

CERTAIN ASPECTS OF ART AND THEORY IN RUSSIA
FROM 1905 to 1924 IN THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO
THE DEVELOPMENT OF AVANT-GARDE ART AND IDEAS
IN THE WEST.

Ivor Davies

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PREFACE

Futurism in Russia, its Sources, Consequences
and Relations to Western European Movements,

could serve as a possible alternative to the present title.

At first the research was to have been described as:

Theories of European artists between 1900-1930
(particularly concerning colour) in their
relationship to the development of avant-garde
art in Russia.

This was modified as colour theory constitutes a subject
in itself.

The thesis is concerned with certain tendencies that
persisted in avant-garde movements in Russia between 1905
and 1924 and with their sources. Though the scope of this
period may seem to be large, the real subject is the relation-
ships, connections and cross-currents that form the spirit
of those times. It is not intended to be a complete
directory of artists or pictures of that period but an attempt
to trace certain close correspondences between the new art
forms and ideas which artists either read or received in-
directly but often arrived at as the result of mutual
influence or discussion.

But the idea of influence, kinship or imitation in the
world of ideas and art is relative, vague and may only have
importance in showing, for example that two artists arrived
at similar stages of development at about the same time.
Also, with regard to drawing a conclusion out of innumerable
possibilities, I have avoided being dogmatic, allowing the
emphasis to rest on the question that has not previously
been asked rather than closing with a complete answer. For
example there is no value in answering "yes" or "no" to

whether Malevich read the works of Berdyaev. Even if he had he may have misunderstood them. The interest, in my opinion, lies in the particular view of reality common to both during the same period.

The thesis is not concerned with an evaluation of ideas such as Nihilism or Theosophy which appeared during the period under discussion. They are regarded here merely as real historical phenomena and for the interest they held for certain creative artists of that time. The concluding chapter, concerned with realism in the 1920s and '30s is, in part, an attempt as far as it is possible for a western European, to summarise the Soviet view of this period. This suggests that reality is subjective and that the same art object becomes a different phenomenon from one viewpoint to another and from one time to another rather in the way that Rouen Cathedral was seen by Monet in 1894. Sources of art and theory in Russia during this period are to be found in the previous generation of Russian artists as well as the contemporary, literary and philosophical ideas deriving from western and eastern Europe.

The close links which existed between the arts caused some artists who had studied one medium to transfer their activities to another or to a number of others. There was an attempt to remove distinctions between fine and applied art and between one art form and another. Although the main topic of this thesis is painting, in order to understand works in that medium properly it is necessary to extend the range of references to other plastic arts, construction, architecture, folk art, theatre and film as well as theories

of artists and philosophers. Also necessary for the realisation of the thesis but outside the apparent scope of the visual art specialist have been the historical and political background in Russia during the last half of the nineteenth-century and early twentieth century; certain notions of time and transcendence in philosophy; experimental creative writing in Russia between about 1900 and 1914; aspects of political administration, architecture, theatre and film after 1917. Therefore in order to investigate the relationship between movements in the visual arts and their historical and cultural background it has been necessary to rely on the expertise of scholars writing on topics other than the visual arts as well as writers on the arts that play a part in the total development of the thesis. For information on the ideas of Russian writers and an outline of the literary experiments that closely accompanied the visual arts I have depended largely on Vladimir Markov: Russian Futurism. The work of Troels Andersen has been very valuable, not only his catalogue of Malevich exhibition at the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam and the Tatlin exhibition at the Moderna Museet, Stockholm, but also his edited translations of the writings of Malevich. With regard to the administration of the arts in Russia after 1917 I have relied on Sheila Fitzpatrick's thesis on Lunacharsky. Much of my information on architecture after the 1917 Revolution has been derived from Anatole Kopp's book. The bibliography contains numerous other titles included for this reason. On the other hand it has a more extensive coverage than the thesis exclusively requires with titles of some publications

that I have not read and others that are hardly obtainable.

In quoting from original texts written by artists, writers or theorists during the period under consideration, lengthy extracts are often included because it seems preferable to refer to the actual characteristic passages of prose from an artist's manifesto or from a philosophical work in the same way that reference is made to the reproductions of pictures. Quotations of texts written in foreign languages usually appear in English translation. Translations of poems are not intended to be works of art or exercises in idioms but are simply meant to reveal something of the meaning, content, imagery and style of the original poem. The appendices contain some passages in the original language that have been translated in the text itself; photographs of original documents and magazines; illustrative material too detailed for text presentation or not absolutely necessary to the text; notes that would take too much space if placed in the text as footnotes. A chronological survey of the period, containing definitions of terms follows the appendices.

Names of movements, such as "Cubism", are given capital initials, so also are terms such as "Cubist" in reference, for example, to artists such as Picasso between 1907 and 1914 or to his work of that time. The word may appear as "cubist" with a small initial if it is intended to convey the idea of "cubistic" or if it is used in a general sense. Partly for this reason the title "Primitivism" with a capital initial letter has been used, rather than the term "Neo-Primitivism" sometimes employed, in reference to certain art forms

developed during the first decade of the twentieth century in Russia. They and some of their contemporaries in other countries relied for inspiration on what has been called "primitive" art, that is, art that had been produced outside the great civilisations of Europe and Asia and which was also related in some ways to folk art. For this use of the genuinely "primitive" rather than the faux-naïf a small "p" has been used as the initial letter.

The table of contents before the text contains a summary of main topics discussed under each chapter heading and the Introduction comprises an enlarged abstract of the whole thesis.

In a subject that is mainly visual, many reproductions have been necessary, particularly in order to help make clear connections between ideas of philosophers, writers and innovations in various art forms. While the best practicable reproductions and photographs available have been used, their quality varies. Obviously even fine reproductions are only printed approximations, vary greatly and emphasise different aspects of the original work. Where tones are similar to one another all over a picture, a monochrome reproduction fails to distinguish forms, whereas a colour reproduction may give a clearer impression in spite of the difficulties of reproducing colours precisely. Some use of colour photographs has been necessary to illustrate the thesis for this reason and also in order to show more precisely the varieties of deviation from traditional uses of colour innovated during the period discussed.

Figures, whether monochrome or in colour are numbered

in sequence and placed near the chapter to which they refer in general and usually at the end of that chapter. A list of all figures appears together at the end of the thesis, rather than at the beginning, in order to reduce the preliminaries. Captions are on the page numbered (recto) but no separate page number is given to the leaf on which the illustration is fixed except where photographs form an appendix. Where a page in an appendix contains photographs of a document or extracts from magazines that page is numbered and even if no number actually appears on the top of the page it is counted and allowed for as a normal page of text. Photographs of documents on such pages may themselves contain illustrations, but these illustrations are not numbered as such or itemised in the list of illustrations. They only appear as part of the entire document which is classified as one appendix.

It is regrettable that though the paper conforms to the regulation weight there is a disparity between some of the pages because certain qualities of paper ceased to be produced after the paper shortage of 1973-74.

As a result of research towards certain parts of this thesis, I have had various articles published and after considerable modification these helped to form a basis for a few of the chapters. These articles included:

'Suprematism and Nihilism' in Klepht, 1970, pp.8-9.

'Art and Design in Russia after the Revolution' in Adaptor, (March 1971), pp. 40-44.

'Red Art 1917-1971' in Art and Artists, Vol. 6 (April, 1971), pp. 10-14.

'Socialist Realism as Conservative Art' in New Edinburgh Review, No. 12 (May 1971), pp. 20-24.

'Primitivism in the First Wave of the Twentieth Century Avant-Garde in Russia' in Studio International, September 1973, Vol. 186, No. 958, pp. 80-84.

In the research and preparation for this thesis I am grateful for advice and assistance from many people in various countries especially to Mrs. Tamara Talbot Rice whose conscientious supervision and correction of errors in my script has involved much patient reading; to the late Professor David Talbot Rice who first encouraged me to write this thesis; to Professor Giles Robertson for discretely administrating and supervising my progress; to the staff of the Victoria and Albert Museum Library; the British Museum; the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris; the Library of the Musée d'Art Moderne, Paris; the Lenin State Library, Moscow; numerous other libraries, museums and galleries in Russia, Soviet Armenia and Georgia and for the kind help of individuals especially Mr. Ruben Drampyan and his family, the late Martiros Saryan, Mme. Kakabadze, Madame Sonia Delaunay, Madame Nina Kandinsky, Mr. Eugen Ruben, Dr. Chimen Abramsky, Dr. Aileen Kelly and the late Camilla Gray. I am also grateful to Sarah Macaulay and Michael Falchikov for assistance in translating Bolshakov's poem "Lefutur" (pp. 389-395); to Mrs. P.B. Williams who typed this thesis successfully despite complicated transcriptions of foreign names and to Tamara Krikorian who helped in innumerable ways with practical assistance, constructive criticism and encouragement.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is concerned with movements in Russia during the first quarter of the twentieth-century, now generally called "formalist". They comprise mainly Futurism, Cubo-futurism, Rayonism, Suprematism, Constructivism and Productivism. These titles often extend to poetry, theatre, film and architecture due to collaboration between art forms. To be specifically considered is their relationship to earlier Russian art; to Western European movements and to philosophical ideas which conditioned artists' concepts of reality and helped them formulate theories. The first part of the thesis (Chapters I-XXI) describes mainly movements before the 1917 revolution, and the second part, post-revolutionary art before the re-establishment of realism.

The last half of the nineteenth-century in Western Europe displayed different preoccupations in art from those of Russia. The first three chapters discuss ideas in philosophy, science and fields other than art which stimulated Western European artists during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. New philosophical and scientific concepts of reality were understood to a greater or lesser extent by certain artists in France, Italy, Germany and Russia soon after they were published and they applied these ideas to their works of art and manifestoes in various ways. By 1861 in France Courbet (Figure 1) had absorbed Positivist and Socialist ideas¹ and by about 1870 the French Impressionists

1. C.S. Gauss, The Aesthetic Theories of French Painters (From Realism to Surrealism) (Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1949), Ch. II, pp. 9-18.

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were interpreting his real and tangible subjects through optics, choosing light and colour as the object of the painter's vision. This coincided with the publication of the complete papers of Fresnel on light in 1866 and popular publications by Helmholtz on optics at about the same time.¹ Seurat after 1886 developed the technique of "divisionisme" in employing the optical mixture of tones and colours² in what Signac described as a "reasoned method" the origins of which he attributed to Seurat's study of the colour theories of Chevreul (see Figures 77,79,80 and 83) published in the mid-nineteenth century and other colour theories by Charles Blanc, and d'O.N. Rood as well as Helmholtz.

The influence of Nietzsche was most powerful in the late nineteenth century following the publication of his "Thus Spake Zarathustra" (1886) written in the style of an Old Testament Prophet and proclaiming the advent of the new man. It inspired symbolist writers, philosophers and artists in several Western European countries as well as in Russia. Nietzsche's work also stimulated the Italian Futurists but Bergson's most important works were absorbed into European thought and art by 1914. In publications of scientific papers by Helmholtz some doubt concerning the traditional positivist approach seemed to be tentatively implied. By the beginning of the 20th century Bergson discredited the approach of collecting sense data and representing

1. See Ibid., Ch. III, pp. 19-34.

2. See Paul Signac D'Eugène Delacroix au Neo-Impressionisme.

reality in one fixed unchanging view.¹ His influence was paramount in France and his work was quickly translated.

As if to take impressionist vision even further Bergson analysed perceptive experience as a non-material process: A "duration" of one's states of consciousness was created by fusing together "facts" (données). The cinematographic process of our perception described most clearly in his Matter and Memory impressed Italian Futurists, notably Boccioni; the Orphists especially Delaunay and Villon as well as writers who employed discontinuous techniques such as the "stream of consciousness". Bergson's own contemporaries were the symbolist poets. He seems to have understood their methods and had more in common with them than with academic philosophers of his generation. In his opposition to mechanism and determinism in favour of dynamism and freedom he may have inspired the whimsical and mechanical works of Duchamp and Picabia. Well known graphical representations of movement by Muybridge and Marey almost certainly inspired both Duchamp and the Italian Futurists.

The fourth chapter is an account of Russian art during the last half of the nineteenth century. Historical developments peculiar to Russia formed an art in which unique characteristics persisted from the Byzantine period

1. Bergson's first important work, presented as a doctoral thesis, was Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience (1889; English Translation Time and Free Will 1910). It was the first of his attacks on positivism and mechanism and it led to his next major work Matière et Mémoire. (Eng. Trans. Matter and Memory, 1911). The basis of Bergson's ideas are outlined in these two works.

until the twentieth-century. Colour and rhythm remained strong pictorial elements in Russia and the revival of classical learning and Gothic art of the Western European Renaissance never ^{profoundly} penetrated Russia in spite of the introduction of much Western European art in the eighteenth-century by Peter the Great. Art had nearly always had a social purpose and social and political elements were a strong influence on Russian art in the last half of the nineteenth-century where Impressionism was almost unknown. Methodological niceties of Western painting were of less importance than political subjects for the realist "Wanderers" in the 1860s. Though comparable to Courbet's realism this style never developed towards the representation of light impressions.

Restorations of ethnic or national styles in Western Europe during the late nineteenth-century were followed by cubist and other experiments with styles partly or wholly derived from folk art and primitive sources. This corresponded to a general return to Slavic sources, "Slavophile" Russian culture and politics, and in the arts, the establishment of the Abramtsevo colony in the 1870s. Partly inspired by William Morris, S. Mamontov established this artists' colony to encourage interest in Russian culture, as well as traditional arts and crafts. It was this that mainly led to a conscious "Primitivist" style in the early twentieth-century in literature and painting based on native Russian sources.

The first group to declare an art for art's sake in Russia was the occidentophile "World of Art" movement which once more exposed Russia to Western culture through

publications and exhibitions.

Russian Symbolist poetry and painting dates from the 1890s when Russia turned its attention to France and Germany but Russian Futurism is to some extent a continuation of the work of those late nineteenth-century artists famous in Russia even before interest in Impressionism, Post-Impressionism and the modern movements of the West was shown. Later, aesthetics did not seem to be enough and a return to exploring social integration was evident after the 1917 Revolution. The fifth, sixth and seventh chapters discuss the "World of Art" and "Symbolist" movements, the "Blue Rose" movement and exhibitions such as the "Wreath/Stefanos", "Link" and "Triangle" are described in order to show the background of "Primitivist" innovators who are discussed in chapters eight, nine and ten.

In Russia Primitivism was established in painting by the "Hylaeans" especially Burliuk, Goncharova and Larionov by 1910, while Kruchenykh, Khlebnikov and others carried out experiments corresponding to this in poetry. By 1910 Moscow was an independent art centre with a consciousness of "isms". By 1911 Larionov evolved a more or less abstract style which he called "Rayonism" described in chapter ten. Rayonist and Primitivist styles were used to illustrate poems by various Russian Futurist writers until 1914. Chapters twelve and fourteen show this with examples of the close relationship between the visual arts and literature at this time. Although the title "Futurism" refers to a unified Italian group of artists post 1909 largely independent of Paris, the name is sometimes used imprecisely

to describe any "modern" art. It is generally in this way that most avant-garde groups in Russia were called "Futurist" after 1909. There is some dispute as to whether it was the Italians or the Russians who used the name first.

Russia and Italy were both witnessing rapid industrialisation and social change behind which politics and art were lagging. The speed of modern inventions in industry, mass-production, aeroplanes and cars were seen by many Italian and Russian artists as being the most relevant subjects to inspire the art of the future. But Russian "Futurism" was more concerned with "primitivism" while the Italians stressed "dynamism". The thirteenth chapter discusses Marinetti's visit to Russia which emphasised their differences. Artists wishing to justify and explain new pictorial experiments verbally adopted the example of revolutionary political societies who published manifestoes and policy statements.

Chapter fifteen discusses the exhibitions "Tramway V" and "0.10" held in 1915. Here the division between the non-objective Suprematism of Malevich and Tatlin's constructions with objects of real materials first became obvious. It was out of a simplified Cubo-Futurism that Suprematism emerged and after 1920 it extended to models in an "architectonic" spirit while Tatlin's example was to inspire real objects of engineering construction and production.

Mystical writers of the time also seem to have formed a basis for artists' theories as well as ideas for their paintings. By the time Larionov and Goncharova left Russia in 1914 Malevich became the leader of the avant-garde. His development of Suprematism and its relation to mystical

philosophy especially that of Berdyaev is discussed in chapters fourteen to eighteen. The development of abstract art by Kandinsky around 1910 in Munich was also closely associated with contemporary German aesthetics, theosophy and other ideas discussed in chapters nineteen and twenty.

Though the period that extended from the beginning of the twentieth century until the first world war was most complex, certain attitudes and tendencies characterise it as a phase distinct from what followed. During this period art and writing gradually evolved towards abstract art starting with "impressionism" and passing through "Symbolism", "Primitivism", "Rayonism" to "Suprematism" or another abstract style. "Impressionism" in literature turned to "Primitivism" and "zaum" (trans-rational free words) during the same years.¹ Literary art forms were more closely associated with the avant-garde in painting that appeared at that time, literature being more intangible and suggestive and less spatial or three dimensional than sculpture. Artists were also preoccupied with mystical and anti-rational ideas which found expression in two dimensional art, in colour and representation of light and motion rather than tangible three dimensional form.

In contrast to non-objective art, but springing from the same Futurist sources, a greater concern with objects, machinery, applied art and new architectural concepts emerged both in Russia and Western Europe. In the West, on the one hand, the pessimistic humour of Dada seemed to embody the irony of Bergson's essay "Laughter" and the unintentionally absurd aspect of mechanical illustrations. On the other hand,

1. For information on the literary movements and personalities see Vladimir Markov: Russian Futurism a History (London: MacGibbon & Key Ltd., 1969).

the "Purists" Le Corbusier and Ozenfant were optimistic about the social benefits of mass-production and advocated evolution of mechanical forms towards economy. The latter view corresponded to that of the Russian Constructivists and Productivists and only Lissitzky encompassed both Dada and social utility. Other individualists bordering on Constructivism included Archipenko and Kakabadze but it was mainly Tatlin who inspired an abandonment of easel painting in favour of Productivism - production of real objects - while Gabo developed a non-representational constructivism.

New administration of education and the arts after 1917 sponsored these ideas at a time of urgent national reconstruction. Productivism and Constructivism drew inspiration from steel construction and aeroplane construction based on natural forms and functions. It was this preoccupation with constructing objects, with real materials and with form rather than applied colour that characterised art after 1917 until the decline of the avant-garde in the mid-1920s. Constructivism was important in the design of new architecture though projects were in most cases never built. The nature of the theatre, its sets, costumes and action were transformed. Constructivist sets matched by "Taylorist" economy of movement by actors participating with the other arts in political propaganda.

But in reaction to former experiments, an international revival of classicism and realism followed the first world war. Already in 1918 Lenin had advocated a return to realism and told artists to turn for inspiration to the mid-nineteenth century realist group the "Wanderers". By the mid-nineteen twenties the avant-garde began to weaken, realism was returning to prominence and in 1932 the revival of realist art with a social purpose was officially recommended as the best method of propagating socialism to the masses. Thus, seen from a Soviet view point, "formalism" devoid of content and purpose was only an infantile leftist phase, but for Western art ever since it has been seminal.

CHAPTER I.WESTERN EUROPEAN INTEREST IN OPTICS AND IMPRESSIONIST PAINTING
DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The dates of popular publications of nineteenth century optical theories coincide with the development of Impressionism in France. The implications of the scientific work of Helmholtz on light for example have certain affinities with Monet's approach to nature (see Figures 2-6). Russia was not affected by French Impressionist painting until the beginning of the twentieth century.

The intention of the Impressionists had been to catch a fleeting moment of existence perceived as appearances conditioned solely by light. The play of sunlight on the surface of everyday subjects - subjects decided upon already by Courbet and previous realists. Light and colour were the aspects of reality most popular in physical and psychological research into optics at this time. August Fresnel's works on diffraction and polarised light (published posthumously in 1827) had been re-published in 1866: monochromatic light was shown to be a succession of simple vibrations and colour to be a matter of frequency. Helmholtz' researches into sensation led to psychological theory of perception. Questions of the relation between the external world and our sensations could only be solved for painters by physical and chemical theories of light and colour. Since Courbet had established the subject matter of reality (see Figure 1) for the Impressionist generation the question was no longer what should the artists represent but how should they represent it?

Impressionism is the end of a tradition of nineteenth century French realism of which modifications from one generation

to the other may be accounted for in advice given by Michailon to Corot and Corot to Pissarro to depict faithfully what the artist saw before him. Impressionist subjects such as landscapes allowed more freedom with nature. Seascapes, a subject also popular since the 1840s, gave a reason for studying light reflections and led gradually to the series of paintings done at different times of the same subjects. During the winter of 1876-7, Monet painted about ten views of the Gare Saint Lazare (see Figures 2 and 4), eight of which were included in the third Impressionist exhibition in 1877. Each depicts different atmospheric conditions and times of day. Other subjects painted in different lighting conditions included poplars, haystacks and Rouen Cathedral. A series of more than 20 paintings of the cathedral (see Figures 5 and 6) almost all devoted to the west facade, at different times of day were painted in Rouen in February-March 1892 and February-March 1893. They were later extensively reworked in his studio at Giverny. The heavily encrusted paint surface was intended to represent the texture of the stonework of the cathedral changing from moment to moment, decomposed by the light and recomposed through a harmony of colours. Monet's method of transforming what he saw into the equivalent values in paint is best summarised in his own words:

When you go out to paint, try to forget what objects you have before you, a tree, a house, a field or whatever. Merely think, here is a little square of blue, here an oblong of pink, here a streak of yellow, and paint it just as it looks to you, the exact colour and shape, until it give you¹ your own native impressions of the scene before you.

1. "Reminiscences of Claude Monet," The American Magazine of Art, XVIII:120, March 1927.

A certain discredit of positivism, a doubt about external reality being identical with data received through the senses began to weaken the method of the realist tradition. Monet's series of poplars, haystacks and Rouen Cathedral at different times of the day and in different light, each represent a separate state of mind. Here are the romantic implications that reality was not only different from one place to the other, but that the same scene may be represented as a different reality from one moment to the next. Nothing more substantial than our senses registering a series of different light effects can be known.

The same doubts appear in the physiological researches into vision by Helmholtz and published a little earlier in popular translations. His theories appear to have been influenced by Goethe's theory of colours and these physiological researches by Helmholtz were used and quoted by Bergson in his first anti-positivist thesis Sur les Données Immédiates de la Conscience (Paris 1889). Delaunay, Kandinsky, Seurat and others also studied the theories of Helmholtz.

Like Monet painting a series of the same subject it is by means of an apparently positivist approach to reality that Helmholtz cast doubt upon its substance. In an essay on the eye¹ he pointed out the similar activity of the camera obscura and the eye. On the sensation of sight² he stated that during

1. Helmholtz Scientific Subjects (Eng. Trans. 1873), Ch. VI, a course of lectures Frankfurt, Heidelberg, republished 1868: Progress of the theory of Vision, Section I: 'The Eye as an Optical Instrument', pp. 197-228.

2. H. Helmholtz: Ibid., Ch. VI, Section II, pp. 229-270.

the preceding century and still more during the first quarter of the nineteenth, knowledge of the processes which take place in the nervous system was so advanced that Johannes Müller as early as 1826 in his "Comparative Physiology of Vision" laid down principles of the "theory of impressions" derived from the senses. Helmholtz extended this by explaining that though visual impressions of objects are transferred to the brain by the nerves what we observe is something internal:

What we directly apprehend is not the immediate action of the external exciting cause upon the ends of our nerves, but only the changed condition of the nervous fibres which we call the state of excitation or functional activity.¹

He further explained that rays of light travel from a source in the same way as ripples or rings on water but at a greater speed and that the eye is able to perceive certain rays only as light:

The undulations which strongly affect our eyes and which we call light excite the impression of different colours according to the length of the waves. The undulations with the longest waves gradually diminishes, they seem to be golden yellow, yellow, green, blue, violet, the last colour being that of the illuminating rays which have the smallest wave length.²

Prismatic colours and the rainbow are discussed in the same text and conversely how colours mingled in precisely the same proportions in which they are composed in the sunlight would give the impression of perfect white (see Appendix I).

Important in the same essay, is his idea that whether the rays of the sun appear to us as colour or as warmth does not at all depend upon their own properties but simply upon whether they excite the fibres of the optic nerve, or those of the skin. In connection with this Helmholtz explains that

1. H. Helmholtz: Ibid., pp. 230-231.

2. H. Helmholtz: Ibid., pp. 238-239.

electricity, narcotics or pressure may produce light sensations and goes even further to state:

The most complete difference offered by our several sensations, that namely between those of sight, of hearing, of taste, or smell, of touch - this deepest of all distinctions, so deep that it is impossible to draw any comparisons of likeness, or unlikeness, between the sensations of colour and of musical tones - does not as we now see, at all depend upon the nature of the external object - but solely upon the central connections of the nerves which are affected.¹

Light which is exactly the same to our eyes may in all other physical and chemical effects be completely different. Here Helmholtz implies that any perception of the world is subjective. He warns against being led astray by confounding the notions of a "phenomenon" and an "appearance". Colours of objects are phenomena. Nothing we could describe as the normal phenomenon has distinction from the impressions of colour received through the eye.²

Indicative of qualities which passed from Impressionism into Futurism and Orphism and suggestive of their links with late nineteenth century thinkers, Helmholtz describes the subjectivity of our perception:

[Our sensations of colour] are not quite uniform over the entire field of the retina. But the constant movement of the eye supplies this imperfection in the same way as it makes up for the unequal sensitiveness of the different parts of the retina to form.³

.
 ...the colour of the illumination may vary greatly.
 ...differences in local colours depend upon different bodies reflecting and absorbing various proportions of the several rays of the sun...

Now what is constant in the colour of an object is not the brightness and colour of the light which it

1. H. Helmholtz: Ibid., p. 257.

2. Ibid., p. 261.

3. Ibid., p. 262.

reflects, but the relation between the intensity of the different coloured constituents of this light, on the one hand, and that of the corresponding constituents on the other. This proportion alone is the expression of a constant property of the object in question.

Considering theoretically the task of judging the colour of a body under changing illumination would seem to be impossible; but in practice we are able to judge of local colour without the least uncertainty...

For instance white paper in full moonlight is darker than black satin in full daylight, but we never find any difficulty in recognising the paper as white and the satin as black...

[A grey surface] under illumination may be absolutely identical with that of a white surface in the shade.

Our judgement of colours is independent of their actual amount of illumination. It is¹ scarcely effected by the colour of the illumination.

"Simultaneous contrast" is next explained: Helmholtz described how if a room is illuminated by both a candle and by a window allowing in daylight, two shadows will be seen from the same object:

The one made by daylight will be orange, and looks so; the other made by candlelight is really white but appears blue by contrast. The blue and the orange of the two shadows are both colours which we call white when we see them by daylight and candlelight respectively.²

The name "Successive Contrast" is given to the next phenomenon with which he deals:

The most remarkable of this series of facts is that we can separate the colour of any transparent medium from that of the object seen through it. If we look through a green veil at a field of snow it appears of a reddish³ tint from the effect of indirect after image of green.

.

Differences of colour which are actually before our eyes are more easily apprehended than those which we only keep in memory and contrasts between objects which are close to one another in the field of vision are more easily recognised than when they are at a distance.

1. Ibid., pp. 263-265.

2. Ibid., p. 266.

3. Ibid., p. 267.

Qualities of the sensations of sight can only be regarded as signs of certain different qualities which belong sometimes to light itself, sometimes to the bodies it illuminates but that there is not a single actual quality of the objects seen which precisely corresponds to our sensations of sight...Even regarded as signs of real phenomena in the outer world they do not possess the one essential requisite of a complete system of signs - namely constancy.¹

Helmholz concluded by stating that all we may say of our sensations of sight is that "under similar conditions the qualities of this sensation appear in the same way for the same object."²

After examining scientific, philosophical and cultural ideas of a particular time, the works of many advanced artists appear as experiments in a faculty of applied philosophy, though this appearance cannot reveal the process by which artists decide to paint in a particular way at a particular time. The classical and renaissance heritage left Western European culture with a methodical and analytical approach to reality. Certain artists and philosophers of the 1850s believed that only the visible and tangible was real and as optics gave the only method of understanding visible reality, colour theories, photography and impressionism evolved by the 1870s. But the ephemeral aspect, the structural and time-space values became evident in consequence and the instantaneous snapshots of impressionist reality were succeeded in the 1880s and '90s by attempts to penetrate surface appearances. So while psychology and mysticism attacked rationalist thinking, Seurat was analysing the emotional effects of form and colour and was depicting movement. During the first decade of the twentieth century, the spectral colours of Impressionism, Post-impressionism and Neo-impressionism were adopted by the Fauves (see Figures 7 and 8), German Expressionists (see Figure 9), Orphists (See Figures 78, 81, 82 and 84) and Italian Futurists (see Figures 23, 24, 56). After modern science and philosophy denied traditions of static analysis, replacing them with ideas of "relativity", "simultaneity" and "flux" and the cinema put photography in motion, the Italian Futurists and French Orphists replaced single views of static images with various representations of movement.

1. Ibid., p. 268.

2. Op.cit.

Figure 1. G. Courbet: The Stonebreakers, 1849.
Formerly Gemaldegalerie, Dresden,
Burnt, 1945.



Figure 2. Monet: Le Boulevard des
Capucines, 1873.



Figure 3. Monet: Gare Saint-Lazare,
Paris, 1877.
Fogg Museum of Art Massachusetts.

Figure 4. Monet: Gare Saint-Lazare,
Paris, 1877.
Louvre, Paris.

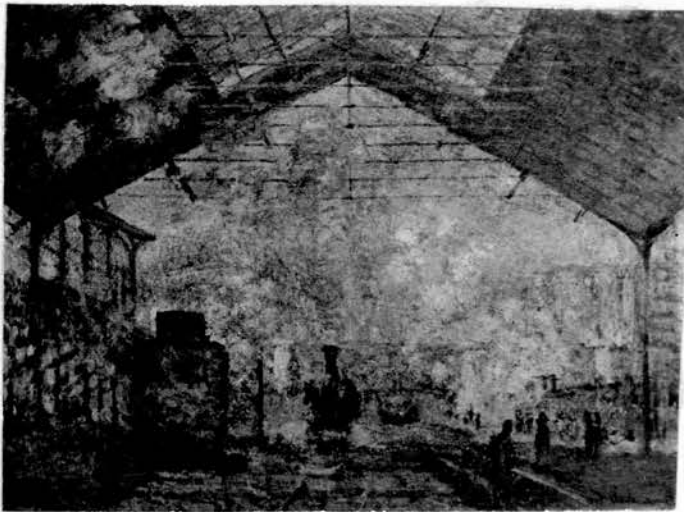
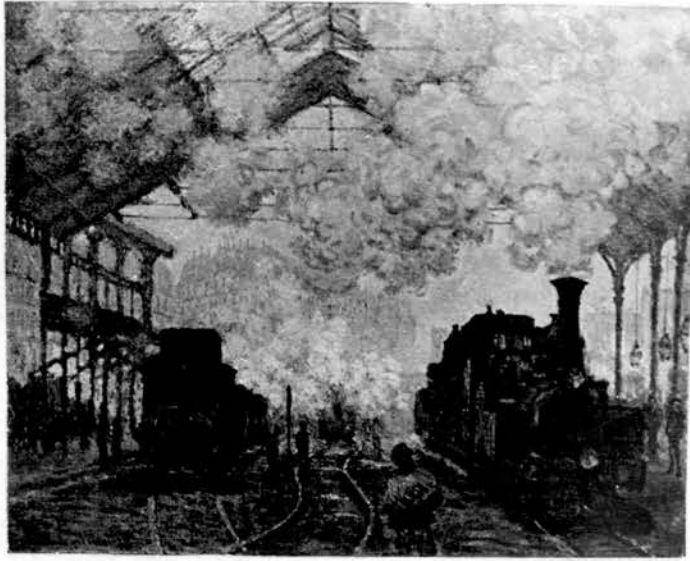


Figure 5. C. Monet: The Cathedral of Rouen.

1894.

Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen.

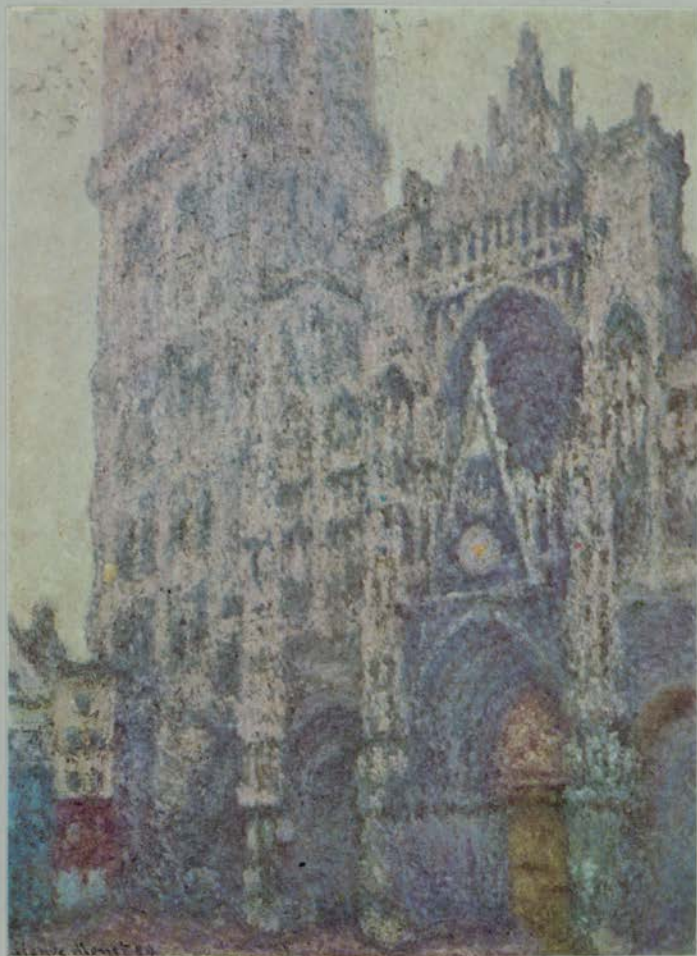


Figure 6. C. Monet: Rouen Cathedral in Sunlight.
1894.
Musée des Louvre, Paris.



Claude Monet 94

Figure 7. G. Braque: Near La Ciotat 1906,
54 x 67 cm. Privately owned, Paris.



Figure 8. M. Vlaminck: Bateaux-Lavoirs, 1905.
Private collection, Paris.



Figure 9.

E.L. Kirchner:

The Street, 1907,

1.48 x 2.0 metres,

Kirchner Trust, Basle.

The painting is
characteristic of the
beginning of the early
style of Die Brücke.



CHAPTER II

REPRESENTATION OF MOVEMENT

The first graphical representation of movement was made by Oresme.¹ He gained insight into the nature of speed (velocitas) and of acceleration. By a graphical method he represented movement, time, speed and acceleration.

He was the first to recognise that "movement can only be represented by movement, and change only by change". This was done by repeatedly representing the same subject at various times.

The French physiologist Etienne Jules Marey (1830-1904) invented the Spermograph (1860), which inscribed on a smoke-blackened cylinder the form and frequency of the human pulse beat. Wundt, Helmholtz and others experimented with similar apparatus.

All forms of movement, the muscles, the gait of a horse and the flight of birds were recorded by projecting their trajectories as lines on photographic plate. This theme which was the central pre-occupation of that period was studied in his last and most popular book Le Mouvement published in 1894 and translated into English the following year. Instead of graphically representing sections or successive positions he translated organic movement into graphic form.²

1. Nicolas Oresme's treatise On Intensities Tractatus de uniformitate et difformitate intensium MS. Bibliotheque Nationale Paris. Printed in several editions towards the end of the fifteenth century. Quoted in S. Giedion: Mechanisation Takes Command (Oxford University Press 1948), p.16.

