектуры: 1. Классическое наследие в истории архитектуры (переработка классических образцов в архитектуре Ренессанса, классицизма и ампира). 2. Ансамбль в архитектуре города. 3. Проблемы синтеза архитектуры, скульптуры и живописи. 4. Проблема дерева в развитии архитектуры. 5. Проблема материала и техники в современной архитектуре. 6. Теоретики архитектуры Ренессанса. 7. Теоретики архитектуры классицизма.

В. Специальные семинары: 1. По масштабу и пропорции. 2. По сравнительному изучению и анализу архитектурных памятников. 3. По истории советской архитектуры.



17. Russian classicism.
18. The modern trends of the Western architecture and the contemporary architecture.

The problematic line covered the following areas:

1. Classical heritage in the history of architecture (the revision of the classical examples in the architecture of Renaissance, classicism and Empire style).
2. The ensemble in the city architecture.
3. The problem of synthesis of architecture, sculpture and painting.
4. The problem of wood in the development of architecture.
5. The problem of materials and techniques in the modern architecture.
6. The theoreticians of architecture in the Renaissance.
7. The theoreticians of architecture in classicism.

Then, Arkin planned a series of special seminars, dedicated to the following topics:

1. On scale and proportions.
2. On the comparative study and analysis of the architectural monuments.
3. On the history of Soviet architecture.

And finally, he expresses a wish to include the following topics, if there will be enough class hours:

1. Key points in the development in garden architecture.
2. Theatre building in history of architecture.
3. History of the industrial architecture.

Thus, in his curriculum Arkin provided a complex approach to the teaching of architectural history: as a historical timeline and as a set of problems to which various periods can provide their solutions. However, one cannot say that Arkin managed to avoid a historical principle “from Egypt to modernity” – a desire that he expressed in the preface. The largest part of the course is given to the historical and geographical review of the development of architecture – from antiquity to modernity. If one would try to compare the amount of time given to each period and region, it became clear, that this course is focused on Western world with the particular emphasis to the classical heritage: Greece, Rome, Renaissance and neoclassical architecture of XVIII century. All other topics in this list seem to be a necessary, but disturbing addition: on the one hand, you cannot do without them in the course on the world history of architecture, and on the other, they seem to interfere with focusing on the main topics.

Even history of Russian architecture is given very briefly: as if throughout the centuries there were nothing except medieval towns and neoclassic. It is worth noting that studies of Russian architecture were extremely popular at the Academy of Arts, starting in the mid-19th century; Students and architects have accumulated a great deal of material on architectural ensembles of various eras from different parts of the Russian Empire. Moreover, the reform of the Imperial Academy of Arts at the end of the nineteenth century, in particular, implied an increase in the time to study Russian architecture for students of department of architecture, and many teachers of the All-Union Academy of Architecture went through these topics. Therefore, the material for teaching Russian architecture has been accumulated in sufficient volume. Nevertheless, the place of Russian architecture in the course of Arkin can be called more than modest. Summarizing, it can be noted that the historical perspective highlighted in Arkin's course is highly focused on the problem of mastering the classical heritage posed by the party to the professional community of architects.

It is worth noting that in the historical part Arkin invited the most recognized experts on every topic. Thus, Greece, Rome and Hagia Sophia were performed by a specialist in ancient and Byzantine architecture Nikolai Brunov; for the Renaissance Arkin invited Mikhail Alpatov, known for his deep knowledge of Italian art; and to himself Arkin left the architecture of the XVIII century<sup>195</sup>.

The seminars in the second, “problematic” block reflect the same tendency. The opening seminar is directly dedicated to the classical heritage and this line continues through the discussions on the Renaissance XVIII century theories and treatises. Other topics – “synthesis of arts” and the city ensembles also reflect the current agenda of the architectural community set by the Communist Party. In 10<sup>th</sup> of July 1935 Central Committee of the Communist Party accepted the general plan of reconstruction of the Moscow city, proposed by Vladimir Semenov and Sergey Chernyshev, which served as a starting point for mass reconstruction of the capital city. Work on this plan began immediately after the revolution: the first version of the plan was presented in 1918 by Boris Sakulin, during the 1920s Ivan Zholtovsky and Alexei Shchusev, Nikolai Ladovsky, Hans Meyer and Le Corbusier presented their projects. By the beginning of 1930-s the reconstruction of Moscow became one of the

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<sup>195</sup> Arkin D. E., ‘Syllabus for the History of Architecture with the Assignment of Surnames of Lecturers’, RGALI. F. 2606. Inv. 1. File 105. P. 18. (In Russian: Аркин Д. Е., ‘Программа По Истории Архитектуры с Распределением По Фамилиям Лекторов’, РГАЛИ. Ф. 2606. Оп. 1. Ед.Хр. 105. Л. 18.).

hottest topics in Soviet architecture – heated discussions revolved around what kind of city layout would make it convenient, progressive and reflecting the very essence of the socialist structure of the city. So, there is no wonder, that Arkin proposed the city ensembles to the students as a current challenge for the whole professional community.

The relationships between architecture, painting and sculpture, the topic that Arkin also planned to cover in one of the problematic seminars were the subject of discussion since the beginning of 1930s. This topic is closely related to the search for socialist realism in architecture. If in painting and literature, which became the origins of style<sup>196</sup>, social realism was expressed through a mimetic narrative (“a true, historically concrete depiction of reality in its revolutionary development”<sup>197</sup>), then in architecture it was much more difficult to find such a form. Social realism as a main method of the Soviet art, was first introduced at the First Congress of Soviet Writers, and it was literature that became the locomotive of introducing the method into Soviet art. The literary centrality of Stalinist culture has been repeatedly described in the literature, for example, in the book “Moscow is the Fourth Rome”, Katerina Clark very carefully examines the consequences for various types of art of the fact that a narrative, an image whose essence can be expressed in words, become central techniques of the artistic practices of the era. She claims, that “In the 1930-s, culture, and especially literature, became the Soviet secular surrogate for religion and central to the Soviet Union’s claim for international dominance. Ideology was in theory of paramount importance and often stressed over material progress, but it was not sufficient. Literature, in concert with the new architecture, provided emblems for the new system of value: aesthetic forms embodied ideology. [...] The aesthetics provided a critical interface between politics and mores in systematizing the value system and working out a code of values and behaviour”.<sup>198</sup> The priority of literature was also expressed in state art policy: it was with the 1932 decree “On the restructuring of literary and artistic organizations” that the process of forcing the writers, artists, architects and other arts into creative unions began, the main purpose of which was to create a single ideological agenda. For architecture, the search for a language in which socialist realism could speak has become

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<sup>196</sup> Paperny.

<sup>197</sup> The definition of the Social realism, accepted on the I Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934: “Socialist realism, being the main method of Soviet fiction and literary criticism, requires the artist to give a true, historically concrete depiction of reality in its revolutionary development. Moreover, the truthfulness and historical concreteness of the artistic depiction of reality should be combined with the task of ideological alteration and education in the spirit of socialism.”

<sup>198</sup> Clark. P. 10.

perhaps the most difficult task compared to other types of art. This problem was solved through a synthesis of arts: the active use of pictorial and sculptural elements that narrated the heroic socialist present and future and were used to solve the tasks of visual propaganda. The specific techniques of this synthesis were actively discussed in the professional press: for example, in the journal "Architecture of the USSR" there was a regular column "Architecture - Painting - Sculpture", which discussed the results of this synthesis in specific buildings, as well as general issues, for example, the roles of the architect, sculptor and painter in the design of buildings. Katerina Clark, when describing the Soviet state policy in aesthetics, refers to the James's C. Scott notion, that "aesthetics considerations frequently won out over the existing social structure and mundane functioning of the city".<sup>199</sup> The predominance of decor over the function of the building - one of the key characteristics of Stalinist architecture - is precisely the result of an attempt to integrate the "synthesis of art" into projects. And of course, it is appropriate to recall here the decoration of the Moscow metro, in which the principles of "synthesis of art" were fully implemented. It is not surprising, therefore, that Arkin included this topic in one of his problematic seminars.

Unfortunately, we do not know the real distribution of study time between all blocks of the course. In the preface, Arkin writes that there is a big risk of not meeting the allotted time limits, so it can be assumed that in the real educational process, not all topics were able to be covered in detail. Of course, this does not apply to the classical heritage, because it was an underlying theme for the whole course, but we do not know how thoroughly the graduate students of the Academy were able to get acquainted with modern architecture, including Soviet, or discuss problems of scale and proportions. In general, looking at the list of topics proposed by Arkin, we can conclude that the course of the history of architecture for graduate students, on the one hand, was intended to fill the gaps of education at the previous levels (the historical part), and on the other, to acquaint them with the current, rather opportunistic, agenda facing the professional community (the problematic part). The topics of the seminars proposed by Arkin for the second part of the course were determined by what was most discussed in the professional community at that time. However, since after the creation of the Union of Architects, the community was built on an artificial basis, it cannot be said that these topics reflected the real state of the architectural profession.

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<sup>199</sup> James C Scott, *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (Yale University Press, 1998).

## Course on art history for the postgraduate students

The structure of the history of art course proposed by Alexander Gabrichevsky, at first glance, seems similar to the program on the history of architecture considered above. However, a more detailed analysis shows that the topics he has chosen are less focused on the current agenda of the Union of Architects, and more on expanding the horizons of students and developing their analytical apparatus.

By the beginning of 1930-s Gabrichevsky had already been known and respectable art-historian, so his experience was very valuable for the Academy's postgraduate students. He was born in 1891 in Moscow and in 1915 graduated from the same department of history and philology of the Moscow University, as Arkin. In 1920-s he was busy teaching art history in various institutions: Moscow University, VKhUTEIN, The Institute of Architecture and Construction, etc. He was also a member of State Academy of Artistic Sciences (GAHN). His main interest was the Renaissance painting and architecture (and, as we shall see later, one of the implications of this interest was the Academy's publishing house programme of the translation of the main Renaissance architectural treatises, which Gabrichevsky led). During the pre-war years he was arrested three times (in 1930, in 1935 and in 1941), but his authority in artistic and scientific circles bolstered his returns to Moscow.

The idea of his art history course for the architects was in line with the Arkin's proposal for the history of architecture. In his description of the course, Gabrichevsky bluntly says that these two disciplines must be carefully coordinated with each other in order to maximally familiarize graduate students with all aspects of artistic culture. Gabrichevsky agrees with Arkin that there is no use to repeat to the students the content they had already heard in the architectural schools "from Egypt to modernity" (he even uses the same description) and proposes to focus on the key aspects of the discipline. This method, according to Gabrichevsky should "catch the interest of the leading professionals and introduce the students to the peculiar laboratory of this scientific discipline".<sup>200</sup> It is interesting to note, that in this preface Gabrichevsky uses a rhetoric, which is more common for science than for humanities, which

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<sup>200</sup> Gabrichevsky A. G., 'Art History Syllabus', *Academy of Architecture*, 1-2, 1934, 77-79. (In Russian: Габричевский А. Г., 'Программа По Истории Искусств', *Академия Архитектуры*, 1-2, 1934, 77-79.).

«Такой метод должен заинтересовать крупных специалистов и ввести слушателей в самую лабораторию данной научной дисциплины».

probably should increase the value of the discipline both for the students and the professional community.

As the course on history of architecture, the art history class also had three parts: (1) the art of various epochs and countries; (2) the problems of the theory of visual arts and arts and crafts; (3) the history of related arts (music, poetry, theatre, cinema). The aim of the last one was to broaden the students' cultural erudition (which probably was quite necessary, considering the variety of their social and educational background). Additionally, Gabrichevsky proposed to launch a special seminar on the recognition of the various styles and to add the optional lectures on the history of culture, economy and philosophy, which also aimed to raise students' cultural and social awareness. As Arkin in the course of history of architecture, Gabrichevsky implied that each topic will be read by different lecturers – those who are the most recognized experts in a particular epoch, style or problem. On this course, he himself acted mainly as a coordinator.

Gabrichevsky proposed the following thematical plan:

- I. The historical cycle:
  1. Prehistoric art.
  2. The art of the classical East.
  3. The art of antiquity (mostly Greece, Hellenism and Rome).
  4. The Asian art.
  5. The western art in the Middle Ages.
  6. The Old Russian art.
  7. The art of the Renaissance.
  8. The European art of the XVI–XVIII centuries.
  9. The European art of the XIX–XX centuries.
- II. The problems of the theory of visual arts and arts and crafts:
  1. The theory of the pictorial forms.
  2. The mural.
  3. The graphics (its principles and applications to architecture).
  4. Plastic arts.
  5. Problems and art of the ornament.
  6. The art of the furniture.
  7. The art of the costume.
- III. The outlines of the history of the related arts:

1. Historical poetics.
2. The main issues of musicology.
3. The main issues of the theatre studies.
4. The art of the cinema<sup>201</sup>.

From the proposed plan we can see that the historical part goes in line with Arkin's syllabus: orientation to Western art, strong focus on classical heritage. Gabrichevsky does not hide the fact that the coordination of two historical disciplines was his priority in the course development process. Here we also see that Russian art is not given special attention after the Middle Ages (we can assume that it was included in European art, but this could not be confirmed). However, the distribution of time between the blocks looks more balanced, and the problems considered in the second part of the course are less biased and related to the current agenda dictated by the party. Gabrichevsky's course is broader than the Arkin's one on history of architecture; it is aimed, first of all, at developing the professional erudition of the architect and broadening his or her horizons in related arts.

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<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

I. Исторический цикл: 1. Первобытное искусство. 2. Искусство классического Востока. 3. Античное искусство (преимущественно Греция, эллинизм и Рим). 4. Искусство Азии. 5. Искусство западного средневековья. 6. Древнерусское искусство. 7. Искусство Ренессанса. 8. Европейское искусство XVI–XVIII веков. 9. Европейское искусство XIX–XX веков.

II. Проблемологический цикл (в историческом изложении): 1. Теория живописных форм. 2. Монументальная живопись. 3. Графика (ее принципы и приложение в архитектуре). 4. Круглая пластика и рельеф. 5. Проблемы и история орнамента. 6. Искусство мебели. 7. Искусство костюма.

III. Краткие очерки истории и теории других искусств: 1. Историческая поэтика. 2. Основные вопросы музыковедения. 3. Основные вопросы театроведения. 4. Искусство кино.

## The programme of translation of the main Renaissance treatises in the All-Union Academy of Architecture

To understand how the Renaissance was represented in Soviet architectural education in the 1930s, one cannot confine oneself to analysing curricula, especially at higher levels of professional training. It seems necessary to turn our attention to books, which were supposed to help both students and practicing architects to master the classical heritage. In this section, we will continue to explore the work of the All-Union Academy of Architecture and look at the publication program of its Publishing House. The theme of my work suggests that not all the publishing activities of the Academy will be in focus, although this could become an interesting separate research.

In the first half of 1930-s the Publishing House of the All-Union Academy of Architecture initiated a large project devoted to the translation, commenting and publishing the main treatises on the history and theory of Renaissance architecture. It was a series of books under the name of “Classics of Theory of architecture” edited by Alexander Gabrichevsky – a professor of art history in the Academy and an employee of the workshop of history and theory of architecture. The preparation of each volume required a great amount of work which included not only the translation itself, but also the extended historical and linguistic research. However, the practical value of this work for educating and enlightening the architects’ community was not obvious – this notion was made by Branko Mitrović, who was the first to pay attention to this story<sup>202</sup>, and I agree with him. Moreover, among those who took part in this project, there was only one professional architect, all others were historians, philosophers and linguists. According to Mitrović, they did not put many efforts to adjust the translations to the needs of the architectural community, however, as we shall see, this statement is rather controversial. In this paragraph, I will try to figure out, what stood behind this great project and whose needs these books should have met.

The publishing activity of the Academy of Architecture, and in particular the translation work, is still considered an unprecedented case of deep theoretical work initiated and supported by the most important architectural institution in the country. The more interesting it will be to understand the mechanisms that provided it.

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<sup>202</sup> Branko Mitrović, ‘Studying Renaissance Architectural Theory in the Age of Stalinism’, *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 12 (2009), 233–63 <<https://doi.org/10.1086/its.12.27809576>>.



## The Publishing House of the All-Union Academy of Architecture in the 1930s

The Academy's Publishing House was established by the same decree "On architectural education"<sup>203</sup> that I have described in detail in the previous paragraphs. According to it, the Publishing House should have immediately engaged in the release of "textbooks and teaching aids in the most important architectural disciplines; monographs <...> on selected branches of architectural practice; treatises and albums of classics and outstanding masters of architecture; brief architectural encyclopaedia <...> and the course of the general history of architecture".<sup>204</sup> The notion to publish "treatises and albums of classics and outstanding masters of architecture" initiated the work on the introduction into the everyday life of the architect of various historical and theoretical texts, and Academy's workshop on history and theory of architecture took responsibility for translations and commenting. Besides Renaissance architectural treatises that I will discuss below, the works included the publication of other historically important books, such as Andrea Pozzo's *Perspective*, Charles Cameron's *The Baths of the Romans*, and classics of architectural history, such as Blum's "*Description and Application of Five Orders*", Stegman and Geymuller's "*Renaissance Architecture in Tuscany*", Viollet le Duc's "*Conversations on Architecture*", Choisy's "*History of Architecture*", as well as contemporary works on classical architecture, such as K. Ranchevsky's study on the typology of Roman capitals. Typically, the publications included not only translations but were accompanied by an extensive body of scholarship on architectural theory in the form of introductions, commentaries, essays on specific topics, or additional translations of other sources related to the specific architectural treatise. All these required the extensive collateral research, results of which were published in the magazine "The Academy of Architecture" and a series of monographs, the publishing project became the main task for the workshop. In 1935 the workshop initiated also a work on the multi-volume textbook on the world history of architecture (which took almost three decades). The preparation of the textbook and discussions around it deserve a separate research project. Despite the fact that an entire volume was devoted to the Renaissance in the textbook, I will not dwell on this story in detail, because the work on

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<sup>203</sup> 'On Architectural Education. A Decree of the Central Committee of All-Union Communist Party (bolsheviks) from 4th of October 1933'.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

«...учебников и учебных пособий по важнейшим архитектурным дисциплинам; монографий <...> по отдельным отраслям архитектурной практики; монографий и альбомов классиков и выдающихся мастеров архитектуры; краткой архитектурной энциклопедии <...> и курса всеобщей истории архитектуры».

the volume goes beyond the time frame I am considering and requires the involvement of completely different social contexts for its comprehension.

As mentioned above, in 1944 an Academy of Architecture published a brochure called “The 10 years of the Academy of Architecture”<sup>205</sup> where presented the results of the work of each division for the 10-years period. The most interesting for us now are the paragraphs about the workshop on the history and theory of architecture as a main actor of the translation programme and about the Publishing House.

Let’s start from the workshop. This paragraph was probably written by David Arkin, who, by that moment had already become its head. Arkin worked in the Academy from the very beginning, held the position of the academic secretary and was responsible for planning and controlling all the research related activities in the workshop. He divides the 10-years period for 3 stages. First one, from 1933 to 1937, under the guidance of art-historian and one of the leading VOPRA ex-members Ivan Macza, who by that period was also an important figure in the Union of the Soviet Architects, Arkin calls “preparatory” when the main goal was to find a proper staff and to develop a plan for the future years. The main ideological line of this period was “a critical work on a world architectural heritage”, so the Renaissance studies (but not only them) were absolutely legitimate since the very beginning of the workshop’s work. I assume, it was Macza and Arkin, who gathered the people who worked over the translation program, alongside with the textbook “The World History of Architecture”. In this period, Arkin and Macza invited Alexandr Gabrichevsky and Vasily Zubov to the Academy – the leading figures in the publishing of the series “Classics of Theory of Architecture”. During the next periods (1937 – 1939 and 1939 – 1944, under the guidance of Ivan Nikolaev and David Arkin, correspondingly) the work on the “The World History of Architecture” became a main task for everyone involved in the workshop, however, other publication activities also took place.

More interesting (and closer to our topic) is the report of the Publishing House. Why this programme seemed so significant not only to Soviet architects (and bureaucrats) but also to the architectural historians 80 years after? Let’s look at the numbers: the amount of literature published by the Academy was enough for each Soviet architect to have these volumes on the shelves.

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<sup>205</sup> “10 years of the All-Union Academy of Architecture of the USSR (1934-1944)”.

Table 7. Total amount of literature published by the All-Union Academy of Architecture during the first decade.

<b>Year</b>	<b>Number of items</b>	<b>Total number of prints</b>
1935	20	97 900
1936	30	89 900
1937	38	122 100
1938	40	152 400
1939	46	267 100
1940	52	240 200
1941	39	137 600
1942	26	62 500
1943	7	17 300
1944	22	64 500
<b>Total<sup>206</sup></b>	<b>314 (320)</b>	<b>1 234 200 (1 251 500)</b>

Thus, the amount of publications in the Academy's Publishing House was huge. These numbers include not only books on architectural history and theory, but all print production that can fulfil architects' needs and promote Soviet architecture among general public: albums with architectural graphics, designs, brochures on the various aspects of the national architecture of the USSR, postcards with the significant monuments, etc. Architecture of the Soviet national republics was represented by the books on the architecture of Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, wooden architecture of the Russian North (Arkhangelsk and Murmansk area) and Karelia (former part of Finland). Special issues were dedicated to the various aspects of design and construction of residential and public buildings – hospitals, kinder-gardens cinemas, workers' clubs as a special form of community life (places where local people could spend

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<sup>206</sup> First number in this line is taken from the Academy's report, and the number in brackets is the sum of the data in the column.

their free time, in the early Soviet times they in some sense replaced churches, and in many villages and small towns across Russia, church buildings became clubs).<sup>207</sup>

The Academy's Publishing House also paid attention to the issues of urban planning. 1930s were the time of creating master plans for the development of Soviet cities. The second five-year plan, which started to implement in 1933, aimed at the massive growth of industrial production, so urban development became one of the priorities of the Soviet economy. In 1935, masterplans for Moscow and Leningrad appeared, in 1937 – for Gorky (Nizhny Novgorod), in 1938 – for Sverdlovsk (Yekaterinburg) – cities where industrial production was concentrated. Therefore, publications dedicated to urban development occupied an essential place in the products of the Academy's Publishing House.

It was also necessary to inform the general reader about the achievements of Soviet architecture – for this, the Publishing House launched a special series of brochures: about the Moscow metro, about the All-Soviet agricultural exhibition, about the Soviet pavilion at the World Exhibition in Paris, and so on. To solve the problems of Soviet propaganda by means of architecture, it was not enough to design and build a monument; it was important to make as many people as possible to see it. The distribution of printed materials depicting the most significant Soviet monuments was one of the most obvious and easy ways to do this. During the first decade of its existence (which is in the focus of our interest) Academy's Publishing House managed to establish a steady production of literature in a specific field and achieve significant results both in meeting the needs of the architects themselves and in shaping the architectural tastes of the Soviet public in general. Even during the WWII, as one can see from the table above, the Publishing House continued to work, specializing mainly in the needs of military construction. The second direction of the Publishing House's work that was important for Soviet architecture in the war time was the publications related to the commemoration of the war.

The establishment of the publishing houses at the various state institutions was a common practice in the 1930s in the USSR. This practice was related to state ideological control over the book production and is rooted in 1920s, when the Main Directorate of Literature and Publishing Houses (Glavlit) was established. The main functions of Glavlit were ideological – it made a final decision whether a book would be published or prohibited. After

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<sup>207</sup> Lewis H Siegelbaum, 'The Shaping of Soviet Workers' Leisure: Workers' Clubs and Palaces of Culture in the 1930s', *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 56 (1999), 78–92.

coming to power, the Communist Party had immediately banned the “bourgeois” print production and over the course of the Civil War created a complex array of military and ideological censorship organs. In the spring of 1922, the Party decided to unify all censorship organs into a single entity, so some private publishing houses could reopen. This reopening was motivated by several reasons. Foremost, there was a perceived need to jumpstart a publishing industry, and the private publishers could provide both capital and expertise that was sorely needed. Their experience was particularly important in technically challenging areas, such as scientific or engineering publishing, that inexperienced state Publishing Houses were ill-prepared to handle. However, the Party could not delegate the responsibility for the content to the private publishers. The books irrelevant to the state ideology, could pose two types of danger: first, they might trigger interests, beliefs or desire in reader that would lead him or her away from the communism, and second, these books could distract reader from other, more valuable books, from the official point of view. Thus, the reader’s time was also viewed as a significant ideological resource. Since 1920 the Soviet state put a lot of efforts to eliminate illiteracy among the adult citizens<sup>208</sup>, and publishing production became one of the effective ways of the propaganda.

Thus, the main function of Glavlit was to ensure, that irrelevant or anti-communist books would not appear in the Soviet bookshops. Private publishers had to submit advanced quarterly editorial plans, which were reviewed by the Glavlit’s censors. They could propose potential alterations (and these proposals were obligatory to follow) and change the aspects of the publication, such as length or expected number of copies.

As Brian Kassof argues, the ability to review quarterly editorial plans in advance was particularly important, as it provided Glavlit with a means of forcing the private publishers to restrict their output to a limited number of subject areas<sup>209</sup>. This type of specialization in the Soviet trade was known as “typification” (tipizatsia, «типизация» in Russian). Each publishing house should provide to Glavlit a well-defined profile – two or three related subject areas of specialization (for example, engineering and science, or children’s literature and classical literature, etc.). This division of the subject areas was opposed to the “universal” state

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<sup>208</sup> The estimations of the literacy level among adult Russians (16 to 50 y.o.) in 1914 vary from 30% to 45%. The 1939 census data provides 90% of the literate people, and in many regions the literacy became total.

<sup>209</sup> Brian Kassof, ‘Glavlit, Ideological Censorship, and Russian-Language Book Publishing, 1922–38’, *The Russian Review*, 74.1 (2015), 69–96 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/russ.10757>>.

publishing houses working on the numerous fields which may not have been interrelated. Glavlit could (and, as Kassof states, frequently did) refuse to allow a publication on the grounds that it fell outside a publishing house's profile. Such refusals on the formal grounds, were usually issued upon the submissions of the individual manuscripts. It was a measure designed to catch works that did not match their description in editorial plans, or which were substitutions. In either case, any work seen as falling out the predefined area of competence, could be rejected, regardless of its ideological qualities. According to a Glavlit official, a more than a dozen publishing houses in Moscow and Leningrad were shut down during the typification process in 1920s.

The typification process forced by Glavlit, appeared to be quite successful: by the mid-1920s the great majority of books released by the private publishers fell into one of the four subject areas: fiction, children's books, science and technology and the arts. Kasslof states, that these were the areas where party leaders believed the work of state publishing operation still required supplementation. Correspondingly, Glavlit's own internal structure had to reflect these subject areas given to the private publishers.

However, this situation in book printing could not exist a significantly long period of time. Party leaders always viewed the existence of the private publishing in the Soviet Union as temporary experiment, only tolerated until the state publishing sector would become strong enough to provide a printing production in expected numbers and quality level. In 1929 the Central Party Committee officials finally decided to force the closure of the remaining private publishing houses. Glavlit's leadership was, however, dissatisfied and argued for their continued operation, maintaining that they still serve a useful purpose and were under control. Glavlit's protection to the private publishing sector can be probably explained by the notion that its relationship with state publishers were more complicated. In the newly born Soviet publishing industry Glavlit was one of the many other agents expected to play a role in ensuring the ideological qualities of the Soviet print production. Kasslof argues that if Glavlit's relationship with the private publishers laid bare the logic of Soviet censorship, its relationship to the state publishing houses exposed the very real limitations of its powers and its place in the broader system of regulation and control. However, the creation of the state publishing system was happening in the time when Glavlit was the most influential player in the print industry, and its regulation practices were acquired by the state printing industry. In particular, the practice of typification has left a mark on the configuration of the industry. By the time of the emergence of large creative unions in 1932 and institutions responsible for the development

of an entire industry (such as, as in the case in focus, the Union of Architects and the Academy of Architecture), the practice of thematic division of publishing houses was already entrenched, so it seemed logical to open publishing houses specializing in a particular field of knowledge within the framework of the relevant institutions. Thus, Academy of Sciences of the USSR has its own Publishing House specialising in scientific literature since 1925. Arts as a field of human activity and ideologically important area of social life, also required its own publishing houses, and the Academy of architecture became the first representative of the visual arts in the Soviet print market. The Publishing House of the Academy of Arts was established only after WWII, in 1947. The censorship process has changed since the end of the 1920s and the death of the private print sector (each state publishing house had censors among their staff), but the practice of providing plans and thematic regulations remained. If the publishing house would have liked to include a book in its publishing plan, it should not only have to show the ideological value of the item, but to provide evidence that the subject of the books lied within its area of expertise.

Thus, the work of the Publishing House of the Academy of Architecture was perfectly integrated into the publishing system of the USSR. The decree “On Architectural Education” provided a perspective thematic plan, in accordance with which various divisions of the Academy planned their publication activities. The plans of the departments and workshops of the Academy were drawn up annually; academic secretaries were usually responsible for their preparation and implementation. They, in turn, collected individual plans for scientific work from each employee, summarized them and submitted for further approval to the Academic Council of the Academy and then to the Publishing House. In the workshop of history and theory of architecture, this task was performed by David Arkin.

## Book series “Classics of Theory of Architecture”

Among many other items published by the Academy’s Publishing House in 1930-s, there was a series of books issued between 1935 and 1938 and entitled “Classics of the theory of architecture”. This series was devoted particularly to the Renaissance texts and consisted of the following books:

1. Vitruvius. The Ten Books on Architecture. 1936 (translation by F. Petrovsky)<sup>210</sup>;
2. Andrea Palladio. The. Four Books of Architecture. 1936 (translation by I. Zholtovsky)<sup>211</sup>;
3. Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola. Canon of the Five Orders of Architecture. 1939 (translation by A. Gabrichevsky)<sup>212</sup>;
4. The Ten Books on Architecture by M. Vitruvius. Translated and Commentated by Mons. Daniele Barbaro. 1938 (translation by A. Gabrichevsky and V. Zubov, the first translation on any language after Italian)<sup>213</sup>;
5. Leon Batista Alberti. On the Art of Building in Ten Books (translation by V. Zubov), On Sculpture (translation by A. Gabrichevsky), On Painting (translation by A. Gabrichevsky), A Letter to Matteo Pasti (translation by A.

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<sup>210</sup> Mark Pollio Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. by F. A. Petrovsky, Classics of the theory of architecture Under total. ed. A.G. Gabrichevsky (Moscow: Vsesakadarkhitektury Publishing House, 1936). (In Russian: Марк Поллион Витрувий, *Десять книг об архитектуре*, пер. Ф. А. Петровский, Классики теории архитектуры Под общ. ред. А.Г. Габричевского (Москва: Изд-во Всесакадархитектуры, 1936).).

<sup>211</sup> Andrea Palladio, *Four books on architecture by Andrea Palladio*, trans. by I. V. Zholtovsky, 2nd ed., erased. edn (Moscow: Vsesoyuzakadarkhitektury Publishing House, 1938). (In Russian: Андреа Палладио, *Четыре книги об архитектуре Андреа Палладио*, к коих после краткого трактата о пяти ордерах и наставлений наиболее необходимых для строительства, трактуется о частных домах, дорогах, мостах, площадях, ксистах и храмах, пер. И. В. Жолтовский, 2-е изд., стер. (Москва: Изд-во Всесоюзакадархитектуры, 1938).).

<sup>212</sup> Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, *The Rule of Five Orders of Architecture*, trans. by A.G. Gabrichevsky, Classics of the theory of architecture (Moscow: Publishing house of Vsesakadarkhitektury, 1939). (In Russian: Джакомо Бароцци да Виньола, *Правило пяти ордеров архитектуры*, trans. by A. Г. Габричевский, Классики теории архитектуры (Москва: Изд-во Всесакадархитектуры, 1939).).

<sup>213</sup> Daniele Barbaro, *Commentary on Ten Books on the Architecture of Vitruvius: With adj. treatise by Giuseppe Salviati on the method of accurately plotting the Ionian volute*, Classics of the theory of architecture Ed. A.G. Gabrichevsky (Moscow: Vsesoyuzakadarkhitektury Publishing House, 1938). (In Russian: Даниеле Барбаро, *Комментарий к десяти книгам об архитектуре Витрувия: С прил. трактата Джузеппе Сальвиати о способе точного вычерчивания ионийской волюты*, Классики теории архитектуры Под общей ред. А.Г. Габричевского (Москва: Изд-во Всесоюзакадархитектуры, 1938).).



Gabrichesky), *Ludi matematici* (translation by V. Zubov), *Delination of the City of Rome* (translation by V. Zubov. In two volumes. 1935.<sup>214</sup>

Table 8 shows the runs for books in this series.

*Table 8. The runs for the series “Classics of Theory of Architecture. All-Union Academy of Architecture’s Publishing House.*

Book title	Number of prints
Vitruvius. <i>The Ten Books on Architecture</i> . 1936	3000
Andrea Palladio. <i>The Four Books of Architecture</i> . 1936	4500
Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola. <i>Canon of the Five Orders of Architecture</i> . 1939	8000
<i>The Ten Books on Architecture</i> by M. Vitruvius. Translated and Commentated by Mons. Daniele Barbaro. 1938	3000
Leon Batista Alberti. <i>Selected works in two volumes</i> . 1935	5950

Among the translators of this series, only Ivan Zholtovsky was a practicing architect. The rest were educated in the field of humanities – philosophers, historians or linguists. A brief biography of Alexander Gabrichesky is given above, and here it makes sense to dwell on the figure of Vasily Zubov – one of the most significant figures of the Soviet intellectual scene of the first half of the 20th century.

He was born on the 1st of August 1900 in Aleksandrov, a small town about 60 miles from Moscow and spent all his life in the Russian capital, living with his family in the last room of their former mansion near Taganskaya Square (the mansion was confiscated by the Bolsheviks and leaving one or two rooms for the former owners was a usual practice). Branco Mitrović, describing Zubov’s biography, says that in 1918 Zubov was enrolled in the department of philosophy of the Moscow University and graduated in 1922, in the last generation of students before the department was closed down—the students from that

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<sup>214</sup> Leon Battista Alberti, *Ten Books on Architecture: in 2 Volumes*, Classics of the theory of architecture under total. ed. A.G. Gabrichesky (Moscow: Publishing House of the All-Union Academy of Architecture, 1935). (In Russian: Леон Баттиста Альберти, *Десять книг о зодчестве: в 2-х томах*, Классики теории архитектуры под общ. ред. А.Г. Габрического (Москва: Издательство Всесоюзной академии архитектуры, 1935).).

generation were subsequently referred to as “the last philosophers”<sup>215</sup>. Here I should say, that actually, in 1918 in the Moscow University there was no department of philosophy. Since 1906 there was a division of philosophy within the department of history and philology. In 1919 this department was united with the department of social sciences, where at the same time studied David Arkin. Both Zubov and Arkin graduated in 1922, and thus they most likely knew each other from early 1920-s and cooperated on the various occasions. And Zubov, who studied philosophy, history and linguistics, received a brilliant humanitarian education.

From 1923 Zubov worked in the State Academy of Artistic Sciences (GAHN) with Gabrichevsky and after this institution was closed down, he moved to the Academy of Architecture where he stayed until 1945. In the 1930s most of his work concentrated on the series “Classics of Theory of Architecture” and other architecture related activities, including regular book reviews in the major architectural press. His main interest in that period was a figure of Leon Batista Alberti, and subsequently, in the 1946, he completed his doctoral dissertation on Alberti’s architectural theory.<sup>216</sup> Even in the context of modern Albertian scholarship his thesis is an immensely important contribution. It has only recently been published in Russian, however, it was publicly available in the State Library and caused a discussion on the philosophical origins of the Alberti’s views: a philosopher Alexey Losev initiated it.<sup>217</sup> However, it seems that after completing the dissertation Zubov lost his interest to Alberti in particular and architectural history in general. In 1945 Zubov transferred with his job to the Institute for the History of Science of the Soviet Academy of Sciences where he worked until his death in 1963. His monograph about Leonardo da Vinci<sup>218</sup> was written in these years, as well as his history of atomic theories, a book on Aristotle and a history of the writing of the history of science in Russia. To the historians of science Zubov is known as the 1963

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<sup>215</sup> Branko Mitrović, ‘The Tsar’s Last Philosopher on the Method of Architectural History: Orthodox Theology versus Geistesgeschichte’, *Architectural History*, 51 (2008), 239–259.

<sup>216</sup> Recently this dissertation was published as a book, which I refer to: Zubov V. P., *Alberti Architectural Theory*, ed. by D. A. Bayuk (Moscow: Aleteya, 2001) (In Russian: В. П. Зубов, *Архитектурная Теория Альберти*, ed. by Д. А. Баяк (Москва: Алетейя, 2001).).

<sup>217</sup> Bayuk D. A., ‘V. P. Zubov and A. F. Losev On the Aristotelianism of Leon Battista Alberti, Annual Theological Conference of St. Tikhon Orthodox University for the Humanities, 27, 2017, 44–48. (In Russian: Баяк Д. А., ‘В. П. Зубов И А. Ф. Лосев Об Аристотелизме Леона Баттисты Альберти’, *Ежегодная Богословская Конференция Православного Свято-Тихоновского Гуманитарного Университета*, 27, 2017, 44–48.).

<sup>218</sup> Zubov V.P., *Leonardo da Vinci. 1452-1519, Scientific and biographical series* (Moscow Leningrad: Publishing house of Academician USSR Leningrad branch, 1961) (In Russian: Зубов В. П., *Леонардо да Винчи. 1452-1519*, Научно-биографическая серия (Москва Ленинград: Изд-во Акаднук СССР Ленинград-ние, 1961).

recipient of the George Sarton medal—the ultimate recognition in that field, which indicates that his contribution was equivalent to that of other laureates of those years, such as Lynn Thorndike and Alexandre Koyré. Art historians know his book about Leonardo da Vinci, translated into English in the 1960s, while architectural historians working on the Renaissance are aware of his important articles about Leon Battista Alberti and Daniele Barbaro, most of which were published in the late 1950s or early 1960s and are still widely cited today.

In the Academy's publishing programme Zubov became one of the leading translators and a careful reviewer. In all his texts, be it prefaces, comments or reviews, Zubov demonstrates a deep knowledge of both the historical and linguistic side of the issue, and the fact that he is well versed in technology and knows how to speak about it in understandable language. As we saw above, Zubov, alongside with Gabrichevsky, played a key role in the series "Classics of Theory of Architecture".

Next, I will dwell in more detail on three books from the series: Alberti's *De re aedificatoria*, on whose translation Zubov worked; Palladio's *I Quattro Libri*, on the cover of which the name of Zholtovsky is indicated, however, Gabrichevsky's impact in this book's emergence is very significant, and Vitruvius, translated twice, simultaneously in Moscow and Leningrad, first one by Academy of Architecture with professional purposes, and the second – by archaeological Institute of Material Culture as an example of literary monument of antiquity. I chose these three books because the history behind each one illustrates important processes that took place in Soviet architecture. Alberti as a theorist turned out to be very important, as a general role model of an architect who is faced with the need to find a new style corresponding to the time. The history of Palladio's translation illustrates how social factors intervened in the authorship of a particular text. Finally, Vitruvius's translations, a discussion on their quality shows that the texts of theorists of architecture of antiquity and the Renaissance were perceived by Soviet architects not only as an important historical artifact, but also as a tool for practical work.