2. See E.J. Marey: La Méthode Graphique dans les Sciences Experimentales (Paris 1885).

Marey gave a historical account of graphic representations of movement and mentioned eighteenth century attempts to represent the successive phases of a horse's gait.¹ (Figure 10) Marey advanced invention of registering apparatus and remarked that curves resulting from the movements of the needle might be called the "language of phenomena" themselves.² He also employed photography to capture movement which he said "escapes the eye".

Muybridge who worked in California arranged a series of cameras side by side so that each camera caught an isolated phase of movement (Figure 11). But Marey was interested in the three dimensional character of flight. About 1885 Marey pointed three cameras in such a way as to view a bird simultaneously from above, from the side and from the front after which he made a number of diagrams and a model of the seagull in its successive attitudes. His trajectories of a bird's wing in motion and of a man walking (see Figure 13) are also significant. About 1890 he placed a brilliant point at the base of the lumbar vertebrae of a man walking away from the camera. Marey called his procedure "time photography" (chronophotographie); its object was to render visible "movements that the human eye cannot perceive".

About this time Monet was painting his series pictures and Degas depicted motion expressed by repetition of the same forms slightly altered (see Figure 16).

At various times and especially between 1909 and 1914, artists used techniques similar to chronophotography or

1. Ibid., pp.11-24, Quoted Ibid., p.19.

2. Marey, op.cit.

directly based on it in order to represent movement. Also in 1895-96 Lumière was experimenting with cinematography and Henri Bergson lecturing at the Collège de France on the "Cinematographic Mechanism of Thought", (1900).

Frank B. Gilbreth (1862-1924) and his wife the psychologist Lillian M. Gilbreth developed methods which led to a visual representation of the work process in industry developed time and space studies of human motion at work. He modelled the path of the motion as wire models in about 1912 and the worker was able to see his own gesture so that he could become "motion minded". This analysis was intended to eliminate unnecessary motions and reduce the time of an operation to a minimum. This method of time and motion study was to replace the use of the stop watch measure of timing work. His study of ferro-concrete building (1908) lays down some four hundred rules. He substituted the French use of the motion camera for a still camera recording called a motion recorder - "cyclograph". The movement of a simple electric bulb fixed to the work unit so that its luminous track would be recorded by a still camera.

S. Giedion who was naturally attracted by the work of Paul Klee made a number of comparisons with the linear and symbolic representation of movement in his pictures.

However, the significant movements around 1910 which broke up motion into separate phases were replaced by 1920 with the actual form of movement as the art object not only in the whimsical forms of certain works by Klee and Mirò but in the new concept of sculpture developed by the Constructivists.

Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727) formulated three famous

laws of motion which stated that:

1. Every particle continues in a state of rest or motion with constant speed in a straight line unless compelled by a force to change that state;
2. the net unbalanced force producing a change of motion is equal to the product of the mass and acceleration of the particle;
3. all forces arise from the mutual interaction of particles and in every such interaction the force exerted on the one particle by the second on the first, or as it is usually expressed: action and reaction are equal and opposite.¹

Newton was never able to give an adequate definition of mass and another difficulty he encountered was the fact that motion has no meaning except in relation to some chosen reference system. For rough practical purposes we do not worry about this since we use the earth as a reference frame, but since the earth also moves (relative to the sun, which may itself move away among the stars) the problem arises as to whether there is any such thing as absolute motion.¹

In the late nineteenth-century it was believed that

if light is a wave propagation in a medium and this medium (sometimes called the luminiferous ether) can act as a reference frame for light as the air does for sound, the detection of motion with respect to it (a kind of absolute motion) should be possible. All attempts in this direction failed however; finally A. Einstein (1879-1955), H. Poincaré (1854-1912), H.A. Lorentz (1853-1928) and others set up in the early 1900s a more drastic theory of

1. 'Motion, Principles and Laws of', Encyclopedia Britannica Vol. XV, p. 897.

relativity than that of Newton; namely that no physical effect whatever is competent to detect the absolute motion of an inertial frame. This theory had widespread consequences in the 20th century and one of its consequences is that the scale of time measurement must differ from one inertial system to another in contradiction of the Newtonian idea of absolute time. Moreover the mass of a particle is no longer constant but increases with its velocity to a degree which, while unnoticeable at the speeds of ordinary terrestrial objects, can become very perceptible with such atomic particle as electrons and protons.¹

The theory of relativity has brought about a fundamental change in the scientific conception of space and time, described in a famous saying of Hermann Minkowski:

From henceforth space in itself and time in itself
sink to mere shadows, and only a kind of union of
the two preserves an independent existence.

. . .
This union is called space-time.²
. . .

In other words, that the universe is not a universe of points, with time flowing along irrespective of the points, but rather, it is a universe of events, - everything that happens, happens at a certain place and at a certain time.³

Einstein's special theory may be summarised by saying that local, "provincial" measurements are not universal and by emphasising the fact that absolute space and time are pure mental fictions. The only practical notions of time that

1. Op.cit.

2. Ibid., Vol. XX, p. 1068.

3. H.G. & L.R. Lieber: The Einstein Theory of Relativity, London, 1949, p. 57.

man can have are by some method of signals, the Einstein theory shows that "Idealism" alone, that is, 'a priori' thinking alone, cannot serve for exploring the universe. On the other hand, since actual measurements are local and not universal and that only certain theoretical relationships are universal, the Einstein theory shows that practical measurement alone is also not sufficient for exploring the universe. A judicious combination of theory and practice, each guiding the other - a "dialectic materialism" - is our most effective weapon.¹

There is nothing absolute in science. Absolute space and absolute time must be replaced by more human, observational concepts.²

In discussing the geometrical proportions of space Einstein described what is parallel to renaissance perspective in Euclidean geometry.

The practice for example of seeing in a 'distance' two marked positions on a practically rigid body is something which is lodged deeply in our habit of thought. We are accustomed further to regard three points as being situated on a straight line, if their apparent positions can be made to coincide for observation with one eye,³ under suitable choice of our place of observation.

It is this concept of space that he attacked, and basic concepts of physics, in order to construct this four-dimensional space:

Before the advent of the theory of relativity, time played a different and more independent rôle as compared with the space coordinates.⁴

1. Ibid., pp. 87-88.

2. Ibid., p. 303.

3. Albert Einstein: Relativity (the Special and General Theory. A popular exposition). This translation first published by Methuen & Co. Ltd., on 19th August 1920, p.3.

4. Ibid., p. 56.

...In general, rays of light are propagated curvilinearly in gravitational fields.¹

From the Renaissance to the first decade of the present century perspective had been one of the most important constituent facts of painting.

The three-dimensional space of the Renaissance is the space of Euclidean geometry. But about 1830 a new sort of geometry was created, one which differed from that of Euclid in employing more than three dimensions. Ideas in geometry have continued to be developed, until a stage has been reached where mathematicians deal with figures and dimensions that cannot be grasped by the imagination.

Space in modern physics is conceived of as relative to a moving point of reference, not as the absolute and static entity of the baroque system of Newton. In Modern art, for the first time since the Renaissance, a new conception of space leads to a self-conscious enlargement of the ways of perceiving space. It was in Cubism that this was first achieved.

It viewed objects relatively: that is, from several points of view, no one of which has exclusive authority... there is added a fourth dimension - time.

The presentation of objects from several points of view introduces a principle which is intimately bound up with modern life - simultaneity. It is a temporal coincidence that Einstein should have begun his famous work, "Elektrodynamik bewegter Körper", in 1905 with a careful definition of simultaneity² and that Futurists and Orphists introduced simultaneity into painting a few years later.

1. Ibid., p. 75.

2. Siegfried Giedion: Space Time and Architecture, first published Harvard & London, 1941, pp. 435-36.

Figure 10. J.E. Marey: "Chronogram" multiple exposure photograph of a high-jump.

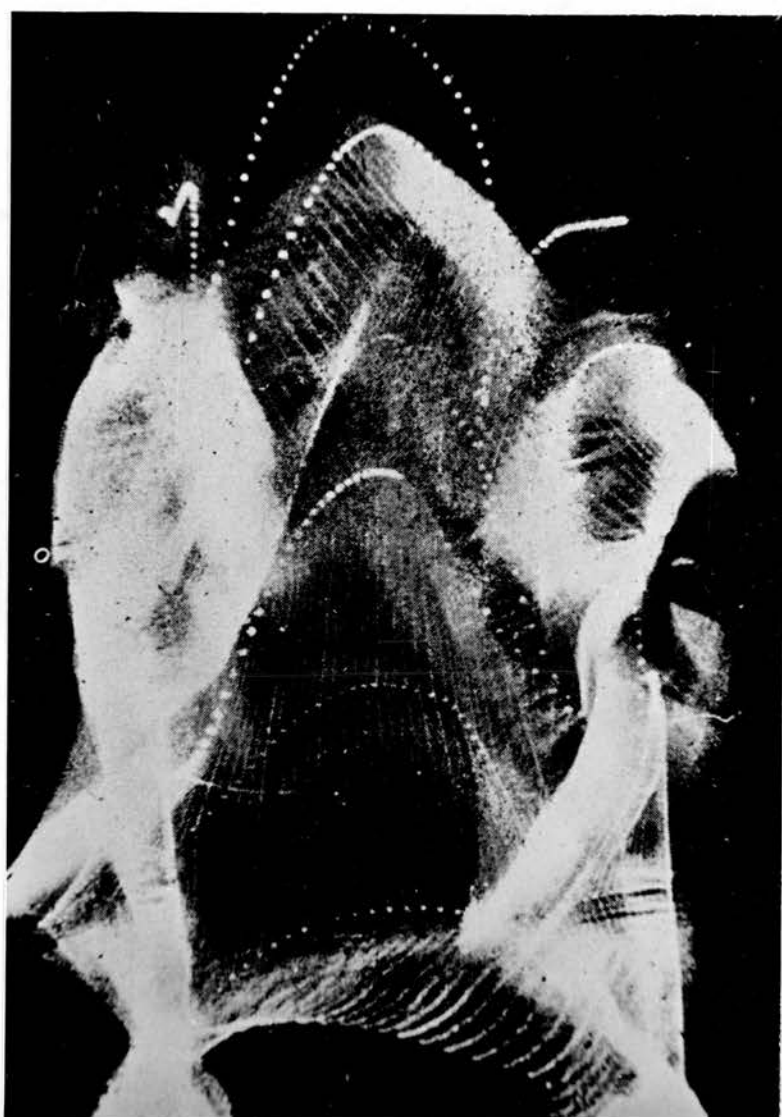


Figure 11. E. Muybridge: High speed photograph
of a horse trotting, 1885.

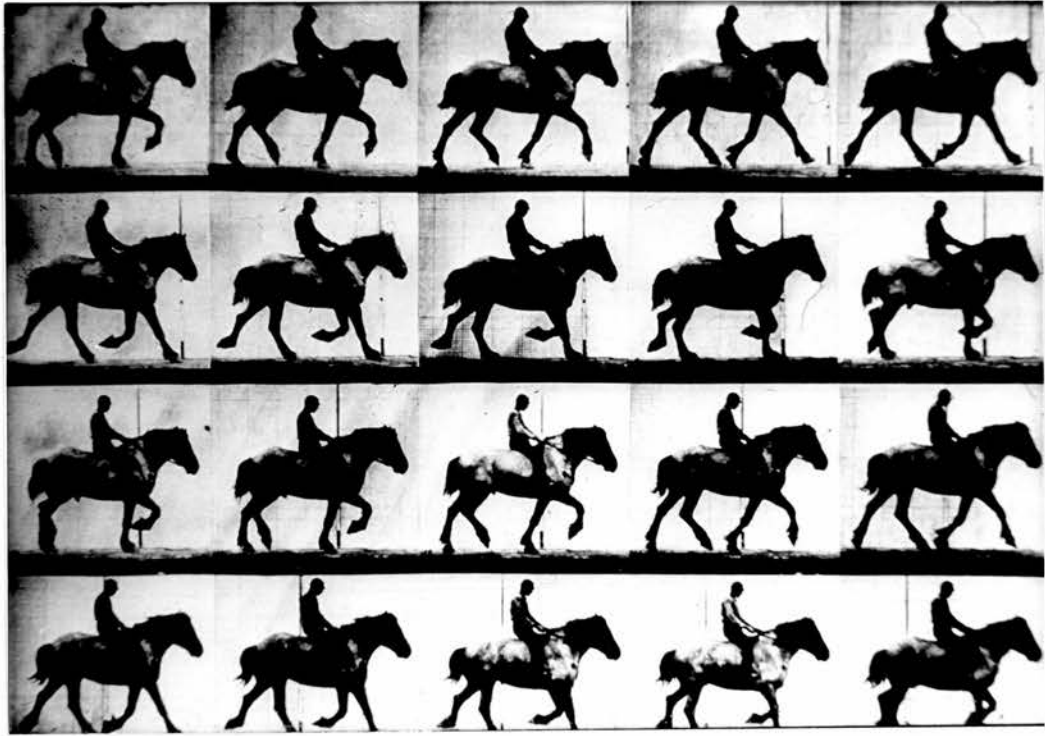


Figure 12: G. Balla: Study for Girl Running on a Balcony (1912). Ink on paper, 5 1/8 x 7 7/8 inches. Collection Balla, Rome. Balla is obsessed with the analysis of movement and distinguishes the rhythmic synchronization of left and right.

Figure 13: A photograph taken by Jules Marey shows the progress of a striding man dressed in black attire which has been marked by white dots and stripes (about 1882).

Figure 14: G. Balla: Flight of Swallows, 1913. (Tempera 49 x 68 cms. Coll. Gianni Mattioli, Milan).

Figure 15: E. Muybridge. Photographic Study of a bird in flight.

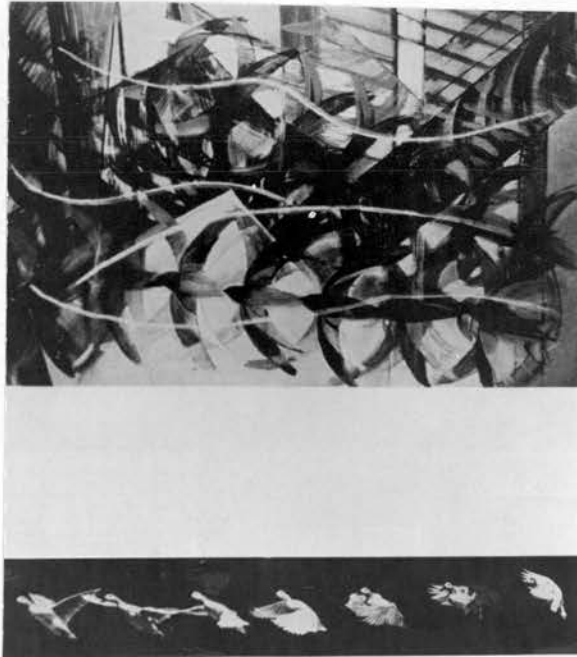
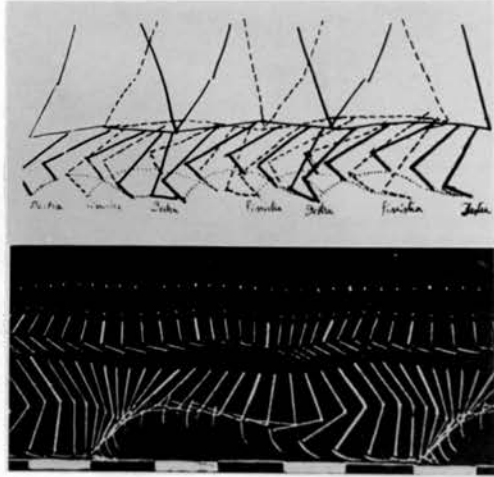


Figure 16: E. Deggs: The Dancing School, 1876-80.
Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington.



Figure 17: E. Burne-Jones. The Golden Stairs,
1880.
(Tate Gallery, London)



Figure 18: M. Duchamp:
Nude descending a staircase,
No.1 December 1911.

Figure 19: M. Duchamp:
Sad young man in a train,
December 1911.

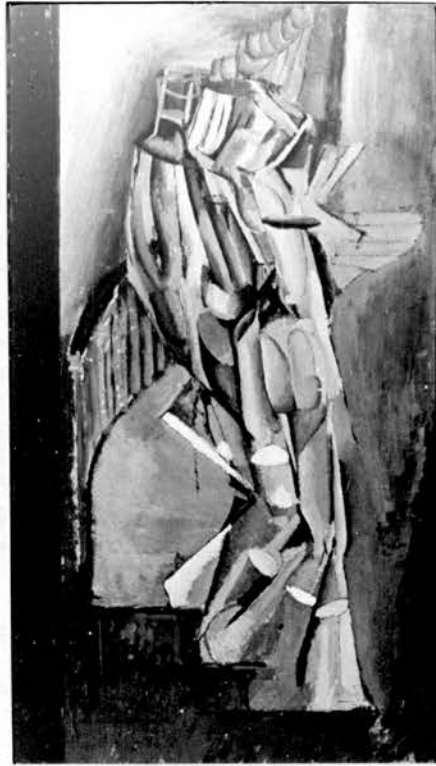


Figure 20: M. Duchamp.

Nude coming down stairs No. 2,

1912, (Oil, 148 x 90 cms.

Philadelphia Museum of Art, The

Louise and Walter Arensberg

Collection).



Figure 21: F. Léger. Figures coming
down stairs (gouache on paper)
1913, 50.5 x 38.5 cms.

Figure 22: F. Léger. Staircase.
1913.



Figure 23. U. Boccioni.
Elasticity,
1912, (Oil,
100 x 100 cm.
Coll. Ricardo
Jucker, Milan).

Figure 24. C. Carrà.
The Red Horseman
1913. Tempera and
Ink on paper.
R. Jucker
Collection,
Milan.

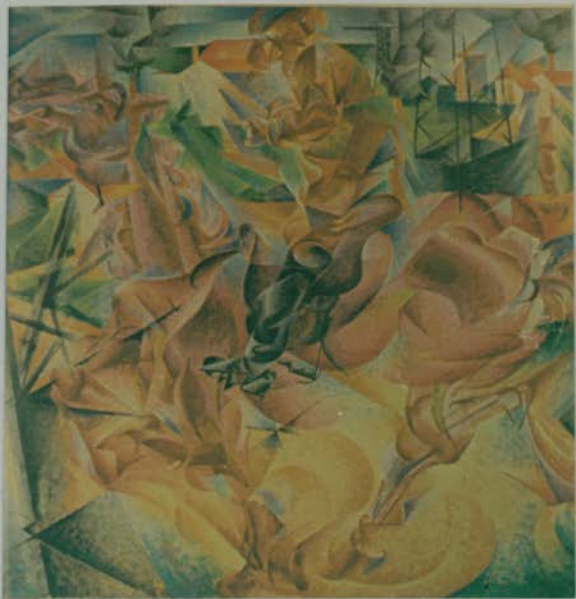


Figure 25: Eugène Delacroix: Lion Hunt 1861.
Chicago Art Institute (Potter
Palmer Collection)

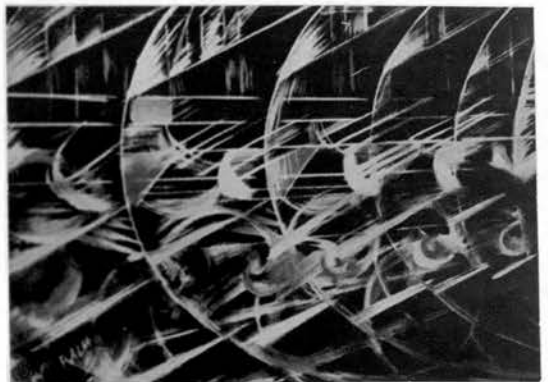
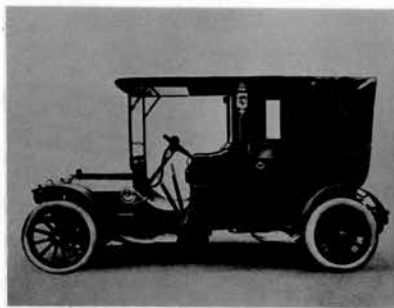
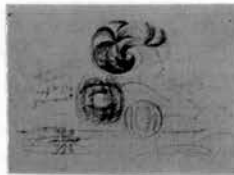
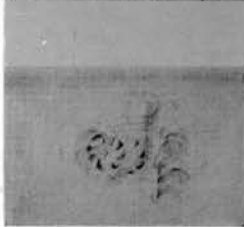
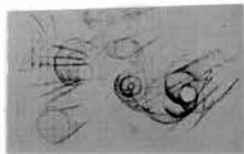
Figure 26: Eugène Delacroix: Sketch for
"Lion Hunt".



Figures 27-30: G. Balla.
Studies of automobile wheels
in movement taken from one of
Balla's small pocket notebooks.
Pencil on paper, 3 x 5 inches.
Collection Balla, Rome. The
wheel turning gradually
faster and faster forms a
whirling vortex.

Figure 31: An early Fiat
model. Type 1. 1910-1912.
Approximate speed was 20-30
miles per hour.

Figure 32: G. Balla.
Speeding Automobile.



Figures 33-37:

Studies of automobiles from Balla's notebook No.34. Pencil on paper, all 3 x 5 inches except Fig. 36 which is 5 x 7 inches. Collection Balla, Rome.

This is a series of drawings which Balla made in his notebook from direct observation of automobiles on the Roman streets. First he studied the car standing still, and then in motion. Balla was interested in speed for speed's sake. In Fig. 34, 37, the increasing speed of the car is pictorially represented by the progressive disappearance of its components so that in the last drawing (Fig. 37) the car has almost disintegrated into an abstract representation of speed.

Figure 38:

A photograph of the type of car, in this case the Fiat type I, 1910-12, which Balla used as a model for the series of car studies shown here.

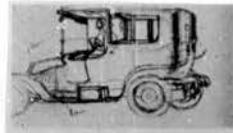


Figure 39: G. Balla.

Photograph showing the vortexes created by objects moving in space. Mobile entitled Virtual Volume by William Matson (1914) published by Moholy-Nagy.

Figures 40-41: G. Balla.

Two studies both entitled Vortex (1914). Pencil on paper $15\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{7}{8}$ inches. Coll. Balla, Rome. In Fig. 40 Balla interpenetrates the forms of two vortexes; in Fig. 41 he defines the vortex by means of repeated linear outlining of space.

Figure 42: G. Balla.

Reconstruction (1968) of the original Line of Speed + Vortex (1913-14) Wire sculpture 46 inches wide.
Collection Joseph H. Hirschhorn, Greenwich, Connecticut.

Figure 43: G. Balla.

Line of Speed + Vortex (1913-14)
Working drawing of the wire sculpture (Fig. 42) as seen from above. Watercolour in red and blue on paper $13\frac{3}{8} \times 19\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
Coll..Balla, Rome.

Figure 44: G. Balla.

Line of Speed + Vortex (1913-14) A drawing of the frontal view of the sculpture, fig. 42. Watercolour in red and blue on paper. $13\frac{1}{4} \times 17\frac{1}{4}$ inches
Collection Balla, Rome.

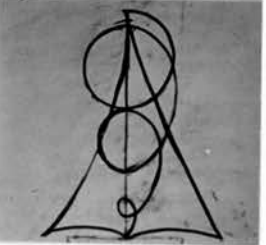
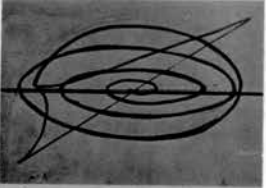
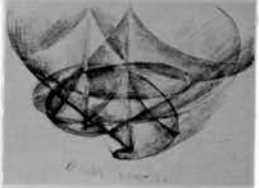


Figure 45: G. Balla.

Study for Noise Forms of a Motorcycle
(1916) Pencil on paper, 4 x 6 inches.
Collection Balla, Rome.

Figure 46: G. Balla.

Study for Noise Forms of a Motorcycle
(1916) Enamel on paper, 26 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 38 inches.
Collection Balla, Rome. Straight horizontal lines represent the "impalpabile andamentale," translatabe as the "impalpable continuous motion," which in this case, is actually the trail of the speeding motorcyclist's body. These are interwoven with vortexes (produced by the speeding wheels) with curved lines of speed, and with diagonal lines radiating from the handle bars.

Figure 47: G. Balla.

Noise Forms of a Motorcycle (1916). Oil on paper, 27 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 39 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Collection Raimondo Bariatti, Milan. Painted after a ride in a sidecar of a friend's motorcycle, this is Balla's visual perception of his new experience. The angular forms and zigzags represent strident soundwaves produced by the speeding motorcycle, while the smooth intertwined spiral stands for the "line of speed". Curved forms on the lower left represent the sidecar. The spinning rear wheel, the motorcycle chain and part of a fender are distinguishable. Large angular volumes represent backfire.

Figure 48: N. Goncharova.

Electric Lamps, Oil, c. 1912-13.

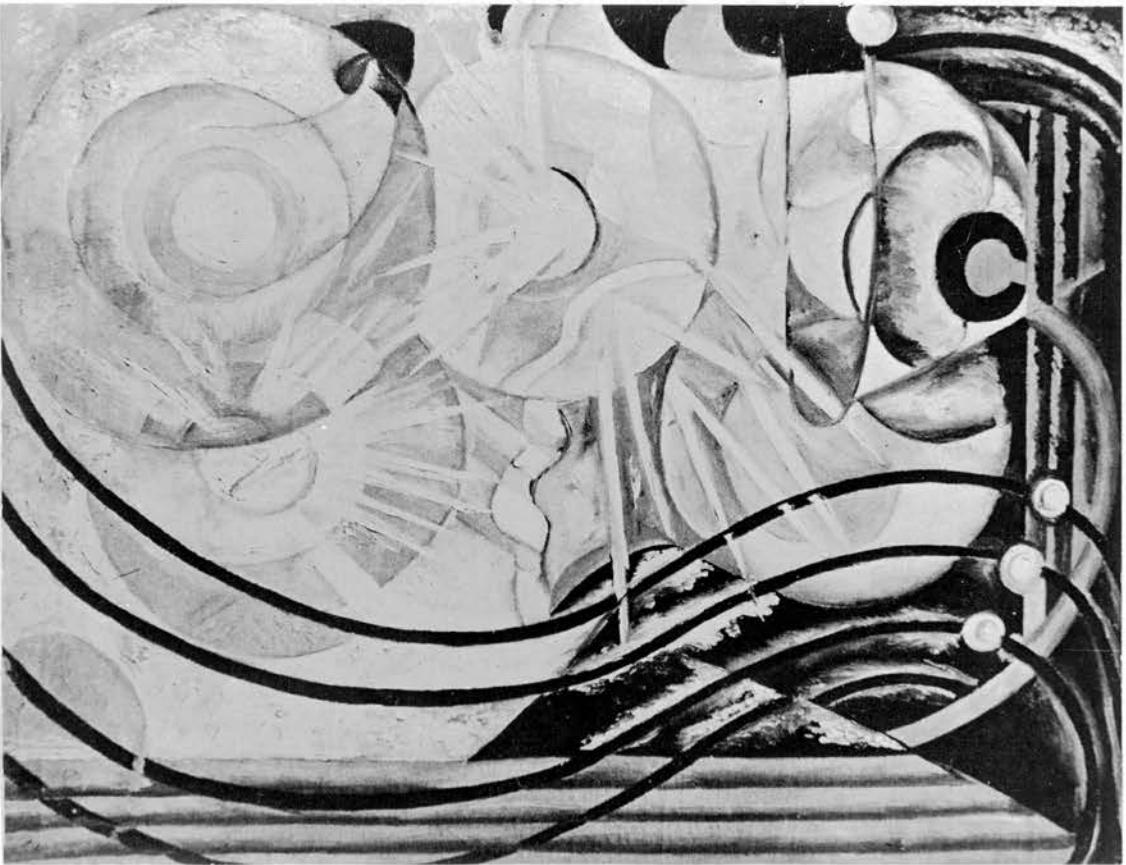


Figure 49. G. Balla: Abstract Speed - The Car
has passed. 1913. Oil on canvas,
19 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Tate Gallery,
London.

Figure 50. J. Villon: Marching Soldiers, 1913, Oil,
65 x 92 cms. (Louis Carré Collection,
Paris).



Figure 51. J. Boccioni: Dynamism of a cyclist, 1913,
Oil on canvas, $27\frac{1}{2}$ x $37\frac{3}{8}$ inches (70 x
95 cms.). Mattioli Collection, Milan.

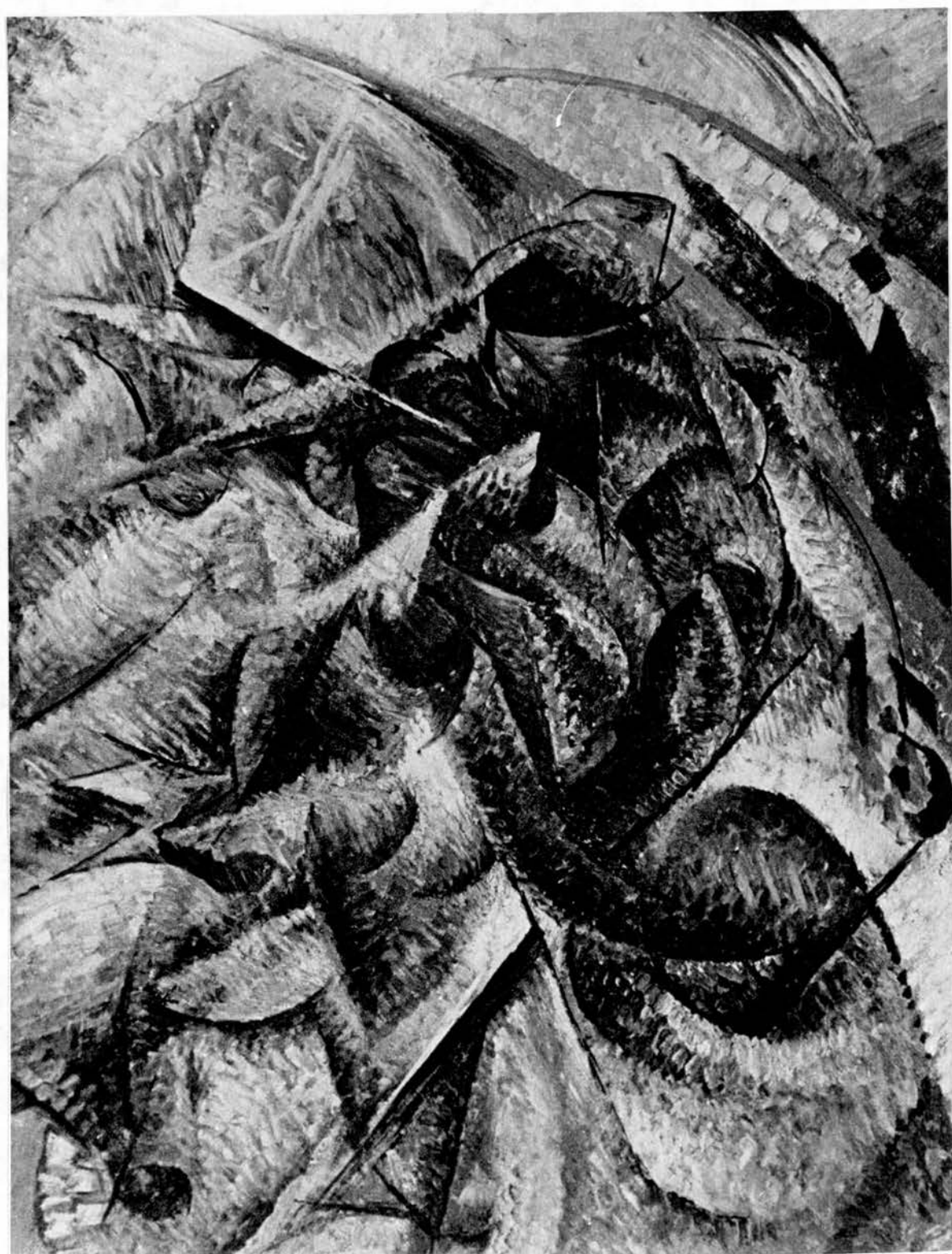
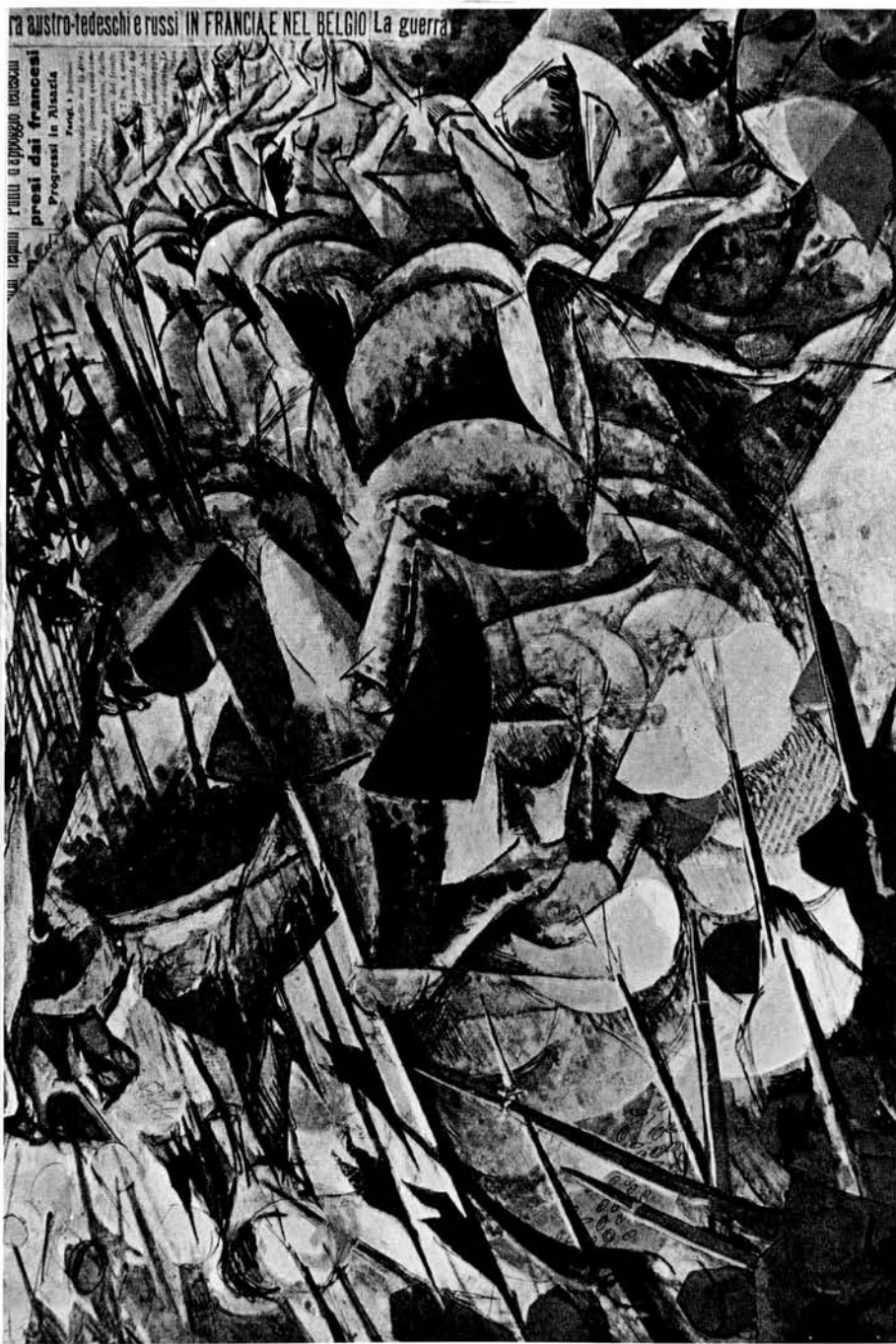


Figure 52: U. Boccioni. Cavalry Charge
or Charge of the Lancers .
1915. Tempera and collage
on cardboard. $12\frac{5}{8}$ x $19\frac{3}{4}$ inches
(32 x 50 cms.). R. Jucker
Collection. Milan.



ra austro-tedeschi e russi IN FRANCIA E NEL BELGIO La guerra

...i giapponesi, i russi e appoggio tedesco
presti dai francesi
Progressi in Alsazia

...i giapponesi, i russi e appoggio tedesco
presti dai francesi
Progressi in Alsazia

...i giapponesi, i russi e appoggio tedesco
presti dai francesi
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presti dai francesi
Progressi in Alsazia

...i giapponesi, i russi e appoggio tedesco
presti dai francesi
Progressi in Alsazia

Figure 53: Olga Rozanova
"Ruins of Cities" (lino cut)
executed circa 1915.