### ***Leon Battista Alberti as a Role Model for a Soviet Architect***

Two volumes of Alberti's translations were published by the Academy of Architecture in 1935 (see Figure 21 and Figure 22). They include not only the text *De re aedificatoria* which is "specialized" for architects, but also treatises *Della Pittura*, *De Statua*, *Ludi Matematici*, "Letter to Matteo Pasti" and other texts of the author (see a full content above). Until now, this edition is the most complete collection of Alberti's texts in Russian. The authors of the

translations and editors of the publication are Vasily Zubov and Alexander Gabrichevsky. Apparently, this work became the basis of Zubov's dissertation on Alberti, which he brilliantly defended in 1946. All works have been translated from Latin originals. The translators had three sources at their disposal: (a) three Latin editions (incunabula of 1485, stored in the Leningrad Public Library, a Paris edition of 1512 and a Strasbourg edition of 1541), (b) Italian translations by Lauro<sup>219</sup> and Bartoli<sup>220</sup> and (c) Bonucci's alleged author's Italian edition of the first three books. Translation editors complain about numerous errors and unclear places in existing translations and admit that it was not always possible to correct and restore them, especially in cases where the original text was damaged or lost. Regarding illustrations, the editors decided to choose the engravings of the first Italian edition of Bartoli (1550) and reproduce them fully (see Figure 23 and Figure 24 as the examples). As noted in the foreword, these figures are by no means working drawings and are often very inaccurate illustrations of Alberti's text. However, the choice of engravings from Bartoli's edition was explained by the fact that they are chronologically closest to the era of the writing of the treatise and are more worthy and stylish decoration of the book than the magnificent engravings of the later Italian and English editions of the 18th century, or dry drawings attached to the German translation Theuer.<sup>221</sup>

Alberti's publication can be called a key event in the formation of the theory of Soviet architecture. Alberti as an author and as a historical figure of an early Renaissance architect turns out to be a role model for Soviet historians and theorists of architecture. In the preface to Gabrichevsky's Russian translation of *De re aedificatoria*, we can see: "Alberti's "On the Art of Building in Ten Books" is the first known architectural treatise in the time of Vitruvius. For the fourteen centuries that separate Alberti from Vitruvius, we do not yet know a single literary document on European architecture. Large systems of medieval feudal art arose in a process of slow spontaneous growth; if they had their own "theories", then these theories were the products of centuries of accumulation of collective experience, and not deliberately given artistic programs, as was the case in the Renaissance. The Renaissance is perhaps the only example in the past history of the world style, when the creation of a new style – in this case, a new style that determined all the further development of art up to the present day – is carried

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<sup>219</sup> L. B. Alberti, *I dieci libri de l'architettura di Leon Battista de gli Alberti Fiorentino*, trans. by Pietro Lauro, 1546.

<sup>220</sup> L. B. Alberti, *L'architettura* (Nel Monte Regale (Mondovi): Appresso Leonardo Torrentino, 1565).

<sup>221</sup> Leon Battista Alberti, *Zehn Bücher Über Die Baukunst*, trans. by Maximilian Theuer (Heller, 1912).

out not over centuries, but within a few decades, not “spontaneously” but on the paths of conscious searches, conscious assimilation of the heritage of the past and creative resolution of the task.

Moreover, the masters of the early Renaissance felt themselves to be the creators of a new culture, in which there was not, and in their opinion, there should not have been, a gap between theory and practice, between science and art. Their herald was Leon-Batista Alberti, their manifestos were Alberti’s treatises on painting, sculpture and architecture.”<sup>222</sup>

These words cannot but be compared with the current situation in Soviet architecture. Architects in the 1930s (as well as in the previous decade) could not help but feel themselves as pioneers and inventors of a new style. At first, colossal social changes after the revolution and the onset of the era of modernism demanded new solutions, and then, under Communist Party’s pressure, it became necessary to switch for a search for a basis for socialist realism. Obviously, theorists of Soviet architecture in the public field had to claim no less than “the creation of a new style that determined all further development of art” and be “creators of a new culture”. In this case, *De re aedificatoria* was proclaimed by their manifesto too and Alberti as a theorist can be seen as a role model of a Soviet architect in 1930-s. However, one cannot fail to note the fundamental difference between the positions of the 15th century architect in Italy and the Soviet architect of the 1930s: in the second case, the creation of a new style had to fit into clearly defined ideological and artistic frameworks, and these frameworks were established from the outside, and not by the professional community itself.

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<sup>222</sup> Alberti.

«Десять книг о зодчестве – первый известный архитектурный трактат во времени Витрувия. За четырнадцать столетий, отделяющих Альберти от Витрувия, мы пока не знаем ни одного литературного документа по вопросам европейского зодчества. Большие системы средневекового феодального искусства возникали в процессе медленного стихийного роста; если они и имели свои “теории”, то теории эти были продуктами многовекового накопления коллективного опыта, а не сознательно заданными художественными программами, как это было в эпоху Ренессанса. Ренессанс, пожалуй, единственный пример в прошлой истории мирового стиля, когда создание нового стиля – в данном случае нового стиля, определившего все дальнейшее развитие искусства вплоть до наших дней – осуществляется не на протяжении столетий, а в течение немногих десятилетий, не “стихийно”, а на путях сознательных исканий, сознательного освоения наследия прошлого и творческого разрешения поставленной задачи.

Причем мастера раннего Ренессанса чувствовали себя творцами новой культуры, в которой не было, а, по их мнению, и не должно было быть разрыва между теорией и практикой, между наукой и искусством. Их глашатаем и был Леон-Батиста Альберти, их манифестами – альбертиевские трактаты о живописи, о скульптуре и об архитектуре.»

### *Zholtovsky's translation of Palladio's "I Quattro Libri"*

As I have already mentioned above, the only architect among those who took part in the publishing of the series "The Classics of Theory of Architecture" as translators or editors, was Ivan Zholtovsky, at least according to the official narrative. During his long professional life Zholtovsky was well-known admirer of the Italian Renaissance and Palladio in particular. Thus, there is no coincidence that Zholtovsky turned out to be involved to the Russian edition of Palladio's treatise. The previous attempt to translate and publish *I Quattro Libri* was performed in 1798 by Nikolay Lvov<sup>223</sup> – architect, translator, historian, scientist – one of the brightest representatives of the Russian Enlightenment. Lvov published only the first Palladio's book; the others remained untranslated.

Zholtovsky was primarily a practicing neo-Palladian. His first neo-Palladian building was a Race Society Mansion (1903–1905) near the Moscow Hippodrome (see Figure 8 and Figure 9). It was his first Moscow commission after graduation from the Imperial Academy of Arts. A legend has developed around the construction of this building: Zholtovsky won the competition for construction with a project in the style of English neo-Gothic and, already at the construction stage, somehow decided to change the project completely, so when the building was revealed, it was a complete surprise for the local community. It is believed that the inclination towards Italian architecture in the Race Society Mansion is especially strong in the interior decoration, created according to the samples of the original Renaissance interiors seen in Italy, where Zholtovsky specially travelled during construction with the painter Ignaty Nivinsky; it appears to be his one of the earliest Italian travels. For Moscow, where neo-Gothic, Russian style and even neo-baroque were considered customary at the beginning of the 20th century, a classical building interpreted as the severity and simplicity of the Italian Renaissance was an extremely original architectural statement. Naturally, the appearance of the Race Society Mansion caused a sensation among the Moscow public and greatly contributed to strengthening Zholtovsky's reputation as the main connoisseur of style.

Several years later, in 1909 Zholtovsky builds another significant building – Tarasov's Mansion in Moscow, with is almost identical to Palladio's Pallazo Tiene. After revealing the mansion to the general public, Zholtovsky was even accused in plagiarism by some of the colleagues, but however, as Khan-Magomedov writes, these accusations were not supported by the wide professional community, and in general, criticism of this work of Zholtovsky was

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<sup>223</sup> Federica Rossi, *Palladio in Russia* (Centro intern. di studi di architettura Andrea Palladio, 2010).

seemingly tabooed.<sup>224</sup> In his further projects – among them the most famous are the residential houses on Mokhovaya street and on Kaluzhskaya street (see Figure 7) in Moscow – Zholtovsky continued to actively exploit Palladian motives. The discussion of where in the work of Zholtovsky lies the border between direct borrowing and creative rethinking of the classical heritage is still being conducted by historians of Soviet architecture.<sup>225</sup>

It is worth noting that many legends have developed around the name of Zholtovsky over the past century, and he seems to have contributed a lot to the appearance of some. In the history of Soviet architecture, around Zholtovsky, the image of a wise patriarch has formed, possessing the secrets of mastery, indisputable authority in the professional community, but being, as it were, aloof from its pressing problems. Partly, we could already observe the embodiment of this image in Zholtovsky's descriptions of the work with students, when we considered his speech on architectural education at the First All-Union Congress of Architects (1937). Let me remind you that, in contrast to the report of the rector of the Academy of Architecture Kryukov, Zholtovsky described the ideal situation of educating a young specialist, which had little relevance to the requirements of reality. Nevertheless, Zholtovsky's rather archaic ideas, which did not meet the requirements of the mass scale and speed of professional training of architects put forward by the party, found support in the professional community. This was facilitated, in particular, by the image of the patriarch of Soviet architecture, actively supported by Zholtovsky himself. "... Rumour has created (to Zholtovsky) the image of an irreconcilable classic and Palladian, conjuring over dusty treatises of the distant past", – writes Alexander Gabrichevsky. This statement, as Iliia Pechenkin and Olga Shurygina notes, can be interpreted as evidence that the mythical image was largely created by the architect himself. Participation in a translation project as the author of the first complete translation of Palladio into Russian undoubtedly greatly strengthened the image being created.

Iliia Pechenkin, who carefully studies Zholtovsky's biography, notes, that Zholtovsky had not always been a dedicated palladianist. The emergence of this stable role was preceded by a 10-year professional activity, which S.O. Khan-Magomedov – a scholar who created a modern Russian discourse on the Soviet architecture of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century –

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<sup>224</sup> Khan-Magomedov S.O., *Ivan Zholtovsky* (SE Gordeev, 2010), 244 p. (In Russian: Хан-Магомедов С.О., *Иван Жолтовский* (СЭ Гордеев, 2010), 244 с.).

<sup>225</sup> Khan-Magomedov S.O., 'The Italian Renaissance of Ivan Zholtovsky'; Pechenkin I. E., 'Goethe-Palladio-Zholtovsky. Hypothesis about the German Roots of Russian Palladianism of the 20th Century', *Artikult*, 1 (25), 2017. (In Russian: Печенкин И. Е., 'Гёте-Палладио-Жолтовский. Гипотеза о Немецких Корнях Русского Палладианства XX Века', *Артикульт*, 1 (25), 2017.).

somewhat pompously called the time when Zholtovsky paid main attention to “the formation of his personal concept”<sup>226</sup>. However, according to Pechenkin, and here I can only join to his position, it seems that in reality the architect was preoccupied not only with “finding himself”, but also with finding a job, which means that in a creative sense he was heavily dependent on the requirements of customers and senior colleagues, under whose supervision he, a person who was still working hard to get an Academy diploma (and, therefore, who did not have permission for independent projects), was forced to work.<sup>227</sup> Studying at the Academy of Arts took Zholtovsky for a long eleven years, also did not bode well for his future creative program. He studies and works as an assistant to architects Robert Marfeld and Count Nikolay de Rochefort, whose projects fit well into the aesthetic framework of late eclecticism. Re-enrolled in the Academy after the reform of 1893, when the training of architects was transferred to the format of workshops, ran by professors-leaders, Zholtovsky found himself in the class of Antony Tomishko, whose understanding of the architectural profession, in contrast to his illustrious colleague Leonty Benois, who brought up a whole galaxy of neoclassicists of the early twentieth century, was extremely practical and business-like, with no artistic delights. The lack of clear style preferences in Zholtovsky at the end of the 1890s also becomes clear from his projects created for various competitions. Therefore, the episode with the construction of the Race Society Mansion is considered a truly turning point in his career. Today it is already quite difficult to separate the facts about its construction from the myths that surround Zholtovsky’s biography over the years – this task has to be solved in the future. Pechenkin argues that the question of the reasons for such a sharp and radical metamorphosis of the project and the architect himself should be considered open. In any case, Zholtovsky’s curriculum vitae does not explain in any way where this obsession with the High Renaissance and Palladio comes from, which is not at all typical of the eclecticism of the 19th century. Whether the subjective results of creative searches were behind it or it was a commercial experiment, during which the Moscow public was offered an exotic product unfamiliar to it, it is important that from now on Zholtovsky was categorical in his adherence to a certain aesthetic program, and his creations acquired a recognizable author’s style, sometimes a form of shocking (the case of the Tarasov mansion in Moscow). Pechenkin argues that the most possible source of Zholtovsky’s obsession with Palladio comes from Goethe, in whose eyes the architecture of Palladio was the embodiment of not only artistic, but also moral height. “Palladio is a man of

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<sup>226</sup> Khan-Magomedov S.O., Ivan Zholtovsky. P. 38.

<sup>227</sup> Pechenkin.



enormous inner strength, who managed to turn it outward. <...> Indeed, there is something divine in his buildings, they are like the miraculous power of the great poet, who creates something third from truth and fiction, which fascinates us with his borrowed being”.<sup>228</sup> It is known that Zholtovsky honoured Goethe, always kept his books close at hand, and also had an excellent command of the German language and, in general, had great respect for German culture. In this regard, the conclusion of Ilya Pechenkin that in the combination of Zholtovsky and Goethe one can see some regularity and that Italian architecture was “discovered” by Zholtovsky initially in its Germanic perception, seems worthy of attention. According to Pechenkin, Goethe’s Palladian apology can serve as an ideal basis for Zholtovsky’s construction of his own professional identity – as a practicing architect, as a teacher and as a translator of the most important Palladian text.<sup>229</sup>

Thus, Zholtovsky’s participation in the series “Classics of Theory of Architecture” as a translator of Palladio’s treatise seems a logical stage of his professional biography. According to Sergey Kozhin’s memoirs, Zholtovsky had in possession one of the first edition of *I Quatro Libri*: “Somewhere in Italy, from a junk dealer, he bought one of four copies of the first original one-volume edition of Palladio’s book on architecture with fields speckled with the handwritten notes of this brilliant architect (the other three copies are in museums)”.<sup>230</sup> According to Pechenkin and Shurygina, Kozhin was talking about the 1570 edition, which differs from the subsequent ones in a slightly smaller format. It is believed that this particular copy was the source of the translation issued by the Academy of Architecture in 1936. The purchase could have been made no later than 1926, when Zholtovsky returned to the USSR from his last and longest trip to Italy, but as we shall see, it was probably made in the earlier travels. At the beginning of his career, in the 1900s – 1920s, Zholtovsky visited Italy several times, where he studied and measured the Renaissance monuments a lot. According to the

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<sup>228</sup> Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Italian Travel*, trans. by N. Kholodovsky (Moscow: Ripol-Classic, 2017). (In Russian: Иоганн Вольфганг Гёте, *Итальянское Путешествие*, trans. by Н. Холодовский (Москва: Рипол-Классик, 2017).).

<sup>229</sup> Pechenkin.

<sup>230</sup> S. N. Kozhin, ‘The Academist Ivan Zholtovsky’, in *Architect Ivan Zholtovsky, Episodes From An Unwritten Biography*, ed. by I. E. Pechenkin and O. S. Shurygina (Moscow, 2017), p. 160 (In Russian: С. Н. Кожин, ‘Академик Иван Жолтовский’, в *Архитектор Иван Жолтовский, Эпизоды Из Ненаписанной Биографии*, ред. И. Е. Печенкин and О. С. Шурыгина (Москва, 2017), с. 160.).

Где-то в Италии, у старьевщика, он [...] приобрёл один из четырёх экземпляров первого оригинального однотомного издания книги Палладио об архитектуре с полями, испещрёнными собственноручными пометками этого гениального зодчего (остальные три экземпляра находятся в музеях).

stories of his students, on one of his trips, Zholtovsky was traveling by train from Milan to Venice and read Goethe's Italian journey, where he talked about Palladian architecture. Suddenly, yielding to an impulse, Zholtovsky decided to get off in Vicenza and see with his own eyes what he had just read about. We do not know how true this beautiful story is, but in it we can see confirmation of the German roots of Zholtovsky's Neopalladianism.

We will now step aside a bit from the main plot of Zholtovsky's work on the translation of the *I Quattro Libri* in order to discuss the last and the longest trip to Italy, which took place in 1923–1926. Opportunities for this trip appeared as a result of his successful work on the project of the All-Russian Agricultural Exhibition. Before the departure, in 1922, Zholtovsky proposed to the All-Russia Central Executive Committee to create an institute for the Russian art in Italy and to buy for this purpose Palladio's Villa La Rotonda in Vicenza<sup>231</sup>. The main idea of the document proposed by Zholtovsky to the Committee, was that the artistic culture of European countries is inextricably linked with Italy, and Russia is no exception in this matter. Referring to the example of France and Germany, which have their own artistic institutions in Italy, which, on the one hand, direct their efforts and resources to the study of Roman and Italian art, and on the other hand, they provide an opportunity for artists (painters, architects, sculptors) who have received in their country with a completed education, improve in their art.<sup>232</sup> In some recent papers researchers assume that Zholtovsky probably wanted to become a head of this institute and to work on the Soviet state on the safe distance.<sup>233</sup> However, almost immediately after the revolution, Zholtovsky developed rather warm relations with the Soviet regime. From various biographical sources about Zholtovsky<sup>234</sup>, an episode that happened in the spring of 1918 is well known, when the first People's Commissar of Education Anatoly Lunacharsky in his note addressed to Lenin, gives Zholtovsky the most flattering recommendation. Connections at the top of the Soviet state provided the architect not only with the opportunity to remain in profession, but also with very comfortable living conditions against the background of the economic catastrophe and political terror of the first years of

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<sup>231</sup> The villa was indeed put up for sale at the beginning of the 20th century, but much earlier, in 1912. Zholtovsky's offer to buy it out sounds inappropriate, unless we assume that he knew that it was for sale, but did not know that it was bought.

<sup>232</sup> Pechenkin I. E. and Shurygina O. S. Architect Ivan Zholtovsky, Episodes From An Unwritten Biography.

<sup>233</sup> Khmelnitsky D. S. and Firsova A. V., Ivan Zholtovsky. Architect of Soviet Palladianism, (DOM publishers 2015) 212 p. (In Russian: Хмельницкий Д. С. and Фирсова А. В., Иван Жолтовский. Архитектор Советского Палладианства, (DOM publishers 2015) 212 с.).

<sup>234</sup> Khan-Magomedov S.O., Ivan Zholtovsky.

Soviet regime. Thus, at the time of his absence in 1923–1926, Zholtovsky managed to obtain a protection warrant for his apartment in one of the mansions in the centre of Moscow<sup>235</sup> – his apartment had to be kept intact, no one could settle in it. In the face of an acute shortage of housing in Moscow in the 1920s, an empty apartment in the centre of Moscow was something incredible. It is worth noting, however, that the warrant did not help, and the apartment, along with the mansion, was handed over to one of the state institutions, but the very fact that Zholtovsky received guarantees from the authorities for the safety of his property (albeit not executed as a result) speaks volumes. Therefore, this long journey can hardly be considered an emigration attempt. If Zholtovsky's plan had worked and the Russian Institute in Italy would have appeared, perhaps he would not have refused to head it and move to a more comfortable environment, however, there were significantly larger number of opportunities for self-realization as an architect in his homeland, and good ties with the top leadership of the party ensured his personal safety. The idea of opening a Russian Institute in the Villa *La Rotonda*, apparently, did not become a priority for party leaders: Zholtovsky's statement lay in the desk of one of the Central Committee members for a long time, and then simply lost its relevance. Zholtovsky returned from Italy to Moscow in 1926, and never left the country again.

However, the impressions, drawings, and things that Zholtovsky brought from his Italian travels obviously had a huge effect both on his professional activities and on the public image of himself that he created. And of course, the lifetime edition of Palladio was to be one of the key elements of this image. However, in order to act as a translator of one of the most significant professional books into Russian, it is not enough to be the owner of lifetime edition and the reputation of the best Palladian expert in the Soviet Union. In addition, very specific skills of a translator and a deep knowledge of the original language are also required. Unfortunately, the information about how well Zholtovsky spoke Italian has not reached us. We know from his report cards that first at school and then in the Riga Polytechnic School, he studied German – and books in German were always near him, including Goethe. Already in his professional life, in his speeches on urban planning issues, Zholtovsky referred to modern German-language literature on these issues. There is no same evidence about the knowledge of Italian language. Surely during his Italian trips, he mastered the language sufficient for everyday communication, however, this level was hardly enough to work with the original text of the XVI century. There are several different hypotheses about the authorship of the

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<sup>235</sup> Pechenkin I. E. and Shurygina O. S. Architect Ivan Zholtovsky, Episodes From An Unwritten Biography.

translation, published in 1936 under the name of Zholtovsky, which I will discuss below. All of them are united by the fact that a professional philologist and humanist should have worked on a translation of this level and quality.

An article by Ilya Pechenkin and Olga Shurygina is devoted to an episode of Zholtovsky's life, connected with the preparation of Palladio's translation.<sup>236</sup> Working with his personal archives, as well as with the archives of GAKhN (the State Academy of Art Sciences, which existed in Moscow from 1921 to 1931, where, in particular, Vasily Kandinsky, Gustav Shpet, and also Alexander Gabrichevsky worked), they discovered several draft versions of the translation of *I Quattro Libri* dated by different years. First one is found in Zholtovsky's personal archive and entitled "Four Books on Architecture by Andrea Palladio"<sup>237</sup>. Second one is found in the archive of GAKhN, entitled "A Translation on an Unknown Person of the Book "On the Ancient Cities" by Andrea Palladio. Typescript"<sup>238</sup> and contains fragments of two different texts, one of which is entitled "The First Book on Architecture by Andrea Palladio". Pechenkin and Shurygina compared these texts with each other and with the translation published in 1936, and I did the same. A comparative analysis showed that the introductory part of the translation from the Zholtovsky's personal files is completely identical to the text from the GAKhN archive, while the published version of the text is somewhat different. In the table below I present an example from Palladio's preface from all three versions in Russian (two from archives and one that was published) to demonstrate the linguistic nuances that distinguish the three texts.

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<sup>236</sup> Pechenkin I. E. and Shurygina O. S., 'The Palladian Text in the Biography of I. V. Zholtovsky', *Artikult*, 30.2 (2018), 12–27. (In Russian: Печенкин И. Е. and Шурыгина О. С., "Палладианский Текст" в Биографии И. В. Жолтовского', *Артикульт*, 30.2 (2018), 12–27.).

<sup>237</sup> Draft Translation of "Four Books On Architecture" by Andrea Palladio ' , RGALI. F. 2423. Inv. 1. File 4. (In Russian: 'Черновик Перевода "Четырех Книг Об Архитектуре" Андреа Палладио'. РГАЛИ. Ф. 2423. Оп. 1. Ед. хр. 4.).

<sup>238</sup> 'Translation of an Unidentified Person of Andrew Palladio's Book "On Ancient Cities". Typescript' (In Russian: 'Перевод Неустановленного Лица Книги Андреа Палладио "О Древних Городах". Машинопись').

Table 9. Comparison of three translations of Palladio's treatise.

Translation from GAKhN	Translation from Zholtovsky's personal file	Translation published in 1936
<p>«ВСТУПИТЕЛЬНО Е СЛОВО К ЧИТАТЕЛЮ</p> <p>Побуждаемый прирождённой склонностью, я отдался с ранних лет изучению Архитектуры; а так как я всегда был того мнения, что в умении хорошо строить, равно как и в многих других делах, древние римляне превосходили всех, кто был после них, то я избрал себе учителем и руководителем ВИТРУВИЯ – единственного писателя древности по этому искусству. Исследуя остатки античных построек, дошедших до нас вопреки времени и опустошениям варваров, я нашёл их гораздо более достоинными внимания, чем я думал до того, а потому стал их обмерять во всех подробностях, с чрезвычайной точностью и величайшей старательностью. &lt;...&gt;»</p>	<p>«ВСТУПИТЕЛЬНО Е СЛОВО К ЧИТАТЕЛЮ</p> <p>Побуждаемый прирождённой склонностью, я отдался с ранних лет изучению Архитектуры; а так как я всегда был того мнения, что в умении хорошо строить, равно как и в многих других делах, древние римляне превосходили всех, кто был после них, то я избрал себе учителем и руководителем ВИТРУВИЯ – единственного писателя древности по этому искусству. Исследуя остатки античных построек, дошедших до нас вопреки времени и опустошениям варваров, я нашёл их гораздо более достоинными внимания, чем я думал до того, а потому стал их обмерять во всех подробностях, с чрезвычайной точностью и величайшей старательностью. &lt;...&gt;»</p>	<p>«ВСТУПИТЕЛЬНО Е СЛОВО К ЧИТАТЕЛЯМ</p> <p>Побуждаемый прирождённой склонностью, я отдался с юных лет изучению архитектуры; а так как я всегда был того мнения, что в строительном искусстве, равно как и в других делах, древние римляне далеко превзошли всех, кто был после них, я избрал себе учителем и руководителем Витрувия, единственного писателя древности по этому искусству, принялся исследовать остатки античных построек, дошедших до нас вопреки времени и опустошениям варваров, и, найдя их гораздо более достойными внимания, чем я думал до того, я стал их обмерять во всех подробностях, с чрезвычайной точностью и величайшей старательностью. &lt;...&gt;»</p>

The versions of the text differ slightly - the published version is slightly more concise in relation to the drafts. It is important, however, that one of the drafts is in the archives of GAKhN, an institution that was closed in 1931. This means that work on Palladio's translation began long before the appearance of the Publishing House of the Academy of Architecture and the series "Classics of Theory of Architecture".

Can we conclude that Zholtovsky himself worked on this text back in the 1920s? Unfortunately, it is still impossible to draw an unambiguous conclusion from the available materials. On the title page of the second typescript from the GAKhN archive – Palladio’s “The antiques of Rome” – there is an inscription “Translated from Italian by E. P. Ryabushinskaya. 1919. Moscow”. Elizaveta Ryabushinskaya came from the famous Ryabushinsky clan of industrialists and bankers, one of the most influential families of pre-revolutionary Moscow. Thus, she was a sister of Nikolai Pavlovich Ryabushinsky, a philanthropist who played an important role in the artistic life of Moscow in the early 20th century, publisher of the art magazine “Golden Fleece” («Золотое Руно»), aimed at promoting young avant-garde artists. In the 1910s, Elizaveta herself was a member of the Society of Free Aesthetics, a literary and artistic association created on the initiative of the symbolist poet Valery Bryusov in order to “contribute to the success and development of arts and literature in Russia.”<sup>239</sup> Ryabushinskaya had a personal relationship with Zholtovsky: after an unsuccessful marriage with the industrialist and owner of textile factories, Alexander Karpov, Ryabushinskaya in 1910 became the civil wife of the architect. Their relationship lasted until about 1921, when Elizaveta, according to some sources, emigrated<sup>240</sup>, and according to others, died in Moscow.<sup>241</sup>

Further reasoning represents hypotheses, documentary evidence for which remains to be found. Thus, Pechenkin and Shurygina argue that the real author of Palladio’s translation is Elizaveta Ryabushinskaya. However, I should remain that only one typescript out of two in the archived folder was signed by Ryabushinskaya. And even if those typescripts were made on the same machine, we can’t state with confidence that they were made by the same person. This conclusion is based on the assumption that Ryabushinskaya was a member of the *Lo Studio Italiano* circle – an informal association of writers, historians, art historians, translators, aiming to popularize Italian culture in Russia. It existed in Moscow from 1918 to 1923, and it included many prominent Russian humanitarians of the beginning of the century – Pavel Muratov, Boris Vipper, Alexey Jivelegov and others. Most of the members of the circle were

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<sup>239</sup> Targulov A.D., ‘Society of Free Aesthetics’, *Encyclopedia of Russian Avant-garde* (Moscow: Global Expert and Service Team, 2013) <<http://rusavangard.ru/online/history/obshchestvo-svobodnoy-estetiki/>> [accessed 21 August 2020]. (In Russian: Таргулов А. Д., ‘Общество свободной эстетики’, *Энциклопедия Русского Авангарда* (Москва: Глобал Эксперт энд Сервис Тим, 2013) <<http://rusavangard.ru/online/history/obshchestvo-svobodnoy-estetiki/>> [accessed 21 August 2020].).

<sup>240</sup> *Unforgotten Graves. Russian Diaspora: Obituaries 1917-1997*, 6 vols (Moscow, 2005), I. (In Russian: *Незабытые Могилы. Российское Зарубежье: Некрологи 1917-1997 Гг.*, 6 томов (Москва, 2005), I.).

<sup>241</sup> Pechenkin I. E. and Shurygina O. S., ‘The Palladian Text in the Biography of I. V. Zholtovsky’.

educated at the Department of History and Philology of Moscow University. Pechenkin and Shurygina argue that it was Ryabushinskaya who became the connecting link between Zholtovsky and *Lo Studio Italiano*, thereby inscribe Zholtovsky's Palladianism into the general context of the Russian Silver Age culture. According to their conclusions, it was Zholtovsky who passed Ryabushinskaya's translation to GAKhN either immediately before (in 1922) or immediately after (in 1926) his three-year Italian trip. Thus, we can fix the first hypothesis: the real author of the translation of *I Quattro Libri* is Elizaveta Ryabushinskaya, and Zholtovsky or someone else used her text when preparing the publication of 1936.

However, we have not yet been able to find documentary evidence that Ryabushinskaya was part of *Lo Studio Italiano*. Unfortunately, the activities of this circle have been little studied, and the authors usually limit themselves to listing the most famous cultural figures of the early 20th century who participated in its work.<sup>242</sup> However, all the lists of its participants mention Alexander Gabrichevsky – in addition to the details of his biography already mentioned above, he was also a close friend of Zholtovsky throughout almost his entire life. Thus, when, after returning from Italy in 1926, Zholtovsky discovered that his apartment, along with the mansion where he lived, had been confiscated and passed to some institution, it was Gabrichevsky who settled him and allocated rooms for work and for life. When in the 1930s Gabrichevsky was arrested several times and sent into exile, Zholtovsky each time stood up for him and used his connections in the Central Committee of the party to bring him back to Moscow. Gabrichevsky was also the editor-in-chief of the series “Classics of Theory of Architecture”, in which Palladio's treatise was published in 1936.

In the archives of David Arkin, the academic secretary of the Workshop of History and Theory of Architecture of the Academy, who was responsible for the implementation of the publication program, there is a document – the plan of scientific work for 1934 by an employee of the Workshop Alexander Gabrichevsky. In six paragraphs, he describes the planned translation and editing of various texts on the history and theory of architecture. In particular, the plan included the following work:

“2. A. Palladio and his “Four books on architecture”. Preparation for publication in the series “Classics of Theory of Architecture” a complete Russian translation, an introductory article and a scientific commentary. I undertake the *translation* (emphasised by me – EO),

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<sup>242</sup> Stepanova L., ‘Once again about the “silver age”: how we study cultural influences’, *Voprosy literatury*, 2, 2006, 328–353. (In Russian: Степанова Л., ‘Еще раз о «серебряном веке»: как у нас исследуют культурные влияния’, *Вопросы литературы*, 2, 2006, 328–353.).

article and commentary, using the knowledge and advice of the best Palladian expert – I. V. Zholtovsky, who has kindly agreed to help me in this work with his advice. The translation will be made from the first edition of 1570, all drawings and engravings of which must be fully reproduced in the Russian edition. In addition, the commentary should make extensive use of the descriptions of Scamozzi, who measured most of Palladio's buildings, taking into account the deviations of the measurements of Palladio himself from the measurements carried out by Scamozzi on real buildings. Finally, the commentary should be richly illustrated with photographs of the works of Palladio mentioned in the text".<sup>243</sup>

It clearly follows from this passage that Gabrichevsky intended to work on the translation on his own, resorting only to Zholtovsky's advice. Such an organization of work looks the most logical from the point of view of the task at hand: a professional linguist and historian (Gabrichevsky graduated from the Department of History and Philology of Moscow University) makes the translation, and a specialist-architect advises so that there would be no obvious technical and terminological errors in the translation. And the fact that Gabrichevsky takes on the introductory article and commentary also suggests that he intends to do very serious work with the text, not only with the translation, but also with the original. From other parts of this plan, you can see that he carefully separates the different types of work on the release of the series and respects the authorship of each participant. So, in that point of the plan, which deals with the preparation of Alberti's two-volume book (the translations of which were mainly entrusted to Zubov), Gabrichevsky carefully describes both the role of the translator and his own. In the passage quoted above, it is unambiguously about the fact that he will perform the translation by himself.

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<sup>243</sup> 'Plan of Scientific Work of A. G. Gabrichevsky For 1935', RGALI. F. 2606. Inv. 1. File 105. P. 30. (In Russian: 'План Научной Работы А. Г. Габричевского На 1935 Год', РГАЛИ. Ф. 2606. Оп. 1. Ед.Хр. 105. Л. 30.).

«2. А. Палладио и его "Четыре книги об архитектуре". Подготовка к изданию в серии "Классики истории и теории архитектуры" полного русского перевода, вступительной статьи и научного комментария. Перевод, статью и комментарий я беру на себя, пользуясь при этом знаниями и советами лучшего знатока Палладио – И. В. Жолтовского, любезно согласившегося помочь мне в этой работе своей консультацией. Перевод будет сделан с первого издания 1570 года, все чертежи и гравюры которого должны быть полностью воспроизведены в русском издании. Кроме того, в комментарии должны быть широко использованы описания Скамоцци, обмерявшего большую часть построек Палладио, с учетом отклонений обмеров самого Палладио от обмеров, проведенных Скамоцци на реальных зданиях. Наконец, комментарий должен быть богато иллюстрирован снимками с произведениями Палладио, упоминаемых им в тексте»



On the other hand, Gabrichevsky sets a colossal amount of planned work. In addition to preparing for publication two volumes of Palladio (the commentary was to come out in a separate volume) and two volumes of Alberti, for 1934 he planned to:

1. Take the closest part in the translation and commentary on Luca Pacioli's treatise "On Divine Proportion", included in the Academy's publishing plan for 1934, as soon as the original text of the treatise is received by the Workshop of History and Theory of Architecture.
2. Prepare a selection of Vasari's theoretical discourses on architecture and the biographies of architects in order to compile the publication "Vasari on Architecture and Architects", which the Academy planned to publish in 1935-36. The selection, of course, had to contain introductory texts and comments of the compiler. The edition never saw the light of day.
3. Together with Zholtovsky, write a monograph "The Life and Work of Filippo Brunelleschi" for the series of the Academy Publishing House "The Life and Work of Great Architects". The edition has also never been published.
4. Finally, again, together with Zholtovsky, start preparing the monograph "Parthenon. The Experience of Monographic Research". It was also planned for 1935-36 and was never released either.<sup>244</sup>

It is easy to see from this plan that most of Gabrichevsky's projects were never implemented. In fact, of all the listed editions, only two volumes of Alberti and one volume of Palladio, which contained only a translation of the treatise, saw the light. A volume with commentaries and additional illustrations was also never released. Obviously, this is due to the Gabrichevsky's arrest in 1935 and the subsequent three-year exile. This was his second, and not the last, arrest, and his close friend Zholtovsky contributed a lot to Gabrichevsky's return to Moscow to work at the Academy of Architecture. Since Gabrichevsky was the editor-in-chief of the series, and his name appears on the cover of Palladio's translation, most likely the text of the first volume was ready for publication at the time of his arrest, however, as we can see on the other books of this period, the name of the arrested person on the book cover was usually ineligible for the Soviet authorities.

Thus, we have the text of Palladio's translation from the GAKhN archive, where Gabrichevsky worked, Gabrichevsky's declared intention to work on the translation

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<sup>244</sup> 'Plan of Scientific Work of A. G. Gabrichevsky'.

independently, as well as a published text that differs from the archive by editorial revisions. However, it is also not possible to make an unambiguous conclusion that Gabrichevsky was the real author of the translation. Nevertheless, considering the amount of work and other circumstances, the 1936 edition could hardly have appeared without the preparatory work done earlier, for example in the 1920s, which could have resulted in the translation from the GAKhN archive, whoever its author was – Ryabushinskaya, Gabrichevsky, Zholtovsky, or it was a group work of the participants of *Lo Studio Italiano*. It is also obvious that Zholtovsky played a significant role in its publication. Even if the main work was not done by him, his name on the cover could be a guarantee that *I Quattro Libri* would be published. Ryabushinskaya was a representative of the merchant class hostile to Soviet power, Gabrichevsky was considered an enemy of the people at the time of publication and was in exile. Both of them were not very suitable persons for the role of authors of a respectable book published by the country's leading architectural school. In the literature on the history of the Stalinist era<sup>245</sup>, it is often said that the name of a repressed person was often blotted out by censorship from the imprint of publications, so the imprint of books published in the 1930s - 1950s cannot be trusted. In the Russian edition of Palladio in 1936 (and in the reprint of 1938 – see Figure 29 – Figure 32 for the sample pages), Gabrichevsky is indicated as the editor of the series, and who knows, perhaps in the current situation this was the maximum that could be done to indicate his contribution to the work on the text.

### ***Vitruvius. Ten Books of architecture***

Vitruvius was probably the most popular architectural theoretician to be published in Russian. This treatise was first translated in 1790-s by architect Vasily Bazhenov and humanist, traveller and scientist Feodor Karzhavin.<sup>246</sup> But of course by 1930-s this text was more a historical artifact, than a working instrument for an architect. The next time the Russian-speaking architectural community returns to it almost 150 years later: in 1936, two new translations appeared in the USSR simultaneously, one of which was published by the Publishing House of the Academy of Architecture in the series “Classics of Theory and History of Architecture” and the other – in Leningrad by the Institute of Material Culture of the All-Soviet Academy of Sciences. It is interesting to dwell in more detail on the analysis of the

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<sup>245</sup> Clark.

<sup>246</sup> Vitruvius M.P. 1 century. BC, *Mark Vitruvius Pollion On Architecture* (St. Petersburg: At the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1790) (In Russian: Витрувий М. П. 1 в. до н.э, *Марка Витрувия Поллиона Об Архитектуре* (Санкт-Петербург: При Императорской Академии наук, 1790).).

translations of Vitruvius, published in 1936, because their appearance is a vivid illustration of how broad humanitarian knowledge is embedded in a rather narrow professional context of architecture.

The Academy's edition (translation was performed by linguist and translator Feodor Petrovsky and edited by Gabrichevsky) saw light in 1936. It is a one-volume edition that contains an editorial preface, a translation itself and illustrated notes taken from Choisy's edition (see Figure 25 – Figure 28). The preface is unsigned, but the most possible authors are Zubov (who, as we shall see, knew Vitruvius's text and the context of its existence throughout the centuries very well), or Gabrichevsky, as an editor-in-chief. The preface says that this is the first translation into Russian made from the original.<sup>247</sup> Kerzhavin's translation, mentioned at the beginning of the section (1790–1797), was made from the French translation of Perrault<sup>248</sup> and is outdated not only in language, but also because the text and commentary of Perrault himself are outdated. The described translation is based on the text of Krohn (1912)<sup>249</sup>, and all deviations from it in favour of other readings had to be described and justified in a textual commentary, which was supposed to be published in a separate volume. The second volume, however, was never released. For verification, the editor and translator used various translations published in the 19th and 20th centuries: German by Lorenzen<sup>250</sup> and Reber<sup>251</sup>, French by Choisy<sup>252</sup>, English by Morgan<sup>253</sup>. The notes, which are not an independent study, were made on the basis of Choisy's commentary, since, according to the editors, of all researchers, he is the most interesting for the architect and the most careful in his hypotheses, and also reveals the question of proportions and their perception in ancient architecture most deeply. Choisy's choice of drawings is justified by the fact that they do not impose on the reader this or that "artistic" reconstruction and are nothing more than auxiliary drawings.