Figure 54: N. Goncharova:
Cover design of "War"
(Voina) "Mystical Images
of the War" Fourteen
lithographs published in
Moscow in 1914 by
V.N. Kashin.

Figure 55: N. Goncharova:
Page 10, "Angels and
Airplanes" in "War" (Voina)
1914.



Figure 56: Gino Severini. Suburban Trains arriving in Paris, 1915 (Oil on canvas, 37 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 45 $\frac{1}{2}$ " Tate Gallery, London)



Figure 57: U. Boccioni: States of Mind I: The Farewells, 1911. Oil on canvas, 28 x 37 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches (71.2 x 94.2 cms.) Nelson A. Rockefeller collection, New York.

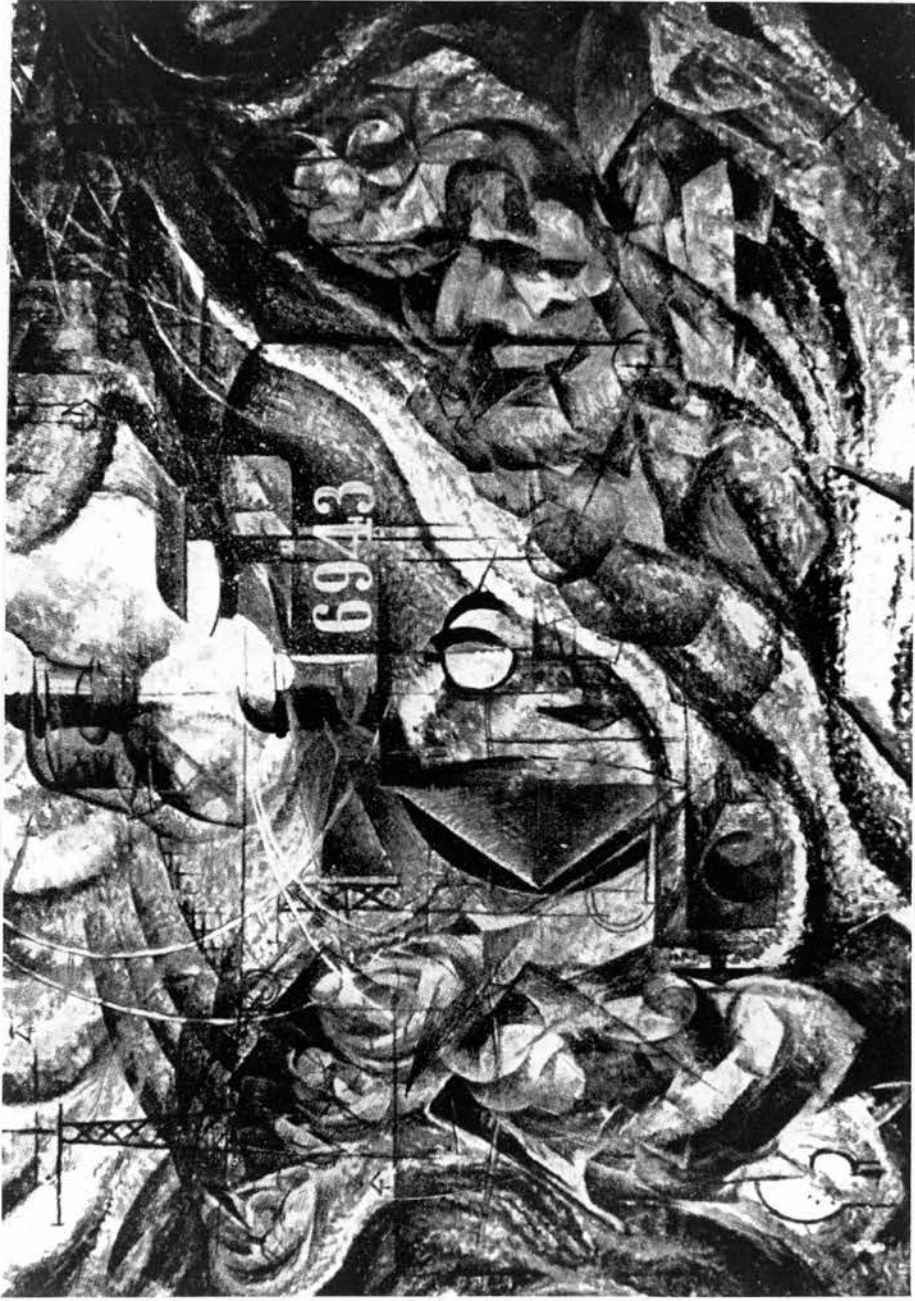


Figure 58: U. Boccioni: Development of a
Bottle in Space. 1912.
Museum of Modern Art, New York.





Figure 59: U. Boccioni: Unique forms of continuity in space. 1913. Bronze, h. $43\frac{1}{2}$ inches (110.5 cms). Mattioli Collection, Milan.

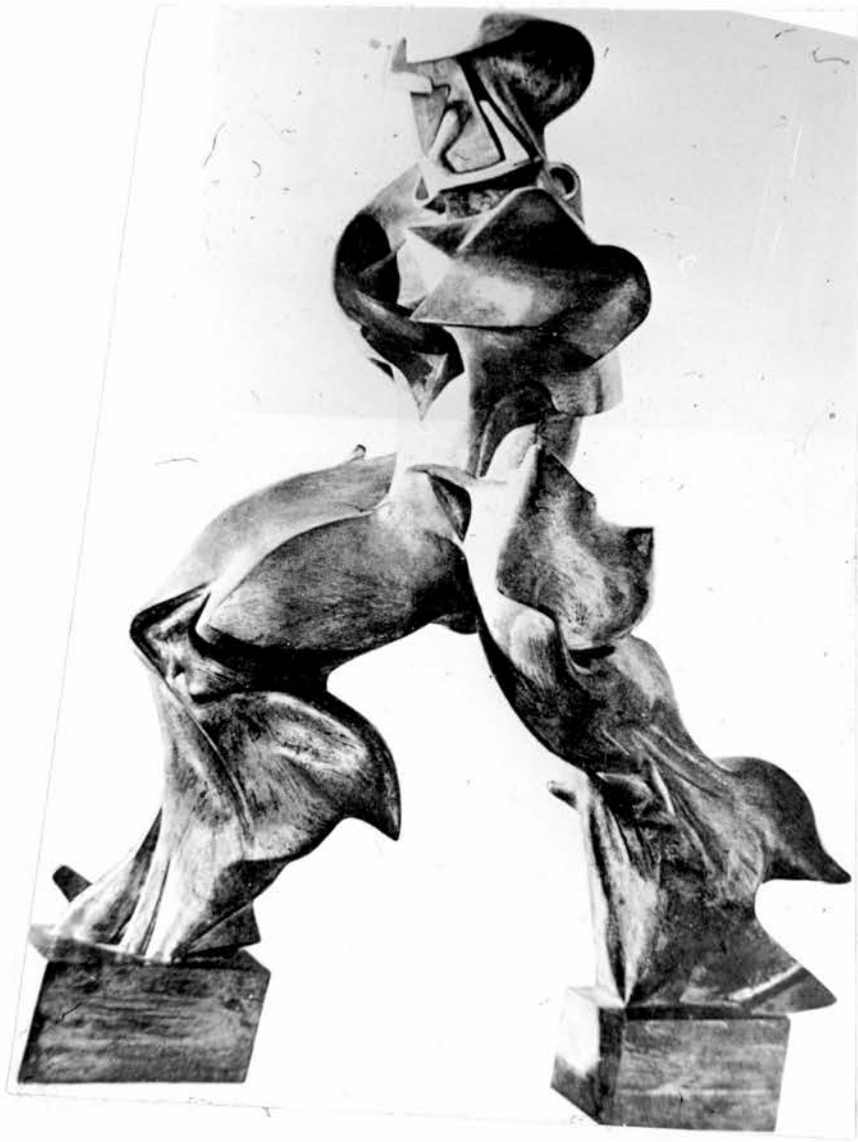


Figure 60: G. Severini. Bal Tabarin, 1912,
Oil, 126 x 156 cms. The Museum of
Modern Art, New York.



Figure 61:
Lyonel Feininger
Bicycle Race, 1912.
Oil, $31\frac{1}{2}$ x $39\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Figure 62:
Lyonel Feininger
The Bridge, I, 1913.
Oil, $31\frac{1}{2}$ x $39\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Figure 63:
Lyonel Feininger
Avenue of Trees, 1915.
Oil, $31\frac{3}{4}$ x $39\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Figure 64:
Lyonel Feininger
Markwippach, 1917.
Oil, $31\frac{3}{4}$ x $39\frac{3}{4}$ in.



CHAPTER III

WESTERN EUROPEAN ART FORMS INFLUENCED BY NIETZSCHE AND BERGSON
BEFORE 1914, PARTICULARLY ITALIAN FUTURISM AND
FRENCH ORPHISM

Auguste Comte the founder of Positivism was born in 1798 and died in 1857. He had completely freed himself from the influence of all existing social and religious theories by 1818 when he came into contact with St. Simon. They collaborated for six years but after a disagreement Comte worked independently on his system of philosophy and in 1826 began a course of lectures expounding his ideas. The six volumes of his Cours de Philosophie Positive were published in Paris between 1830 and 1842.

Comte based knowledge exclusively on the methods and discoveries of physical or "Positive" sciences. This meant that the philosophy of "Positivism" confined itself to the data of experience or observation and declined to recognise a priori or metaphysical speculations. Thus mid nineteenth-century materialism implied that the world was a sum of observable objects. The realist movement was its equivalent in painting and its leader Gustave Courbet, rejected unseen objects and metaphysical abstractions (see Figure 1). In his manifesto published in 1861 he stated that:

Painting should consist solely of the representation of objects visible and tangible to the artist...¹
the representation of real and existing things.

These principles in science, philosophy and art were being discredited by 1914. The Cubists, though still

1. Gustave Courbet: "Manifeste" in Courrier du Dimanche December 25, 1861 quoted in C. Leger: Courbet, p.61.

representing subjects from reality, such as still life groups of common-place articles, ordinary people and landscapes, were reinterpreting them and denying that reality was in perceptual appearance only. The first important cubist manifesto was published in 1912 by Gleizes and Metzinger and begins with an account of painting since Courbet and a criticism of the inadequacy of his retinal world:

The visible world does not become the real world except through the operation of thought ¹

.

Oil painting today permits the expression of notions previously deemed inexpressible, those of depth, density, and duration, and it incites us to represent according to a complex rhythm and in a restricted space a veritable fusion of objects. ²

Just as mid-nineteenth century realism *is relatable to the* artistic representation of Comte's approach to nature through the senses, Cubism and its associated trends corresponded to the processes of thought and perception described by a philosopher of a younger generation whose influence in France and elsewhere was paramount. The terms "operation of thought"; "duration"; "fusion of objects"; "multiplicity of conscious states" and the method used by Picasso and Braque of representing different view-points simultaneously are suggested by Henri Bergson at the beginning of his first thesis "Time and Free Will" (1889). This was the first of his attacks on positivism and mechanism which lead to his next major work Matiere et Memoire (Eng. trans. "Matter and Memory", 1911).

1. Albert Gleizes and Jean Metzinger, Du Cubisme, (Paris 1912), p.6.

2. Ibid., p.12.

The basis of Bergson's ideas are outlined in these two works. He describes perceptive experience as being based constitutionally on an enduring non-material process. He stated that when any object "fills our mind" it is modified by nuances of many inter-penetrating perceptions and memories,¹ concluding that the moments of inner duration are not external to one another and that the outside world exists only as the present and is interpreted by our inner world:

What duration is there outside us? The present only, or if we prefer the expression, simultaneity. No doubt external things change, but their moments do not succeed one another, if we retain the ordinary meaning of the word, except for a consciousness that keeps them in mind. We observe outside us at a given moment a whole system of simultaneous positions, of the simultaneities which preceded them nothing remains.

. . . .

The simultaneities of physical phenomena, absolutely distinct in the sense that one has ceased to be when the other takes place, cut up into portions, which are also distinct from and external to one another, an inner life in which succession implies interpenetration...

(See Appendix II)

He then went on to state that as science eliminates duration from the outer, philosophy must eliminate space from the inner world. In the paintings of the cubists, the Italian Futurists, Orphists and others around 1910, space is eliminated, or rather, a new concept of space modified the object by nuances of inter-penetrating representations. The interplay between observation of objects and fragmented mental images is summarised by Gleizes and Metzinger in words that recall those of Bergson:

1. Henry Bergson: Essaie sur les Donnees Immediates de la Conscience (Paris 1889; English translation "Time and Free Will" 1910) pp.8-9.

There is nothing real outside us, there is nothing real but the coincidence of a sensation and an individual mental direction. It is not our intention to cast doubt on the existence of objects which affect our senses; but there is reasonable certainty only in regard to the image which these call forth in our minds.

.
An object has not just one absolute form it has many.¹

.
There are as many images of an object as there are eyes to see it.²

.
An object is moved about in order to have its many successive appearances caught, when these appearances blend into a₃ single image and reconstitute an object in duration.³

By returning the conventional subjects of portrait, still life and landscape, Braque and Picasso (see Figures 66-72) were able to concentrate on the method of interpreting reality summarised later in "Du Cubisme". Their basis of cones, cylinders and spheres was akin to a classical reduction to ideal forms, rejecting idiosyncracies. Also just as Bergson's ideas are less inclined to the super-natural than his anti-rationalist contemporaries in Germany and Russia, the cubists were careful to avoid completely anti-naturalistic abstraction. Late in 1911 Mercereau affirmed Bergson's support for Cubism.⁴

In 1912, the Italian Futurists claimed that though they were working in a way parallel to that followed by the French avant-garde and admired many of their views they declared themselves absolutely opposed to their art because:

They obstinately continue to paint objects motionless, frozen, and all the static aspects of Nature; they worship the traditionalism of Poussin, of Ingres, of Corot, ageing and petrifying their art with an obstinate attachment to the past, which to our eyes remains totally incomprehensible.

1. Gleizes and Metzinger, Du Cubisme, pp. 30-31.

2. Ibid., p. 32.

3. Ibid., p. 36.

4. see Vers et Prose, No. 27, Oct.-Dec. 1913, p. 39 (mentioned by A. Lowe).

We, on the contrary, with points of view pertaining essentially to the future, seek for a style of motion, a thing which has never been attempted before us.¹

The difference between the aims of the cubists and those of the futurists corresponds to Nietzsche's distinction between Apollonian and Dionysiac. Apollonian ecstasy stimulated the eye so that it acquired the power of vision whereas in the Dionysiac state the passions are stimulated to a more dynamic expression or representation.² Futurist proclamations of the overthrow of former values and their love of extreme action has affinities with Nietzsche's opinion that all the ideas that philosophers had treated for thousands of years had been "mummified concepts."³ In his view, for art to be possible in any form, a preliminary psychological state of ecstasy dependent upon sexual excitement is indispensable. This could also apply to the ecstasy of "all extreme action; the ecstasy of cruelty; the ecstasy of destruction" and generally "the ecstasy of will."⁴ All human behaviour in his view could be reduced to the "will to power". This did not mean crude power over others, which was merely a substitute, but power to create, to reach the higher state he called "overman" (Ueberschensch). The uncreative conformist he described as the "last man".

The Italian futurists aspired to new values to rise above

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1. Boccioni etc: "The Exhibitors to the Public" Milan, February 5th, 1912.
 2. See Friedrich Nietzsche: The Twilight of the Idols, or How to Philosophise with a Hammer (1888 English Translation by M. Ludovici. Edinburgh and London 1911) pp. 67-68.
 3. See Ibid., p. 17.
 4. See Ibid., pp. 65-66.

the natural organic achievement of the past; and were aggressive in public declamations and manifestoes. Even war was glorified in Carrà's Guerrapittura published in 1915 which contained essays, free word compositions and collages. Marinetti recommended a study of war machines; war pictures included "Armoured Train" by Severini and the papier collé Cavalry Charge by Boccioni (Figure 52). This violence had probably been augmented by Nietzsche's idea that surplus power alone is proof of power and that:

War has always been the great policy of all spirits who have penetrated too far into themselves or who have grown too deep; a wound stimulates the recuperative powers.¹

The relationship of the violent or warlike spirit to artistic ecstasy had been displayed by official artists of Napoleon such as Gros and by Delacroix through dynamic colour juxtaposition and diagonal lines of composition (see Figures 25 and 26). Of Delacroix's "Lion Hunt" (Figure 25) at the Universal Exhibition in Paris in 1855 Baudelaire remarked:

Seen at too great a distance to analyse or even understand the subject, a picture by Delacroix has already produced in the mind [or soul] a rich, happy or melancholic impression.²

Lines were used to express the dynamism of moving objects by the futurists and even static objects were given "lines of force":

What is overlooked is that all inanimate objects, display, by their lines, calmness or frenzy, sadness

1. Ibid., Preface, p. xviii.

2. Baudelaire. Oeuvres complètes. Edited by Y.-G Le Dantec (Paris 1961), p. 972.

or gaiety. These various tendencies lend to the lines of which they are formed a sense and character of weighty stability or of aerial lightness.

Every object reveals by its lines how it would resolve itself were it to follow the tendencies of its forces.

These force lines must encircle and involve the spectator so that he will in a manner be forced to struggle himself with the persons in the picture.¹

Some similarities exist between Nietzsche's "will to power" and Bergson's "vital impulse" (élan vital)² trying to release itself against the obstacles of material environment. The contrast between routine and free-spirited development is one of the main features of this philosophy.

Just as the cubists had emerged from a background of Courbet and Cézanne, the Italian Futurists were related to Impressionism and Neo-Impressionism from which they inherited a preoccupation with light, colour, movement and urban subjects. Crowded canvasses such as Carrà's "Funeral of the Anarchist Galli" and Severini's cabaret scenes (see Figure 60) give the impression of a great number of people, without enumerating individuals as units. Monet achieved a similar effect in depicting a crowd from a distance (see Figure 2). Bergson described this "synthesis of the one and the many" by saying that it is possible to fix on particular features of objects or individuals making an enumeration of them but not a total:

The idea of number implies the simple intuition of a multiplicity of parts or units which are absolutely alike.³

Though this only indicates parallel affinities between Bergson's philosophy and Futurism and their contemporaries,

-
1. "The Exhibitors to the Public".
 2. The term first appears in L'Evolution Créatrice 1907; (English Translation "Creative Evolution" by Arthur Mitchell 1911).
 3. see Bergson: Time and Free Will, Ch. II.

other passages in "Time and Free Will" and more particularly "Creative Evolution" (1907) resemble the works and manifestations of these artists enough to conclude that they derived the conception of reality as movement from Bergson and that words, style and subjects of his graphic illustrations came to art direct from his text or from his popular lectures.¹ (see Appendix II) Of the French artists after 1910, the "Orphists" had most in common with the Italian Futurists in their rejection of static cubism, choice of dynamic urban subjects and impressionist colour. They met in the studio of the brothers Villon, where the ideas of Serusier, Denis and Father Desiderius Lenz about ideal proportions and sacred art, the harmonic relations numbers and the Golden Section were freshly discussed and the possibility of incorporating them into cubism investigated. These painters formed a short lived group which they called Section d'Or.

Apollinaire claimed that the Impressionists had succeeded finally in painting the true semblance (simulacre) of light and it was thus that Seurat came to discover the law of the contrast of complementary colours and opened the way to the next generation of experimenters. Apollinaire claimed Orphism to be the better tendency of the two (Cubism and Orphism) and he considered it quite natural that it had

1. With regard to the relationship of certain ideas of Boccioni to those of Bergson see also John Golding: Boccioni's Unique Forms of Continuity in Space, the 54th Charlton Lecture, University of Newcastle upon Tyne delivered 10th February 1972; also Erian Petrie: "Boccioni and Bergson" in The Burlington Magazine, Vol. CXVI, No. 852, March 1974, pp. 140-147.

attracted many new German painters.¹

Robert Delaunay (see Appendix IV) was the leading light of the Orphists. Gleizes, with whom Delaunay was in touch very frequently, remarked that in about 1912 "by a veritable stroke of genius" Delaunay discovered alone a new path of painting distinguishing light by means of colour and discovering that it was light and not the displacing of objects that suggested mobility.²

Delaunay discussed his own work in relation to the history of European art generally (see Appendix V). He wrote that the two apparently contradictory types of perspective used by the orientals and the occidentals are fundamentally of the same quality in that it is the descriptive idea that dominates.³ Even the introduction of several viewpoints by the cubists did not in his opinion succeed in overthrowing this approach, but rather completed it and was indirectly derived from it. The Cubists also used chiaroscuro and Picasso separated line and colour. However, Delaunay insisted that drawing and colour should be unified in the way that Cézanne had used colour to replace the procedure of drawing in line first and painting after. Drawing in the traditional sense would be foreign to volume obtained by colour, or a volume obtained by the quality and ensemble of colours, even without the intervention of chiaroscuro elements. By the direct intervention of simultaneous rapports of colours which in Delaunay's words corresponded to the new art which could serve

1. Guillaume Apollinaire: article in Der Sturm No.148-149, p.272.

2. Robert Delaunay: Du Cubisme à l'Art Abstrait documents inédits publiés par Pierre Francostel et suivi d'un catalogue de l'œuvre de R. Delaunay par Guy Habasque. (Sevpen, Paris 1957) pp.13-14.

3. Delaunay, Ibid., p. 57.

as a basis for the study of our epoch. He considered Cézanne and Renoir to be the precursors of this art form. Delaunay described the last water-colours of Cézanne as having a super-natural beauty.¹ He considered Renoir and Matisse to be great artists but not as profound. Moreover, in the work of all three artists the naturalistic side prevented them from realising a work of "great style".

The work of art is the fruit not of direct assemblages or indirect aspects of nature, but of an ensemble of forms which is the fruit of the creator and his force.²

Later in the same text he described colour as the fruit of light in similar words to Apollinaire's "Fenêtres". This is obtained by means of optical mixing and simultaneous contrast of complementary colours which cause the maximum vibration and intensity. The development of abstract painting does not however exclude representation inspired by nature.

The beginnings of abstract art in various parts of Europe may be seen to include tendencies toward abstraction as Apollinaire observed in Delaunay. However his abstractions are developed more directly from nature than are those of his contemporaries.

The Eiffel Tower of 1910-11 (Figure 76) introduces combinations of red, yellow and blue to his palette. The tower is seen from several points of view and the violence of changing levels is suggested in the forward and backward breaks in continuity. Light also flows through in broad transparent

1. See Delaunay, Ibid., p. 58.

2. Delaunay, Ibid., p. 59.

bands of prismatic colour. This subject was becoming the French symbol of modernity as much as the aeroplane.

The period described by Delaunay as his "destructive" phase began in 1910 with the realisation that light breaks the continuity of forms. It was his observation of the work of Cézanne that led him to this. With "Fenêtre sur la Ville" painted in 1910 he began a new series which culminated in the large "Ville de Paris" exhibited at the Salon des Independents in 1912.

He described his "Fenêtres sur la Ville" 1911 and 1912 as being the first germ of colour for the sake of colour and suggested that it may be a music and equivalent of the sounds of a Bach fugue (see Appendix VI).

He went on in the same passage to describe mobilities of colour, fluidity of form in depth and added the claim that he had influenced the whole of contemporary painting, including Rayonism in Russia, Synchronism in America, Orphism, Simultaneism in France and even cubists such as Léger, Gleizes, Villon etc. who had not formerly used colour. In addition to this he drew attention to a reference by Gleizes and Metzinger to the effect that he, Delaunay, was the only person to react against the epoch and was to be regarded as committing a heresy against cubism.¹ He was an important influence on these artists but not the only one of course. With the end of his "destructive" period in 1912 and the beginning of what he described as his "constructive" period his new subjects included not only the first "Windows" but also the beginning of his series of "Simultaneous Discs" (see Figure 78).

1. see Ibid., p. 63.

The Italian Futurists who were also concerned with movement and simultaneity by that time represented it differently from Delaunay and more literally showing various stages of movement of the same object at the same time. For Delaunay, simultaneity meant settling together certain colours with a view to bringing out elements which express the dynamism of light. This method was derived from Seurat and Chevreul whose ideas were popular with the avant-garde in Western Europe. The autonomous forms of light represented by means of Chevreul's colour wheel and "simultaneous contrast" suggested movement in Delaunay's work. It is only in the act of vision that Delaunay claimed to establish any communication between the world and himself. He did not favour metaphysical speculation or any ideas of communication between minds or spirits.

In "Simultaneous Windows" (1911) and "Windows open Simultaneously", 1912 (Figure 81), space and dynamism are suggested by a discrete use of simultaneous contrasts of colour and by the passage of one colour into neighbouring colours according to Chevreul's colour wheel with yellow merging into orange to red etc. (see Figures 78 and 79). The passage of colour in a broad brushstroke and the broken line both came from Cézanne. Chevreul's theory is not applied systematically but intuitively. "Homage to Bleriot", 1913-14, (Figure 82) is a continuation of former themes in which real and abstract elements are combined. The picture contains an exact copy of one of Chevreul's diagrams in the top left of the picture (see Figure 83) used as if it was a

quotation. Also in his Discs (see Figure 78) the stimulating appearance of Chevreul's colour wheels as objects in themselves most probably provided him with a subject quite apart from the theory they were intended to demonstrate. The "Disc" series suggest a generalised state of "becoming", an abstract form of motion recalling Bergson's discussion of colour theories in which he came to the conclusion that each passage from one colour to another possesses its own unique quality.

Becoming is infinitely varied. That which goes on from yellow to green is not like that which goes on from green to blue: they are different qualitative movements...

In "The Cardiff Team", 1912-13 (Figure 84) different kinds of movement are shown by incomplete representational forms dissolving into non-representational areas of paint. The different movements are those of the football players, the aeroplane and the big wheel, (which was a prominent feature of Paris at that time), together with the Eiffel Tower as various dynamic symbols in one composition. In the painting of the big wheel there is a suggestion of Chevreul's diagrammes (Figures 79 and 80). The wheel is made transparent by its motion and overlaps the tower while an aeroplane represented more spatially flies out as the continuation of its circumference. Its bottom left hand corner is enlarged into a square shape bearing the words "ASTRA CONSTRUCTION AEROP..." as if on a hoarding. The transparent qualities of the "Windows" is combined in this picture and it is one of the first in which human action in a landscape is combined with

1. Bergson: Creative Evolution, p. 320.

various dynamic elements. In this respect the "Runners" of 1924 is a continuation of that theme.

Kandinsky sent Delaunay a copy of his "Ueber das Geistige in Der Kunst" in 1912, when they were about to exhibit together in Germany. Delaunay saw Kandinsky's work for the first time at the Salon des Independants in Paris in 1911. In a letter probably written in 1912 replying to questions asked by Kandinsky he made it clear that he had no interest in the philosophy of art and that he based his art on a more concrete reality. Also in a letter¹ written during the same year to Macke he stressed his own indispensable "observations in nature of its luminous essence", which, he said, is unlike the geometrical metaphysical or spiritual starting point of the German group.

During the years 1912-1913 it was in Germany and principally in Berlin that Delaunay first received international fame. Herward Walden's review "Der Sturm" was one of the most avant garde and important in Europe. Delaunay became friendly with Franz Marc and August Macke who became strongly influenced by him. He also became better acquainted with Kandinsky and Klee.

Delaunay's article entitled "La Lumière" ("Light", see Appendix VII) written during the Summer of 1912 was translated into German by Paul Klee and published in Nos. 144-145 of the review Der Sturm early in 1913. Four other varying versions of the text exist. In this text he emphasised the importance of light and colour in the artist's perception of the world

1. See Delaunay, Ibid., pp. 185-6.

and credited impressionism with the birth of light in painting. The text is declamatory and poetic in mood and not intended to be academic. But not only is the style of his text an equivalent of Bergson's suggestion of a stream of consciousness but Delaunay uses the philosopher's vocabulary very frequently.

Simultaneity in light, it is the harmony, the rhythm of the colours which create¹ man's vision.

.

The eye is our most elevated sense, that which communicates most strictly with the brain, the consciousness. The idea of the vital movement of the world and its movement is simultaneity. Our comprehension is correlative to our perception. Let us try to see.

Auditive perception is not sufficient for our understanding of the universe, it has no depth. Its movement is successive, it is a sort of mechanism, its law is the time of mechanical watches which, like it, has no relation to the visual movement in our universe.

.

The object is not gifted with movement. When it¹ feigns movement, it becomes successive, dynamic.

It was in 1912 that Apollinaire described Delaunay's work as "Orphic Cubism" defining it as an art of painting new wholes with elements borrowed not from visual reality, but entirely created by the artist and endowed by him with a powerful reality. He continued to say that the works of the orphic painters should present simultaneously a pure aesthetic agreement, a construction which falls under the sublime meaning of pure art (see Appendix VIII).

At this time Delaunay found himself in conflict both with the expressionists and the cubists and the rôle of returning colour to cubism attributed by Apollinaire to Delaunay was not one in which he saw himself, though he had

1. Ibid., pp. 146-147. For the full version of text in the original, see Appendix VI.

not altogether detached himself from cubism.

Delaunay has not systematically applied the laws of simultaneous contrast as much as Duchamp Villon and the Italian Futurists. They had all borrowed from Seurat and in the destruction of forms from Cézanne and Delaunay's simultaneous views of objects was similar to that of the Futurists. Delaunay's method is the fullest plastic equivalent of Bergson's opinion that motion is indivisible. Unlike the Italian futurists who represented movement in a succession of positions, Delaunay represented it as an indivisible band of alternating colour merging into another.

In 1913 Delaunay described "simultanéisme" as the opposite of conventional representation.¹ Later in the same text he criticised the futurists and stated that the simultaneity of their vision was quite different and remained fixed to the classical idea of successive dynamism. He summarised this by stating that it was a mechanical movement and not living (see Appendix IX). This suggests that he had absorbed Bergson's concept and applied it to his own idea of art.

Bergson had quoted Zeno's example of the arrow whose movement from A to B is simple and is not a succession of movements.

...there is more in the transition than the series of states, that is to say the possible cuts, - more in the movement than the series of positions, that is to say the possible stops.²

1. "Simultaneisme de l'Art Moderne Contemporain Peinture Poésie", October 1913, quoted in Delaunay, Ibid., p. 110.

2. Ibid., p. 214.

In the same essay Delaunay gave a definition of "simultanéisme" in literature, stating that it consists of the use of control of words and that the poem written by Cendrars "La Prose du Transsiberien et de la Petite Johanne de France" combined with Sonia Delaunay's painted imagery into the "First Simultaneous Book" in February 1913 consists of a simple contrast (see Appendix X).

In the first collective manifesto for Salle 41 at the Independants 1910 Delaunay credited Chevreul for the development of the simultaneous colour theory and stated that though Seurat was receptive to this he never managed to break away from the conventional rules of painting (see Appendix XI). He considered Seurat to have struggled against the exuberance of his period in search of true constructive means.¹ As for the impressionists, he remarked that they had not employed the theories of Rood and others in a systematic way but arrived at conclusions accidentally and that his own art was the art of pure colour which had emerged from impressionism and leaving behind the representation of nature to reach out for "pure reality" (un art de réalité pure).²

During the winter of 1913 to 1914 a quarrel broke out between Delaunay and Boccioni speaking for the Italian Futurists. Boccioni published an attack on Delaunay in "Der Sturm" (Nos. 190-191 December 15th) entitled "Futurist Simultaneity, a lively attack against Delaunay". This attack referred to a text by Apollinaire which had been recently published in the last number of "Soirées de Paris" (No. 18, dated 15th November

1. Delaunay, Ibid., p. 117.

2. Delaunay, Ibid., pp. 118-9.

1915). Apollinaire had stated that Delaunay had borrowed the term "simultaneity" from the Futurists. He also claimed credit for the first simultaneous sculpture exhibited at the Galérie La Boétie in Paris in June 1913.¹ Delaunay then protested in "Der Sturm" of January 15th 1914 (Nos. 194-195). He claimed that it was Apollinaire who had had the idea for simultaneous sculpture since the Spring of 1913 and that he had communicated it simultaneously to Delaunay, Gleizes, Duchamp-Villon and Marcel Duchamp some months before Boccioni's exhibition. The dispute continued.

Another member of the "Section d'Or" group Jacques Villon combined melodious and light colours with crystalline spatial shapes, representing movement with diagonal lines and using "lines of force". Like the futurists. In his painting "Marching Soldiers", 1913, (Figure 50) he gives the impression of a number of soldiers carrying rifles and marching in step from left to right which is achieved by the repetition of lines and angles interspersed with light colours. The subject and method of representation in this picture was most probably taken "from the development of Bergson's passage on "becoming" another portion of which was quoted above in connection with Delaunay:

Suppose we wish to portray on a screen a living picture, such as the marching past of a regiment. There is one way in which it might first occur to us to do it. That would be to cut out jointed figures representing the soldiers, to give each one of them the movement of marching, a movement varying from individual to individual although common to the human species, and to throw the whole on a screen. We should need to spend on this little game an enormous amount of work, and even then we should obtain a very poor result: how could it at its best reproduce the suppleness and variety of life.

1. Delaunay, Ibid., p. 135.

Now there is another way of proceeding, more easy and at the same time more effective. It is to take a series of snapshots of the passing regiment and to throw these instantaneous views on the screen so that they replace each other very rapidly. This is what the cinematograph does. With photographs each of which represents the regiment in a fixed attitude, it reconstitutes the mobility of the regiment marching. It is true that if we had to do with photographs alone, however, much as we might look at them, we should never see them animated: with immobility set beside immobility, even endlessly, we could never make movement. In order that these pictures may be animated there must be movement somewhere....The movement does indeed exist here; it is in the apparatus. It is because the film of the cinematograph unrolls, bringing in turn the different photographs of the scene to continue each other, that each actor of the scene recovers his mobility; he strings all his successive attitudes on the invisible movement of the film. The process then consists of extracting from all the movements peculiar to all the figures an impersonal movement abstract and simple, movement in general, so to speak. We put this into the apparatus, and we constitute the individuality of each particular movement by combining this nameless movement with the personal attitudes. Such is the contrivance of the cinematograph. And such also is that of our knowledge...conclusion...the mechanism of our ordinary knowledge is of a cinematographical kind.

There is, between our body and other bodies an arrangement like that of the pieces of glass that compose a Kaleidoscopic picture. Our activity goes on from arrangement to arrangement...the cinematographical character of our knowledge of things is due to the Kaleidoscopic character of our adaption to them....¹

Another member of the group Villon's brother Marcel Duchamp represented successive states of motion in his "Nude coming down Stairs", 1911-13 (Figure 20). The jerky flowing rhythm of the paint marks, is intended, not to represent the anatomy of the figure, but its successive positions in space and was most probably inspired by the multiple exposure photographs by E.J. Marey.²

1. Bergson: Evolution Créatrice, pp. 322-323.

2. This is referred to in Chapter II "The Representation of Movement" and Chapter XXIII "Irony and Humour in Mechanical Subjects".

Not long after seeing Turner's "Rain, Steam and Speed", Monet painted the "Gare Saint Lazare" (Figures 3 and 4) as a series of canvasses representing the same steam trains at different times in such a way that they became less important as subjects than the idea that no two things are the same from one moment to another.¹ Russolo painted a speeding train, recording the "synthesis of a ridge of light produced by an express train going at sixty miles an hour". Severini painted "The Red Cross Train" in 1914 in a more naturalistic way approaching the "Metaphysical painting" of Chirico and Carrà who used the subject after detaching himself from the Futurist movement during the war. "Suburban Trains arrive in Paris", 1915 (Figure 56) by Severini depicts this subject with dynamic lines of force fused with the train and indicating the direction and speed. The arrowhead shapes and angles of the houses contrasting with the billowing spheres of smoke accentuate the impression of speed.

Bergson linked intelligence with invention and stated that the steam engine characterised an age (see Appendix XLVII):

New ideas are rising...the steam engine and the procession of inventions of every kind that accompany it will perhaps be spoken of as we speak of the bronze or of the chipped stone of pre-historic times: it will serve to define an age.²

In Boccioni's "Farewells", 1911 (see Figure 57) one of the series of paintings of "states of mind", the forms and colours are derived partly from cubism. Although like Monet, Boccioni gave impressions of the same subject at different times and from different viewpoints he placed them on the same

1. Monet represented the train standing still at different moments on separate canvasses. Nevertheless each suggests separate states of mind. His 'Haystacks' and 'Poplars' also illustrate this point.

2. Bergson: Creative Evolution, p.154.

canvas. The train is composed with the dynamic lines of its movement, a suggestion of steam and abstract lines of varying rhythms. One view of the train seems to come toward the spectator, another view gives the impression of its movement from left to right, while a third appears to be transparent and seen from an oblique angle. In addition, interpenetrating sensations of speed, noise and jerking are expressed in visual terms.

Bergson's early idea was that when one has an object in mind it should be considered that only an image of that object is being modified. This he later elaborated to consider that things are not set out in rational sequence, side by side, in our mind but that the image of an object is always influenced by various perceptions and never reveals itself entirely in isolation:

...the further we penetrate into the depths of consciousness, the less right we have to treat psychic phenomena as things which are set side by side. When it is said that an object occupies a large space in the soul or even that it fills it entirely, we ought to understand by this simply its image has altered the shade of a thousand perceptions and memories, and that in this sense it pervades them although it does not itself come into view.

The series "The States of Mind" probably received its title from the same source in which there is an account of how the eternal state of "becoming" is particularised into "states". These concluding lines are a good indication of the view of the world adopted generally by the Futurists and Section d'Or group:

-
1. Bergson: Time and Free Will, pp. 8-9.

To this idea (of becoming in general) always the same, and always obscure and unconscious we then join, in each particular case, one or several images that represent states and which serve to distinguish all becomings from one another...An infinite multiplicity of becomings variously coloured, so to speak, passes before our eyes.¹

The "flying gallop" is a fairly common subject and one which is almost as basic to Art in most parts of the world from ancient times. Its dynamism has been interpreted in a rhythmic pattern of lines in the great "animal style" that spread from China to Ireland in the West, the horse being replaced at times, for example, by the stag in Scythian art. More recently staccato rhythms have expressed this in sketches such as Vrubel's illustration to Lermontov's poem "The Demon" in 1890 (Figure 105), Carlo Carrà's painting "Galloping Horse" (Figure 24) and Boccioni's "Elasticity", 1912 (Figure 23). In the futurist pictures both the method of fusing time and space in the subject and title appear to have been taken from Bergson's "Creative Evolution".

As with the cubists there is no difference of colour or perspective between elements in the background and the foreground; straight lines, curves and geometric forms fuse into amorphous paint giving an impression of dynamism and suggesting rays of light and energy akin to those of Delaunay who was using a similar device at that time. Electricity pylons and industrial buildings are penetrated by these rays and in parts they overlap the rump of the horse, the forelegs of which are fused with similar engineering forms. Continuous

1. Bergson, Creative Evolution, p. 317.

flowing rhythms and successive positions are suggested; broken areas of divisionist colour used; complementary colours and hard edges of colour suggest lines of movement. Reference to this subject as well as the method of painting is made in the "Manifesto of Futurist Painting" (1910).

Our growing need of truth is no longer satisfied with **Form and Colour as they have been understood hitherto.**

The gesture which we would reproduce on canvas shall no longer be a fixed moment in universal dynamism. It shall simply be the dynamic sensation itself [made eternal].

Indeed, all things move, all things run, all things are rapidly changing.

A profile is never motionless before our eyes, but it constantly appears and disappears. On account of the persistency of an image upon the retina, moving objects constantly multiply themselves; their form changes like rapid vibrations, in their mad career. Thus a running horse has not four legs, but twenty, and their movements are triangular.

. . . .

To paint a human figure you must not paint it; you must render the whole of its surrounding atmosphere.

Space no longer exists:

. . . .

Who can still believe in the opacity of bodies, since our sharpened and multiplied sensitiveness has already penetrated the obscure manifestations of the medium? Why should we forget in our creations the doubled power of our sight, capable of giving results analogous to those of the X-rays?

. . . .

How often have we not seen upon the cheek of the person with whom we were talking the horse which passes at the end of the street.

Our bodies penetrate the sofas upon which we sit, and the sofas penetrate our bodies. The motor-bus rushes into the houses which it passes, and in their turn the houses throw themselves upon the motor-bus and are blended with it.

. . . .

We shall henceforward put the spectator in the centre of the picture.¹

1. Futurist Painting: Technical manifesto (April 11, 1910) signed by Umberto Boccioni, Painter (Milan); Carlo Carra, painter (Milan), Luigi Russolo, painter (Paris).

Bergson distinguished between the approach of ancient science in its noting of certain privileged movements, and modern science which considered the objects in any moment whatsoever¹ concluding that real time escaped the hold of scientific knowledge.² He then proceeded from science to art pointing out that classical art fixed moving objects into a static poise, whereas photography was capable of isolating any moment. He was almost certainly thinking of the experiments of Muybridge and Marey and used their subject of a galloping horse as his example:

Of the gallop of a horse our eye perceives chiefly a characteristic, essential or rather schematic attitude, a form that appears to radiate over a whole period and so fill up a time of gallop. It is this attitude that sculpture has fixed on the freeze of the Parthenon. But instantaneous photography isolates any moment; it puts them all in the same rank, and thus the gallop of a horse spreads out for it into as many successive attitudes as it wishes, instead of massing itself into a single attitude, which is supposed to flash out in a privileged moment and to illuminate a whole period.³

Boccioni probably knew the experiments of Muybridge and Marey as well as this passage from Bergson. The horse had also been the central symbol of energy in his painting "The City Rises" (1911) before cubist influences appeared in his work. His method of representation has affinities with Bergson's view that in our first impressions of the world we distinguish "qualities" before we ever make out "bodies". Each of these colours or sounds or resistances persists until

1. Bergson, Creative Evolution, p. 348.

2. Ibid., p. 350.

3. Ibid., p. 355.

another takes its place:

Yet each of these qualities resolves itself, on analysis, into an enormous number of elementary movements. Whether we see it as vibrations or whether we represent it in any other way, one fact is certain, it is that every quality is change.

...in reality the body is changing form at every moment; or rather, there is no form, since form is immobile and reality is movement. What is real is the continual change of form: form is only an instant view of transition.

The dissolution of form and the notion that in reality there is only a series of impressions in the mind is common to both Bergson and Boccioni. The ninth declaration of the "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Painting" states that "movement and light destroy the materiality of bodies".

Destruction of materiality would seem to be paradoxical in application to sculpture, unless it were a mobile or kinetic object, and the paradox seems to be increased in Boccioni's choice of a static classical still life subject for his sculpture "Development of a Bottle in Space", 1912 (Figure 58). However, form as an instant view of transition is expressed in this by breaking the subject up to reveal its potential states and its lines of force developing in discs around it. It was preceded by drawings which clarify Boccioni's aims and those of other futurists expressed in the introduction to the Bernheim Jeune catalogue of 1912:

Each object reveals by its lines how it would be decomposed according to the tendencies of its forces.²

The essay goes on to discuss the "emotional architecture of the object's plastic forces.

Boccioni's brief period of sculpture included the

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1. Bergson, Creative Evolution, p. 319.
 2. Introduction to the catalogue of the Futurist exhibition at Bernheim Jeune (Paris 1912).

bronze "Unique Forms of Continuity in Space", 1913 (Figure 59); "Muscoli in Velocita" (Speeding Muscles) and "Spiral expansion of Muscles in Motion" which represented the human body in motion. Only the first has survived as a static three dimensional form depicting motion in a similar way to paintings such as "Galloping Horse" and "Dynamism of a Cyclist", 1913 (Figure 51).

Perhaps because of these paradoxes Boccioni achieved his most dynamic work in the bronze sculpture of a man walking, with feet poised on two plinths. The representation of successive movements has been overcome and in the flame like forms that seem to blow out behind the figure "matter extends itself in space without being absolutely extended therein..."¹

Mayakovsky attacked the Italians as "men of fist and fight" in a lecture in Moscow on November the 11th, 1913, refused to subscribe to Marinetti's onomatopoeic theories and proclaimed Russian Futurism's independence. Marinetti quickly replied to this in a letter to the Russian newspaper Russkie Vedomosti the same year. Before coming to Russia Marinetti sent Russian Futurists his manifestoes. The Russian press had reported the Italian Futurist activities and as soon as March the 8th 1909 the newspaper Vecher ("Evening") described Marinetti's first manifesto in Le Figaro of February 20th, 1909.² Brynsov published a report on Italian Futurism in 1910

1. Bergson: Creative Evolution, p. 214.

2. See V. Markov: Russian Futurism, p. 148.

in Poesia and Umberto Boccioni spent several months in Russia before the birth of futurism. Lunacharsky also described Marinetti and his work. But whereas Russian artists were influenced by what they read and saw of Italian Futurist art they were not sympathetic with its political ideas and did not develop the same stylistic concern for representing movement either by means of broken images or by a continuous stream of paintmarks or strokes. Though a number of Russian illustrations and drawings use a technique similar to this only a few paintings display obviously western European concern of representing motion. These include Goncharova's "Cyclist" (Figure 299), Malevich's "Knife Grinder" (Figure 400), Larionov's "Woman on a Boulevard" (Figure 298), and Burliuk's "Siberian Navy" (Figure 270).

Genrich Edmundovich Tasseven (d.1916) editor of the "Golden Fleece" invited the Italian Futurist leader to Russia. On about the 24th January 1914 F.T. Marinetti, accompanied by the Futurist painter Antonio Marasco arrived in Moscow. To receive them at the station were Alexei N. Tolstoy, Nicolai Kulbin, Henry Tasseven, the Futurist poet and artist Cesare Grisalli, Vadim Shershenevich, P. Kozhevnikov and E. Bolshakov. Marinetti declared to the journalists and friends 'My journey is in connection with the celebration of the first quinquennium of the foundation of Futurism.' He delivered two lectures in Moscow on January 27th and January 28th and the only discordant note was his interview with Larionov, printed in a Moscow newspaper just before his arrival in which Larionov invited his fellow Russians to hurl rotten eggs at Marinetti for betraying futurist ideals.

Shershenevich published two articles before his arrival and branded Larionov's behaviour as nyekulturny and he was supported in this view by Malevich. Larionov said the eggs were figurative. Two lectures were given in Petersburg on February the first and fourth, by Marinetti.

It was probably the use of the same word 'Futurism' that contributed to misunderstandings between the Russians and the Italians. While Orphism may be seen as the nearest equivalent of Futurism in France, the differences are clearly related to the artistic and general cultural heritage of each country. The movements in Russia that may generally be termed Russian Futurism likewise depend upon elements peculiar to Russian history as well as the links with Western European movements.

Though similar factors existed in realist movements with social aims in France and Russia during the mid-nineteenth century, different directions were taken by each country during the third quarter of the century. While the French developed the methodology of Positivism and Realism with the question of how reality is perceived by optical impressions, the Russians emphasised social aspects until the "World of Art" movement reintroduced Western European art at the end of the century.

Figure 65. Paul Cézanne: Le Parc du
Château Noir . National Gallery,
London.

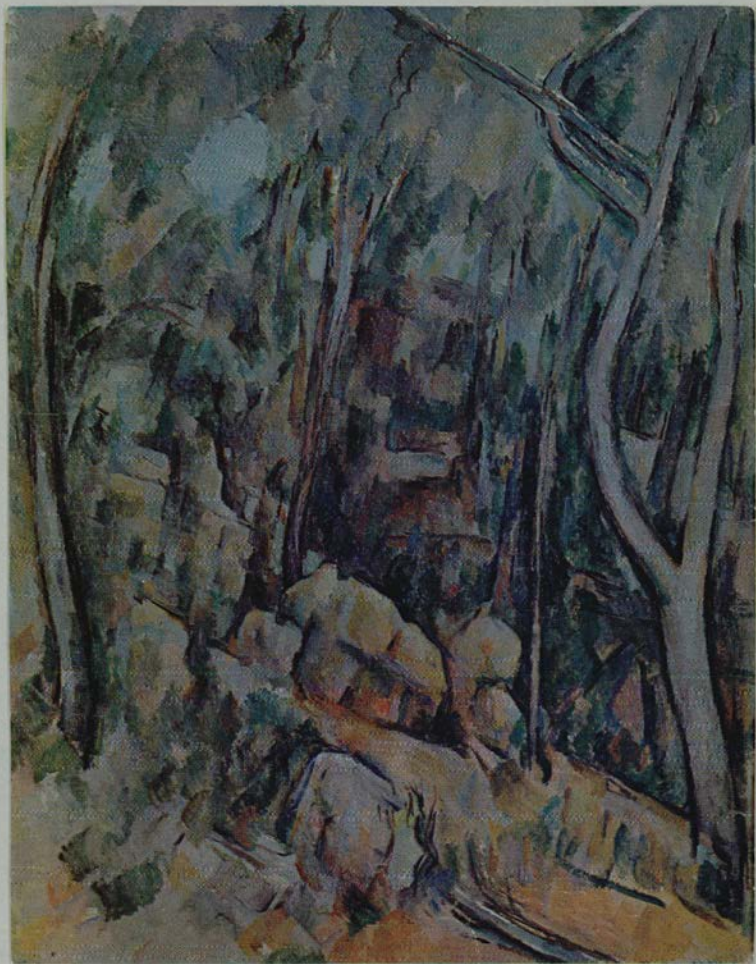


Figure 66. Picasso: Sketch for the painting
L'Amitié, 1908, Pushkin Museum, Moscow.



Figure 67. Picasso: Nude with Drapery, 1907,
60 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches (152-101 cms.)
Pushkin Museum, Moscow.

Figure 68. Picasso: Woman with a Fan, 1908,
58 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 39 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches (152 x 151 cms.)
Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.



Figure 69. Picasso: Nude in a Forest, ("La Grande Dryade"), 1908,
73 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 42 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches (186 x 109 cms.),
Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.



Figure 70. Georges Braque: Still Life with Violin and Pitcher, Oil, 1909-10, La Roche Collection, Kunstmuseum, Basle.



Figure 71. Picasso: "Girl with a Mandoline",
(Fanny Tellier), 1910, Oil,
39½ x 29 inches, Collection Roland
Penrose.

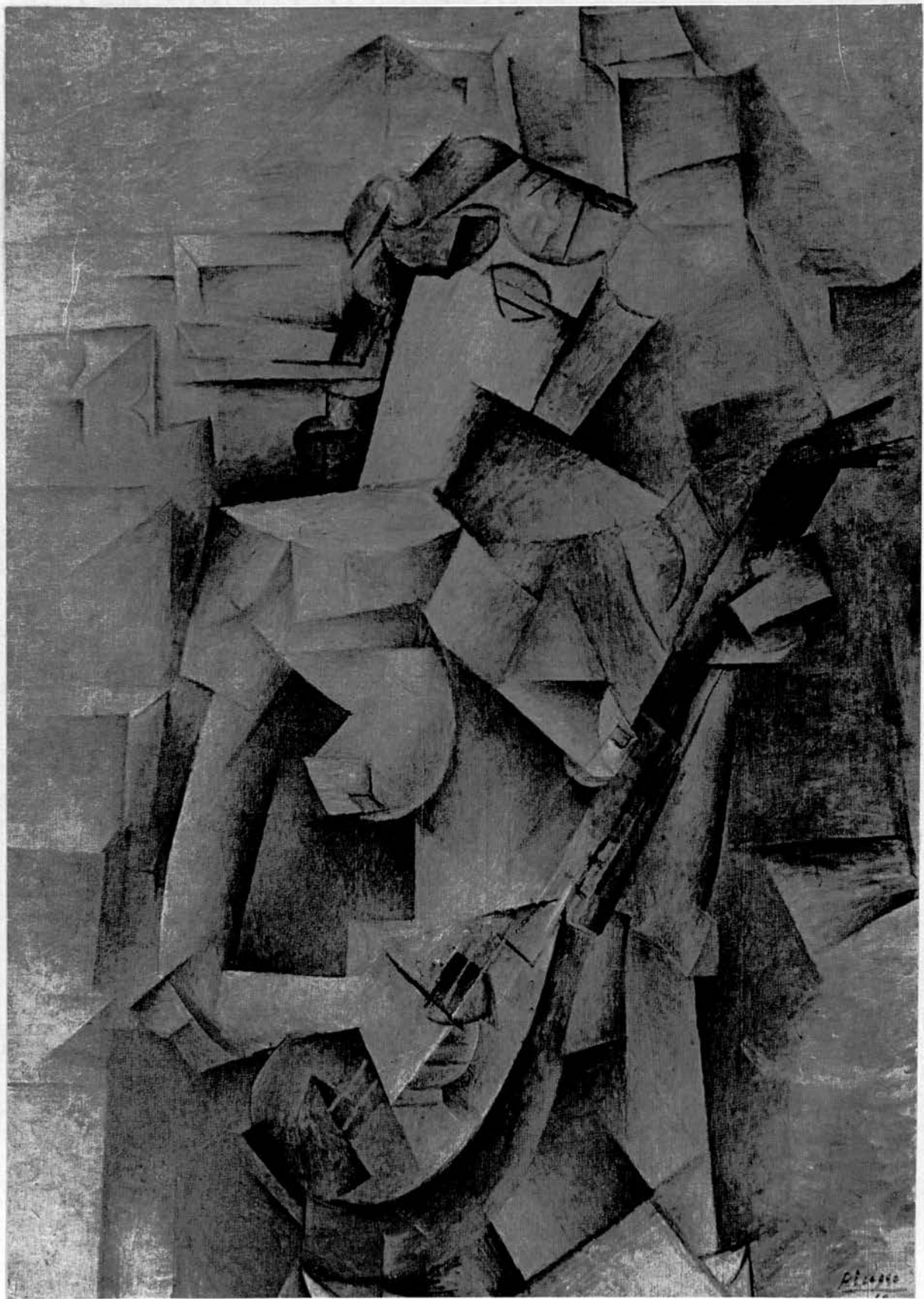


Figure 72. Picasso: Mlle Leonie, 1910,
etching, Museum of Modern Art,
New York.

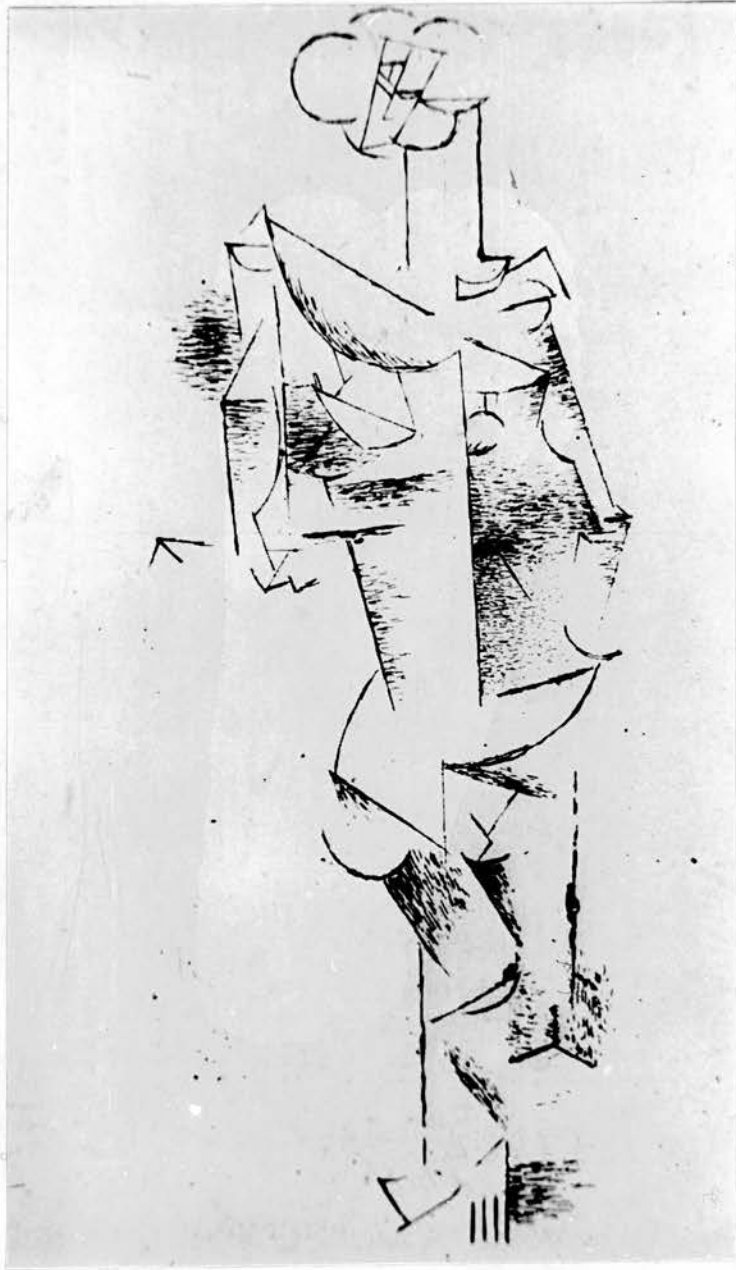


Figure 73. Juan Gris: Fruit Dish and Carafe,
1914.

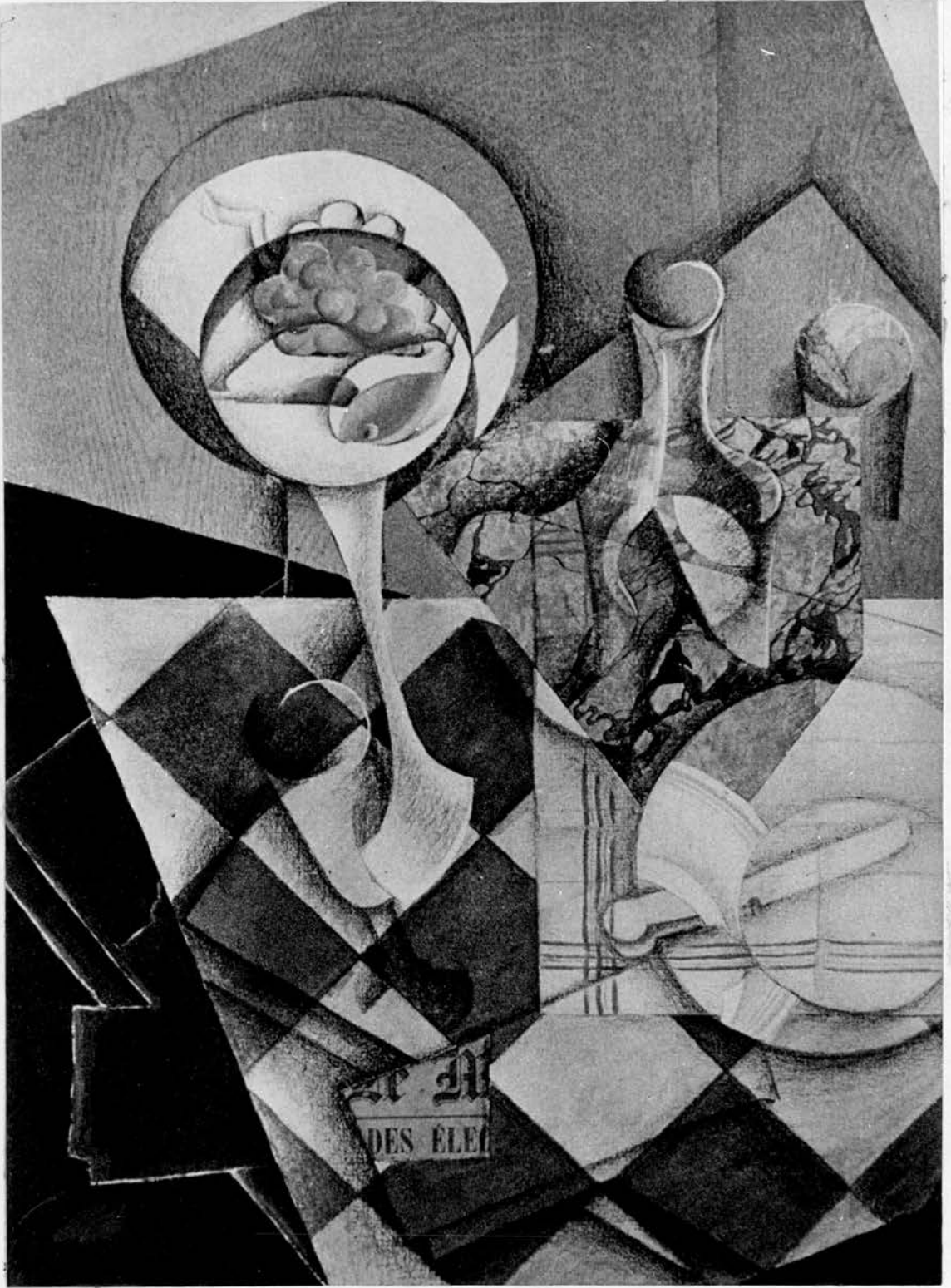


Figure 74. Jean Metzinger: The Bathers, 1913.

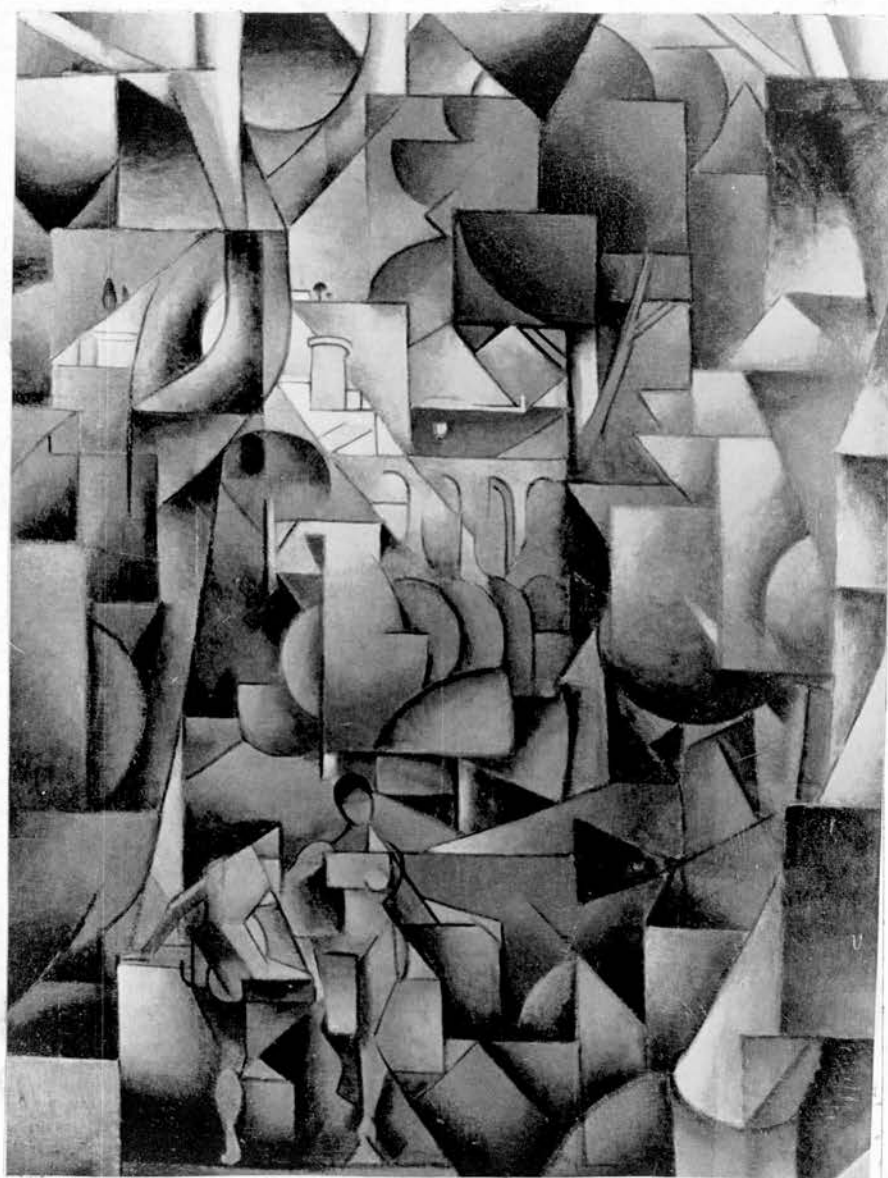


Figure 75. R. Delaunay: The Church of Saint Severin No. 7, 1909.

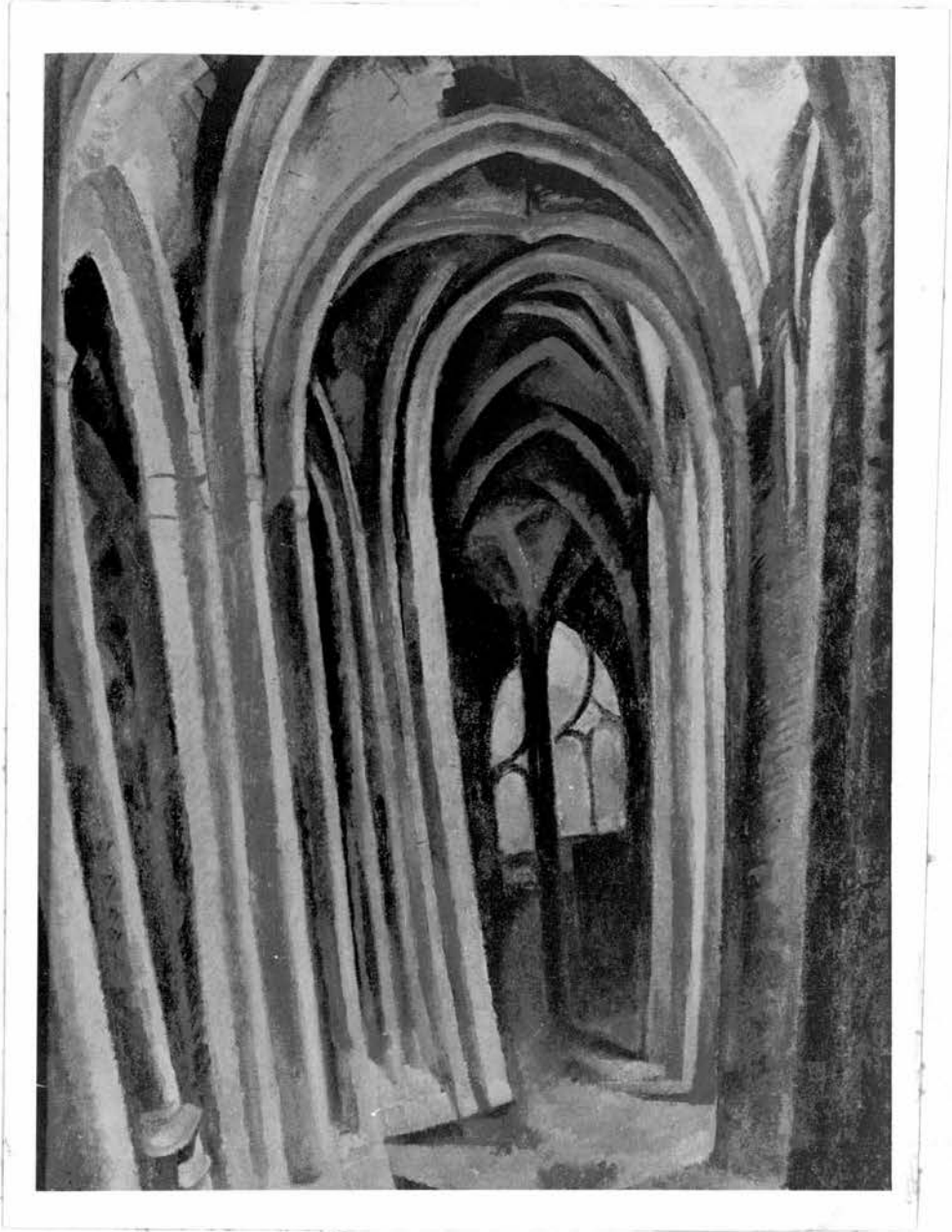


Figure 76. R. Delaunay: The Eiffel Tower,
1910-11, Oil, 195.5 x 129 cms.
Kunstmuseum, Basle,
Emanuel Hoffmann Foundation.



Figure 77. E. Chevreul: Theory of Complementary Colours.

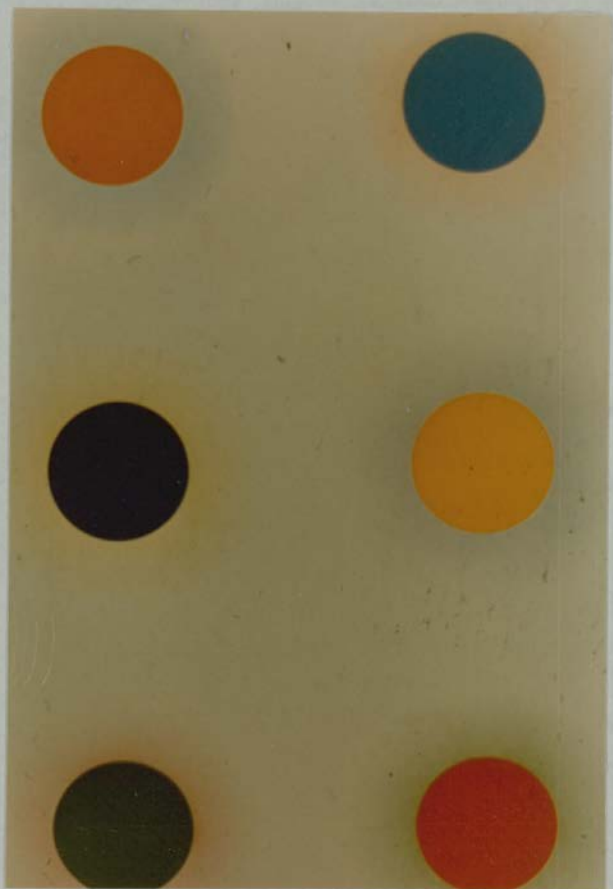


Figure 78. R. Delaunay: Simultaneous Disc
(1912).



Figures 79 and 80.

E. Chevreul: Colour Wheel.



Figure 81. Robert Delaunay: Windows open simultaneously (first part, third motif) 1912. Oil on canvas, 18 x 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Tate Gallery.

Figure 81. Robert Delaunay: Windows open simultaneously (first part, third motif) 1912. Oil on canvas, 18 x 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Tate Gallery.



Figure 82.

R. Delaunay:

Hommage à Blériot

(1913-14)

Figure 83.