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<sup>247</sup> Viruvius.

<sup>248</sup> Claude Perrault, *Les Dix Livres d'architecture de Vitruve* (Paris: J.-B. Coignard, 1673).

<sup>249</sup> Vitruvii, *De Architectura Libri Decem*, ed. by F Krohn (Lipsiae, 1912).

<sup>250</sup> Carolus Lorenzen, *Marci Vitruvii Pollionis de Architectura Libri Decern. Ex Fide Librorum Scriptorum Recensuit Atque Emendavit. et in Germanicum Sermonem Vertit Carolus Lorenzen* (Leipzig, 1857), I.

<sup>251</sup> Franz Reber, *Des Vitruvius Zehn Bucher Uber Architektur Ubersetzt Und Durch Anmerkungen Und Risse Erleutert von Dr. Franz Reber* (Stuttgart, 1865).

<sup>252</sup> Auguste Choisy, *Vitruve. Tome I – IV*, 1909.

<sup>253</sup> Vitruvius, *The Ten Books On Architecture*, trans. by Morris Hicky Morgan (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914).

And in the same year, but independently from the Academy of Architecture, the Institute of Material Culture of the Academy of Sciences (now Institute of Archaeology) based in Leningrad also issued a translation of Vitruvius. Vitruvius belonged to both departments - architecture and archeology - therefore the simultaneous release of two translations fits well into the thematic logic of publishing planning in the USSR. I will further refer to this book as a Leningrad edition. The translation was performed by a group of researchers from the Institute under the guidance of Alexander Mishulin, a historian specializing in Ancient history with two focuses of the main interest: Roman society (social history of Roman Empire) and ancient Spain. He was not a specialist in architecture, so he was more interested in Vitruvius's connections with other ancient sources. The translation came out, as already mentioned, in 1936, and ten years later Mishulin published the article "Sources of Vitruvius's Treatise On Architecture"<sup>254</sup> and in 1947 – another article, in which he examines, in particular, Vitruvius's connection with earlier Greek sources on military mechanics<sup>255</sup> (in 1936 Leningrad edition of Vitruvius Mishulin himself translated book 10 devoted to the military mechanisms). In the title of the first article, he uses a different title of the treatise, which was accepted in the architectural community.

Of course, the almost simultaneous appearance of two translations of one of the most iconic texts in the profession could not pass by the attention of the architectural community. Both texts were carefully analysed, and perhaps the best comparative review belongs not to an architect, but to a person deeply immersed in context – Vasily Zubov.<sup>256</sup>

In a review published in the journal *Architecture of the USSR*, Zubov analyzes both translations in sufficient detail (however, more attention goes to the Leningrad text). He starts with the fact that both translations were certainly expected and needed by the professional community. The vagueness of many formulations, which allows for different interpretations, undoubtedly provokes the appearance of different translations and interpretations of this text. "Two independent translations of the text of Vitruvius, made with the utmost care, could only

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<sup>254</sup> Mishulin A. V., 'Sources of Vitruvius' Treatise "On Architecture"', *Bulletin of Ancient History*, 4 (1946), 76-91. (In Russian: Мишулин А. В., 'Источники Трактата Витрувия «Об Архитектуре»', *Вестник древней истории* 4 (1946), 76—91.).

<sup>255</sup> Mishulin A. V., 'Vitruvius and Sources of the Book X of His Treatise', *Bulletin of Ancient History*, 1, 1947, 60–77. (In Russian: А. В. Мишулин, 'Витрувий и Источники X Книги Его Трактата', *Вестник Древней Истории*, 1, 1947, 60–77.).

<sup>256</sup> Zubov V.P., 'Two New Translations of Vitruvius', *Architecture of the USSR*, 11, 1937. (In Russian: Зубов В. П., 'Два Новых Перевода Витрувия', *Архитектура СССР*, 11, 1937.).

be beneficial – remember the difficulty and darkness of Vitruvius, the variety of interpretations proposed and the controversy of many places in the text. There is still no edition of Vitruvius, which in all respects could be called perfect; philological science, on the one hand, architecture and building technology, on the other, have not yet agreed on Vitruvius completely: the philologist will deny some of Choisy’s bold amendments, the architect will not always be satisfied with Crohn’s readings.”<sup>257</sup>

However, rather quickly Zubov comes to the conclusion that the translation of Petrovsky published by the Academy of Architecture more or less corresponds to the high expectations of architects and recognizes the Leningrad translation made by the Institute of Material Culture as unsatisfactory, both from a philological and an architectural point of view. The examples of errors cited by Zubov quickly enough convince the reader of the review of the validity of this conclusion. Here are some quotes:

“The main drawback of this translation is that the translators have not made any attempt to visualize what Vitruvius is talking about. The text contains many drawings from Morgan’s edition<sup>258</sup>, but the translators did not even want to look at these drawings.”<sup>259</sup>

“How did C[omrade]. Polyakov (*translator of the books 1, 2, 6, 7 and 8 in the Leningrad edition – EO*) imagine the building in which columns were installed on the architrave “perpendicular to the lower colonnade”?”<sup>260</sup>

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<sup>257</sup> Ibid.

«Два самостоятельных перевода текста Витрувия, сделанные со всей тщательностью, могли бы принести только пользу – вспомним трудность и темноту Витрувия, разнообразие предлагавшихся толкований и спорность многих мест текста. До сих пор ведь не существует издания Витрувия, которое во всех отношениях могло бы быть названо идеальным; филологическая наука, с одной стороны, архитектура и строительная техника – с другой, еще не договорились о Витрувии окончательно: филолог будет возражать против некоторых смелых поправок Шуази, архитектора не всегда удовлетворят чтения Крона».

<sup>258</sup> This refers to Morgan’s English translation of 1912

<sup>259</sup> «Основной недостаток этого перевода заключается в том, что переводчики не сделали никаких попыток наглядно представить себе, о чем говорит Витрувий. В текст помещено много рисунков из издания Моргана, но даже на эти рисунки переводчики не пожелали взглянуть».

<sup>260</sup> «Как представлял себе т. Поляков постройку, в которой на архитраве “перпендикулярно к нижней колоннаде” установлены колонны?»

“Is it possible that in a triangle, the two sides will be parallel to each other? According to C[omrade]. Deratani’s (*translator of the books 3, 4, 5 and 9 – EO*) translation, it appears that it is possible, since the cornices of the pediment are parallel to the cornices of the building.”<sup>261</sup>

And so on, and so forth. The selection of illustrations received a separate mention: “When selecting illustrations, the editors apparently proceeded from purely “ornamental” considerations: many vague places are not illustrated at all with drawings, the drawing on page 140 from Morgan’s edition does not correspond to Choisy’s reading, unconditionally accepted in the text. Numerous photographs of Roman aqueducts are poorly executed and give the reader almost nothing.”<sup>262</sup>

In his review, Zubov is equally attentive to both the philological and technical aspects of both translations. He notes that, in general, in the Leningrad edition, “philological” passages related to ancient history and geography are translated more accurately, but as soon as it comes to construction techniques or architecture, that is, the most important parts of the text for an architect, errors immediately appear making this publication unusable.

Zubov estimates the translation by Fyodor Petrovsky, published by the Academy of Architecture, rather highly, although he sees some flaws in it, which, however, do not reduce its value for the architect. The idea of the original, according to Zubov, was conveyed clearly, the translator managed to avoid both archaisms and excessive modernization. The text is aptly illustrated with drawings from Choisy. The only request for this translation relates to the question of the terminology used. History has accumulated quite a lot of experience in translating Vitruvius, and it is well known that the same expression is used by Vitruvius not always in the same sense. Therefore, Zubov notes, it is important for a thoughtful reader (as he certainly is) to know in what meanings a particular word is used throughout the entire text.

Like any good review, Zubov’s article can be used by the reader as an additional commentary to both Russian translations. He delicately points out mistakes, offers the most successful translation solutions and interpretations, and is equally profound in both the literary and technical aspects of the issue. In particular, numerous references to various translations of

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<sup>261</sup> «Возможно ли, что в треугольнике две стороны будут параллельны друг другу? По переводу т. Дератани выходит, что возможно, так как карнизы фронтона параллельны карнизам здания.»

<sup>262</sup> «Отдельного упоминания удостоился подбор иллюстраций: “При подборе иллюстраций редакция исходила, по-видимому, из чисто “орнаментальных” соображений: многие темные места вовсе не иллюстрированы рисунками, рисунок на стр. 140 из издания Моргана не соответствует чтению Шуази, безоговорочно принятому в тексте. Многочисленные фотографии римских водопроводов исполнены плохо и читателю почти ничего не дают.»

Vitruvius into other languages show that he is very familiar with them, that he analysed the difficulties faced by the translators (he often refers to the translations of Morgan and Prestel), and can suggest solutions based on them. experience. In addition, references to Semper, Watzinger, not to mention Choisy, demonstrate Zubov's brilliant mastery of the architectural and art history context in which Vitruvius's text existed since the Renaissance. After reading this review, the reader is left with the impression that Soviet architectural science would only benefit if Zubov himself had undertaken the translation of Vitruvius. Zubov's review presents a very important idea concerning not only the publication of Vitruvius, but also the appearance of the entire series "Classics of Theory of Architecture" in this particular historical period: the presented books should become for the architect not only curious historical artifacts, but also a working tool. Below I will try to assess the feasibility of this idea.

## Series “Classics of Theory of Architecture” in the context of Soviet architectural education of the 1930s

The official goals of the Academy’s Publishing House, including large translation project were published in a programmatic article by R. Galinsky in the main professional journal “Architecture of the USSR” (No. 6, 1935).<sup>263</sup> He writes that the publishing program, which includes the texts of the classics of world architecture, is designed to “satisfy the demand of our architectural personnel for printed materials on architecture” and “supply the Soviet reader with editions of world classical literature” in order to “critically rework everything that can enrich our architectural creativity.”<sup>264</sup> However, Galinsky’s statements are quite general and are unlikely to help to explain what kind of demand “of our architectural personnel for printed materials” the series “Classics of Theory of Architecture” will help to satisfy. It is even more difficult to imagine an average “Soviet reader” attentively studying two volumes of Alberti or Daniele Barbaro’s comments on Vitruvius.

Vasily Zubov, in his 1945 article “Architectural and Theoretical Heritage and the Tasks of Its Studies”, gives a retrospective analysis of the goals that he and his other colleagues in the publishing project set for themselves in the early 1930s. According to Zubov, the main reason for the appearance of this project was “an urgent need to solve the most serious issues of modern practice on the basis of a solid and comprehensive theory.”<sup>265</sup> Speaking of this, Zubov refers to Daniel Barbaro: a person who has only experience, but does not know the theory, can show the other what he is doing, but he is not able to give an account of why he is doing this and not otherwise. The theory of architecture is born out of the need to answer the question “why” or “for what”.

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<sup>263</sup> Galinsky, R., ‘Architecture and the Book’, *Architecture of the USSR*, 6, 1935, 65. (In Russian: Галинский, Р., ‘Архитектура и Книга’, *Архитектура СССР*, 6, 1935, 65).

<sup>264</sup> «...удовлетворить спрос наших архитектурных кадров на печатную продукцию по вопросам архитектуры» и «снабдить советского читателя изданиями мировой классической литературы», чтобы «критически переработать все, что может обогатить наше архитектурное творчество»

<sup>265</sup> Zubov V.P., ‘Architectural-Theoretical Heritage and the Objectives of Its Study’, in *Architecture. Collection of Articles on Creative Issues* (State Architectural Publishing House, 1945), I. (In Russian: В. П. Зубов, ‘Архитектурно-Теоретическое Наследие и Задачи Его Изучения’, in *Архитектура. Сборник Статей По Творческим Вопросам* (Государственное архитектурное издательство, 1945), I.).

«...настоятельная потребность решить серьезнейшие вопросы современной практики за основе прочной и всеобъемлющей теории»



Here is a passage that explains Zubov's attitudes towards theory: "The theory of architecture explores the logic of architecture and stands in the same attitude to architectural creativity as the science of logic stands for human thinking. Just as logic not only does not exclude the flexibility of individual thought and its infinite variety, but, on the contrary, suggests it, like this a truly scientific theory of architecture is not likened to blinkers or chains that impede the movement of individual creativity. Its provisions are not artificially invented norms, but a generalization of objective data. Human practice, repeated billions of times, is fixed in the human mind by the figures of logic. The practical activity of a person billions of times had to lead a person's consciousness to the repetition of various logical figures, so that the figures could receive the meaning of the axioms. The theory of architecture, like logic, is not a set of canons and rules that are not imposed on practice from the outside, reality, but rather the result of knowledge of practice and the underlying laws. It is a fixation, the quintessence of a thousand times repeated practice, it sums up what was upheld in the course of world history. That outcome is inevitably abstract."<sup>266</sup>

Of course, Zubov quotes Lenin in this passage: he needs to link his work with the ideological mainstream. However, Zubov admits that neither Vitruvius nor the Renaissance authors have the purely "solid and comprehensive theory" in its pure form. He suggests looking for it between the lines, analyzing the language, and especially the terminology used by the authors of the treatises, to isolate the very logic that, according to Zubov, is the essence of architectural theory.

But what are the origins of these persistent searches for a comprehensive theory? In one of the previous paragraphs, I described an approach to teaching history and theory of

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<sup>266</sup> Ibid.

«Теория архитектуры исследует логику архитектуры и стоит в таком же отношении к архитектурному творчеству, в каком наука логики стоит к человеческому мышлению. Подобно тому, как логика не только не исключает гибкости индивидуальной мысли и ее бесконечного разнообразия, а наоборот, предполагает ее, подобно этому подлинно научная теория архитектуры не уподобляется шорам или цепям, сковывающим движение индивидуального творчества. Ее положения - не искусственно придуманные нормы, а обобщение объективных данных. Практика человека, миллиарды раз повторяясь, закрепляется в сознании человека фигурами логики. Практическая деятельность человека миллиарды раз должна была приводить сознание человека к повторению разных логических фигур, дабы фигуры могли получить мнение аксиом. Теория архитектуры, как и логика, не есть свод канонов и правил, извне навязываемых практике, действительности, а наоборот, результат познания практики и лежащих в ее основе закономерностей. Она – фиксация, квинтэссенция тысячи раз повторявшейся практики, она подводит итог тому, что отстоялось в ходе мировой истории. Такой итог неизбежно абстрактен».

architecture, typical of the time: these subjects were considered only as a set of successful engineering and artistic techniques that an architect could use – studying the monuments of the past in this approach was like a collecting a personal library. Zholtovsky described the same approach in his speech at the 1st Congress of Soviet Architects: according to him, the student got acquainted with the monuments of world architecture in drawing and design classes, so he or she could evaluate the architectural decisions. This approach does not imply a search for the general logic of the profession, which Zubov writes about. Therefore, it is interesting to understand where the origins of his ideas lie.

In the first half of the 20th century, the idea of inequality between theory and practice was established in the scientific community. Theory, abstract knowledge was considered more important and significant than practical skills or erudition, knowledge of specific facts, providing good work in almost any field of activity.<sup>267</sup> The problem of bridging the gap between theory and practice was relevant not only for scientists, but also for those who were involved in teaching. The idea that theory should underlie any practice goes back to the idea of the existence of various types of knowledge, which were described by Plato and Aristotle, and in particular, a controversy between episteme and phronesis.

The episteme, as Plato describes it, is knowledge that provides a scientific understanding of the world. It is propositional, that is, it consists of a set of assertions that can be investigated, explained and transmitted to other people. These assertions are of general nature, they apply to many different situations and problems, but not to a particular one. Consequently, they are formulated in abstract terms. Of course, these propositions are claimed to be true, preferably, their truth can be proved, or at least they can be considered as a part of theory, where they are consistent with the other parts that are already proven. Because they are true, they are also fixed, timeless, and objective. They are fully cognitive in nature; they are purely intellectual insights, unaffected by emotions and desires.

The idea of phronesis is often compared with practical wisdom. This type of knowledge, as described by Aristotle,<sup>268</sup> is not concerned with scientific theories, but with the

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<sup>267</sup> Jos. P. A. M. Kessels and Fred A. J. Korthagen, 'The Relationship Between Theory and Practice: Back to the Classics', *Educational Researcher*, 25.3 (1996), 17–22 <<https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X025003017>>.

<sup>268</sup> Aristotle, 'Nicomachean Ethics', in Aristotle. Works., Trans. by N. V. Bragin'skaya, 4 vols (Moscow: Mysl, 1984), IV. (In Russian: Аристотель, 'Никомахова Этика', in *Аристотель. Сочинения.*, trans. by Н. В. Брагинская, 4 vols (Москва: Мысль, 1984), IV.).

understanding of specific concrete cases and complex or ambiguous situations. This does not mean that practical wisdom is not related to any general rules. But “it must take into account particular facts as well, since it is concerned with practical activities, which always deal with particular things”.<sup>269</sup> In complex situations having only general, theoretical knowledge at one’s disposal, is not enough. One would also need a knowledge of a different kind, not abstract and theoretical, but it’s very opposite: knowledge of concrete particulars. This kind of knowledge is essentially perceptual – “phronesis deals with the ultimate particular, and this is an object of perception, rather than episteme”.<sup>270</sup>

For architectural community, in particular for those who considered the history of architecture as a library of the best artistic and engineering practices, the texts under consideration – the works of Vitruvius, Alberti, Palladio, Vignola – were more a repository of this specific knowledge, phronesis in Aristotelian sense. However, the 1945 Zubov’s article makes the impression that he and his like-minded colleagues from the Academy, were trying to derive episteme from phronesis, to get a “real” theory to make architecture equal among other sciences. Perhaps the background of Zubov as a philosopher, linguist and historian affected his writings. It is also possible that the catastrophic decrease in diversity in architecture as art and the search for a single method of socialist realism led him to such ideas. Zubov thought a lot about Plato’s ideas, and one of the key parts of his dissertation was devoted to Platonism by Alberti. As the historian of Soviet science Dmitry Bayuk writes, in the 1930s, the influence of Plato on many significant thinkers of the Renaissance was unexpectedly discovered, and due to this very surprise, it was often somewhat exaggerated.<sup>271</sup>

In the review of Zubov’s dissertation on Alberti’s architectural theory, published recently as a book, Gabrichevsky writes: “The author considers Alberti’s theoretical views not abstractly, but against a background of general cultural and historical development, which determined the evolution of aesthetic views, and strictly took into account the intimate, inextricable link between science and art, which is a common characteristic feature in understanding human artistic activity from Antiquity to the end of the Renaissance.”<sup>272</sup> It seems

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<sup>269</sup> Ibid.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid.

<sup>271</sup> Bayuk.

<sup>272</sup> Zubov V. P., *Alberti Architectural Theory*.

«Автор рассматривает теоретические взгляды Альберти не отвлеченно, а на фоне общего культурно-исторического развития, обусловившего эволюцию эстетических воззрений, и строго учитывал ту интимную, неразрывную связь между наукой и искусством, которая является общей

that Zubov does not so much care about giving the architect a set of professional tools, but solves the research problem: to fit the architectural treatises of the Renaissance into the context of the history of science. Zubov, as a historian and philosopher, was involved in discussions about the differences between explanation and description in science, the differences between positive and normative analysis. In his works on the history of the Renaissance, Zubov was solving a general historical and scientific problem: he seeks to show that in the Renaissance, science and art were in close interconnection with each other. This desire was most clearly manifested in his work on Leonardo da Vinci, but the dissertation on Alberti and comments on his translations, of course, also apply to this type of work. The philosopher A. Avdeenkov, who studied Zubov's work in the field of the history of science, writes that Zubov was faced with the task of demonstrating in what sense Leonardo claimed that "architecture is a science" and "painting is a science", and in what relation they were with other areas of knowledge such as math or science.<sup>273</sup> Avdeenkov finds this connection in mathematics: according to him, in any art, be it painting, sculpture or architecture, an integral stage is designing, creating an image of a future work, which takes place using the exact sciences. Thus, art appropriates mathematical tools, and thus is included in the field of science. Mitrović writes about the same thing, speaking of Zubov's work on the analysis of Alberti's architectural theory<sup>274</sup>. Zubov approaches Alberti as a philosopher and historian of science.

However, the intention itself is interesting – we can find it both in the texts of Zubov himself and the researchers of his works – to find something in art (a general theory or mathematical apparatus) that will bring it closer to the sphere of formal or natural sciences. It seems that this reflection is a case of the hierarchy of sciences, which was established in the 19th century, in which formal disciplines (logic, mathematics) occupy a dominant position.

Above, I tried to show why the theory was so significant for Soviet architectural thought. However, the question remains, what "modern architectural practice" required such a thorough theoretical justification? Here we must turn to the concept of "socialist realism in

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характернейшей чертой в понимании художественной деятельности человека от Античности до конца Ренессанса.»

<sup>273</sup> Avdeenkov A. N., 'V. P. Zubov and His Approach to the Analysis of the Culture of the Renaissance', *Bulletin of the Moscow University. Series 7. Philosophy*, 4, 2014, 36–48. (In Russian: Авдеенков А. Н., 'В. П. Зубов и Его Подход к Анализу Культуры Эпохи Возрождения', *Вестник Московского Университета. Серия 7. Философия*, 4, 2014, 36–48.).

<sup>274</sup> Branko Mitrović, *Serene Greed of the Eye: Leon Battista Alberti and the Philosophical Foundations of Renaissance Architectural Theory* (Deutscher Kunstverlag München, 2005), IV.

architecture” – in the recent years it became an object of attention of scholars both in Russia and abroad. Since a fairly large number of works are devoted to social realism, I will not dwell on the description of style and the debates around it – all these can be found in the works listed below in this paragraph. The main questions of their studies are related to the essence of the style. Some scholars and critics try to define the origins of the style through its relations to the previous stylistic periods (the most important works in this area are Vladimir Paperny’s “Culture two”<sup>275</sup>, Grigory Revzin’s “Neoclassicism in Russian architecture in the beginning of XX century”<sup>276</sup>, Boris Groys “Gezamtkunstwerk Stalin”<sup>277</sup> and multiple studies by the Moscow Institute of the History and Theory of Architecture and Urbanism), some look for the neoclassicism’s social drivers (for example, Vadim Bass’s papers on the reinvention of classics in early XX century Russia and other works<sup>278</sup>), some analyse the style in the international context. Several work describing the institutionalization of Soviet architecture and changes in the architectural profession, appeared in the recent years. Among them are Katerina Clark’s “Moscow the Fourth Rome”<sup>279</sup>, Alexandra Selivanova’s “Postconstructivism: power and architecture in 1930-s”<sup>280</sup>, Igor Kazus’s works on the architectural competitions<sup>281</sup> and Moscow architecture<sup>282</sup>, Alessandro De Magistris papers on the social realism<sup>283</sup> and Moscow metro<sup>284</sup> and many others.

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<sup>275</sup> Paperny.

<sup>276</sup> Revzin.

<sup>277</sup> Groys.

<sup>278</sup> Bass V. G. “Russian Palladio”; Bass V. G., ‘Formal and Stylistic Aspects in the System of Professional Values of the St. Petersburg Architectural Community of the Neoclassical Era: On the Example of Projects for Reconstruction of the Nikolaev Station’, *Proceedings of the St. Petersburg State Institute of Culture*, 176 (2007) (In Russian: В. Г. Басс, ‘Формально-Стилистические Аспекты в Системе Профессиональных Ценностей Петербургского Архитектурного Цеха Неоклассической Эпохи: На Примере Проектов Реконструкции Николаевского Вокзала’, *Труды Санкт-Петербургского Государственного Института Культуры*, 176 (2007)); Bass V. G., ‘The Architect of the Beginning of the XX Century Between Profession and Society (in Defense of” Academism “)’, *Scientific Works*, 10, 2009, 123–135. (In Russian: Басс В. Г., ‘Архитектор Начала XX Века Между Профессией и Обществом (в Защиту” Академизма”’, *Научные Труды*, 10, 2009, 123–135.).

<sup>279</sup> Clark.

<sup>280</sup> Selivanova A. N. “Creative Searches in Theory and Practice of Soviet Architecture in the 1930s”.

<sup>281</sup> Kazus.

<sup>282</sup> Geydor and Kazus.

<sup>283</sup> De Magistris, ‘(Soc) Realisms in Practice: Re-Reading the Soviet Experience in the 1930s’.

<sup>284</sup> De Magistris, ‘Underground Explorations in Synthesis of the Arts: Deineka in Moscow’s Metro’.

The roots of socialist realism in architecture lie in the “assimilation of the classical heritage” – “in-depth study and critical use of cultural heritage based on the instructions of Marx, Lenin and Stalin.” The difficulty with the definition of socialist realism in architecture was that it was not possible to unambiguously interpret the slogans published by the Union of Soviet Architects. When moving from slogans to real design, the architect had to follow some real patterns, and these were the monuments of antiquity and the Renaissance. From the numerous discussions around socialist realism, it became clear that, firstly, the modernism that flourished in Soviet architecture of the 1920s is no longer acceptable, and secondly, persistent calls to master the heritage of the past pushed the architect to work in classical forms. This is where the very “needs of practice” that Zubov speaks of when describing the goals of the translation program and, more specifically, of the series “Classics of Theory of Architecture” emerge. That is why, in his reviews and other translation texts, he places so much emphasis on technical issues and clarity of their presentation: an architect reading Vitruvius, Alberti or Palladio should be able to integrate their experience into his practice, because the institutional organization of Soviet architecture made a classic the only possible basis for creativity. I specifically emphasize the institutional nature of these processes, because in literature, the turn to the classics is most often explained by the personal tastes of the party elite. This is greatly facilitated by stories in which Stalin personally approves architectural projects of significant Moscow buildings, or Kaganovich (the member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, deeply involved to the rebuilding of Moscow) dictates to architects the shape of the future theatre building. However, even if it was influenced by the personal artistic preferences of the Soviet leadership, in the 1930s an institutional system of architecture management was formed, which in every possible way stimulated certain aesthetic trends. Moreover, this system was only part of a more complex mechanism for managing culture as a whole.

On April 23rd of 1932 the Communist Party’s Central Committee issued a decree “On the rebuilding of the literary and artistic organization” which is considered to be a starting point of the reform of all artistic processes in the Soviet Union. As a result, all independent artistic groups were eliminated, and all their members were forced to become the members of the mass unions with the united ideology and common method of the social realism. In architecture such an organization was a Union of the Soviet Architects, established in July 1932. The processes accompanying its appearance are well described in the works of Katerina Clark<sup>285</sup> and

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<sup>285</sup> Clark.

Alexandra Selivanova<sup>286</sup>, so here I will not dwell on them in detail. Almost all former members of the leading avant-garde groups, as well as the art-historians and young architects, who opposed avant-garde, became the members of the SSA, and now their main common task, given by the Party, was to establish the method of socialist realism in architecture. Most of the scholars define two major groups in the SSA. First was the “old school”, the architects who were trained and became famous before 1917 and successfully worked in 1920s (Ivan Zholtovsky, Moisey Ginzburg, Vesnin brothers, Nikolay Ladovsky, Ivan Fomin, Ilya Golosov, Konstantin Melnikov, etc.). They represented different views on the architectural profession, sometimes were in a hard opposition to each other (like Zholtovsky and Ladovsky), but all of them by 1930 were regarded as the highly professional and demanded architects. On the other hand, there were a group of younger professionals, trained in 1920s (mostly in VKhUTEMAS and in the construction department of the Moscow Higher Technical School). Among them were Karo Alabyan, Alexander Vlasov, Mikhail Kryukov, Arkady Mordvinov, etc., who 1929 established a group “The All-Russia Society of Proletarian Architects” (VOPRA). The head of VOPRA became Ivan Macza, an art-historian from the Moscow State University, who came to Soviet Russia from Hungary in 1923 and a person, who in 1934 became a head of the Workshop on History and Theory of Architecture in the All-Union Academy of Architecture. VOPRA aimed to present a brand new, “proletarian” view on architecture, which should “serve the needs of working class and participate in the class war on the side of proletariat”<sup>287</sup>. It was VOPRA ideas which formed the SSA ideology. Alexandra Selivanova, who studied the institutions in 1930s Soviet architecture, shows the balance of powers between these two groups: in almost every significant architectural institution the head could be an architect from the first group, but his deputy then would be from the second<sup>288</sup>. For example, the head of SSA was Viktor Vesnin, and his deputy was Karo Alabyan. The same principle was in the Mossovet’s architectural studios: Mordvinov was the deputy for Ivan Fomin, Konstantin Djus – for Ilya Golosov, Viktor Lebedev – for Konstantin Melnikov, etc. Selivanova states that these deputies were mostly responsible for the contact with the Communist Party, especially with Lazar Kaganovich. Their function, on the one hand was to keep the authorities informed about what was going on the workshops, and, on the other hand, to translate the Party’s directives to the architectural community.

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<sup>286</sup> Selivanova A. N. “Creative Searches in Theory and Practice of Soviet Architecture in the 1930s”.

<sup>287</sup> Khan-Magomedov, S.O., Architecture of the Soviet Avant-garde: Social Problems.

<sup>288</sup> Selivanova A. N. “Creative Searches in Theory and Practice of Soviet Architecture in the 1930s”.

Thus, one can see that the ideology, which affirmed the need to master the classical heritage as the basis of socialist realism in architecture, was very quickly institutionalized. The Union of Soviet Architects and the Academy of Architecture, which dictated educational standards for all architectural schools in the country, were the conductors of this ideology. Therefore, it seems to me incorrect to say that the turn to the classics was associated exclusively with the personal tastes of the party elite, as Branco Mitrović states.<sup>289</sup> The very system of relations between the authorities and the architect, the centralization of education, state as a single customer of an architect – all these factors ultimately influenced the formation of the style and supported the education-related activities. It is worth noting, however, that in a system built in this way, it was quite easy to replace the aesthetic content: when in 1955 the Central Committee of the CPSU issued a decree “On the elimination of excesses in design and construction”<sup>290</sup>, aimed at making construction cheaper and more functional, some artistic solutions were replaced by others, and the architecture management system and the relationship between the architect, the state and the society remained unchanged.

Thus, the publishing program of the Academy of Architecture and, in particular, the series “Classics of Theory of Architecture” is a part of a process of the formation of socialist realism in the architecture of the USSR in the 1930s. Conceived as a necessary element of the educational process, the program became part of the institutionalization of the classics as the basis of a new style. First, after the educational experiments of the 1920s, fundamental education and familiarity with the heritage of the past gained value again. This shift in values has enabled many humanists – historians, philosophers, linguists – educated before the revolution to pursue their knowledge and scientific interests through formal educational and research programs. In the story I am describing, such people are Vasily Zubov and Alexander Gabrichevsky, without whom the series “Classics of Theory of Architecture” could not have been born. It is important to note that this process was not limited to architecture. As the historian of Soviet science D. Bayuk writes, in this short period of Russian history books were translated and published not only on Renaissance architectural theory – at that time more classical scientific texts were translated and published than ever before in Russian / Soviet /

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<sup>289</sup> Branco Mitrović, ‘Studying Renaissance Architectural Theory in the Age of Stalinism’, *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 12 (2009), 233–263.

<sup>290</sup> Khmel'nitsky D., *Stalin's architecture. Psychology and Style* (Directmedia, 2013) (In Russian: Хмельницкий Д., *Архитектура Сталина. Психология и Стиль* (Directmedia, 2013).).



Russian history. It was at this time when some texts of Plato and Aristotle were translated into Russian, and no matter how enthusiastic the thinkers of that era were with a new victorious ideology, the works of ancient philosophers attracted them also because they already had some kind of obscure shadow on them.<sup>291</sup>

Secondly, the appearance of the series became part of the process of understanding the role of theory in architecture. As I wrote above, one of the tasks of the scientific work that accompanied the translations of the series was to demonstrate the inextricable link between science and art that existed in the Renaissance, and also that the history of architecture is not only a collection of successful technical and artistic techniques that an architect can combine at your own discretion, but also the history of ideas associated with a specific era.

Finally, the technical issues outlined in the treatises also became the focus of translators. We can see it perfectly clear in comparison of two translations of Vitruvius, where Zubov, reviewing both 1936 editions, emphasizes that not only the historical context is important in architectural texts, as it turned out in Mishulin's translation, but also the technical one. An architect working with a book should be able to understand the technical details, since mastering the classical heritage becomes his direct responsibility.

Thus, using the example of the publishing program of the Academy of Architecture and the series "Classics of Theory of Architecture" as part of it, one can trace the main institutional processes not only in Soviet architecture, but also in the system of higher education and science of the USSR.

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<sup>291</sup> Bayuk.

## Conclusion

Thus, in this work, I tried to describe how architectural education was organized in the USSR in the 1930s, with a special emphasis on the place that the history of architecture occupied in the training of professional personnel. At the same time, I tried to look at the subject of my work not only from the standpoint of the history of architecture, but to add sociological, political and educational contexts here. Professional training of architects is not only a part of the world of architecture, but also enters into education as a social institution, and therefore is subject to influences from both the professional community and society as a whole.

The 1930s are a very interesting and little described period in the history of architectural education in the USSR. If the 1920s and VKHUTEMAS are described in sufficient detail, both in Russia and abroad, then only individual works are devoted to the 1930s, which have not yet formed an integral picture. My research is the first attempt to do this. This period is interesting for the large-scale changes that took place both in the architectural profession and in education in general. The elimination of artistic groups and trends in architecture, the creation of the Union of Architects, the discussion of a single artistic style and method of work of the architect – socialist realism – these processes are the refraction of the general trend towards centralization and state control within a specific professional field. A little apart in this process is the work of the design and planning workshops of the Moscow City Council, but here the researchers (and I tend to agree with them) see some error in the system.

The same is true for the education system: higher schools are losing independence in choosing how and what to teach students. Science and research are almost completely transferred to the system of the Academy of Sciences, and teaching is concentrated in higher educational institutions (*vuzes*), the main characteristics of which were universality (that is, in an ideal situation, a graduate of an architectural school in Vladivostok should have known and be able to exactly as much as his colleague from Moscow knows and is able); top-down administration (that is, a rigid administrative hierarchy and the need to coordinate any initiatives with the management) and one-man management – the sole responsibility of the leader (that is, the leader was personally responsible to the party for everything that happens in his university, that is, he was personally interested in ensuring that all processes strictly met the requirements lowered from above).

The implementation of these principles in the Soviet system of training architects in the 1930s can be well traced on the example of Moscow educational institutions – the Moscow Institute of Architecture and Civil Engineering and the All-Union Academy of Architecture. In

the first case, the constant change of rector, which took place in 1929-1934, is precisely the implementation of the principle of personal responsibility: the memory of the freedom of the VKHUTEMAS, the chaos from constant restructuring of the educational process, the general tendency to experiments inherent in artistic professions - all this led to the fact that the requirements of unified educational standards were not met, and the rector was responsible for this, not only by his position, but in some cases by his life.

The Academy of Architecture in this sense is also a very striking example of these processes. Despite the fact that it was created to set the standard for all architectural schools in the country, as we have seen from the professional discussions in the work, the process did not always line up as intended. As a result, the rector of the Academy, Mikhail Kryukov, would be arrested, exiled to Vorkuta, where he died several years later.

Another important focus that I consider in my work is the views of the professional community on how studies in architecture schools should be organized. The first thing that catches your eye is the strength of the traditions enshrined in the Imperial Academy of Arts, which, in turn, emanated from the Parisian Ecole Des Beaux-Arts. These traditions were strong, first of all, due to the fact that most of those who were responsible for the formation of architectural education in the 1930s themselves studied at the Academy, and their personal experience and ideas could not but influence what they did. These traditions are the organization of study in workshops and, ideally, close personal contact between the master and the student (although we know that at the Academy of Arts this was not always the case, and, for example, many students studied in the workshop of Leonty Benois, and individual relations with were not available to everyone). The best idea of the ideal form of transfer of professional experience was presented by Zholtovsky in his speech at the I All-Union Congress of Architects: he described a model in which each student follows his own individual pace, where the elders teach the younger, where during the studies there is an opportunity (and even the need) to try in real work, where there are no course programs, curricula and the need to master the program in the allotted amount of time. The model described by Zholtovsky, although it was completely unattainable in reality, was supported by the professional community as a kind of ideal. It is not surprising that these ideal ideas have lost the battle with the state machine, which imposed the standardization and unification of the educational process, at least in Moscow. In Leningrad, due to the closeness of the traditions of the pre-revolutionary Academy, it seems that it was possible to preserve a great deal of freedom in the preparation of architects, but even here it was necessary to fulfil the centralized requirements emanating from the Moscow authorities.

In addition to the general picture of architectural education, it was interesting to see how individual disciplines are embedded in professional training. Since each subject has strong teaching traditions, connections with the professional world, social and political contexts, it is not possible to cover the entire range of courses, even key ones, within a single dissertation. I chose teaching the history of architecture, because, on the one hand, there is some general idea that this discipline is necessary for an architect and is one of the most important for him, and on the other hand, there is a discussion about why and in what form it is needed. was conducted in different schools throughout the 20th century. In the Union of Architects, there was no doubt about its necessity – every student had to “master the classical heritage” in order to be considered “the best architect in the world”, which a graduate of any Soviet architectural school was bound to become. However, there was doubt as to what role this discipline could play in professional development: to view it as a history of ideas, problems and solutions and inevitably take into account the social contexts behind them, or as a repository, a repository of techniques that an architect can choose and use. how are modern image libraries in design programs? In the relevant section, I try to show that no clear choice was made. The programs of courses in the history of architecture and art at the Academy of Architecture (closely related to each other) are an attempt to combine the traditional chronological principle "from Egypt to the present" and problematic seminars about heritage, about theories of the Renaissance, about techniques and materials, etc., but share the time allotted for these seminars in the general course was not so great. This combination seems to be an attempt to introduce problem analysis into disciplines, combined with the need to improve the level of students' specific historical knowledge.

The launch of the book series “Classics of the Theory of Architecture”, published since 1934 under the editorship of Alexander Gabrichevsky, looks like an attempt at problematization. It published translations of Vitruvius, Alberti, Palladio, Vignola, and this series still remains the most complete and fresh collection of translations of the classics of the architectural theory of the Renaissance in Russian. The emergence of this series seems to reflect an attempt by people who did not originally belong to the architectural profession (historians, philologists, philosophers) to introduce theory into professional use, so that the history of architecture becomes more than just a collection of ideas that can be pulled out at will for use in projects.

Thus, using the example of such a seemingly private aspect as the history and traditions of teaching one discipline, I was able to reveal the complex system of professional and social relations that determined architectural education in the USSR in the 1930s.