E. Chevreul:

Diagram showing how one colour is made to appear different through juxtaposition with another. Three pairs of red, yellow and blue spots are surrounded by other single colours thereby inducing a tendency to display the respective complementary colour in the spot.

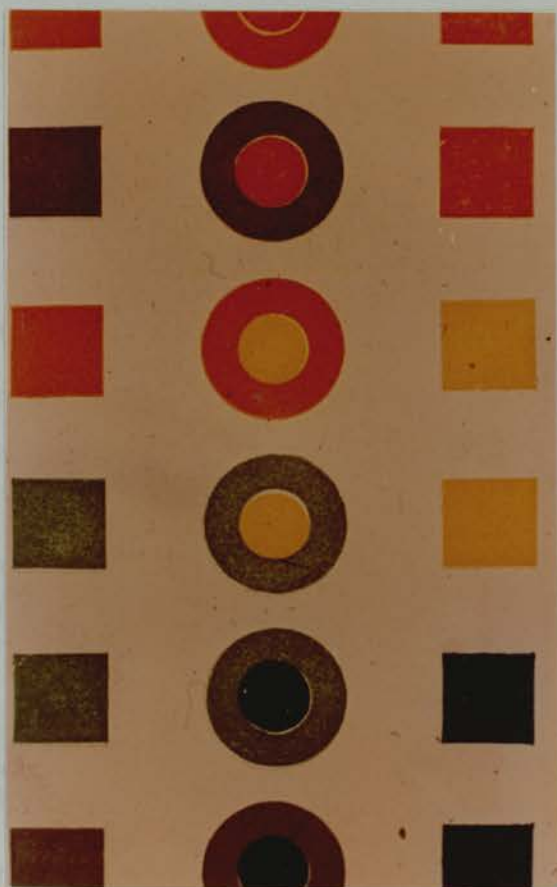


Figure 84. R. Delaunay: The Cardiff Team,
1912-13, Oil, 196 x 130 cms.,
Stedlijk van Abbe Museum,
Eindhoven.



Figure 85. R. Delaunay: Eiffel Tower c. 1925.
Arensberg Collection, Philadelphia.



CHAPTER IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF REALISM IN RUSSIAN ART DURING THE SECOND
HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The development of Russian art almost until the end of the nineteenth century differs from the art forms in western Europe in that Russia had not experienced the Renaissance of classical learning peculiar to the west. The strong division between town and country life was emphasised in the arts by Peter the Great's introduction of classical art from the west, while peasant arts and crafts remained in the country, and applied art objects of wood with elaborate decorations were part of a continuing peasant tradition.

A great many amulets, objects in metalwork and some wooden idols survive from pagan times and aroused interest during the late nineteenth century. But most important for the Russian tradition was the choice of Greek Orthodox Christianity which resulted in the acceptance of Byzantine iconography and a Byzantine style in religious art. What secular art may have existed in Russia's early Christian period was killed by Mongol invasion. The Novgorod school of painting so important before the Mongol invasion started to revive during the fourteenth century and reached its full development in the fifteenth century. There was no Italian influence at this time but that of the Gothic world is to be observed in one Novgorodian *building*.

Peter the Great's interest in archaeology failed to stimulate his contemporaries and it was not until the excavations at Pompeii that it began to develop in Russia.

The excavation of Pompeii contributed to neo-classical styles and iconography in France and Britain while in Russia it helped to account for Catherine's love of things Roman which in its turn helped to direct the interest of Russian scholars to their country's past.

The positivist tradition was uniquely French especially in its application to the realism of Courbet and to its extension into impressionist visual analysis of reality and in the attempts to apply scientific analysis of form and colour by Seurat. The Russian artists of the last half of the nineteenth century were not so interested in the techniques, methods and ideas of interpreting material reality which since the French Revolution had eliminated spiritual and often religious elements to some extent. The arts in Russia after about 1850 were more closely integrated with social and political ideas.

The connection which existed in Russia between the theatre and the general cultural conditions is also the explanation of the peculiar character of the Russian stage and of the powerful influence it exerted.¹ Court entertainment had been primitive and included performing bears, court jesters and hardly anything of intellectual content, but even before the eighteenth century mystery plays had existed. The father of Peter the Great had been enthusiastic about theatre and Peter's half-sister Sophia had written plays. After Peter ascended to the throne he began to Europeanise Russia and had a theatre specially built in

1. See Rene Fülöp-Miller and Joseph Gregor: The Russian Theatre, its Character and History translated by Paul England. (First published by George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., London etc. 1930), p.21.

Moscow where a number of German actors were employed under the direction of a certain Johann Kunst¹ and acting became popular in all classes in Russia. Performances were transferred to the new court theatre in St. Petersburg after 1724. Italian companies became popular after the death of Peter and under Anna Ivanovna commedia dell'arte and ballet were brought to the Russian court. The Empress Elizabeth had a preference for French players but a Russian theatrical company was set up under her auspices and in the reign of Catherine II an important drama school was begun in 1779 and a theatre founded in St. Petersburg for the people.

National and political events influenced the Russian artists during the first half of the nineteenth century. After the beginning of the French Revolution Catherine II (1762-1796) disregarded the liberal tendencies of her youth and began to attack representatives of advanced ideas that she herself had helped to create. Radishchev the author of "A Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow" was sentenced to death as a Jacobin in 1790. The sentence was later commuted to ten years exile in Siberia. Radishchev represented the left wing of enlightened criticism of existing social conditions. He was a disciple of J.J. Rousseau and his book is a rhetorical vindication of freedom against serfdom and autocracy. It was Radishchev and the Jacobins who were first responsible for arousing Russia's social conscience. Among the aristocracy an order of "remorseful nobles" grew up who regarded serfdom as a disgrace and felt

1. see Ibid., p. 27.

reform to be not only necessary from the humanitarian point of view but essential. Reformists in the first half of the nineteenth century tended to reflect J.J. Rousseau's ideal of a return to nature.

Alexander I, himself a follower of J.J. Rousseau introduced natural scenery from the year 1815 and widened the range of theatrical entertainment especially through operas and operettas which had entered Russia during the eighteenth century. More theatres were built and nearly all the classic plays of Europe were performed until the repressive reign of Nicholas I after 1825. Russian plays had been written from the time of Anna Ivanovna for performance at court and the Russian language had been used in the arts throughout the eighteenth century though French was almost as important. The defeat of Napoleon in 1812 aroused patriotism and the Russian language increased in importance.

Alexander I died on December the 1st, 1825, and a revolutionary rising was planned during the three week interregnum period. This "Dekabrist" or Decembrist conspiracy was suppressed. Nicholas I, who later shelved Alexander's promised reforms, attempted to care for the corrupt state by exerting more discipline and suppressing liberty. Many of the Decembrists were personal friends of Pushkin especially Küchelbecker and Pushchin. Though the Decembrist uprising failed it served as a prognostication of the coming democratic revolutionary movement.

Rousseau's ideal of the return to nature and the life of the peasant as opposed to city life suited Russia

well, as it appeared to have been Peter the Great who was responsible for the great division of culture between Europeanised city life and native Russian peasant life. Therefore just as naturalistic landscape and peasant scenes were revived in France culminating in the mid-nineteenth century realism of Courbet, Russian artists developed naturalistic painting to be followed by the narrative realism of the Wanderers. A Kuinzhi (1842-1910), and I. Levitan were the founders of Russian landscape painting while I. Aivazovsky (1817-1900) excelled as a marine artist. Alexei Venetsianov (1779-1847) spent most of his life painting scenes from peasant life. Just as Courbet's realism is associated with French Positivism and Socialism in mid-nineteenth century France, the formation of the Wanderers in 1870 and the criticism of the social order in Russia which their paintings implied is closely related to the political and philosophical background in mid-nineteenth century Russia.

Many of the younger generation of political thinkers such as Belinsky (1811-1848), Herzen (1812-1870) and Stankevich (1813-1840) thought Russian improvement depended on further learning from western laws, political institutions and technology. They and their sympathisers became known as Zapadniki ("Westernizers" or "Occidentophiles"). However certain idealists and students of the philosophy of Schelling, Fichte and Hegel, educated mostly at the University of Moscow between 1830 and 1848, were not concerned with politics and liberal reform as much as Russian history and the Russian mind. Most of them declared that Russia was unlike Europe

and its type of civilisation ^{potentially} higher than the European one. They became known as "Slavophiles". This position was first brought to the minds of the younger men by the writings of Alexis Khomyakov (1804-1860). They agreed with the Westernizers in deploring serfdom, censorship and the debasement of the Church. But they considered that an old spirit of community which existed with the Orthodox Church; the peculiarly Russian peasant commune (mir); the artisans' producer-cooperative (artel) and other Slavic traditions revealed the socialistic soul of Russia unlike the individualist western soul. They execrated Peter the Great's europeanisation of Russia as a fatal deviation from the genuine course of Russian history.

One of the most popular leaders was Timothy Granovsky, a lecturer at Moscow University who also drew crowds to his public lectures. Encouraged by men such as this, young intellectuals began writing avidly. Belinsky, one of the most prominent writers who had followed the Decembrists, won a scholarship to Moscow University in 1829 and later published defences of Russian writers. Others included the Aksakovs and Kireevskys. Herzen and Bakunin emigrated from Russia on the approach of the revolution of 1848 and became important as originators of Russian socialism.

Almost a century before the death of Nicholas I and the succession of Alexander II in 1855 intellectual and political advance was made and it was becoming possible to distinguish classes of industrialists, merchants and intellectuals. The last of these three became known as the intelligentsia

in Russia, it opposed absolute monarchy and favoured democratic reforms and revolutionary ideas with which most of them had become familiar in the universities. By the middle of the nineteenth-century serfdom was widely deplored and in addition it was regarded as a prime cause of the inefficiency which had led to the Empire's defeat in the Crimea. Peasant revolts persisted and in a speech made by Alexander II on the 30th March 1856 he declared that "it is better to abolish serfdom from above than to wait for it to abolish itself from below". But though society became generally more democratic after the operation of the Emancipation Statute of 1861, much poverty resulted and the terms of the complex emancipation statute caused peasants to revolt against landlords and officials. As a result of the abolition of serfdom landlords were obliged to pay wages to the new peasant workers and many could not afford to do so then. But a minority of intellectuals regarded the Autocrat as their enemy. This gave rise in the 1860s to the Russian revolutionary movement, whose adherents became known as "nihilists", with hundreds of followers by the 1870s. After 1855 there was a little more freedom of the press than earlier in the reign of Alexander II and materialist philosophy and revolutionary ideologies came from the West. Saint-Simon, Proudhon, Fourier and Bakunin were read and began to form the ingredients of a characteristically Russian socialism. The radicals who had inspired nihilist thought in Russia were N.G. Chernyshevsky (1828-89), Dobroliubov (1836-81), Pisarev (1840-1908) and from abroad the emigré Herzen. Their ideas were published mostly in the radical

journal "Contemporary" between 1854 and 1864. Chernyshevsky's dissertation "The Aesthetic Relations of Art and Reality" set forth his rigorously utilitarian view of art and established the basis of revolutionary 'Populism' in art. The movement which he and Dobrolyubov founded is also referred to as the school of 'utilitarian Critical Realism'.¹

The chief representative of Nihilism among the literary critics was Dmitriy Pisarev. His influence on young people in the 1860s took the form of directing their attention away from traditional artistic and social values towards the study of the natural sciences. He wrote in several radical journals including Nekrasov's "Notes of the Fatherland".

He valued art for its utility alone. Nihilism represented the negation of all forms of aestheticism and advocated utilitarianism and scientific rationalism. It negated all authority by the state, church or family basing its belief on nothing but scientific truth and denying the duality of man as body and soul. Pisarev considered society to be like an organism where every organ should function according to its nature. His view of art is implied in one of his questions:

Which is more useful, the man who buys pictures or statues from artists, or the one who sets up farms and factories with his money and uses the profit to instal new ones?

1. See S.V. Utechin Everyman's Concise Encyclopaedia of Russia J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London, 1961, p. 155.

His declaration that a pair of boots is more valuable than a play by Shakespeare sums up his utilitarian view. He considered that great mediocre numbers of artists should work collectively in scientific professions to serve society and if a Raphael is among them he will in any case emerge. Pisarev wished to transfer the sense of beauty from representational art to the objects and environment of the real world, disposing thereby with the art of representing nature. He and other critics such as Belinsky and Nikitenko strongly influenced artists and stated that art should devote itself to the service of social interests and that every artist should display "the highest civic feelings". A collectivist spirit akin to that of William Morris is evident at this time and later when the mediaevalist spirit was revived in the forms of art and craft enterprises. But in Russia the subject matter came to have more importance than "aesthetics" and artists began to believe that the content worthy of a thinking man was able to relieve art of the accusation that it may be but an empty pastime. Consequently the realists were accused of neglecting beauty and everything elegant.

The young "Populists" ("Narodniki") adopted a programme of freeing the country from tzarism in order that it might be a self-governing co-operative commonwealth. They dressed themselves as peasants and workers and attempted heavy manual work going out into the countryside and the factories to express their ideas. The response disappointed them and they found that the people were not all as prepared for revolution as they had been told.

It is not surprising that literature at this time was in advance of the visual arts as this was an important and direct medium into which realist themes might develop. The classical tradition was safeguarded by the Academy of Arts until the 1860s. Russian painters often won scholarships abroad in the nineteenth century after studying at the Academy. On the whole their subjects were classical, biblical or mythological. The opposition which had existed over a long period emerged in 1863 when the whole of the graduating class of the Academy of Art boycotted the traditional contest for a prize painting on the theme of "Odin in Valhalla". Thirteen students annoyed by the apparent irrelevance of the theme formed themselves into an independent group known at first as the "Association of Free Artists". This later broke up and was re-established in 1870 under the leadership of I. Kramskoi (1837-87) as the Peredvizhniki ("Travellers" or "Wanderers"). The name is derived from Tovarishchestvo peredvizhnykh khudozhestvennykh vystavok ("Society for Travelling Art Exhibitions"). Their aim was to show pictures painted in a realistic style with the purpose of advocating social reforms in the country at large by means of travelling exhibitions. Kramskoi became well known for his passionate articles as well as for his carefully observed paintings.¹ His most famous painting "Christ in the Wilderness" is not a theme normally associated with the Wanderers. It is painted in a very naturalistic and precise style however and it is in this style that he

1. See Tamara Talbot Rice A Concise History of Russian Art Thames and Hudson, 1963, p. 233.

depicted peasants and scenes of contemporary life. The quality of the paintings is almost photographic having more concern for tone than colour and for the depiction of fine detail contrasted with larger more amorphous areas. The Wanderers systematically attacked the academic tradition, "the old masters", and claimed that the audience for a work of art had itself to be changed; they began dedicating their work to the "masses". The niceties of technique were subordinated to the message represented in the picture. The most direct parallel in France is probably the realism of Courbet. He introduced no new technical innovations except perhaps the liberal use of the palette knife which is consistent with the robust sweeping away of refined glazes and scumbles. He knew how to use these methods well but the attention was not drawn to them as much as to the new themes of contemporary life some of which suggested a criticism of society (see Figure 1).

The most celebrated of all the Russian realist painters is Ilya Repin (1844-1930). He was born in the Ukraine and worked with icon painters in his youth. In 1863 he studied at the Society for the Encouragement of Art and in 1864-71 at the Imperial Academy of Arts where he was a prize-winner. Though he was never a member of the Society of Wanderers he became a strong supporter and was influenced mostly by Kramskoi and his followers. Repin was a most prolific and versatile artist, painting portraits, historical and religious compositions, genre scenes and landscapes. Being interested in the depiction of his contemporaries he painted expressive portraits of Leo Tolstoy, Mussorgsky and

others. Unlike the French realist he painted subjects from the history of his country with vivid realism including "Ivan the Terrible with the Body of his Son" and "Zaporozhye Cossacks Drafting a Reply to the Turkish Sultan" (1878-91). Though the style may be described as 'realistic' the drama, sentimentality and exaggeration as well as the bold sweeping brush strokes recall Delacroix's technique of allowing the paint to express the mood of the subject. In addition the historical incidents depicted had contemporary relevance and political identification. The treatment of Cossack liberties, for example, appealed to a variety of Russian revolutionaries on the one hand and on the other it appealed to patriots, conservatives, pan-Slavists and others in celebrating the defiance of the Turks. Among what may be described as "subject"paintings¹ "They did not expect him" 1884, (Figure 89) suggests a mood and a series of incidents as well as the subject of the father of a family suddenly returning from political exile in Siberia. A sketch of 1879 (see Figure 88) shows the arrest of a propagandist. Repin's best-known and most dramatic paintings are "The Bargemen" on the "Volga Boatmen" painted between 1870 and 1873 (Figures 86 and 87). They are also the most direct expression of the sympathy for suffering Russian people and as powerful an influence on the other arts as revolutionary realist literature had been. It inspired Mussorgsky to seek source material for his music in the chants from his birthplace on the Volga.

Another founder member of the Society of Wanderers was Vasiliiy Perov (1833-82). He studied at Arzamas and

1. See T. Talbot Rice, Ibid., pp.237-8.

at the Moscow School of Art (1853-61). His work exposed the cruelty, corruption and inefficiency of the police, clergy and civil service. His subjects are often treated in an extremely sentimental way but without the vigour of Repin's style. Titles include "The Village Burial", "Aged Parents at their Son's Grave" and "A Monastic Refectory".

During the last decade of Alexander II's reign Marxism took root in Russia. The Marxist writer Plekhanov (1857-1918) began his literary activity at that time. As a result of the emancipation of the peasants and the growth of capitalism an urban industrial proletariat came into existence. Such a class had not previously existed in Russia. The first workers' movements began in the years 1865-70. By 1880 the number of factories had doubled and the old system based on serfs had been replaced by wage-earning labour. This helped the development of the railway system, banking and the emergence of a middle class and working class.

Meanwhile Alexander II made genuine attempts at reforming the social order until in 1881 he was assassinated.

His successor Alexander III was a less distinguished statesman. There was no popular uprising against the oppressive regime between 1881 and 1905 despite local peasant unrest and the increasing number of strikes. A mass movement among the proletariat of the towns was being organised and the first Social Democratic organisation came into existence in 1883. The Marxists worked systematically to prepare for revolution.

Russia lagged a generation behind Western Europe but was following the same course. Westernisation now meant that

European capital was linked with that of Russia and political relations particularly with France and later Britain were closer.

The peasants constituted the vast mass of the Russian population. According to a census of 1897 five-sixths of the population lived from agriculture and one-sixth from industry. When in 1905 Russia was defeated by Japan and an internal crisis resulted the organised industrial proletariat was best able to stimulate revolution among the discontented peasantry. A number of different forms of socialism and socialist parties existed by the early years of the twentieth-century.¹

During the late nineteenth-century and the early years of the twentieth-century many artists remained disassociated with political activities though like Repin their subjects suggested or clearly indicated the need for reform. P. Malyavin (1869-1939)(Figure 104) was never affected by political issues. At the age of fourteen he became a lay brother at the Russian Monastery on Mount Athos until an academician discovered his talent six years later and he returned to St. Petersburg to study at the Academy of Art. The vitality of his technique of broad brush strokes spreading over the canvas is slightly reminiscent of tendencies in western art nouveau and secession artists such as Klimt. Both artists tend to produce the magical effect of making the canvas at first seem to be an excitable mass of almost

1. See Otto Hoetzsch, The Evolution of Russia (Thames and Hudson, London, 1966), pp. 152-170.

abstract shapes until the spectator recognises a figurative subject that makes a gradual appearance. Malyavin's pictures are not as stylised or geometric in their tendencies as some of the Munich artists. They, on the other hand, suggest the expressionist trends that appear during the first decade of the twentieth-century and have more in common with the apparently spontaneous brushstrokes so carefully arranged to bring about similar results in the work of Vrubel.

Moscow became the centre of the avant-garde during the 1900s due to the interest in new innovations by the Moscow merchant class important by the end of the sixteenth-century and replacing the patronage of the aristocracy by the twentieth-century. St. Petersburg remained more conservative. P. Tretyakov and S.I. Mamontov were the most important of these. Publications began as Mamontov and Princess Tenisheva had supported the "World of Art" and Ryabushinsky subsidised the "Golden Fleece". Galleries and picture auctions were also sponsored.

In the late 1860s the rapid social changes became a threat to traditional arts and crafts. Wealthy individuals began to buy and commission peasant fabrics and craft centres were begun by industrialists and S.I. Mamontov and Princess Tenisheva.

Of the merchants who were patrons of the arts, on a new and vast scale Savva Mamontov was the most important. He purchased the

country home "Abramtsevo" near Moscow in the 1870s and surrounded himself with composers, singers, architects, writers and actors.

Like Tzar Paul and others who had done the same with a concern for social improvements, the Mamontovs built a hospital on their estate in 1871 following a cholera epidemic, the following year a school for neighbouring peasant children also a sculpture studio built in the "Russian" style by the architect Ropet. It was taken over professionally and an artists colony concerned with revival of ancient artistic traditions was pioneered. Serov and Repin lived at Abramtsevo for several years and Polenov made studies of its woods and streams and Vasnetsov abandoned St. Petersburg to paint there.

At Abramtsevo craftsmen and peasants worked in workshops carrying out designs by professional artists such as Vrubel, Vasnetsov and Polenova. Vrubel's paintings "Christ walking on the Waters" (1890) and "Gypsy Fortune Teller" (1893) as well as his illustrations for Lermontov's "Demon", 1891 (Figure 107) were done at Abramtsevo.

Vasnetsov (see Figures 90 and 91) in the 1870s began to move away from realism and tended to stylise forms being the first to turn to indigenous Russian art.

Influenced by the work of William Morris and trends in Munich Mamontov persuaded his artist guests to help build and decorate a new village church (Figure 93). It was built in the style of a mediaeval Novgorod church and designed by Apollinarius Vasnetsov (1845-1926). Vasili Polenov (1844-1927) introduced many of his father's archaeological documents to support the venture. Polenov was a Slavophile artist who

had studied at Moscow College of Art and spent much of his life at Abramtsevo. He and Victor Vasnetsov, Vera Polenov, Marya Yakunchikova and other guests completed their collective work on the church in 1882. Next a workshop for potter and other crafts was built. The Abramtsevo colony is the expression of the Slavophile spirit of the Mamontovs and their circle in that the recreation of past Russian architecture and arts demonstrated a pride in native traditions as opposed to the classical traditions of the west.

The art colony established by Princess Tenicheva on her estate at Talashkino near Smolensk was partly inspired by Mamontov's example and was developed between 1890 and 1903. Embroidery and wood-carving were its main areas. It began as a school for peasant children in 1887 by Princess E.K. Svyatopolk-Chetvertinskaya who owned it at that date. The venture ended in 1905, when the buildings were burnt down. Certain parallels exist with the enterprises of William Morris in Tenicheva's colony. Activities for which tuition was provided included choral singing, pottery, embroidery and textiles.¹ In 1895 the grandduchess Vladimir, President of the Academy of Fine Art in Petersburg was also an art collector. She invited Princess Tenicheva to visit the Shchukin collection in order to have a full account of the "curious new pictures" brought to Russia by the Muscovite. From then on an interest in reviving Russian folk art grew and a renewed interest in mediaeval Russian art. The

1. See T. Talbot Rice: Ibid., pp.242-3.

Shchukin brothers collected oriental art and folk art at the end of the nineteenth century but later brought French Impressionist, Fauve and cubist work to Russia from Paris. The Stroganov family had already at the beginning of the nineteenth century started work on the history of icon paintings and the Abramtsevo colony was able to benefit from this.

P.M. Tretyakov collected the work of the Russian realists in the 1860s and 1870s as well as works by Levitan and V. Vasnetsov, "Blue Rose" and some Neo-Primitivist works.

In 1889 Vrubel moved to Moscow and entered the Abramtsevo circle, designed decor's for Mamontov's operas, designs for Majolica Sculpture and applied art projects. Mural panels were designed by him for Morozov's Moscow Villa and decorative mosaics for the upper storey of the Hotel Metropole in Moscow followed (Figures 99-103).

Vyacheslav Schwarz (1838-69) an art historian was first to demand historical accuracy in stage designs, whilst Vassily Surikov (1848-1912) revived the range of colour used in Byzantine art.

Realistic theatrical decor began with Victor Vasnetsov when this artist was employed instead of an artisan¹ (see Figures 96 and 97). Korovin, Levitan, Golovin and Roerich worked for Mamontov's private opera in the 1880s. The Imperial court sometimes turned to them in the 1890s and Diaghilev's developments were introduced into Europe during the next decade. Theatre was to be the constant pre-occupation of Russian artists until 1922.

1. Op.cit.

In the theatre Ostrovsky was the most important exponent of realism and art generally came to be regarded more and more as an instrument of social service, the romantic was disdained and the aesthetic disregarded. The theories of Belinsky influenced literature toward a greater truth to nature, which, in the theatre were taking the form of greater fidelity to nature and detail both in the sets and the plays. Certain theatres which may be called independent in that they did not receive subsidy from the state began to develop and in the 1880's they fell under the influence of the "Meininger system" of a company attached to the German court. This had been originally inspired by the principle of naturalism in Zola's novels. The naturalism of Chekhov and Ibsen was avoided by the court theatres but the sympathies of the Bourgeoisie had shifted from a purely individualistic to a social-collectivist standpoint and the idea of the pathetic hero was to be replaced by atmosphere and excellency of ensemble which came to be considered more important than the performance of one outstanding actor.

Avant-garde art was supported by the new rich merchants from about 1860 until 1917.

The characteristic Russian style of acting and the new Russian theatre of this form was created by Constantin Sergeyevitch Alexeyev, better known by his stage name of Stanislavsky. His early naturalistic leanings in theatrical experiments were strengthened and confirmed when in 1885 he saw the Meiningen company during their first visit to Russia, and their second visit in 1890. In 1897 Stanislavsky met

the actor and teacher Nemirovitch Danchenko and together with Chekhov's wife set up the important "Moscow Art Theatre" despite great difficulties from official circles. Their first production "Tsar Feodor Ivanovitch" had been banned thirty years before. The naturalistic method consisted of making each actor represent emotions on the stage as exact reproductions of actual experience; costumes and sets being historically accurate and consistent in detail and geographical accuracy. Formerly "supers" had been motionless on the stage but the new technique made crowds on stage behave as real crowds to such an extent that theatre audiences sometimes panicked. Hitherto western Europe had influenced Russia but Stanislavsky's European tour set him up as an international leader and during the first two decades of the twentieth-century Russian theatre and co-operation between the arts made an impact on Western Europe through the enterprise of Diaghilev. As Russia emerged from isolation toward the end of the nineteenth-century, Russian artists absorbed western ideas with a vigorousness that, before the end of the first decade of the twentieth-century, turned into a desire to go beyond the innovatory movements of Paris, Munich and Italy in order to create their own modes of expression inspired by native models.

Figure 86. I. Repin: The Bargemen.

Figure 87. I. Repin: Volga Boatmen, 1872.

Figure 88. Repin's sketch of 1879 shows the arrest of a propagandist.



Figure 89. Ilya Repin. They Did Not Expect Him,
1884.



Figure 90. V. Vaznetsov. The Bogatirs.

Figure 91. V. Vaznetsov. Adam Mural painting.

Both these reproductions are from the first issue of the Magazine "Mir Iskusstva" 1899 in which an illustrated article included reproductions of works by Puvis de Chavannes ("Doux Pays"), G. Moreau, A. Beardsley and J. Burne Jones.

Figure 92. The Abramtsevo Museum.

Figure 93. The Abramtsevo church, 1880-2.

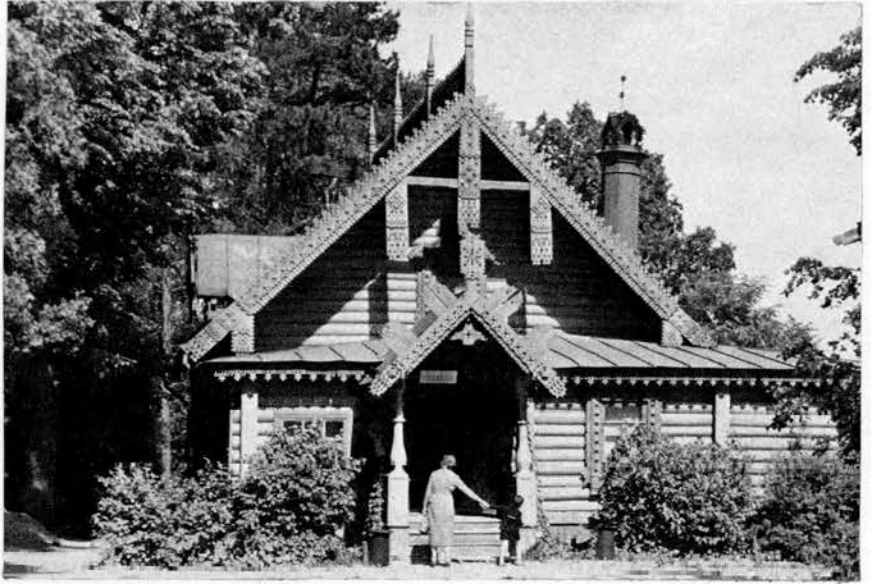


Figure 94. The Iconostasis of the Abramtsevo church. The paintings on it were executed by Apollinarius Vasnetsov, Ilya Repin and Vassily Polenov.

Figure 95. Ceramic stove designed by Mikhail Vruble in the Abramtsevo pottery, c. 1899.



Figure 96. Victor Vasnetsov, Snegurochka,
a costume design, 1883.

Figure 97. Victor Vasnetsov, Snegurochka,
design for a stage set, 1883.

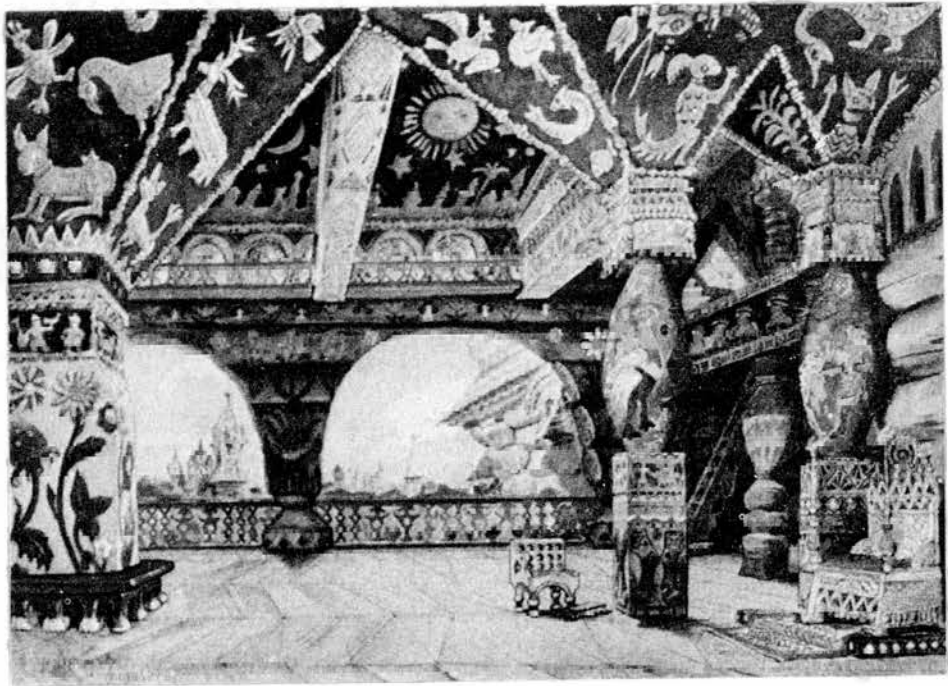


Figure 98. Roerich, or N. Rerikh.
Overseas Merchants, 1902.



Figures 99-101. M.Vrubel: "La Princesse Lointaine" ceramic mural on the northern facade of the Metropole Hotel, Teatralnaya Square, Moscow, built early 1900s.

Besides Walcot, the Moscow architects E. Erikhson, F. Shekhtil, I. Zholtovsky, and V. Vesnin took part in building the hotel. Murals are by M. Vrubel and A. Golovin.

The mosaic was based on motifs from the then popular play by Rostand.



Figures 102 and 103.

The Hotel Metropole, Moscow, west front.



Figure 104. F.A. Malyavin. Dancing Woman, 1900,
210 x 125 cms., Russian Museum, Leningrad.
(exhibited at the "Union of Russian
Artists" Exhibition, 1906).



CHAPTER V

SYMBOLISM AND THE "WORLD OF ART" MOVEMENT

The period from 1893 to approximately 1909 is described as the time of Symbolism in Russia, the earlier poets often being called "decadents". V. Markov suggested that two aspects were hardly separate but that "Decadence" for example meant:

- (1) a birth of new consciousness and tragic anticipation of the coming life, which this generation was perhaps not destined to see,
- (2) enlargement of the poetic experience, lighting the dark corners of existence and removal of taboos, and
- (3) certain mannerisms of form, predominance of verbal "music" at the expense of meaning, and predilection for extreme subject matters such as sex, illness, evil and death.¹

On the other hand Symbolism could mean spiritual transcendence to realize the synthesis of beauty and religious or mystical truth. Symbolist painting shared similar characteristics to poetry and often had common sources of inspiration in current ideas. At first however the stimulus of the Russian symbolists in literature and art came from France mainly, proceeding from Baudelaire, Verlaine and the poets of 1885. But after its early stages Russian Symbolism soon became a thoroughly national school which found its master in Tyutchev

1. See Preface to Modern Russian Poetry. An anthology with verse translations edited and with an introduction by Vladimir Markov and Merrill Sparks (MacGibbon & Kee Ltd., 1966) p. lii.

and Fet and others. The school was romantic and lyrical and put "music" before all things, for music was at that time the greatest of the arts in Russia. It was also metaphysical, and delighted in subjects of eternal and universal significance. The imitators of the movement and the chief representatives of this initial foreign or cosmopolitan phase were Constantin Balmont (1867-1943) and Valery Bryusov (1873-1924). Bryusov's masters were Edgar Allan Poe, the French Parnassians and Symbolists and the Latin poets of the fourth century. The greatest of the older generation of Symbolists were Innokenty Annensky (1859-1909), Theodor Sologub (pseud. of Th. K. Teternikov, 1863-1927) and Vyacheslav Ivanov (1866-1949). These older masters were followed by younger generation whose greatest names were Alexander Blok (1880-1921) and Andrey Byely (1880-1934). Under the impression of the 1917 revolution Blok wrote his famous poem "The Twelve". In this poetic expression transcends the rational element of speech and the words he uses are the slang of the streets. Andrey Byely (pseud. of B.N. Bugaev), the contemporary and parallel of Blok, was also a mystic - philosopher, poet, novelist and anthroposophist.

The Symbolist triumph was followed by a reaction. It found expression in two divergent movements: The Petersburg School which rejected music and metaphysics and turned towards clear and more concrete verbal expression and the Futurists who started a poetry of prose and revolutionary formalism.

The Petersburg School made itself the champion of restraint and clarity under its leader Nicolas Gumilev (1886-1921) who founded the Petersburg Guild of Poets. His poetry

was full of romance and adventure in exotic lands. Other members included Anna Akhmatova and Osip Mandelstam.

The aesthetic rebellion of the nineties in Russia was primarily a problem of form and a result against rationalism. The influence of Nietzsche was replaced by an allegiance to idealistic philosophy; the individualists and literary aesthetes turned into God-seekers, mystics and reformers of Christianity. At the beginning of the century they merged with various groups of philosophers and theologians and a religious movement began among intellectuals. Dostoyevsky made an appeal for the expansion of the national creed to a universal one; Tolstoy preached primitive Christianity free from the pressure of any particular denomination and Soloviev strove for the union of all Churches. The trends in Western philosophy being developed by Bergson, as well as neo-idealism also created a favourable atmosphere for a religious renaissance and the heritage of Hegel and the German idealists was still alive in Russia.