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Some works of the applicants to the first enrolment to the All-Union Academy  
of Architecture

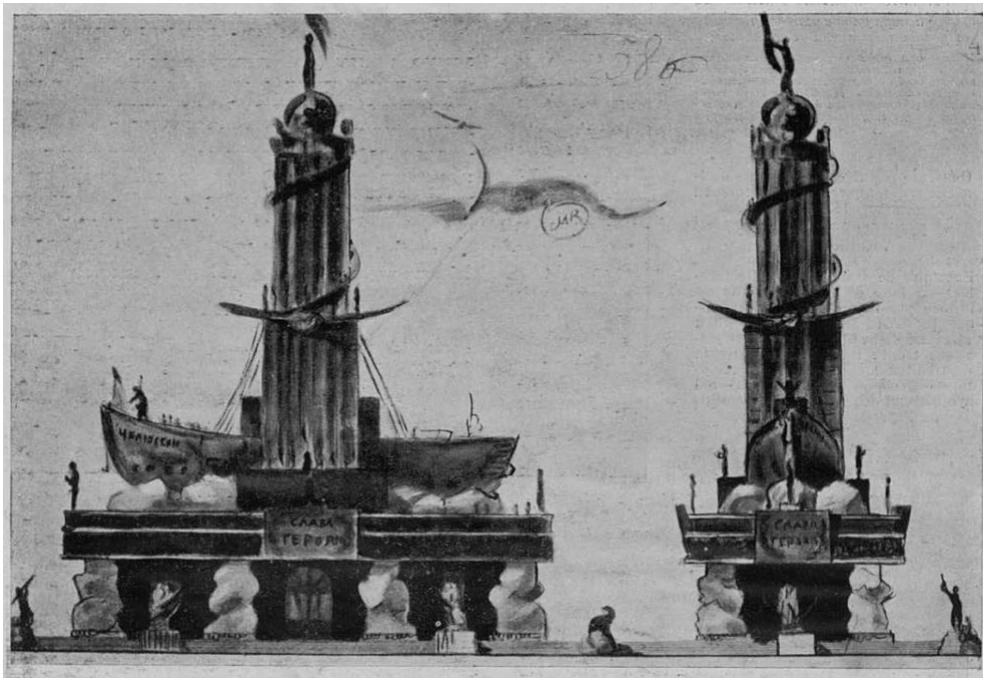


Figure 2. One of the weakest examples of the design of the Cheluskin monument. Source: “The Academy of Architecture”, issue 1–2, p. 70.



Figure 3. An example of the “tolerable” design of the Cheluskin monument. Source: “The Academy of Architecture”, issue 1–2, p. 68.

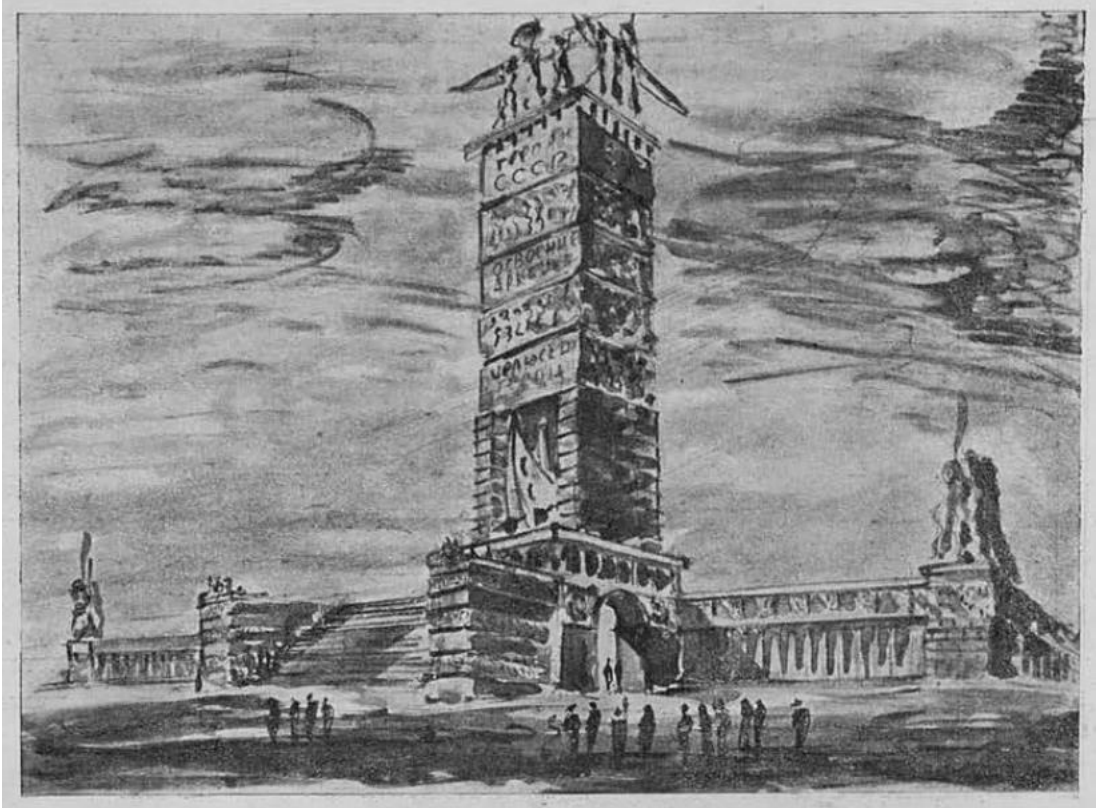


Figure 4. Another example of the “tolerable” design of the Cheluskin monument; this one also represents the idea of a too literal representation of an architectural form. Source: “The Academy of Architecture”, issue 1–2, p. 69.

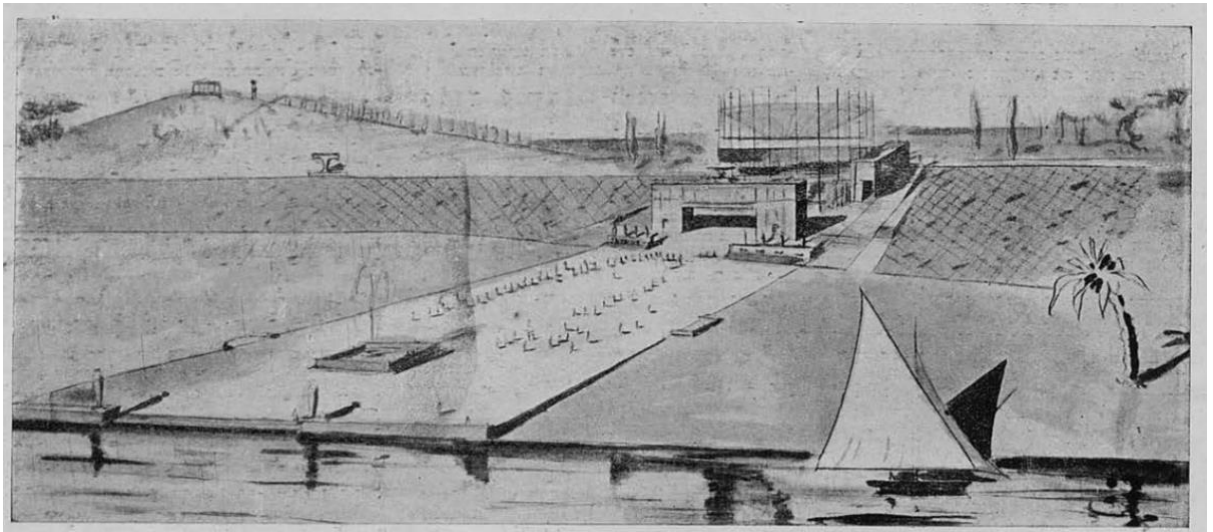
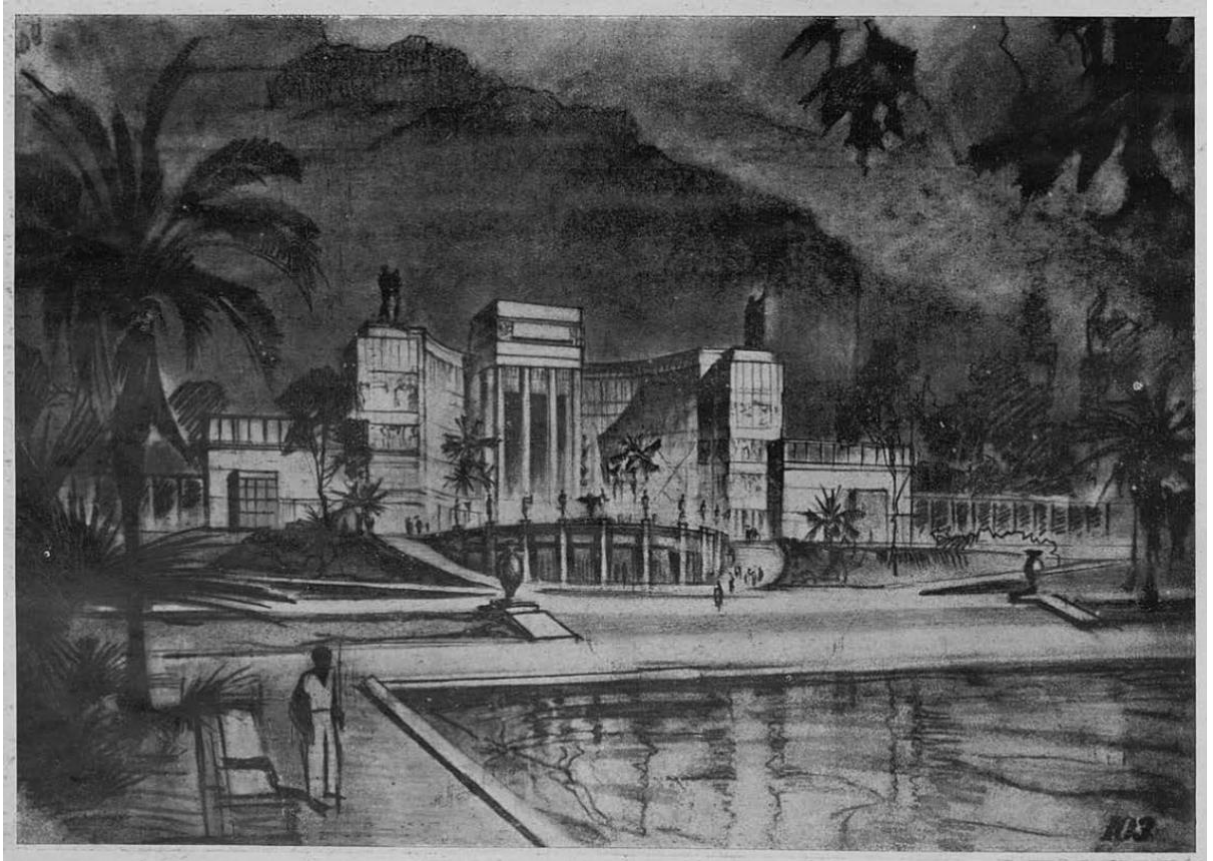


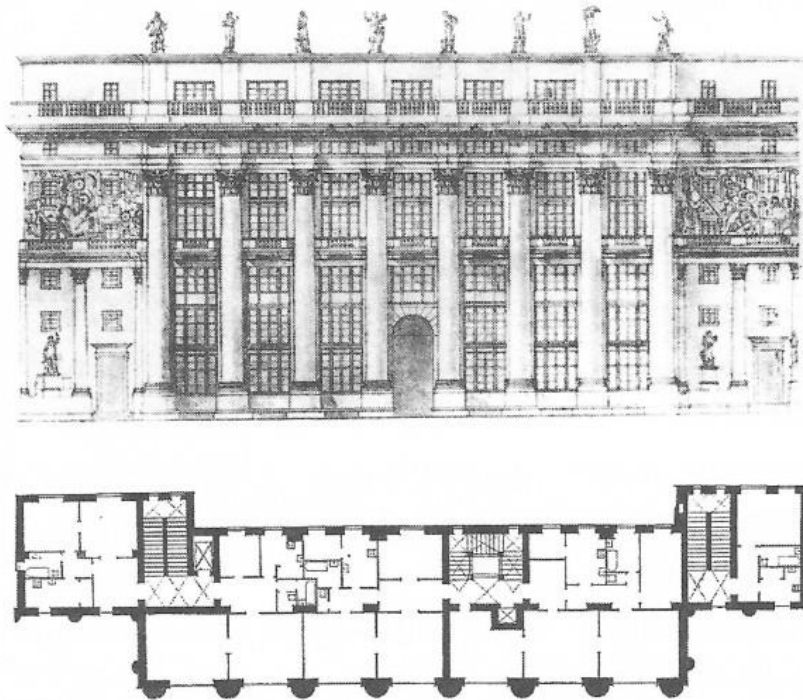
Figure 5. The example of the second task – a design of the concert hall. Source: “The Academy of Architecture”, issue 1–2, p.74.





*Figure 6. The example of the second task – a design of the concert hall. Source: “The Academy of Architecture”, issue 1–2, p.74.*

Some examples of the Soviet architecture of 1930s



*Figure 7. "House on Mokhovaya street", Moscow. Ivan Zholtovsky, 1934. Khan-Magomedov S. O., Ivan Zholtovsky, p. 80.*



Figure 8. Race Society Mansion, 1903, architect Ivan Zholtovsky. Skakovaya alley, Moscow. Pastvu.com

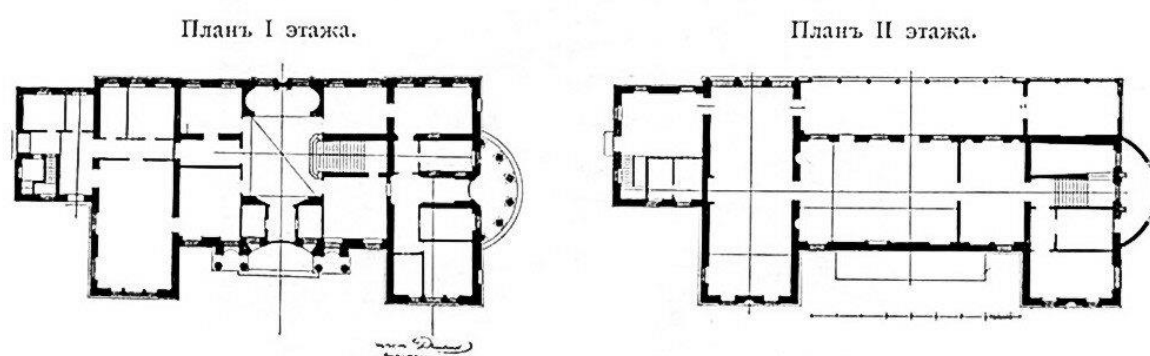


Figure 9. Race Society Mansion, 1903, architect Ivan Zholtovsky. Plans of the ground and first floors. Khan-Magomedov S. O., Ivan Zholtovsky, p. 64.

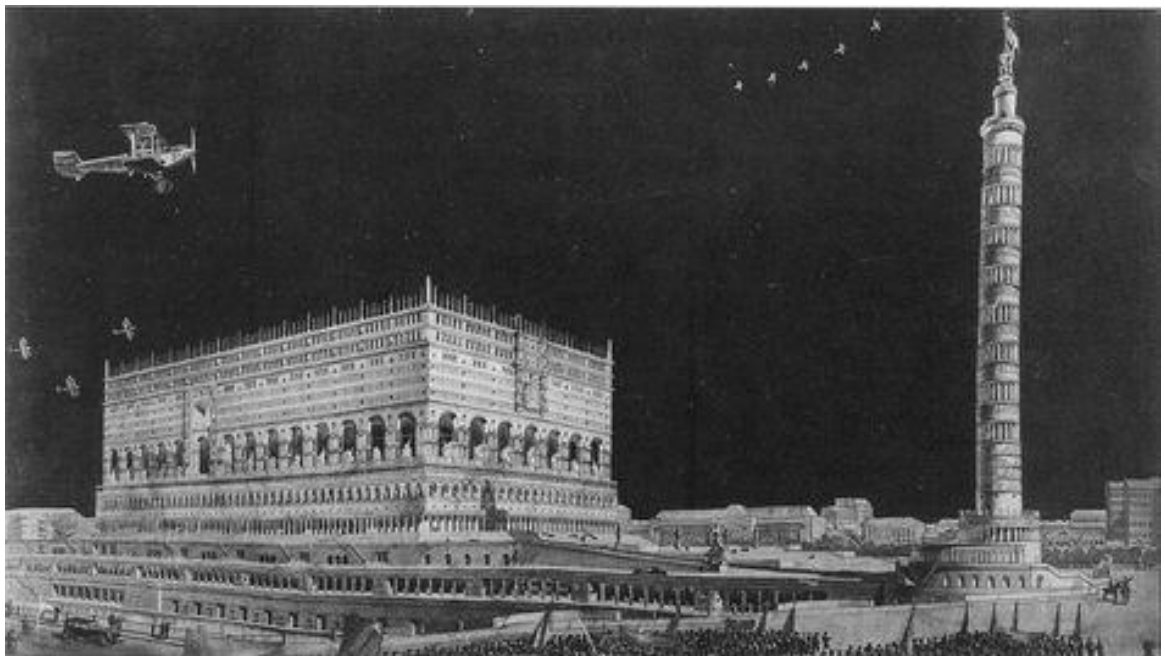


*Figure 10. Taraosv's Mansion, 1909, architect Ivan Zholtovsky. Spiridonovka street, Moscow. Moscowwalks.ru.*

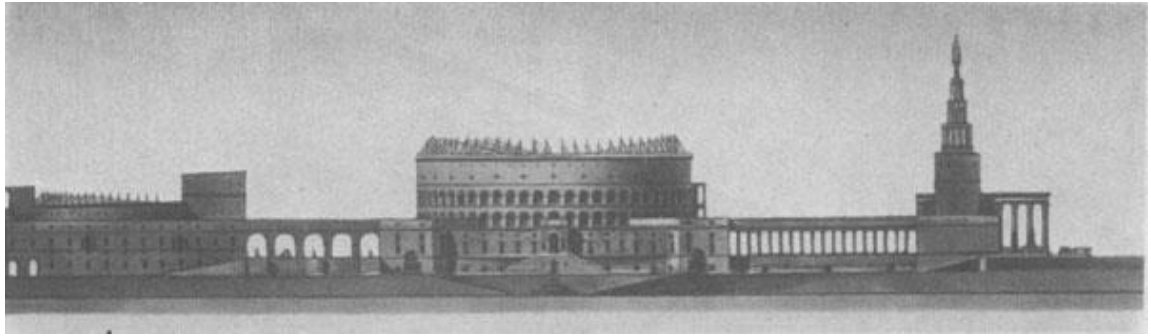
The most significant projects of 1930s



*Figure 11. Palace of the Soviets. Design by Boris Iofan, winner of the third stage of competition, 1933. <http://vma.muar.ru/ru/palace-of-the-soviets>*



*Figure 12. Palace of the Soviets. Design by Vladimir Schuko and Vladimir Gelfreykh. <http://vma.muar.ru/ru/palace-of-the-soviets>*



*Figure 13. Palace of the Soviets. Design by Ivan Zholtovsky. <http://vma.muar.ru/ru/palace-of-the-soviets>*



*Figure 14. People's Commissariat of Industry. Design by Panteleimon Golosov. <http://arch-grafika.ru>*