One of the strongest influences at the beginning of the 1890s and early 20th century was V.S. Soloviev. Vladimir Serge vich Soloviev (1853-1900), the second son of the historian S.M. Soloviev (See Appendix XII), from whom he seems to have retained certain traits, studied science, philosophy and theology before graduating as doctor of philosophy at Moscow University. His thesis "The Crisis of Western Philosophy - Against the Positivists" 1874 won him a teaching post.

Soloviev's main task was to prove the conformity of Christian faith to universal and eternal truth and the oneness

of knowledge with being. One of the crucial points of his system was his concept of man as a link between nature and God. He considered that the marriage of humanity and divinity is conceivable only as a collective endeavour within the framework of family, nation or mankind, and individual striving for the supreme Good and communion with God has to be fulfilled through collectivity.

Lectures on "Godmanhood" (Bogochelovechestvo, 1878-81, English translation 1944), describes the raising of the individual man to identification with Christ, the historically incarnate God, by means of "free theurgy" (the co-operation of workers, artists and mystics), "free theocracy" (the Christian organisation of society), and "free theosophy" (the integration of religion, philosophy and science). The symbolists, as well as the slavophiles, had studied German philosophy avidly from Hegel and Schelling to Nietzsche and German and Scandinavian writers, whereas the Acmeists like the Decadents of the nineties were great admirers of France.

Schelling denied that morality is the zenith of subjective activity as Kant and Fichte had assumed. He considered that mind reaches its consummation rather in the creative act of the artists. On the other hand the genius works as nature does, but consciously and intentionally. This solution of reconciling nature and mind to one another corresponded best in the Romantic spirit of his epoch, a spirit which emerged in a new form at the end of the nineteenth century. Schelling's work "On Human Freedom" (1809) is concerned with the nature of God. He considered that in God there is an original abyss, a kind of absolute and non-rational will, which is the ultimate source of the independence and

contingency of the finite world. Later, in his Berlin lectures he expressed the idea that "God had to be experienced and cannot be known by any speculative effort".¹ The tendency to combine opposite points of view as well as this view of God is similar in the ideas of Soloviev whose appeal for the universality of Christendom and his theories of the deification of mankind led to a renaissance of Russian philosophy and particularly Russian Religious thought. Berdyaev, Bulgakov, Florensky, Ern, Elchaninov and scores of other major and minor thinkers followed him and he was a great influence on the second generation of symbolists such as Blok. Toward the end of his life he became convinced that the final victory of the Good would be preceded by wars; the Second Coming would be preceded by the reign of Antichrist, which would in its turn be ushered in by the Yellow Peril when Asiatic hordes led by the Japanese and the Chinese would over-run Russia and Europe. Pan-Mongolianism seemed to him the next manifestation of evil and an imminent threat to Christianity.² His predictions are similar to those of Nostradamus (1503-1566) the French astrologer famous for his rhyming prophecies published in 1555 under the title "Centuries".

A few years younger than Soloviev, the poet, essayist and novelist Dmitry Merezhkovsky (1866-1941) turned from aestheticism to Christianity. He was interested by Dostoevsky, Poe then Baudelaire and the Moderists. He began publishing his poetry in 1888 and, in 1892, brought out

1. Encyclopaedia Britannica.

2. "Three Conversations", 1901, Quoted in Slonim Russian Literature.

"Symbols", a collection of verse. At the beginning of his career Merezhkovsky laid stress on the "liberation from life through Beauty", and expressed dreams of Hellenic perfection. Partly under the influence of Nietzsche and partly driven by his religious zeal, Merezhkovsky presented European history in terms of a struggle between paganism and Christianity, between the flesh and the spirit, between knowledge and faith.¹ Influenced mainly by Hegel he solved the problem by combining Christianity with paganism and played for many years upon contraries, using this method of opposition in "Tolstoy" and "Dostoevsky" (1901) "Gogol" (1909) "Lermontov, Poet of the Superman" (1909) contrasting Tolstoy as "seer of the Flesh" and Dostoevsky as "seer of the spirit". He became active from 1903 to 1907 as a God seeker, editing the magazine "The New Path" and promoting the Religious and Philosophical Society in which symbolists, priests, monks and university professors discussed the ideas of Solovyev. He maintained that the Russians would never accede any middle-of-the-road solutions; that they were more conscious of the imminent collapse of civilisation than anyone else was, and that they seemed to be inspired by the prospect of this cataclysm: "They are longing for the beginning of the end".

1. Slonim, ibid., p.111.

Between 1894 and 1902 he may be regarded as the mouthpiece of European culture in Russia. His best known novels are probably "Smert Bogov" (1895, Eng. trans. "The Death of the Gods, 1901, popular edition 1926) and "Voskresenie Bogov" (1902, Eng. trans. "The Forerunner" 1902; reprinted 1924) being two volumes of a trilogy. The first volume of the trilogy "The Death of the Gods" described the career of the Roman Emperor Julian the Apostate, who, in the fourth century A.D. tried to revive the worship of the Olympians after Christianity had been adopted by Constantine the Great as the official religion of the Roman Empire. Parallels are suggested between this period and his own. In the midst of a mad expedition against Persia, where he met his death, oversetting the altar of the Gods who had betrayed him Julian exclaimed:

The Gods are no more; or rather the Gods do not yet exist. They are not, But they will¹ be. We shall all be Gods. We have but to dare.

The second novel of the trilogy, "The Novel of Leonardo da Vinci" was sub-titled "The Resurrection of the Gods" and the third volume of the trilogy is called "Anti-Christ" and portrays Peter the Great as the creator of St. Petersburg and

1. D. Merezhkovsky: The Death of the Gods, translated by Herbert Trench, (Westminster, 1904), p. 10.

modern Russia after overcoming all obstacles.

His interpretation of the life of Leonardo da Vinci pays a great deal of attention to the landscape and environment of Italy which may have influenced his ideas. The idea of a "God-Man" and a "Man-God" are stated in the title page in the form of a quotation from Dostoyevsky:

A shock is produced between the two most opposed ideas which may exist on the earth: The God-Man has met the Man-God: Apollo Belvedere, Christ.

The pagan-Christian dualism of human nature is his main interest and he depicts the idea of God incarnate for a while as Christ in contrast to the conception of Man as himself God, gradually evolving higher types. Merezhkovsky considered that European civilization had been born from the conflict between these two main ideas.

An account of Leonardo climbing Monte Albano describes his joy at the conquest of the heights, the widening of the horizon and the idea that wings seemed to be natural, necessary and would inevitably be invented (see Appendix XIII).

In his introduction to the first English translation of Merezhkovsky's "Christ Manifest", W.R. Inge discusses aspects of this biography of Christ which he thought may be unwelcomed by English readers:

The Russians, as we know, are apt to be very uncompromising thinkers. The author holds that the teaching of Christ was much more revolutionary than the versions of it which have been watered down by the Churches. He even thinks that the words attributed to Christ "Destroy this temple made with hands", may apply not only to Herod's temple but to the institutional Christian churches.

On the other hand he regards Bolshevism and kindred movements as purely satanic, and writes about the horrors in Russia with very excusable vehemence.

On the whole, he seems to find no difficulty in accepting miracles as factual occurrences, though their meaning belongs to the spiritual world.¹

Among various references to the destruction of the temple by Jesus, Merezhkovsky quoted St. Mark's verse:

We heard him say, I will destroy this temple that is made by hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands.²

Merezhkovsky interpreted this as destroying the temples of the world and replacing them by a Universal Church:

In order to destroy the old and to raise up the new, an "overturning", a "revolution" is necessary. "Except ye be converted, straphete, "overturned", "reversed", ye shall not enter the kingdom of Heaven" (Matt. xviii, 3).³

By that time Russian symbolism had departed from aestheticism as well as from the religious revival. Its mysticism was becoming more and more tinged with concern about social and cultural problems. Slonim remarks that in Russia more than anywhere else Charles Péguy's observation that la mystique conduit à la politique proved to be true. In 1905 Symbolists, mystics, radicals and socialists shared a common tendency in the revolution.

Viacheslav Ivanov (1866-1949) was the most intellectual and esoteric of this generation. Taking up Solovyev's idea of solidarity and community, he insisted on the collective and universal character of culture and identified the social with the religious. Art too was for him of a religious nature. It created myths with deep universal meanings, and

1. D. Merezhkovsky: Jesus Manifest, Eng. trans. by Edward Gellibrand. (First published, London, 1935), pp.10-11.

2. Mark xiv, 58 quoted by Merezhkovsky: Ibid., p.319.

3. Merezhkovsky: Ibid., p.320.

the poet was bound to be the bearer of a spiritual message. He voiced the collective soul of the people and in his theurgic activity was, like the priest, a bridge between Man and Divinity. He claimed that the highest artistic achievements were collective - the epic, tragedy, popular songs and mystery plays - and derived from the same source as that of myth and religion. He hailed the work of destruction in the cycle of eternal renewal. His poem "The Nomads of Beauty" proclaimed the barbarian invasion that brings new blood and he compared poets with the nomads. His best collections of poems "Eros" (1907) and "Cor Ardens" (1911) were full of symbols and in these he used church Slavonic and neologisms of foreign origin.

Andrei Byely was an enthusiastic disciple of Solovyev, a follower of Merezhkovsky and patron of the Futurists. Between 1911 and 1916 he became one of the most faithful pupils of Rudolf Steiner, an inmate of his theosophical establishment near Basle and one of Russia's leading anthroposophists, later combining this with Marxism.

In his poetry Byely focused his attention on the word as a sound, as an image and a symbol. It acquired an autonomy and became an entity in itself. In novels he transformed verbs into nouns and prepositions into adjectives; he blended popular speech with abstract philosophical terminology, introduced neologism, and displayed defiance of grammar, syntax and rules of language in general.

By 1909-1910 most symbolist groups had dissolved but their tendency to combine the literary and pictorial arts was inherited by the avant-garde. Painting inspired literature,

painters wrote and writers painted.

The term Symbolism in Western European art is usually loosely applied to the anti-naturalistic trend in painting and literature which appeared at the same time as naturalistic impressionism and to which it was the alternative style. A number of words are almost cognate with Symbolism. Maurice Denis defined "Cloisonnism" and "Synthetism" associated with Gauguin at Pont Aven in the 1890s. The revival of native traditions and the sources of Art Nouveau are encompassed by it. "Aestheticism" was an aspect of it and the "Symbolists" were often known as "Decadents". In both art and literature mysticism and anxiety were usually present, Gustave Moreau, Maurice Denis (see Figs. 118-120) and Puvis de Chavannes (Fig. 106) being the most typical representatives of this trend in France.

Mysticism and German philosophy was an alternative influence to that of the French. These tendencies influenced not only literature but also avant-garde art and theory at the beginning of the twentieth century. In Munich, as elsewhere, the styles of Cezanne, Van Gogh and the Impressionists had synthesised with native traditions to form one of the wide ranging tendencies of "Symbolism". But Germany did not have the spirit or the tradition of positivism from which to develop or against which it could fight in the same way as France. It was the spirit of idealism which distinguished German thought and art. Nature was stylised rather than observed for its beauty in a Cartesian light. Rhythmic formal creations with a mysterious atmosphere characterised the "Naturlyrismus" of artists like Böcklin and Kaulbach. The

small villages and moors around Dachau near Munich had attracted artists away from the academies. Fritz Mackensen (b. 1866) and Paula Modersohn-Becker (b. 1865) natives of north Germany after studying at the Dusseldorf Academy and the studio of Kaulbach and Dietz (see Figure 132) in Munich went to "contemplate nature" at Worpswede in the Summer of 1889. It was probably Böcklin (see Figure 105) who dominated the tradition from which developed the romantic tendencies in German artists at the beginning of the twentieth-century to exaggerate effects of nature and to turn to the tendencies in French art which did the same. A form of Impressionism had developed in Berlin after the Franco-Prussian War in which Max Liebermann's visionary treatment emerged. But it was the "Arts-and-Crafts" movement from Britain which originated the most important trends and led to the revolution against historicism and the meaningless imitation of past styles popular in the 1890s. The British had developed ornamental linearity derived from the structural forms of plants, and reflecting a variety of tendencies from Japanese prints to a Pre-Raphaelite spirit. Of these the designs of Rennie Mackintosh were the most important influences in France and Germany and it was the London monthly "The Studio" (founded in 1893) that conveyed these avant-garde ideas all over Europe. In 1895 the review "Pan" was founded on similar lines in Berlin by Meier-Graefe and in 1896 the reviews "Jugend" and "Simplicissimus" were founded in Munich. The movement became known as "der Jugend" in Germany and its publication reflected some of the qualities of the "Revue Blanche" and "Gil Blas"

of the French symbolists. As a result the industrial arts began to play a central role which culminated in the Bauhaus of the 1920s. Already in the late 1890s Theodor Lipp drew the attention of artists with a series of lectures at the University of Munich dealing experimentally with the "psychic effect" of organised lines. Lines that "do not suggest any object" but were "pure beautiful form" or "abstract linear ornament" as "the art of the future" were discussed in 1899 by Muthesius and Endell was producing a "floral style" of linear ornamental relief sculpture. He and Obrist were lecturing on "the power of pure form over the human emotions"; analogies between painting and music and psychological implications of abstract forms during the same year. Hoelzel soon followed with developments of these ideas experimenting with free coloured forms in an attempt to reproduce psychic impulses. Such experiments were to lead the way to Kandinsky's theories and abstract painting and to the ideas of the Bauhaus.

It was mainly due to the indifference to Western European art on the part of the "Wanderers" in the 1860s and '70s and their followers in the 1880s and '90s that French Impressionism was not recognised in Russia until the end of the nineteenth-century. Symbolism in the arts in Russia dates from the 1890s when, as in the eighteenth-century, Russia turned its attention again to France and Germany.

Konstantin Korovin (1861-1939) a member of this generation was influenced by the French Impressionists in his stage designs after seeing their work in 1885 in Paris. He became an important influence after his appointment as professor at the Moscow College in 1901 and his pupils

included Serov, Kusnetsov, Larionov, Goncharova, Tatlin, Konchalovsky, Mashkov, Lentulov, Falk, the Burliuk brothers, Kruchenykh and Mayakovsky, the leaders of the first wave of the twentieth-century Russian avant-garde.

Valentin Serov (1865-1911) introduced his friend Mikhail Vrubel (1856-1910) to Mamontov in 1890. After doing well at St. Petersburg Academy which he entered in 1880, Vrubel helped restore the 12th century church of St. Cyril in Kiev. Though undoubtedly already familiar with the tradition of Byzantine church interiors, he came to understand their excellence and it helped to create in him the desire to paint murals. Generally his paintings appear as dynamic patterns out of which recognisable subjects emerge. Secessionist and Art Nouveau artists of the west used a similar method and of these perhaps Vrubel's work has more in common with Gustav Klimt. Vrubel went to Venice where he was impressed by the mosaics of San Marco and the work of Carpaccio and Bellini. In 1885 he moved to Odessa, began his "Demon" series and from 1885-88 he lived in poverty in Kiev. Apart from monumental painting he concentrated on water colours during the last ten years of his life.

The influence of the symbolist poets and philosophers in Russia persisted among the younger generation and formed the background of the theories evolved by Malevich.

Vrubel disagreed with the Wanderers' idea of art with a social purpose. As well as being a painter Vrubel was a scholar and read German philosophy and the classics being inspired by what he read as well as by his observation of the visual arts.

A pencil sketch for the "Demon" series done in 1890 (Figure 107) consists entirely of an arrangement of cross hatchings and fine lines set at different angles and in varying strengths of black. The variety of weight achieved in the pencil marks is very subtle and is arranged so as to give an effect of speed. The legs of the horse are only suggested as if photographed in motion and the head is equally simplified. These devices are very similar to those used later by the Italian Futurists in their depiction of speed especially Boccioni in his "Elasticity" and Carlo Carrà in his "Gallopig Horse".

His water-colour of "The Dance of Tamara" done in 1890 (Figure 108) represents one of his favourite subjects, the exotic mediaeval queen of Georgia. She appears as the subject of many of his water colours, drawings and paintings. The same model appears to have posed for each. The picture includes many oriental pieces of decoration such as rugs and the clothing of the figures. The musicians appear low down in the picture and are seen slightly from above eye level. Tamara is watched by the demon while the mountainous landscape of Georgia is suggested in the background. The different elements of the picture are simplified with a characteristically decisive brushstroke which is the equivalent in paint of his cross-hatching method in drawing. This technique of composing the picture of square mosaic like brushstrokes brings the unity and sense of movement that appears in all Vrubel's work. Vrubel was capable of great variety not only in his subjects but also in treatment. "Vase of Flowers" painted in

1904 (Fig. 109) is not composed of blocks of paint but a great number of strokes often parallel to one another and suggesting the direction of the petals. This picture appears almost abstract at first glance. Sometimes called "the Russian Cézanne", it was Vrubel who had the greatest influence on the early avant-garde in Russia.

Discoveries of the cubists which reached Russia later were not altogether a surprise because Vrubel had already prepared the way for such developments.

Almost at the same time as the development of the Moscow Art Theatre, the "stylistic" or purely decorative theatre grew up among the bourgeoisie and may in some ways be associated with Pan-Slavonic Imperialist trends. The decorative theatre was influenced by the aesthetic movement of the west in opposition to realism. The new movement was started by the artists and amateurs who met at Mamontov's house. Mamontov was chiefly drawn to opera and the emphasis in his theatre was on the beauty of the stage image. Thus with his production of Ostrovsky's "Snegoruchka" ("Snow Maiden") given at Mamontov's own house in 1882 the role of the scene painter became equal to that of an artist when Vasnetzov designed the scenery (Figs. 96 and 97). When Mamontov opened his opera house Vasnetzov designed both set and costumes for the ballet "The Nymph". This and subsequent productions seemed too odd for the public but Verdi's "Aida" with decor by Korovin was better received. Russian opera revived also and Mamontov's influence spread even to the Imperial theatres.

The "World of Art" was founded in St. Petersburg in 1898 by a group of artists, musicians, writers and critics.

They were L.S. Bakst (1866-1924), A.N. Benois (1870-1906), Bilibin, Diaghilev, D.V. Filosofov (1872-1942), Benois' nephew E.E. Lanseray (1875-1946), Walter Nouvel (V.F. Nuvel) (1871-1949), A.P. Nurok (1863-1945), Roerich or Rerikh and K.A. Somov (1869-1939) were all from St. Petersburg.

The importance of the movement lay both in the introduction of western European art forms to Russia and in the transmission to western Europe of new ideas which had found expression in Russian arts and music at the end of the nineteenth-century. By this time the educated classes in Russia had been assimilated to the life of their western European counterparts. It was, perhaps, this assimilation on the part of the upper classes that increased the difference between them and the rest of the country. Cultural isolation of Russia from the West had ended but cosmopolitan influences mainly reached the aristocracy and the already substantial middle classes especially in the traditionally Western city of St. Petersburg, while the life of old Russia had scarcely been touched by any of these western trends.¹

The character of the "World of Art" was refined and sensual and a contrast to the popular traditions of Russian art. With a few exceptions in 1905 (see Figs.138-156) the "World of Art" movement was not concerned with social problems and represented an aesthetic antagonism to the realism of the previous wave. Alexander Benois considered Populist ideas of the 1860s and 70s barbarous and he belonged to a more international culture with the aim of stimulating a Russian

1. See Joel Carmichael: A Cultural History of Russia (London, 1968) Ch.5.

contribution to the mainstream of European art. The spirit of "art for art's sake" was expressed with technical prowess in graphic media and painting finding inspiration in 17th and 18th century models and interpreting these in stylised forms.

Like the French Nabi group the "World of Art" movement in Russia developed out of a schoolboy society the "Nevsky Pickwickians" led by Alexander Benois in the late 1880's. Alexander Benois, born 1870 won an award at St. Petersburg Academy and travelled in Italy where he met among other Russian and German artists, ^{Fritz} Overbeck, Ivanov and Gogol. Inspired by the Nazarenes he returned to Russia to preserve and recreate Mediaeval architecture.

The "Nevsky Pickwickians" consisted of Benois' school-friends: Dmitri Filosofov, Konstantin Somov and Walter Nuvel. Filosofov introduced the Symbolist religious thinker Merezhkovsky who brought mystical interests to the group. He also published the first generation of Russian Symbolist writers Blok, Biely and Balmont. Benois gave lectures to his friends on German artists from Dürer to Klimt and Corinth but stated later that the French Impressionists were still unknown in Russia until the "World of Art" exhibitions of the early twentieth-century and that Zola's ¹Oeuvre was much read in Russia, this being the first source of Impressionist ideas there.¹ He claimed that the chief sources for Russian painters of French and German art were Richard Muther's history of Nineteenth Century painting² and Meier Gräfe³ to whom

1. Camilla Gray: The Russian Experiment in Art, 1863-1922 (Thames & Hudson, London, 1962), p. 40.

2. Richard Muther: Gesichte der Malerei in XIX. Jahrhundert Munich 1893-4. Quoted C. Gray: ibid., p.41.

3. A.J. Meier-Gräfe Modern Art 2 vols. 1908 quoted op.cit.

Malevich later referred. The group also developed an interest in the French discovery of primitive and folk art.

Diaghilev organised a number of important exhibitions between 1899 and 1922. The first was of British and German water colours at the Stieglitz Museum, St. Petersburg in 1897; the second exhibition was of Russian and Scandinavian painting. A series of "World of Art" exhibitions began in 1899. These included not only "World of Art" personalities such as Bakst, Benois, Dobuzhinsky, Golovin, Lanseray and Somov but works by artists such as Korovin, Malyutin, Serov and Vrubel who had been associated with the Abramtsevo group.

The succession of exhibitions of European art which the group organised were of widespread influence. These included the first great exhibition of French Impressionist painting organised by Sergei Diaghilev (1872-1929) in Petersburg in 1899.

In the 'nineties the group extended its interests to the Impressionists, Gauguin, Seurat, Van Gogh and the "Decadents" of France and Britain - Huysmans and Beardsley. The exhibition of 1899 which was Diaghilev's third was most important in that it not only exhibited as well as work by "World of Art" members and followers contemporary western European works by Degas, Liebermann, Monet and Puvis de Chavannes, some being recently acquired by Shchukin and others by Diaghilev. This was the first major introduction to Russia of Impressionism and other contemporary western styles. The "World of Art" and the Blue Rose group were not influenced radically by Impressionism however.

In 1905 Diaghilev organised and introduced the

"Exhibition of Historical Russian Portraits" ("Istoricheskie Russkie Portriety ") in the Tauride Palace, Petersburg. This exhibition revealed in the Russian portraits a desire to internationalise their art while conserving its national characteristics. In Paris in 1906 Diaghilov organised the "Exhibition of Russian Art" opened by Alexandre Benois at the "Salon d'Automne". In addition to icons, works by artists grouped around the periodical "The World of Art" were shown including Pavel Kuznetsov (see Figs. 157-160), Mikhail Larionov and Natalia Goncharova.

Well illustrated monthly publications "Mir Iskusstva", "Apollon", "Zolotoe Runo" ("Golden Fleece"), and others balanced the weight of Abramtsevo workmanship with innovations from the West. Savva Mamontov was not only responsible for starting the aesthetic movements in Russia but also during December 1899 and January 1900 he founded the journal "Mir Iskusstvo" ("The World of Art") edited by Diaghilev. The journal was intended primarily as an organ of protest against the narrative movement which had entered the sphere of painting in opposition to ~~academic~~ realism showing a preference mostly for subjects taken from the past, the eighteenth-century or still earlier ages when art was valued for its aesthetic qualities. Symbolist ideas were introduced by the magazine through the poets especially Blok, Balmont, Merezhkovsky and Rosanov as well as Baudelaire, Verlaine and Mallarme. The music of Scriabin was discussed in its pages as well as the work of Puvis de Chavannes, Degas, Monet, Whistler, Boecklin and Brangwyn. Good monochrome and colour reproductions produced abroad were introduced into the magazine, and graphics

of Beardsley, Vallotton, William Nicholson, Steinlen and Vogler, applied designs by Mackintosh and Simpson as well as by Golovin and Vrubel (see Figs. 114-137). As a result the publication influenced Russian illustration and the tendency to synthesise the visual arts and literature.

The final numbers of "The World of Art" magazine introduced the French Post-Impressionists Bonnard, Vallotton and the ideas of the Nabis, Gauguin, Van Gogh and Cézanne.

The magazine was subsidised by the Princess Maria Tenicheva and by the Muscovite industrialist Savva Mamontov, who eventually helped finance the ventures of Diaghilev and the artists of his group. The periodical continued to be published until 1904 and in it appeared the first writings of Alexandre Benois; Lev Bakst, painter and stage designer; Konstantin Somov, painter and art critic, son of the curator of the Hermitage museum; and the work of Diaghilev himself. Financial problems appeared but by 1904 the editorship passed to Benois and Diaghilev became more active organising exhibitions and other major events. The "World of Art" began to lose its form in the 1900's and provincial groups developed.

The importance of the "World of Art" and its infusion of new ideas from the West generally broadened the horizons for the younger avant-garde artists some of whom were students of members of the society. Avant-garde publications, between 1909 and 1914 with their interest in ideas; links between arts and cultures; borrowings from the West closely associated with rivalry and a desire to go beyond French, German and Italian "isms" may also be seen as a development from the "World of Art" activities to which many younger artists were

in opposition by that time.

The passion for collecting works of art had greatly increased since the 1890s and an increasing number of pictures representative of modern Western European movements found their way to Russia in this way. In 1895, the first meeting took place between Sergei Shchukin, a Muscovite businessman already a collector of oriental, religious and Russian folk-art, and the dealer Durand-Ruel through whom he acquired paintings by Claude Monet. With these works Shchukin laid the foundation of his collection of modern art which became an important link with western art for Russian artists. During the years that followed, Shchukin acquired fundamental Neo-Impressionist works with the help of B. Khabenko, who in 1910 was given an appointment at the Tsar's court. In 1903 Shchukin selected Post-Impressionist work especially Gauguin and Van Gogh and later Henri Rousseau, Fauve works of Matisse, pre-Cubist Derains, the work of Picasso's Blue and Rose periods and his Analytical Cubism. Ivan Morozov, a Muscovite industrialist met Picasso in Paris for the first time in 1908 and acquired various pre-Cubist pictures. Morosov, eventually turned his attention mostly towards Cezanne, Renoir, Gauguin, Monet and the Nabis, Denis Vuillard and Bonnard. In 1914 Morozov acquired Futurist paintings from Antonio Marasco who some years later was to accompany Marinetti to Russia.

Many of the members of Mir Isskustva delighted in the theatre and as a result raised stage designs

to the realm of fine art, becoming the founders of the influential style seen in the productions of the "Russian Ballet".

An opera house opened by Simin in Moscow replaced that of Mamontov in its prominence. It was the first Russian opera house to form a museum of theatrical decorative art. Settings for operas were designed by Konchalovsky, Polenov, Vegorov, Roerich and Sudeikin. With the "stylistic" school decorativeness of the actor increased on the stage. When Meyerhold staged "The Death of Tintagiles", he grouped his actors so as to resemble frescos and bas-reliefs, in order that their three-dimensional bodies might interfere as little as possible with the effect of the stage picture. Actors were prescribed certain planes parallel to the background on which they might move.

In the first years of the twentieth century ballet in Russia and western Europe also used classical traditions originating in Milan, Paris and Vienna. However, in St. Petersburg, with the painters Benois and Bakst and the dancer Fokine a new kind of ballet was built up under Diaghilev's direction and a new season began in Paris with the Russian company.¹ Diaghilev had already visited Paris in 1905 and arranged to open at the Theatre Châtelet in 1909. His first ballet "The Pavilion of Armida" with scenery by Benois (Figures 110-112) amazed the Parisians with its subtlety of colour and freedom of choreographic movement. Fokine the leader and trainer of the troupe had already staged the ballet in St.

1. See Alexandre Benois: Reminiscences of the Russian Ballet transl. Mary Britnieva, (London, 1941).

Petersburg in 1907. He aimed to make the dance the expression of the primitive joy of living. Benois preferred Baroque qualities in his scenery while Bakst used glowing colours of oriental subjects and Roerich those of the Pechenegs and primitive Russia (see Fig. 113). Roerich was even employed by Stanislavsky in 1911 to design the set for Ibsen's "Peer Gynt". However, these scenic artists tended towards the visual aspect of the theatre whereas Stanislavsky worked with a method ultimately inspired by literary work and photographic realism. It was this form of realism that the avant-garde attacked and which was criticised by Valery Briusov in 1902.

In 1908 "The Russian Ballet" company was founded by Diaghilev, consisting of new and talented dancers and choreographers.¹ Diaghilev wished scenery and costume designers to correspond completely to the inspired contemporary ballet and consequently made contacts between Russia and the most advanced centres of experimental art in the West. It was in 1909, on the occasion of the "Tenth Jubilee of the World of Art" that Diaghilev organised the first season of the new company.²

Up to 1914 many trends of the "World of Art" were included in Diaghilev's European introductions: Classical and Neo-classical revivals of Benois, Roerich and Stravinsky's pagan cultures; Hellenistic revival and Persian designs in

1. Members of the company included Fokine, Nijinsky, Mordkin, Bolm, Koslov, Rosay, Pavlova, Karsavina, Karalli, Fedorova and Baldina.

2. Carlo Belloli: Catalogue of the exhibition *Il contributo russo alle avanguardie plastiche* (Galleria del Levante, Milan, Rome, September, 1964), p. 68.

Bakst; the Impressionism of Golovin and Korovin; Vrubel's fin de siecle atmosphere and the colours of folk art and "Futurism" of Larionov and Goncharova. The theatre was also an influence on the paintings of these artists.

After 1900 Moscow artists had become more involved with the "World of Art" and in 1901 a division between them and St. Petersburg artists took place. Moscow thus developed separately during the early years of the twentieth century exhibiting the work of Vrubel, Korovin, Nikolai and Vassily Miliuti and others. Under the name of the Union of Russian Artists from 1903 the group helped to introduce new colour and ideas by exhibiting work by Lentulov, Yakulov, Malevich and others during the first decade of the century.

The exhibition of the "World of Art" held in St. Petersburg in 1906 included a large posthumous show of Borrisov - Mussatov's work and many artists who were to exhibit as the "Blue Rose" group the following year.¹

Victor Borissov-Mussatov (1870-1905) was one of the central figures of symbolist painting in Russia. He was able to combine a number of different sources into melancholy harmonious paintings. His work served as a bridge between the

1. See John E. Bowlit: "Russian Symbolism and the 'Blue Rose' Movement" in The Slavonic and East European Review, Vol. LI, No. 123 - April 1973, pp. 161-181.

impressionist and symbolist generation and the first wave of the twentieth-century avant-garde in Russia. At an early age he attended drawing classes at the Radeshchev Museum in Saratov where there was a good collection of Monticelli's work. He later went to the Moscow College of Painting and in 1891 transferred to the Petersburg Academy. From 1895 to 1899 he worked in Gustave Moreau's studio in Paris. However he made no contact with the debutant Fauves, but was struck by Bastien-Lepage and Puvis. After Moreau's death in 1898 he returned to Saratov.

Around 1905 renewed vitality was displayed in the arts and a boom in foreign investments allowed collectors to extend their patronage. When the "World of Art" magazine ended in 1904 it was followed by "The Scales" and two years later by "The New Way". The contributors and their spirit of inter-relating the arts were mostly the same. Benois was the most important member of the "World of Art" in its pioneering of Russian publications resulting from systematic research into the history of art, especially Russian art, its relationship to European art, Byzantine traditions and Russian folk-art sources. The magazine "Apollon" contained reviews of exhibitions from 1909 until 1917, however it was the magazine "The Golden Fleece" which sponsored the avant-garde and its exhibitions.

By 1905 antagonism towards the erudite "World of Art" movement by younger artists in Moscow increased. The 1906 exhibition included "old guard" artists' designs for recent theatrical productions and paintings by Benois, Roerich, Wrubel, Korovin and the late Borissov-Mussatov. However

Diaghilev inspired the foundation of the "Blue Rose" group, formed after the 1906 "World of Art" exhibition by students of Serov and Korovin in Moscow. This event represented the transfer of artistic power from St. Petersburg to Moscow. Leaders of the Group were Pavel Kusnetsov, Georgy Yakulov, Natalia Goncharova, Mikhail Larionov, Miliuti and Martiros Saryan. The influence of Vrubel and Borissov-Mussatov was strong and they began to introduce more colour into the exhibition. Writing of their 1907 exhibition Sergei Makovsky summarised the aims of the group:

They are in love with the music of colour and line... heralds of a new primitivism to which our modern painting has come.

Members of the group varied greatly having no fixed programme. In contrast to the colourful plein-air inspired work by Kusnetsov, Mussatov was pessimistic. As elsewhere in Europe, death, decay and illness had been favourite Symbolist themes but the younger "Blue Rose" group included subjects which were often optimistic. With the "World of Art" admiration for applied art, the flat decorative manner increased in Russia generally from this time. Consistent with tendencies elsewhere in Europe, notably the Nabis and Art Nouveau movements in Germany and Austria, flat decoration was applied to panels in the 1907 exhibition in an attempt to reject easel painting and apply art into the everyday environment. Martiros Saryan used simplified bright colours, almost de-materialised forms in the tradition of Impressionism but infused with primitive tendencies similar to Matisse's works of the 1908 exhibition

which included "Terrace at St. Tropez" (1904), "Harbour at Collioure" (1905) "The Joy of Life" (1906) as well as work by Derain and Marquet with which his work had affinities.

In the first "Golden Fleece" exhibition in 1908, the French Fauvist works which had caused an outrage at the Salon D'Automne of 1905 were also shown in an attempt to exchange ideas between Russia and the West. Others represented were Maillol, Rodin, Bonnard, Vuillard, Serusier, Vallotton and Maurice Denis as well as Pissaro, Sisley, Renoir, Toulouse-Lautrec, Cezanne, Van Gogh and Gauguin, Rouault and early Braque.

The following number of the "Golden Fleece" discussed the French exhibits and the one after dealt with Russian exhibitors showing reproductions of work now lost. A second exhibition of French and Russian art was organised in 1909 featuring Larionov and Goncharova prominently. It included Braque's "Le Grand Nu" (1908) and a "Still Life" both illustrated in the following issue of the "Golden Fleece". Apart from these the only other French painters shown were Fauconnier and the Fauves. Larionov's work was still influenced by the Nabis as was Goncharova's whose circus scenes resemble those of Toulouse-Lautrec. Robert Falk (1886-1958) and Kuzma Petrov-Vodkin (1878-1939) were newcomers. After the revolution Petrov Vodkin became

one of the most influential professors at Leningrad Art Academy and helped to form the taste of the early Soviet painters. Robert Falk (Fig. 375) also studied at the Moscow College but was distinctly influenced by French painting. He joined the Moscow group "The Knave of Diamonds"

founded in 1909 and later taught during the Soviet period, continuing to paint at the same time.

Nearly all the members of the "Blue Rose" group were trained at the "Moscow Institute of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture".¹ Even as early as the 1850's Moscow was breaking away from St. Petersburg in its regard for drawing directly from nature while the Academy was more concerned with copying the antique. Landscape drawing developed more strongly in Moscow than in St. Petersburg. The work of Korovin (1861-1939), Levitan and M.V. Nesterov (1862-1942) represented an intermediary style between the realists of the 1870's and the artists of the early 1900's. Artists who taught there included Constantine Korovin who was influenced by French Impressionism and Post-Impressionism; the sculptor Pavel Trubetskoi who was interested in Rodin and other Western European trends and Leonid Pasternak. Kuznetsov recommended the methods of Borissov-Mussatov and western symbolists especially Puvis de Chavannes and the Nabis. The link with Borissov-Mussatov grew more strong towards 1903. Balmont and Bryusov the Symbolist poets were closely associated with the painters and it was through Borissov-Mussatov that Arapov Kuznetsov and other "Blue Rose" artists became associated with the periodical the "Scales" and its circle of writers including Byely and Blok.

The "World of Art", symbolist artists, the "World of Art" movement and the "Blue Rose" movement were neither

1. See John E. Bowlt, Ibid., p. 166.

politically active as groups nor were they interested in overthrowing capitalist society. They depended financially on Moscow industrialists, merchants and other wealthy sponsors. The research into the artistic and archaeological past of Russia implied a nationalist direction at Abramtsevo in the discovery of ancient social forms that corresponded to communal life. Compared with the "Wanderers" this implied escape from real contemporary issues. But an escape into the primitive past to discover spiritual sources may be associated with the symbolism generally emphasised in individualism. Though this independence could be associated with anarchism rather than Socialism most of the symbolist artists remained detached from the social revolution of 1905.

On Sunday January the 9th 1905, many thousand working men led by the priest Gapon, marched with ikons, singing religious songs, to the winter palace to speak with the Tsar. Troops fired on the crowd and killed a large number of people. Peasant representation was increased in the Duma but strikes, demonstrations and meetings continued. Painters depicted this soon after.¹ Due to suppression by government censorship political satire had a very modest place in Russia until 1905 and political caricature was the least prominent. The satirical works of I.I. Terebenev and A. Venetsianov who were responsible

1. I. Brodsky, The Red Funeral, 1906 (Oil on canvas) Brodsky Memorial Museum, Leningrad; S. Ivanov: Shooting, 1905, (Oil on canvas); N. Kasatkin: Militant Worker, 1905, (Oil on canvas) and others at the Museum of the Revolution, Moscow.

for political satire at the beginning of the nineteenth century and a few caricatures appeared in the magazine "Iskra" ("Spark", 1854-1873), but apart from this political caricature hardly existed. The revolutionary movement of 1901-1904 which gradually integrated [redacted] the students as well as the radical intelligentsia brought to life not only political literature but also political satire and more than this, political caricature (see Figures 138-156). At first appearing "underground" as post-cards and separate leaflets with caricatures of Nicholas II; of the existing social system; of the struggles and dissidence as well as the gaiety, the political caricature of 1905 was accepted legally. At this time due to the pressures of the revolution the power of tsarist censorship was weakening. The style of the caricatures and satirical drawing resembles graphic work by mostly Western European artists re-produced in the pages of "Mir Iskusstva" (see Figures 129-137) and especially satirised drawings by Steinlen (Figure 135), Vallotton (Figure 136) and Simberg (Figure 137) who had expressed anarchist and socialist ideas. The first pioneer of artistic satire, exclusively dedicated to political struggle under censorship was the magazine "Zritel" ("The Observer") published by Artsybashev, the first issue of which appeared on the 5th of May 1905. It had to struggle constantly against censorship but its sharp and subtle satire was accessible to the mass of the people because of its clear ideas. Censors scrutinised every detail of each issue of the "Observer" but subtleties often escaped their detailed search. On one occasion a seemingly innocent picture of

twenty-five black figures included the pictures of Nicholas II, Alexander III, Ivan Kronshtadtsky and a number of princes and ministers. Under the pictures was the inscription "Twenty-five silhouettes" followed by the multiplication sign and the figure 4. The reader could immediately recognise the "Black Hundred". This nevertheless escaped the surveillance of the censors. "Observer" continued for seventeen issues after which it was stopped.

The October general strike gave birth to a great number of satirical magazines in which the various artistic tastes representing various forms of opposition and revolutionary nuances made fun of the tzar, his ministers and the activities of the government. This rush of sharp and sometimes rude political caricature which flooded Moscow and Leningrad in November 1905 inspired a second publication edited by Shebuyev and entitled "Pulemet" ("The Machine-gun"). It published topical material and adorned it with brightly coloured illustrations. At the end of 1905 and during the whole of 1906 there were hundreds of satirical publications appearing one after the other and being stopped after the first, second or third editions. Imprisonment was the fate of many of these editors, the first of whom was Shebuyev sentenced to a year in prison for the publication of his manifesto of the 17th of October.

Being unable to stop the publication of satirical magazines after the 17th of October 1905 the government started to confiscate them, imprison editors and stop publications. As soon as one publication disappeared more took their place.

One of the most attractive of these was "Zhupel" ("The Scarecrow").¹

The 1905 revolution was followed by a reaction against violence and chaos as the Empire resumed its economic progress. One feature of the period was an attack on illiteracy, part of a development of elementary education involving a fifty per cent increase in the number of primary schools between 1908 and 1913. Considerable efforts were also made to improve the lot of the peasantry. Loans from the newly expanded State Land Bank for the Peasants enabled the more enterprising villagers to increase their holdings and the state-sponsored settlement of Siberia was further extended. An attack was made on the institution of the village commune by new legislation enabling individual villagers to opt out of that archaic institution.²

This general interest in the life of the peasantry coincides with the tendency that followed a few years later in the arts. Not only was the environment and subject matter of peasant life adopted but peasant and folk art became the models for a new Russian art in a style that was mainly "primitivist."

The interest in primitivism and the overthrow of classical style in poetry and painting also coincided in date with the increased efforts of the peasantry to attain more representation in the Duma.

1. For a full account of the satirical publications of this period see the book by Dul'skiy "Grafika satiricheskikh Zhurnalov 1905-1906 Godov" ("Graphics of Satirical Magazines, 1905-1906").

2. Ronald Hingley: A Concise History of Russia, (Thames and Hudson, 1972), pp. 146-147.

Figure 105. Arnold Böcklin (1827-1901)
Island of the Dead 1880.



Figure 106. Puvis de Chavannes:
Women on the sea shore, 1879.

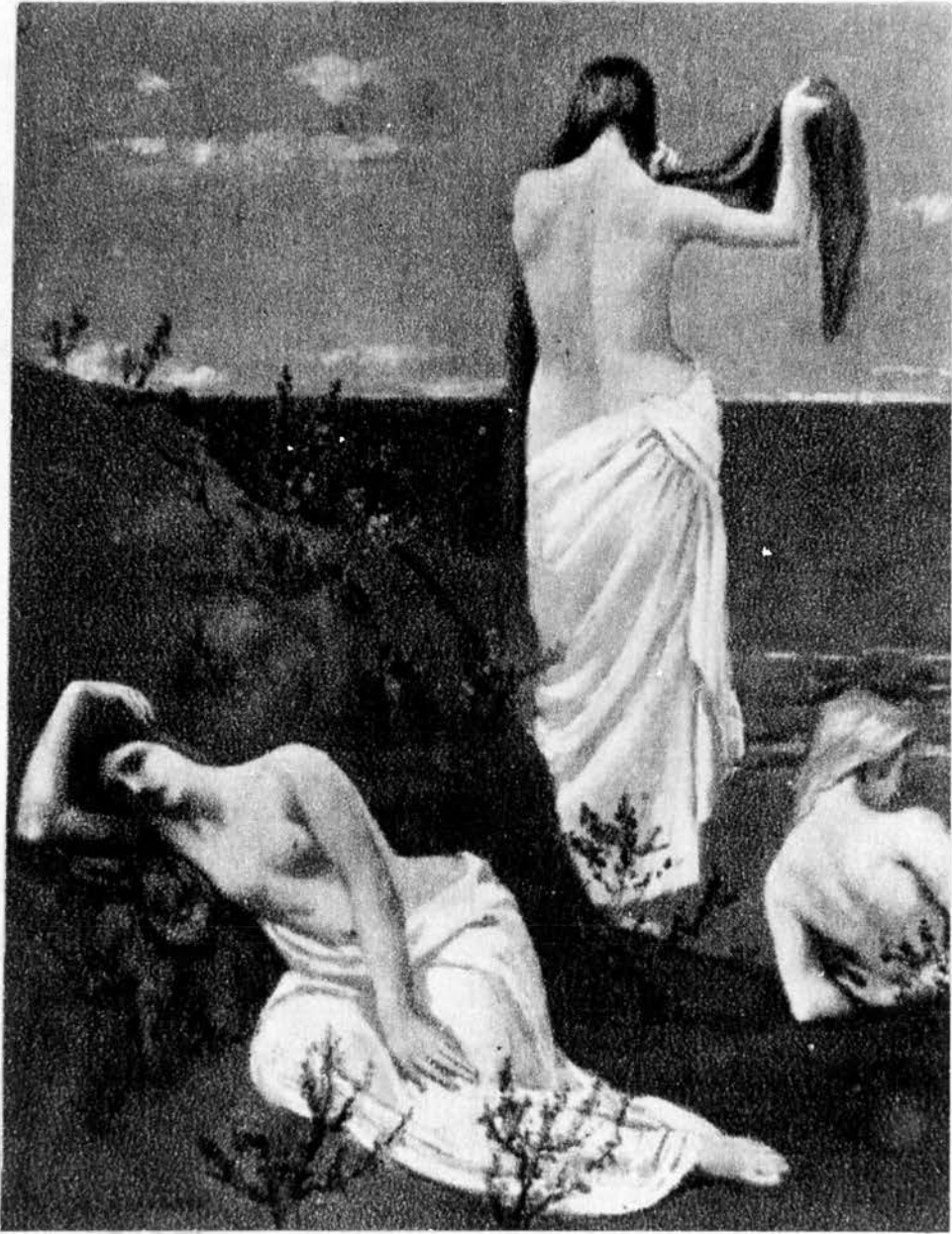


Figure 107. M. Vrubel:
Sketch for an illustration to
Lermontov's poem: The Demon 1890,
pencil on paper.
Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

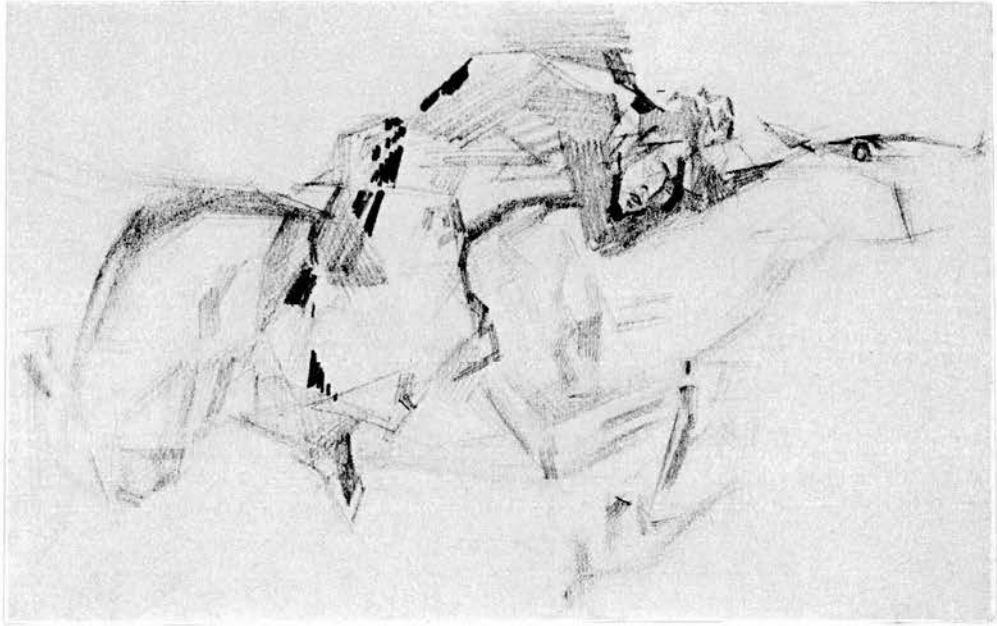


Figure 108. Mikhail Vruble:
The Dance of Tamara 1890,
water-colour on paper.
Russian Museum, Leningrad.



Figure 109. Mikhail Vrubel:
Vase of Flowers, 1904.



Figures 110-112. Alexander Benois;
Le Pavillon d'Armide,
two costume designs and
stage set, 1907,
Russian Museum, Leningrad.



Figure 113. Nicholas Roerich:
Prince Igor, design for stage
set, 1909, tempera, gouache on
paper, 20 x 30 ins., Victoria and
Albert Museum, London.

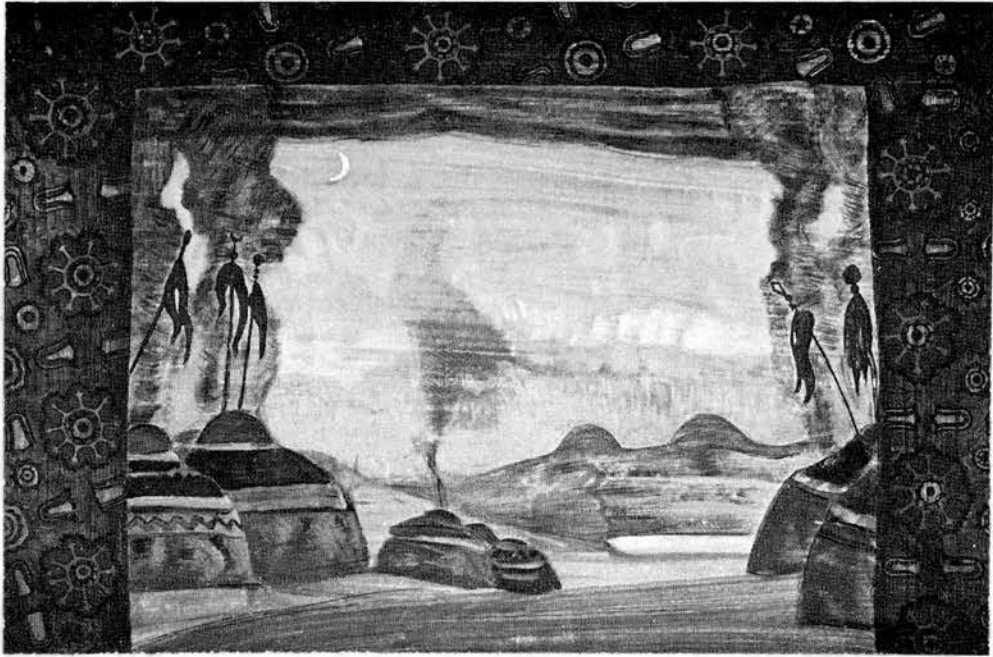


Figure 114. Cover of the first issue of
"Mir Iskusstva" the "World of
Art" Magazine (No. 1, 1899).



«МІР» «ИСКУССТВА»



Figure 115. V. Vaznetsov:
Project for the façade of the
Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow
(Detail reproduced in colour
in "Mir Iskusstva" 1900
Nos. 19-20).

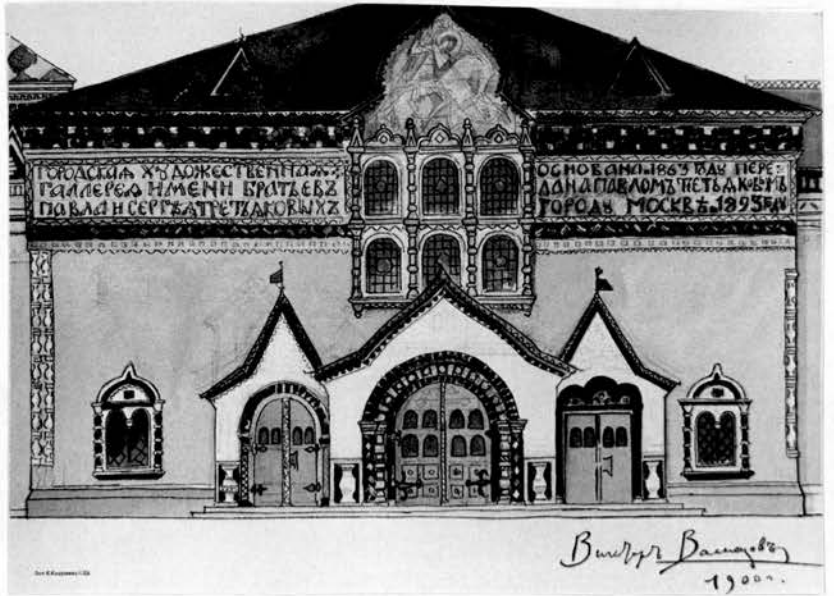
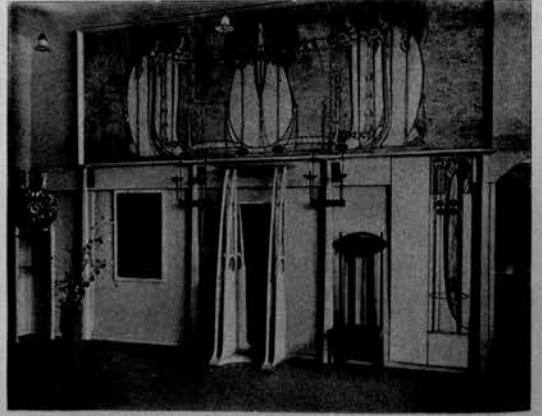


Figure 116. A photograph of an interior by Charles R. Mackintosh from "Die Kunst", 1901, reproduced in "Mir Iskusstva" 1902, No. 4.



*M. P. Maximov (Choo. B. Medvedev), Ennio,
„Die Kunst“, 1904 13.*

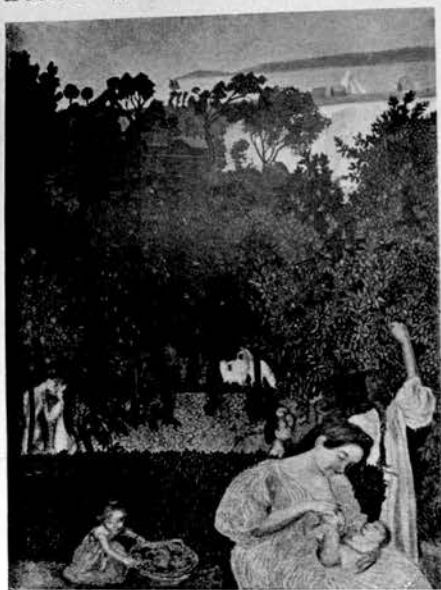
Figure 117. G. Klimt: Part of a
drawing for a mural (Vienna Secession
1902) from Mir Iskusstva, 1902,
Nos. 9-10.



*F. Klimentyev, Klimentyev,
The Last Moment (1908).
Dutch Collection 1908.*

Figures 118-120. Decorative murals by
Maurice Denis reproduced
in Mir Iskusstva.

МОРИСЪ ДЕНИСЪ.



М. Денис. (M. Denis).
Мама.



М. Денис. (M. Denis).
Полночь.



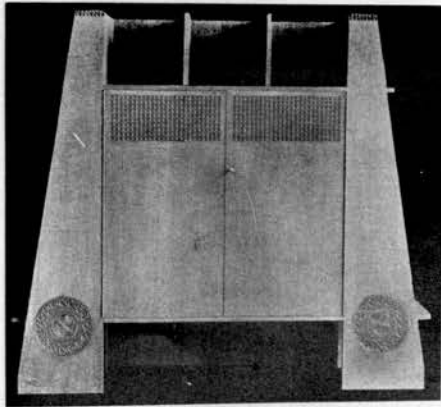
М. Денис. (M. Denis).
Матрешка.

Figure 121. V. Denisov: Panel.

Figure 122. I. Fomine: Cupboard
reproduced in "Mir Iskusstva"



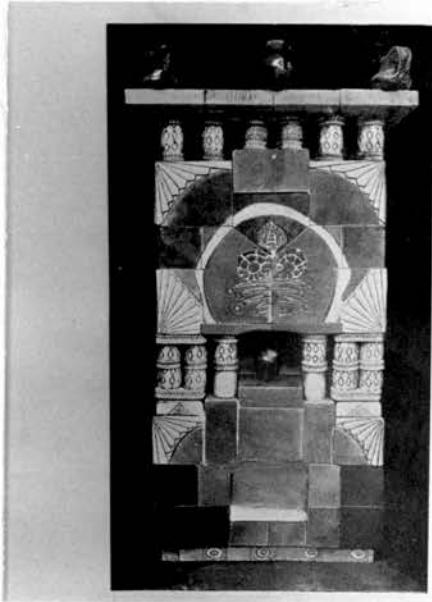
*В. Денисов (V. Denissov).
Панно.*



*И. Фомин (I. Fomin).
Дубовый шкаф.*

Figure 123. A. Golovin:
Work in ceramic tiles.

Figures 124 and 125. A. Golovin:
Majolica plates
(Reproduced in "Mir Iskusstva"
Nos. 3-4, 1900, pp. 65-66.)



*А. Головин,
Израильская
лесть.*



*А. Головин,
Майя-тиковое
блюдо.*

*А. Головин,
Майя-тиковое
блюдо.*



Figure 126. A. Golovin:
Washstand in majolica and wood.
(Reproduced in "Mir Iskusstva"
Nos. 3-4, 1900, p. 68).



*А. Головин.
Умывальник из
маюлики и дерева.*

Figure 127. A room with the fireplace
designed by Vrubel and
furniture by A. Golovin.

Figure 128. A room with panel and door
by Golovin and a cupboard
by V. Vaznetsov.

(Reproduced in "Mir Iskusstva")



Каминь
М. Врубеля.
Мебель
А. Головина.



Панно и дверь
А. Головина.
Шкафь
В. Васнецова.

Figure 129. Title page of an article on
Aubrey Beardsley in "Mir Iskusstva"
Nos. 5-6, 1900, p. 73.

ОБРИ

БЕРАСЛАЎ



Figure 130. First page of an article on William Nicholson in "Mir Iskusstva" Nos. 9-10, 1900, pp. 137-144 including nine reproductions in black and white with small areas of colour.

Уильямъ Николсонъ.

Художникъ, о которомъ идетъ рѣчь, вынесъ въ началѣ своей карьеры массу нападковъ со стороны академическихъ профессоровъ. Такъ ведется споконъ вѣку и во всемъ мѣрѣ. Мелочная злоба всегда встрѣчаетъ молодыхъ художниковъ, полагающихъ большія надежды. Своей смѣлостью и самостоятельностью они возбуждаютъ противъ себя тѣхъ, кто за-



У. Николсонъ.
Гробница коня (изъ «Альманаха французскихъ искусствъ»).

Figure 131. G. Vogler. Illustration for
the poem by R. Rilke "Three Kings"
("Mir Iskusstva" 1900).



Г. Фомин.
Изображение из сказки П. Ершова «Три желания»

Figure 132. Dietz. line drawing
(reproduced in "Mir Iskusstva"
Nos. 15-16, 1900, p. 61).



II.

То же относится и къ священникамъ. Что обнаруженіе своего краснорѣчія и остроумія является для нихъ огромнымъ искушеніемъ, — въ этомъ не усомнится никто, кто изучалъ собственное сердце; но они *знаютъ*, что это искушеніе; никому изъ нихъ не придетъ и въ голову, чтобы отъ нихъ требовалась одна только даровитость, и никто изъ нихъ не садится за писанный столъ съ опредѣленнымъ намереніемъ написать блестящую проповѣдь; даже самые пустые и тщеславные, и тѣ стараются прикрыть какъ-нибудь свое тщеславіе и придать тому, что дѣлаютъ, подобіе полезной дѣли. Къ слушателямъ своимъ они отнюдь не обратятся съ прямымъ вопросомъ: «какъ вамъ понравилась моя проповѣдь, не правда-ли, она была ловко сказана и постижна?»

Они поймутъ очень скоро, что имъ и дѣлать платятъ вовсе не за то, чтобы они говорили ловко, и призваны они не къ этой

Figure 133. Cover of "Mir Iskusstva", 1900

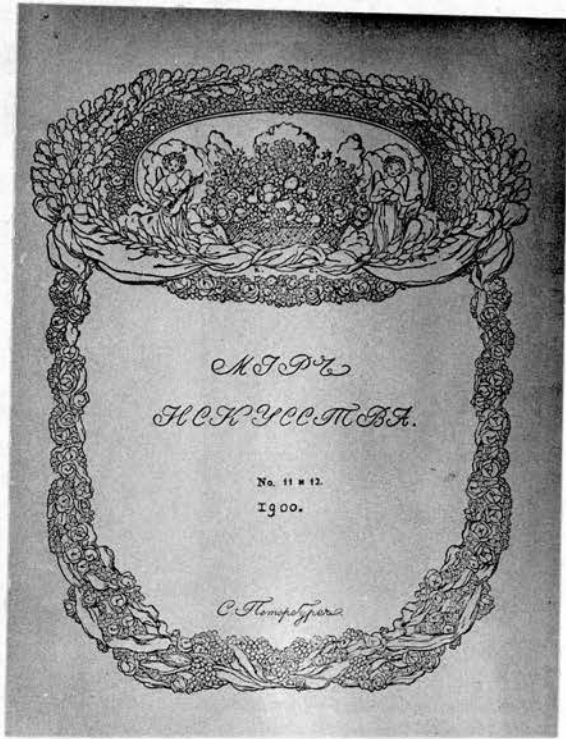


Figure 134. Cover of "The World of Art" magazine
Year V, No. 3, Petersburg 1903
with a design by L. Bakst.

МІРЪ ИСКУССТВА

V ГОДЪ ИЗДАНІЯ



САНКТПЕТЕРБУРГЪ
1903.

Figure 135. A page from "Mir Iskusstva" No. 9, 1899, showing a reproduction of a drawing by Steinlen.

Т. Сидоров
Зима
(1901)



Моя по улице главной убогой или коб-
рачьей по армянской, крымской и мо-
лочно-голландской перу, мах, галла
на теоретиках, проламываешь нас
недопринимая-недолюбимая или не-
спешиваям доприним, мы незлобно
чувствовали себя смелый на повер-
ности, что мы не знали вь вь
этом городе и коты убогой, то быть так,
точно мы сюда никогда и не приходили.

Пусты и забыт, как медь, платина, драки
и шпатель, — но мы не знаем, в какие обы-
чай и нестерпимое — быть на поверности, не
показывать жизни города и не убогой настоящего
гражданств сь проламыв.

Вот Сидор по салометной лампочке убогой
маленькая Дюшана, такая маленькая, что за нее
страшно. Дюшана хорошилась, сь летним об-
ложурным диваном, сь короткими пальцами
руками, которыми она притворно разламывает
Дюшана убогой и смелостию. Но маленькая
мелочью, сь грубопальцем людей, сь выскользнув
незаметно вь своей черной юбке, когда сь
самоуверенного стула у мажоранной мамы, где она
вела чужака, и проклятием кричать Дюшана
— Лягу! Лягу! Убогой! Убогой!
Дюшана оборачивается и саломет. Это по-

ломанная форма вь перевод сь социализма на итальянский язык вь своем смысле
„vieni qua, figlio!“ Но то, что говорит женщина посыл, для нас уже непонятно; мы
не знаем, должна она или идти, что она хочет, как живет, и почему за на-
стоящий черной смелостью вь своей лампе, который ей точно мажоранка. Дь Д-
душана, посылка, но она посылка, другая мажоранка, пролам, саломет. Онь саломет посыл
как барашка — но душно, и без ламп. Провала дьма конница вь бараки, но у нас
не вьд вьд путешественников; мажоранка барашка, мажоранка, саломет вь бьбонь. Вь ма-
жоранкой лампочке, мажоранкой посыл, пролам вьбонь лампа, мажоранка вь вьбонь
указ так вьбонь, что мажоранка было раскормить червь лампа. Случайные, мажоранка
туристы вьбонь сразу; они не связаны сь мажоранкой лампочке, они на поверности,
даже не мажоранка этого, они раскормить, мажоранка на драк вь мажоранке вь
спешить вь греческой театр, вь которого вь мажоранка.
Послушай, и они связаны сь мажоранкой мажоранка, они лампочке сь свое, но мало
смотруть мажоранка, не вьд лампочка, чтобы посыл, что мажоранка они сь лампочке



Figure 136. A page from "Mir Iskusstva"
with an illustration by Valloton.

Figure 137. Etchings by H. Simberg
reproduced in "Mir Iskusstva"
1901, No. 7.



Г. Булгаков. Ул. Шибирь.
Офисы.

Figure 138. Cover designed by Sergei Chekhonin for the "Album of Revolutionary Satires 1905-1906" from the Museum of the Revolution (U.S.S.R. State Publications 1925).



Figure 139. The Imperial Manifesto of
Nicholas II (Pulemet No. 1, 1905).

ВЫСОЧАЙШИЙ МАНИФЕСТЪ.

БОЖЬЮ МИЛОСТЮ,

МЫ, НИКОЛАЙ ВТОРОЙ, ИМПЕРАТОРЪ И САМОДЕРЖЕЦЪ ВСЕРОССИЙСКИЙ, ЦАРЬ ПОЛЬСКИЙ, ВЕЛИКИЙ КНЯЗЬ ФИНЛЯНДСКИЙ, и прочая, и прочая, и прочая.

Смуты и волнения въ столицахъ и во многихъ губерностяхъ Имперіи Нашей великою и тяжкою скорбью преположили сердце Наше. Благо Россіи и ея жители возмужавъ съ благою народною и печалью народною—Его печалью. Отъ волнений, вызванныхъ смутами, можетъ явиться глубокое нестроение народное и угроза цѣлости и единству Державы Нашей.

Великій долгъ Царского служения повелѣваетъ Намъ въ случаѣ разгрома и власти Нашей стремиться къ скорѣйшему прекращенію столь тяжелой для насъ народнаго смуты. Повелѣемъ, подлежащихъ властиямъ принять мѣры къ устраненію причинъ протѣвшаго беззаконна, безчестнаго и насильнаго, въ охрану людей мирныхъ, стремившихся къ законному исполненію долга на каждомъ шагѣ. Мы, для умиротворенія и исполненія общаго долга, повелѣемъ умиротворенію государственной жизни мѣры, которыя въ необходимомъ случаѣ должны быть приняты Высшимъ Императорскимъ Правительствомъ.

На обязанность Правительства возлагаемъ мы исполненіе нами изложенной Нашей воли:

1. Даровать населенію въ области оной гражданской свободы на началахъ действительной неприкосновенности личности, свободы совѣсти, слова, сбирки и союзовъ.

2. Не останавливаясь отъ сплаваченныхъ выборовъ въ Государственную Думу, привлечь теперь же къ участию въ Думѣ, въ мѣрѣ возможности, представителей кратковременнаго характера, принадлежащихъ до сего времени къ классу населенія, которые совсѣмъ лишены законодательныхъ правъ, предоставить, значитъ, дальнейшее развитіе демократическимъ избирательнымъ началамъ вновь установленному законодательному порядку.

3. Установить, какъ неслыханнымъ и несправедливымъ, никакой законъ не могъ воспріять силу безъ одобренія Государственной Думы, и въ случаѣ отказа отъ народа, обеспечена была возможность действительнаго участія въ законотвореніи, отъ представителей отъ Насъ властей.

Призываемъ всѣхъ гражданъ Имперіи Нашей, въ предѣлахъ закона, свой передъ Родиною, помочь прекращенію сей неслыханной и несправедливой смуты. Имъ же всѣмъ всѣмъ къ возстановленію тишины и мира на родной землѣ. Мы, Николай Второй, Императоръ Всероссийскій, Царь Польскій, Великий Князь Финляндскій, вѣруемъ, что въ Петербургѣ, въ 1905 году, 17-го октября, въ Рождество Христова тысяча девятьсотъ пятая, Парламантъ Императорскій, Императоръ Николай Второй, Императрица Александра Федоровна, Императоръ и Императрица рукою подписано:

На подлинномъ Государственномъ Высшемъ Императорскомъ Правительствѣ рукою подписано:

„НИКОЛАЙ“.

На секу листу Свѣдѣній Императорскихъ, Императоръ Николай Второй, рукою приложилъ.

Figure 140. This is how our Glorious General took over our Fortifications ("Zhupel" ["Scarecrow"] No. 2, 1905.

This picture by Dobuzhinsky is done in a folk art style and shows Admiral Chukhin, the commander of the Black Sea fleet, a staunch reactionary who put down the Sebastopol uprising of the 15th of November 1905. At his command the battleship "Ochakov" attacked the fortress of Sebastopol.

In the picture "ours" refers to the "despots" and "theirs" to the "revolutionaries".

Figure 141. "Peacefulness" published in "Zhupel" ["Scarecrow"] No.2.

This picture by Dobuzhinsky depicts the suppression of the December uprising. It is quiet in Moscow. There is even a rainbow in the sky - a sign that everything is alright again. But this "state of peace" has been achieved by drowning Moscow in blood. The picture depicts a sea of blood out of which the Makov churches, the Kremlin and the Tsar's palace rise.

Figure 142. "Manifestation" published in
"Zritel" ("Observer" No. 18, 1905).

This drawing represents a revolutionary
manifestation on a square in front of the
Kazan cathedral.

Figure 143. "18th of October 1905", published
in "Zritel". ("Observer" No. 18, 1905).



МАНИФЕСТАЦИЯ (Спирова № 18, 1905 г.)



В ОСТЕРЕГ (Спирова № 18, 1905 г.)

Figure 144. "Soldiers, where is your Glory"
published in "Zhupel" ("Scarecrow",
No.1 1905).

This picture by V. Serov was intended to depict one of the many street scenes of the repression. The picture was drawn from life, by looking through the window of the Professor Maté in St. Petersburg in 1905. The government is represented as a soldier and brave protector of the fatherland. In the picture these youths are launching an attack on the unarmed crowd. "Where is your glory in Battle" the artist exclaims sarcastically.

Figure 145. "Chased Away" published in
"Yuvenal" No. 1, 1906.

A picture by Pirogov depicting the expressions of the Cossack on the village.



СОЛЛАТШИКИ, СПАМ ПЕРТШИКИ, ГИЕ ЖЕ ВАША СЛАВА (Жытэ, № 1, 1965 г.).



ПАМОНБИТ (Кавказ, № 1, 1966 г.).

Figure 146. "Prophetic Bird" published in
"Burya" ("Storm") No. 4, 1906.

Figure 147. "Malicious genius of Russia"
published in "Strelyi" ("Arrows")
No. 1, 1905.



САМАРОВ — БЕЛЫЙ ПТИЦА («Визма» № 8, 1906 г.)



ЗАЛОЙ ГЕНИЙ РОССИИ («Среда» № 1, 1905 г.)

Figure 148. "Onslaught" published in "Zhupel"
("Scarecrow") No. 2.

A picture by Kustodiev - The onslaught
of the tsar's forces in Moscow in
December 1905, to put down the
uprising.

Figure 149. The Decoration of the Tauridian
Palace (Tavrisheskyi Palace)
Continues ("Lezhyi" No. 4, 1906).

It represents the hard repressive work
of the government before the establishment
of the State Duma.



ВСТУПЛЕНИЕ («Жутик», № 2, 1905 г.)

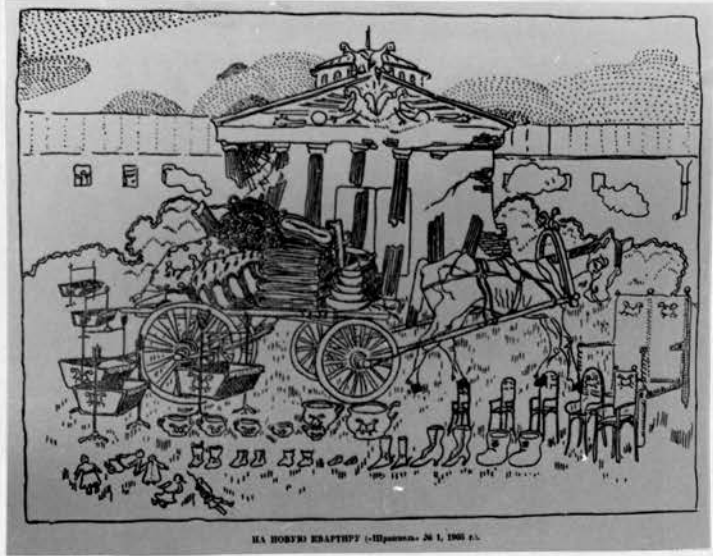


УКРАШЕНИЕ ТАВРИЧЕСКОГО ДВОРЦА ПРОДОЛЖАЕТСЯ («Левый», № 4, 1906 г.)