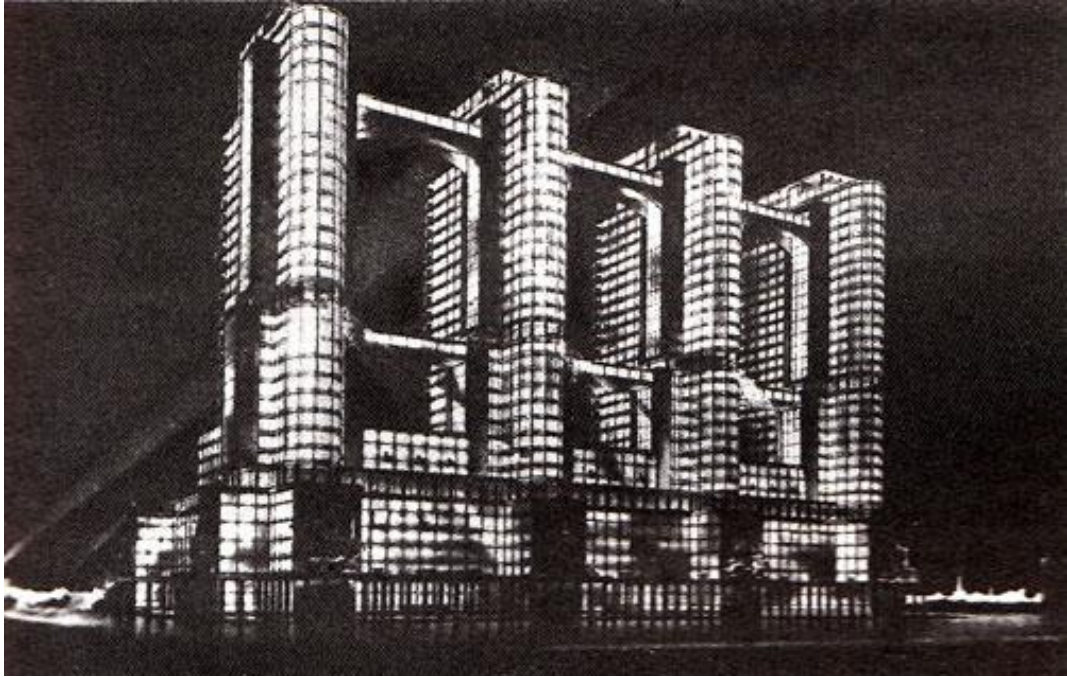
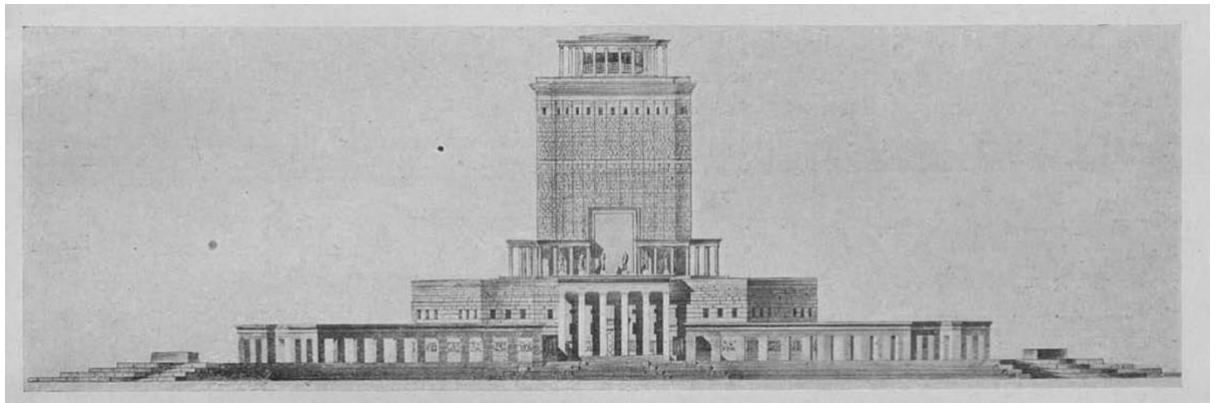


Figure 15. People's Commissariat of Industry. Design by Vesnin brothers. <http://arch-grafika.ru>

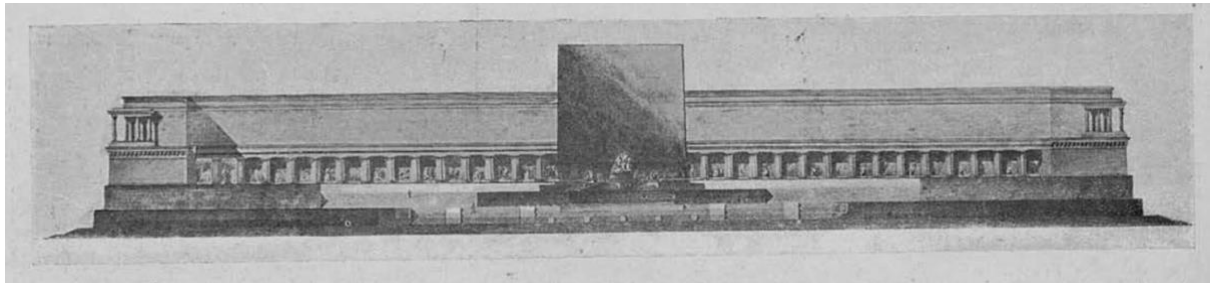


Figure 16. People's Commissariat of Industry. Design by Ivan Fomin. <http://arch-grafika.ru>

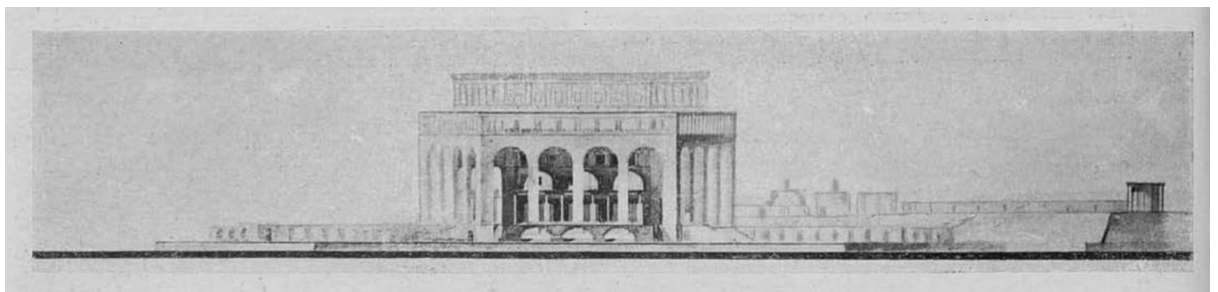
Some examples of students' projects on the class of architectural design



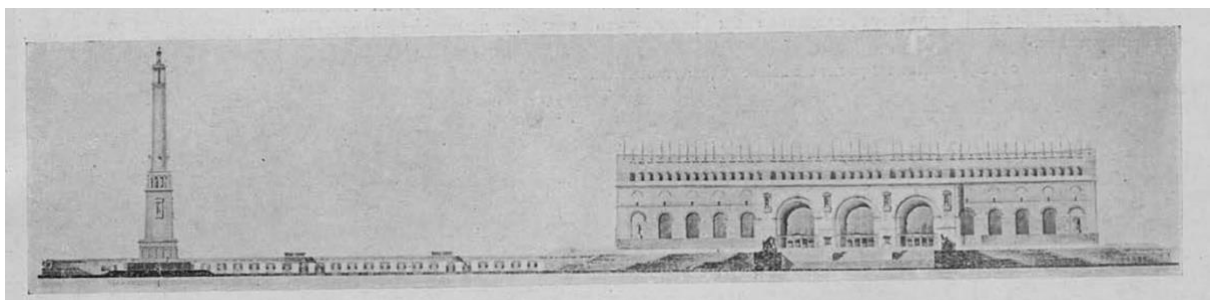
*Figure 17. L. Komarova. Krasnaya Presnya monument, façade. Academy of Architecture, 1935, 5, p. 7.*



*Figure 18. R. Trotsky, Krasnaya Presnya monument, façade. Academy of Architecture, 1935, 5, p. 10.*



*Figure 19. Y. Cheverdyayev, Northern River Station (Rechnoy Vokzal), façade. Academy of Architecture, 1935, 5, p. 8.*



*Figure 20. A. Tarasenko, Northern River Station (Rechnoy Vokzal), façade. Academy of Architecture, 1935, 5, p. 11.*



“Classics of Theory of Architecture”

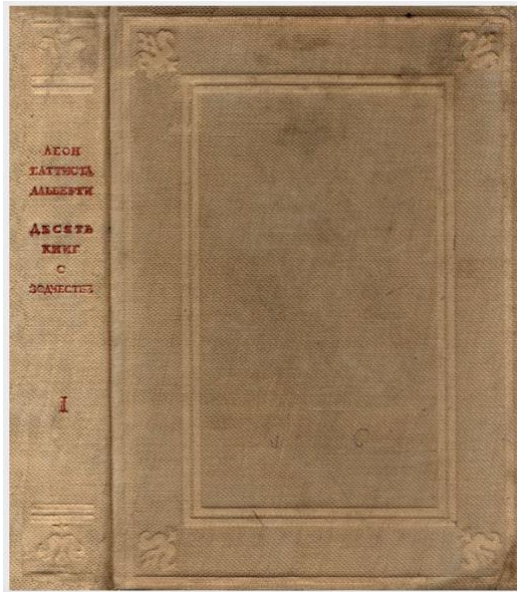


Figure 21. Leon Battista Alberti. *On the Art of Building in Ten Books* (Russian translation). Volume 1. Cover. 1935.



Figure 22. Leon Battista Alberti. *On the Art of Building in Ten Books* (Russian translation). Volume 1. Title page. 1935.

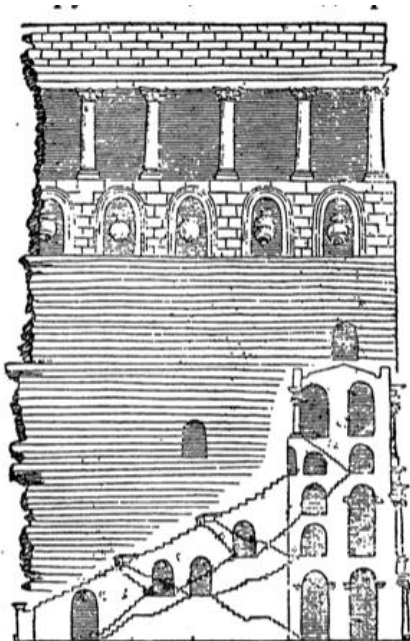


Figure 23. Leon Battista Alberti. *On the Art of Building in Ten Books* (Russian translation). Volume 1. Illustration from Book Eight (p. 292). 1935.

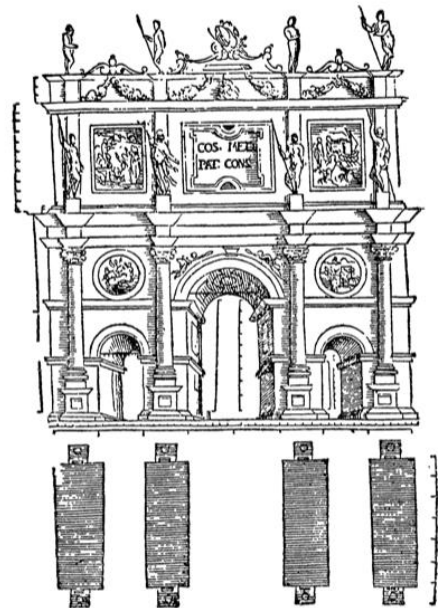


Figure 24. Leon Battista Alberti. *On the Art of Building in Ten Books* (Russian translation). Volume 1. Illustration from Book Eight (p. 284). 1935.

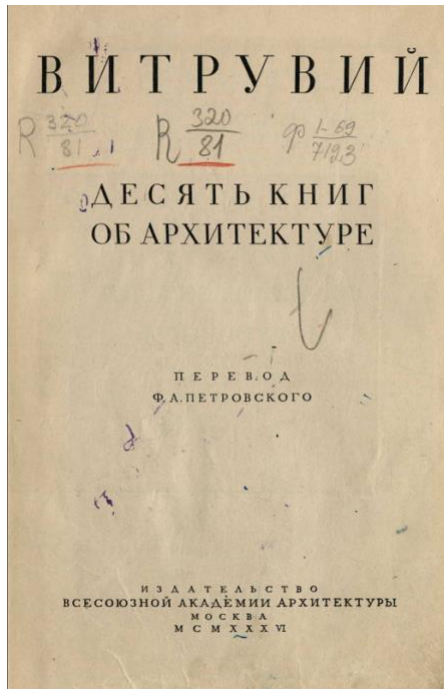


Figure 25. Vitruvius, 1936, published by All-Union Academy of Architecture, front page 1.

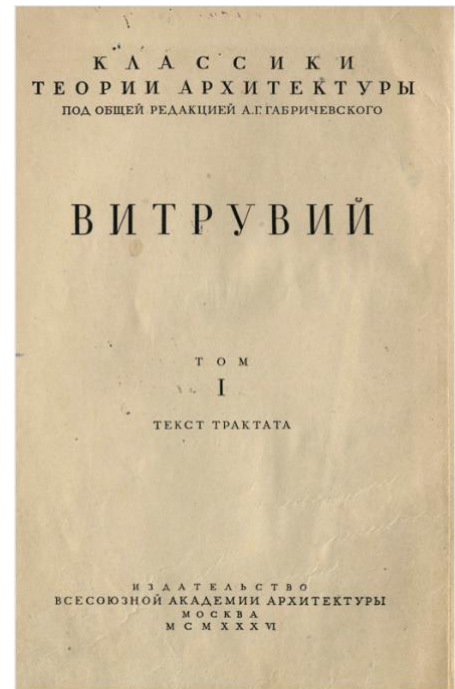


Figure 26. Vitruvius, 1936, published by All-Union Academy of Architecture, front page 2.

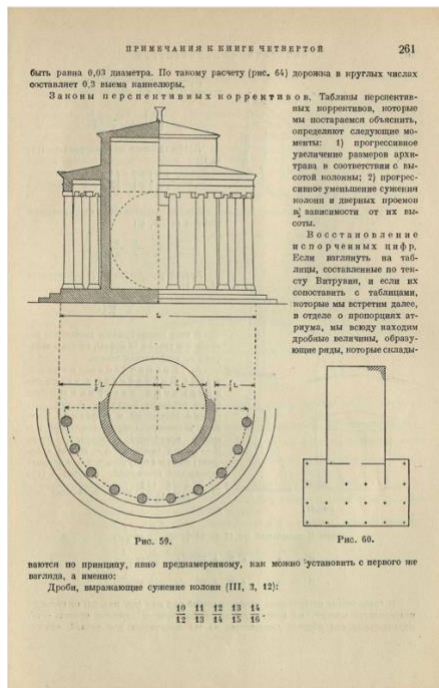


Figure 27. Vitruvius, 1936, published by All-Union Academy of Architecture, page 261. Notes to Book Four with Choisy's illustrations.

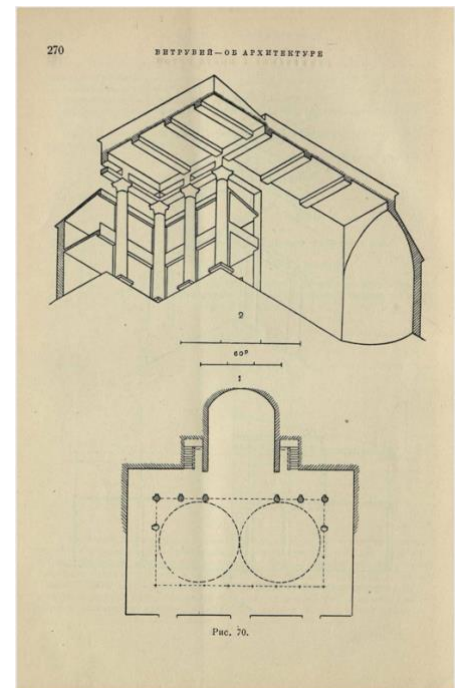


Figure 28. Vitruvius, 1936, published by All-Union Academy of Architecture, page 270. Notes to Book Five with Choisy's illustrations.

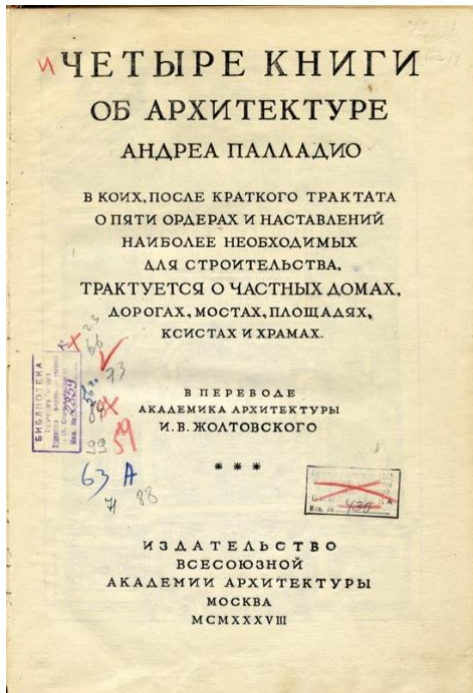


Figure 29. Andrea Palladio. *The Four Books on Architecture*, 1938 edition, published by All-Union Academy of Architecture. Title page.

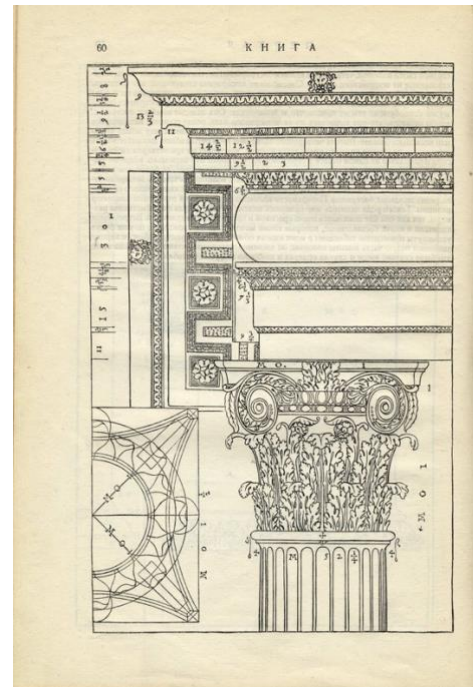


Figure 30. Andrea Palladio. *The Four Books on Architecture*, 1938 edition, published by All-Union Academy of Architecture. Page 60.

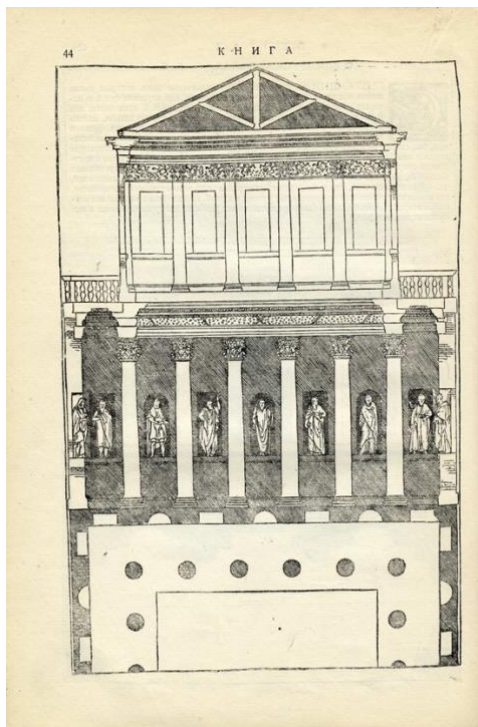


Figure 31. Andrea Palladio. *The Four Books on Architecture*, 1938 edition, published by All-Union Academy of Architecture. Page 44.

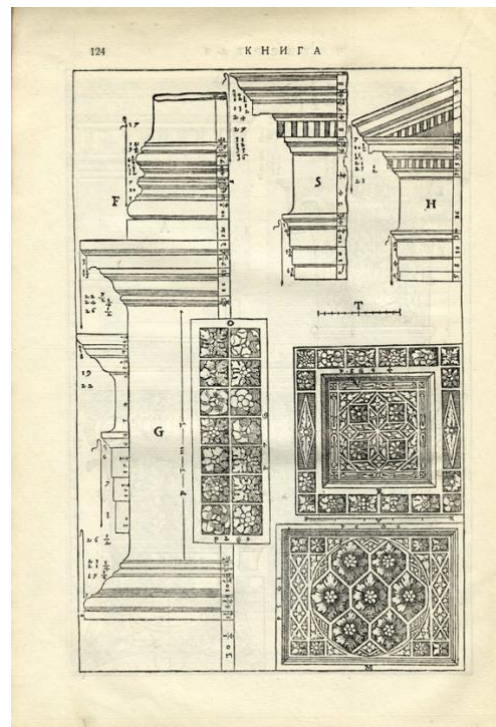


Figure 32. Andrea Palladio. *The Four Books on Architecture*, 1938 edition, published by All-Union Academy of Architecture. Page 124.