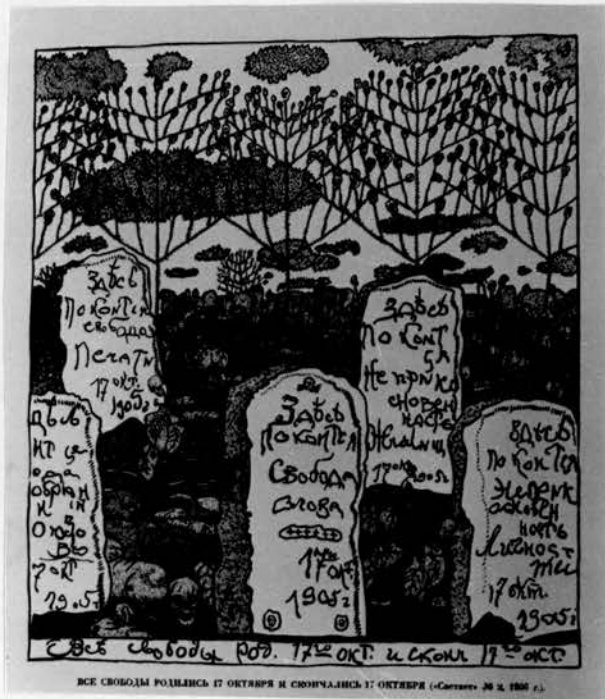
Figure 150. "In the New Apartment" published
in "Shrapnel" No. 1, 1905.

The picture depicts the forthcoming resignation of Nicholas II. The cart, full of household goods, is surrounded by seven pairs of boots, seven chairs, seven chamber pots (the number of the members of the King's family), five cradles and five dolls, four girls and one boy (the children of the King). In the background is the palace - a symbol of the collapsing despotism of the King.

Figure 151. "Where Freedom was born on the
17th of October and where it died"
on the 17th of October published
in "Svetaet" ("Dawn"), No. 2, 1906.



НА НОББИ КРАПТЪТ (-Ил'ински- № 1, 1965 г.)



ВСЕ СВОБОДИ ПОЛИМЪС 17 ОКТЪР И СЪОБЪЛЪМЪС 17 ОКТЪРЪ (-Карасо- № 2, 1965 г.)

Figure 152.

- (1) The State Seal.
- (2) Trepov and Nikolas.
- (3) Conjurer "despairing of life".
- (4) Today it is you and tomorrow me.

Умственные Срежеле дилы



Иногда в адресе... Иногда в подготовке...
1. Международная организация



Громко и красиво



С горем пополам



Жизнь «вокальной группы»

Николай Второго (слова автора)

Figure 153. Nicholas II (a series of postcards)

- (1) "Comet 1905" (The trail of the comet is inscribed with the word "revolution")
- (2) Ice-breakers on the Neva.
- (3) King and People.
"Now I have come to terms with my people".
- (4) "Peace-maker"
At the judgement of his victims.

Figure 154. Nicholas II (a series of postcards)

- (1) Gallery of Beheaded Kings.
- (2) A religious procession to stop war and sedition.
- (3) How the Pompadours wanted to divide Russia.
- (4) The Tzar at his walk.



1 Комета 1905г.
Быстро «С. Семейство»



2 Лодка на Неве.



3 Царь и Народ
— Мать и примирился с женой
народом.



4 «Миротворец»
продъ славою своихъ жертвъ

НИКОЛАЙ ВТОРОЙ (серия открыток).



2 Крестный ходъ для въспоминанія оцнхъ и вѣнчанъ на Св. Русь.



3 Какъ похищали испорчили
Россию.



4 Царь на прогулкѣ.

НИКОЛАЙ ВТОРОЙ (серия открыток).

Figure 155. "Heads or Tails or internal and external politics" published in "Zhupel" ("Scarecrow") No. 1, 1905.

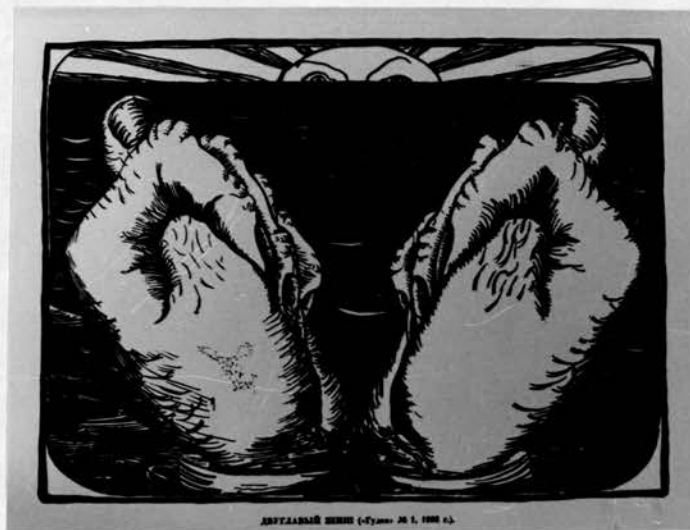
Though "oryol" means eagle "oryol ili reshka" means "heads or tails".

Oboroten means "were-wolf" but oborot means "revolutions" or "turn over".

Thus the title could suggest the Translation: "Were-wolf-eagle or political façade and external politics".

This caricature is by the artist Grzhebin and is intended to represent a two faced tsarist government.

Figure 156. "Double Headed Fig" published in "Gudok" ("Hooter") No. 1, 1906.



CHAPTER VI

THE "BLUE ROSE" MOVEMENT

The "Blue Rose" exhibition was organised after the "Union of Russian Artists" exhibition in December 1906.¹ It had emerged from the formerly varied symbolist exhibition as a distinct group. The influence of Vrubel and Borissov-Mussatov was strong. Prominent founders of the "Blue Rose" included Kusnetsov, Yakulov, Goncharova, Larionov, the Miliuti Brothers and Saryan. The work of Pavel Kuznetsov (see Figures 157-160) shared certain characteristics, with other members of the group, characteristics derived from late nineteenth-century symbolism in the rhythmic repetition of finely painted lines but using a brighter palette, broken brush-strokes of the Neo-Impressionists and mask like faces recollecting developments that were taking place in Paris with Derain and a little later Picasso in 1906. This is remarkable in "Holiday" painted in tempera on paper by Kuznetsov in about 1906 (Figure 159). "The Blue Fountain" (Figure 157) is painted in tempera on paper. Distemper and card, tempera on paper or canvas, which produced a mat decorative and flat finish were the type of media to which many Blue Rose artists were attracted. The tendency to move away from oil paint on canvas toward a format and medium more usually associated with theatre or mural decoration was shared also by the French Nabi. These media made it possible to simplify areas of light and shade, to eliminate the middle tones and to give suggestive effects seen often in flat lithographed posters of around 1900. "The Blue Fountain" has many of these effects. Mysteriously

1. See John Bowlit: "Russian Exhibitions 1904-1922" in Form, Sept. 1968, p. 5. and Camilla Gray: Ibid., pp.67 and 74.

symbolic figures suggestive of Munch's stages of life are grouped in the low oval area at the bottom part of the square picture. The faces are simplified into areas of light and shade dictated not so much by the natural light source but by the mood. They are dominated by the large area above them fitted with the small brush strokes suggesting weeping branches of foliage and cascades in various blues, turquoise, cobalt and light blue-green mixtures.

Borissov-Mussatov was born in 1870 in Saratov. He moved to Podsk outside Moscow in 1903 and died in Tarusa in 1905. He entered the St. Petersburg Academy in 1891 but returned to the Moscow Institute in 1893. There he developed an interest in light and landscapes. By the mid 1890's he became increasingly interested in the symbolist poets and his painting developed "decadent" qualities.

In Paris in 1895 he was not excited by impressionism as much as the alternative style of Puvis de Chavannes (1824-1898, see Figure 106), Maurice Denis (1870-1943, see Figures 118-120) and the Nabis. In 1904 he was invited to Bryusov to contribute to the design of the new Symbolist journal "Scales".

In 1904 he also began attending Byely's Symbolist salons at which the Moscow intelligentsia discussed current mystical ideas, the ideas of Merezhkovsky's and Skryabin, synthetism and the cosmic force of music and its relation to the visual arts.¹

1. See John E. Bowlt: "The Blue Rose Movement" p. 165.

His tempera painting on paper "The Reservoir" (Figure 162) was painted in 1902 in a positive and firm brush stroke derived from impressionism. In the large area of water against which the two figures are placed the sky and trees, which are not otherwise visible, are reflected in large simplified shapes. Even the seated woman is reminiscent of the work of Bazille but the end to which the impressionist means are used suggests the enigmatic works of Maurice Denis.

Borissov-Mussatov's studies for frescoes painted in 1903 "Sleep of the Gods" (Figure 161) and "Autumn Evening" (Figure 163) have more of the atmosphere of Nabi work. The title of the former suggests a mystery in contradiction to the simplified representation of the cloud forms, the child-like frontality of the building, the isolation of statuary, simple figures and a ruin, altogether like the method used by Böcklin and his pupil Chirico. The painting becomes more fascinating by suggesting the inexplicable, like the atmosphere of Giorgione's "Tempest".

"Autumn Evening" is more reminiscent of Vuillard's mural decorations for Natanson, editor of the "Révue Blanche", though the use of space is less daring. The motif of figures repeated against a background of tree trunks is nearer to the mural decorations of Puvis de Chavannes at the Sorbonne.

By the early 1900's most of the future "Blue Rose" group had met and formed their basic ideas, having symbolist inclinations they were in general against Realism as well as the stylised and technical niceties of the "World of Art" and were attracted to Vasnetsov and Vrubel.

In May 1904 in a house in Moscow Street, Saratov the

"Crimson Rose" exhibition was organised by Kuznetsov and Utkin. The exhibitors were almost all those who were to form the "Blue Rose" group. Nearly all the exhibits are now destroyed or lost. Kuznetsov's paintings were given lyrical titles such as "White Morning" by him and were criticised for their "coarse brush-strokes" of pink, blue and green paint.¹ The group also designed theatre sets in the early 1900s. Sapunov together with Arapov and Feofilaktikov created décors for performances by the Bolshoi. At the beginning of 1905 Stanislavsky founded his "Theatre Studio" an experimental theatre workshop in Moscow and helped by Meyerhold became interested in the "decadents" such as Hauptmann, Ibsen, Maeterlinck and L.N. Andreev. Young Moscow artists who came to his studio included members and followers of the "Blue Rose" group - Arapov, V.I. Denisov, V.D. Miliuti (1875-1943), Sapunov, Sudeikin and N.P. Ulyanov (1875-1949). Sapunov and Sudeikin designed sets for Maeterlinck's "La Mort de Tintagiles" and Denisov did the sets for Ibsen's "Comedy of Love".² None however was used and the studio closed in 1905.

Sudeikin presented a bluish green space, a beautiful cold world. Here there bloomed huge, fantastic flowers, red and pink, forming bright patches of light. The wigs of the women coloured lilac and green, their lilac clothes recalling the tunics of holy men harmonised with the décor. Sapunov's décor was in grey-lilac tones.³

Various commissions to these young artists and their associates scandalised the public but at the beginning of 1906 Meyerhold

1. See John E. Bowlt: Ibid., p. 168.

2. Ibid., pp. 168-169.

3. V. Verigma in "Vstechi s. Meierkholdom", Moscow, 1967, p. 33. Quoted in J. Bowlt, Ibid., p. 169.

invited Sapunov and Sudéikin to take part in his theatrical experiments at V. Komissarzhevskaya's theatre in St. Petersburg. The décor for Ibsen's Hedda Gabler by Sapunov and Miliuti was a great success though it was criticised by Blok as having nothing to do with Ibsen. F. Komissarzhevsky described the décor:

It was romantic. A blue northern harmony. The colours did not whirl about, they were not restless. Everything was tranquil. Everything was like a phantom. The stage seemed to be enveloped in a bluish green, silver smoke. The back curtain was blue. On it to the right was a huge, transomed window, the length of the stage. Underneath it were the leaves of a black rhododendron. Beyond the window was greenish blue air with glittering stars... To the left, on the same curtain, was a blue tapestry: a gold and silver woman with a deer. Along the side of the stage and above it was silver lace. On the floor a green-blue carpet. White furniture. A white piano. Green-white vases with white chrysanthemums in them. And white furs on the strangely shaped divan. And, like sea water,¹ like the scale of a sea serpent, Hedda Gabler's dress.

The same year Blok's "Balaganchick" was produced by Meyerhold. It was a kind of satire on Symbolism. Sapunov created a stage within a stage, the original stage was hung with blue canvasses while the inner stage gave a full view of trappings, ropes, etc.² Exhibitions followed (see Appendix XIV). Interests of the group passed from eroticism to theosophy and spiritualism after 1905. The magazine "Vesy" ("Scales") first appeared early in 1904. It represented the views of a second wave of symbolists led by Byely and Blok Byely. The editor was Bryusov. The journal "Golden Fleece" came to the fore by 1906 in Moscow but the "Scales" continued to represent the "Blue Rose" artists. "Scales" contributed to the

1. F. Komissarzhevsky, "Sapunov-dekorator" in Apollon, 1914, No. 4, p. 16. Quoted in J. Bowlt, Ibid., p. 169.

2. See John E. Bowlt, Ibid., p. 170.

appreciation of Vrubel in texts and reproductions and it published articles on Western European artists including Cézanne and Beardsley and though "Blue Rose" artists contributed mainly to the graphics the cover designs included other works such as the 1904 cover by Odilon Redon (Figure 164). Contributions from Larionov and Yakulov in semi-primitivist styles began late in 1907.

The magazine "Art" was in some ways the forerunner of the "Golden Fleece" supporting modern movements and attacking Realism and Moscow Impressionism. It was founded by N. Tarovaty (1876-1906) who had personal links with the "Blue Rose" artists. Only eight numbers appeared and it was closed in 1905 through financial losses.¹

In January 1906 "Zolotoe Runo" ("The Golden Fleece" 1906-9) was begun by the Moscow financier N.P. Ryabushinsky (c.1875-c.1940). This replaced "Art" in its support of "Blue Rose" artists and the emerging primitivist tendencies. It covered a wide range in the visual and literary arts discussing Western European and Russian art, discussing topics that approached abstract art and a synthesis of the arts. It also published reproductions of Impressionist and other western paintings. Shchukin's collection which contained a wide range of Western European schools including Impressionism and Symbolism, Fauvism, Cubism and work by Henri Rousseau. But his paintings were not widely seen and though some Russian artists travelled to the West it was not until after 1907 that French trends were adopted.

1. Ibid., p. 171.

The relationship between Symbolism and the emerging Primitivism was not unique to Russia. In 1895 Matisse had entered Gustave Moreau's studio at the Ecole de Beaux Arts in Paris. Among his fellow students were Rouault, Desvallières, Piot and Evenepoel, soon to be joined by Camoin, Manguin and Marquet. This was the year before S. Bing opened his Art Nouveau Gallery in Paris and the magazine "Die Jugend" was launched in Munich. After seeing influential retrospective exhibitions in Paris, of Seurat in 1900, Van Gogh in 1901 and Lautrec in 1902, an exhibition of Mohammedan art in 1903 extended exotic influences beyond Japanese prints followed by the legendary revelation of African sculpture by Vlaminck to Picasso in 1905. Not many months before this, an exhibition of French "Primitives" or naive artists was held in Paris and in 1905 an exhibition of Van Gogh took place at the Salon des Independants. This was the sequence of major exhibitions that preceded the sensation created by the Fauves at the Salon d'Automne in 1905.

The origin of the name "Blue Rose" is unknown. It corresponds to the title of their previous exhibition "Crimson Rose". Blue was popular with the Symbolists as well as Picasso and suggested the spirituality and tones of the work exhibited on that occasion.¹ Maeterlinck's preference for blue was well known in Russia. Oscar Wilde also recognized this and the fashion for wearing a green carnation by him and some of the "decadents" was probably also known by their Russian counterparts. Kuznetsov was the most prominent of the group. His pictures such as "Birth" (1906)(Figure 158)

1. See John E. Bowlit: Ibid., pp. 174-175.

evoked mystical moods. "Birth", the full title of which is "Birth - Fusion with the mystic force in the atmosphere. The rousing of the devil" is mostly a pastel painting which makes use of the soft edges of forms characteristic of that medium. The format is oval. A mother carrying a child emerges from the distant darkness. She flies horizontally almost like a Chagall figure. Small forms emerge from infinity under her, the nearest ones taking the shape of babies. On the left a baby is carrying a flower and nearby another is encircled with an irregular line. Another figure and a bedhead are suggested in the background and various erotic and embryonic shapes in outline are superimposed in an unrelated style.

Some of Sudeikin's eleven exhibits mostly in overall greys and blues, described as "pale twilights", were akin to Kuznetsov's pictures, but were attacked for their "geometricity of construction".¹

The Armenian Martiros Saryan (1880-1972) stood out from most of his fellow exhibitors in that many of his paintings were inspired by a Caucasian or oriental atmosphere. In his memoirs he has described his childhood environment on the desolate plain near the Sea of Azov and near the bamboo-filled river Sambek, where his father had built an isolated house from rough bricks.² His vivid memories of sunsets on the Ukrainian plains with grazing animals combined with descriptions his parents gave him of the very different Armenian mountains, valleys with rivers, forests and vineyards. The ancestors of these Armenian settlers escaping Turkish massacres had settled

1. See Ibid., p. 179.

2. Martiros Saryan: Memoirs of my Life (in Armenian) "Aiastan" publications, Erevan, 1966, pp. 1-29.

in this region in the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries. Descriptions of the mythical town of Ani, from where they came, ruined by earthquakes and invasions may have added to the ethereal and mysterious quality of his paintings and his taste for travel in exotic countries. But already bright colours in the forms of flowers and butterflies had impressed him during his childhood with an observation of nature and pastoral landscape which was equally vivid:

The western slopes of the surrounding hills were coloured with a golden red which was in strong contrast to the dark violet blue of the shaded parts. The milky - even ashen fog of the evening would create a unique combination with the deafening rustle of the moving flock. Gradually the fog would thicken, the dark blue would reign, slowly at first, later suddenly.¹

The clothing of Armenian women and Cossacks, the decorations of the oxen and the feast days provided him with vivid memories of that region. Leaving school at fifteen in the summer of 1895 he began to work in a subscription office for newspapers and magazines. He began to draw portraits of the clients and soon left to study at the Moscow Institute of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture. There, in 1902 to 1903 he met a compatriot, the painter Egishe Martirosovich Tatevosyan (1870-1936) of whose work a large number are now in the Gallery of Armenian Art, Erevan. They are mostly fairly realistic portraits, landscapes and some oriental subjects done with a slightly impressionistic boldness and texture. Painting with a social purpose was still prominent in Moscow and Saryan described two prizewinning pictures by Tatevosyan that seemed to characterise a certain aspect of this:

1. Saryan: Ibid., p. 20.

One of the pictures was called "Mid-day Meal" and the other "Sermon to the Fanatics". The two were descriptive works, it is true, this way of creating a picture was highly traditional, repetitive, but with the able execution it did not seem anachronistic.

The first subject was the following: Refugee Armenian children are standing in a line and receiving their meal. One of them on the way has accidentally smashed the dinner-plate. The hens have attacked and are eating the meal, while the child has fallen on the floor and is crying sorrowfully. The picture was quite moving. I remember very well that the picture was executed in the plein-air style, with a good feeling for a sunny day.

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The theme of his second picture was also related to the Armenian massacres. It is a moonlit night. A rather suspicious looking orator has gathered around him a group of Musulmen, with his sermon he is wishing to awake in them nationalistic-religious fervour. This work also left a strong impression.¹

Saryan went on to state that it was the impression of Tatevosyan's pictures on the one hand, White Russian chauvinism and wounding words against the Armenians that urged him to associate himself more strongly with his Armenian origins. Tatevosyan married and moved to Tiflis shortly after where he continued to paint in his spare time. According to Saryan, his work appeared to be too novel and incomprehensible for the local observers who preferred the majestic landscapes of Kevork Bashindzhaghyan.²

From 1907 until 1912 Saryan's colours became more vivid and his brushstrokes more simplified and direct, rather than misty as before. This was partly due to the experience of seeing the collections of Shchukin and Morosov in which the work of artists such as Gauguin and Matisse bore witness to aspirations similar to his own and helped to show him a method of realising them (see Figures 168-169). Both the ability to

1. Saryan, Ibid., pp. 158-9.

2. Op.cit.

simplify and create intense images with a minimum of paint and the attraction of eastern environments were strong in Matisse. Saryan never copied this unintelligently but maintained a more naturalistic basis and a less decorative surface in his pictures. In pictures such as "The Poet" c. 1906 (Figure 166) with gentle lines of colour and the "Deserted Village" of 1907 (Figure 167) to "Self Portrait" c. 1907-1908 the lines of pure colour in purple and red are laid along the planes of the face and interspersed with sulphury yellow strokes.

This interpretation of divisionism gave way by 1910 to bolder simplified areas of intense colour in subjects such as "Constantinople, Street at Midday", (Figure 169) in which the use of the large pattern of complementary colours does not distract from a hold on reality. In "The Date Palm, Egypt", 1911 (Figure 168) the bold simplification, remotely related to that of Cubism, maintains the structure of reality through the accuracy of the brush-strokes in a flattened representation where drawing and painting have become inseparable. As well as desert landscapes, women in Arab costume executed in an almost hieroglyphic simplification, Still lifes with Egyptian masks also date from 1911 and reveal an observation of ancient and primitive Egyptian art.

Exotic centres for artists had varied. Japan had been a remote dream for Van Gogh when Gauguin and others were in Brittany in the 1880s, but oriental subjects and environment had been popular with French and British artists of various styles early in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Kandinsky had visited Tunisia before 1908 and Klee, Marc and

Macke painted water-colours there in the early months of 1914. In 1911 after visiting Moscow to see where his decorations for Shchukin's apartment were hung and to study Russian icons Matisse visited Morocco to paint and returned the following year. Saryan's visit to Constantinople in 1910 and to Egypt the following year led him to a style which was different from those of his Western European contemporaries and which nourished his mature style of the next five years. From then until his death in 1972 he continued to paint lyrical landscapes of Armenia where he went to live.

Kuznetsov also became absorbed by oriental scenes and the colours of Kirghizia but as with the work of Saryan symbolist vagueness gave way after 1907, in the work of most of the group, to a more decisive treatment and use of colour which characterised the emerging Primitivism. The development of abstract art by Malevich and Kandinsky has affinities with the Symbolism of Russia and Germany and an interest in theosophy and spiritual values interpreted in the work of early abstract art is in some ways a development related to Symbolism.

Figure 157. Pavel Kusnetsov, The Blue Fountain,
1905. 50" x 51 $\frac{2}{3}$ " Tretyakov Gallery,
Moscow.



Figure 158. Pavel Kusnetsov, Birth-fusion with the mystical force in the atmosphere. The rousing of the devil, c. 1906, pastel, 28 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 26, Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

Figure 159. Pavel Kusnetsov. Holiday c. 1906, tempera on paper.



Figure 160. Pavel Kusnetsov. Grape Harvest
c. 1907, tempera on paper.



Figure 161. Victor Borissov-Mussatov, Sleep of the gods
study for a fresco, 1903, tempera,
Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

Figure 162. Victor Borissov-Mussatov,
The Reservoir, 1902.
Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.



Figure 163. Victor Borissov-Mussatov,
Autumn Evening, study for a fresco,
1903, tempera, Tretyakov Gallery,
Moscow.



Figure 164. Odilon Redon: Cover design for an issue of the magazine "Vesy" ("The Scales"), 1904, Pushkin Museum of Fine Art, Moscow.

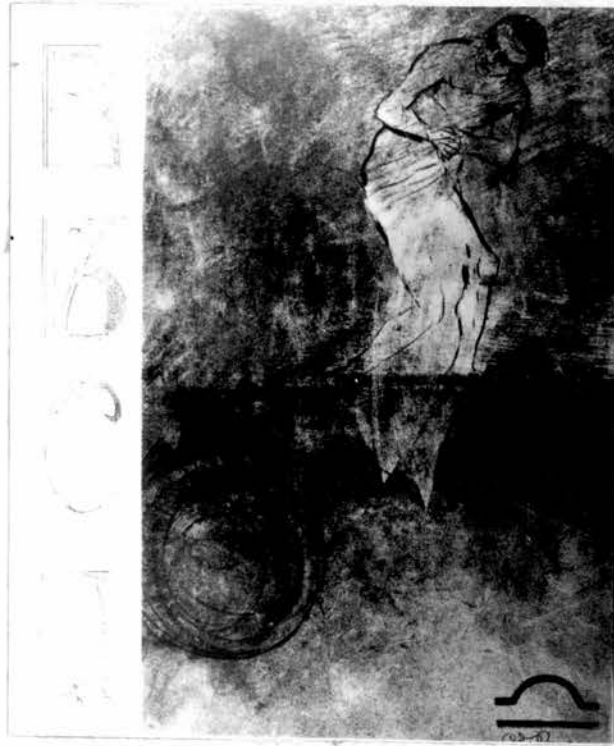


Figure 165. Martiros Saryan,
Man with Gazelles, c. 1905,
tempera.

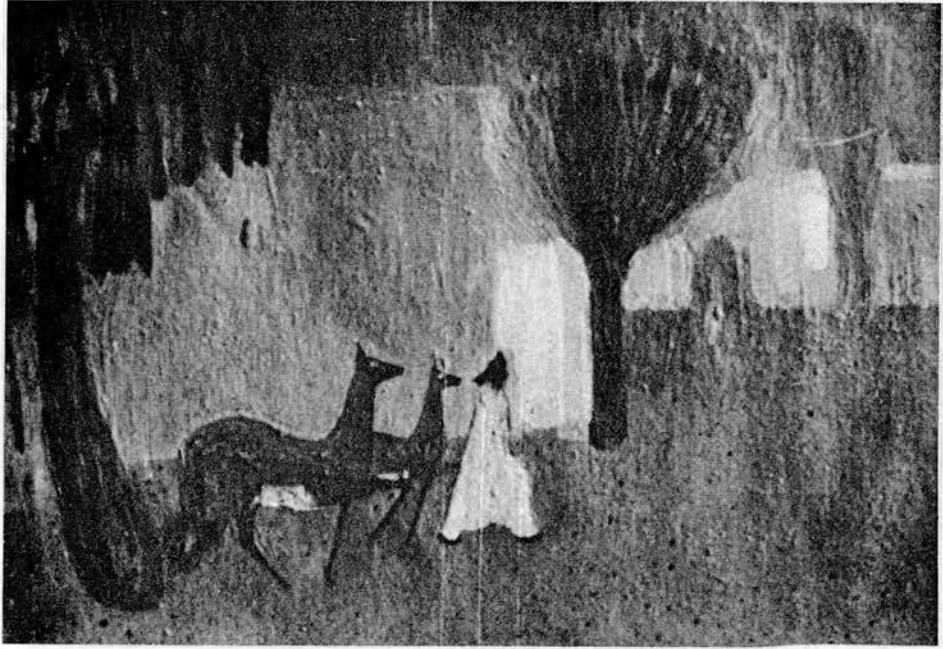


Figure 166. Martiros Saryan,
The Poet, c. 1906, tempera.

Figure 167. Martiros Saryan,
Deserted Village, 1907, oil.

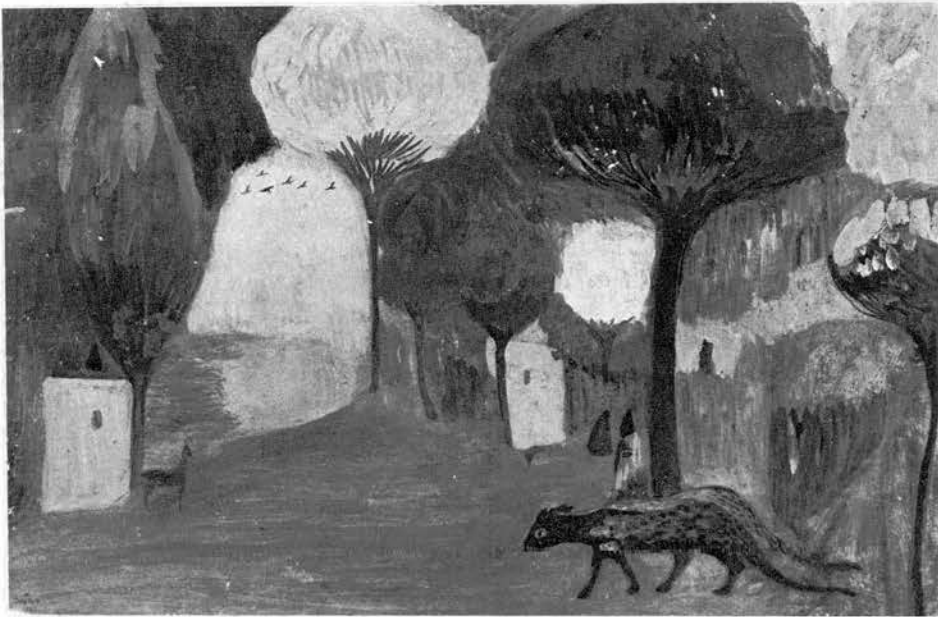


Figure 168. M. Saryan. The Date Palm, Egypt,
1911. Tempera on cardboard,
106 x 71 cms. The Tretyakov Gallery,
Moscow.

Figure 169. M. Saryan: Constantinople,
Street at Midday, 1910,
Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.



Figure 170. Vassily Miliuti,
Legend, 1905,
gouache on paper (?).



Figure 171. Mikajolus Ciurlionis:
Rhythms of the Towers, 1906,
Indian ink on paper, 70 x 100 cms.

Figure 172. M. Ciurlionis: From the cycle
of "Winter", 1907, tempera,
40 x 60 cms.

Figure 173. M. Ciurlionis: Fragments of an
"illustration" for his "Musical
Composition", 1909.
Indian ink on paper, 20 x 7 cms.



Figure 174. M. Ciurlionis: Sonata of the Stars,
Allegro, 1908, tempera on paper,
Kaunas Museum, Lithuania.



Figure 175. M. Ciurlionis: Sonata of the Stars,
Andante, 1908, tempera on paper,
Kaunas Museum, Lithuania.



CHAPTER VII

THE "WREATH/STEPHANOS"; "LINK" AND "TRIANGLE" EXHIBITIONS

In 1907 the introspection associated universally with Symbolism began giving way to subjects of tangible reality interpreted through varied influences of primitive and folk art and Cézanne's method of analysis. Fauvist distortions in violent colours were seen in Paris in the Salon d'Automne in 1905 and "Die Brücke" group was formed in Dresden the same year to express a similar colourful primitivism (see Figure 9). Even earlier the Belgian James Ensor (1860-1949) (see Figure 193) frequently represented masks and skeletons with expressionistic impastos of bright colour in pictures such as "Entry of Christ into Brussels" 1888. About that time he wrote:

The mask seems to call out in me: "Vivid colours, wild expression, sumptuous scenery, grand unexpected gesture, chaotic movement, sublime unrest."¹

The twentieth-century avant-garde owes much to the heretic atmosphere of art forms of the 1890s. This included the plays of Ibsen, Strindberg and Wilde and writers using alliteration and associations of words based on the process of thought itself. Bergson in "Le Rire", published in 1900 a definition of the comical related to the aesthetic, the dream and play upon words.² But it was Freud who in 1894 after taking the revolutionary step of investigating hysteria from a psychological point of view first replaced hypnotism

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1. Catalogue of the exhibition Ensor to Permeke (Nine Flemish Painters, 1880-1950), Royal Academy, London, September 25th to November 21st, 1971, p. 2.
 2. See Henri Bergson: Laughter, Eng. trans. by Cloudely Brereton and Fred Rothwell (1921), pp. 186-7. Bergson, born in 1859, was a few years older than the Nazis. Like most of them he benefited from the broad-minded education of the Lycée Condorcet, and like Paul Sérusier, his career there had been brilliant.

as a means of resuscitating buried memories by the method of "free association". These absurd transformations of words that he drew from his patients have not only a counterpart in poetic methods of his contemporary writers but also in Symbolist paintings. Though Freud's ideas were not taken up by artists until the time of the Surrealists, his younger contemporary, Paul Gauguin was also concerned with "the mysterious centre of thought" at the same time and Redon was one of the first to affirm the importance of the unconscious in his art:

Nothing is achieved in art by the will alone,
everything is achieved by docile₁ submission
to the advent of the unconscious.

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My own talents have directed me into the
realm of dreams.²

Gauguin's subjects of the 1890s such as "The Three Tahitians", (Edinburgh), appear to derive from antique sources³ and pictures such as "Maternity" and "Where do we come from?..." show stages of human life as do many by Munch. During the early 1900s Munch seems to have impressed German artists; emerging Italian Futurists; artists in Barcelona such as Nonell and Picasso in "Blue Period" pictures such as "La Vie" (1903). The universal pessimism

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1. Marcel Jean: The History of Surrealist Painting (Eng. trans. Simon Watson Taylor) London 1960, p. 16.
 2. From Odilon Redon: A Soi-même: Journal (1867-1915) Paris Corti, 1961, pp. 22-29. First published 1922 (Paris; Floury). Quoted in H. Chipp: Theories of Modern Art, 1968, p. 116.
 3. Perhaps Freud too had rediscovered classical art in his use of words like "catharsis" and the names of complexes.

outside the heritage of French Impressionist colour was nurtured through magazine reproductions and exhibitions of northern artists.

The radical change in 1907 is most clearly explained in France. Cézanne died in October 1906. The same month the Salon d'Automne mounted the biggest exhibition of his work ever held. Bernheim Jeune showed a large number of his water-colours and "Mercure de France" published some of his letters to Emile Bernard, including the most famous with the statement concerning the sphere, the cylinder and the cone. The work of Braque, as well as other Fauve painters (see Figure 7) and of Picasso changed largely as a result of this.

For Picasso the 1906 exhibition of Iberian sculpture at the Louvre and perhaps an earlier encounter with African masks confirmed his departure from the sweetness of the "Rose period" for staccato rhythms of "The Demoiselles d'Avignon" (1907); "Nude with Drapery", (1907) (Figure 67), "Carafe with Three Bowls" (1907) (Figure 264) and the beginnings of "Analytical Cubism" in 1908 (Figures 66, 68 and 69).

Changes from Symbolist styles to a new Primitivism were also evident in a number of important exhibitions in Russia from 1907 until 1911. The "Golden Fleece" organised a large exhibition, the "Wreath Stephanos", held in Moscow from December 1907 to January 1908. Central figures of the "Blue Rose" group participated together with newcomers Larionov, Goncharova, George Yakulov, David and Vladimir

Burliuk - introducing vigorous colour to realistic subjects. Between 1907 and 1911 Primitivist elements increased in contrast to the work of Kuznetsov, Utkin and Krymov which retained the older amorphous atmosphere in the first "Wreath" exhibition.

In April, 1908, on the occasion of the second exhibition under the auspices of the "Golden Fleece", the organiser Ryabushinsky wrote:

The salon of "the Golden Fleece" has decided... by a confrontation of individual groups² to establish the physiognomy and value of each one.

As well as the new wave of Russian artists certain French Fauvist paintings were seen for the first time in Russia (see Appendix XV). The catalogue, signed by the exhibitors declared:

In its searches, our group has broken with the group of Symbolist aesthetes. Its basic feature is its aspiration to conquer the already stagnant formulae of aestheticism.³

Moreover the technical preoccupations of the French had at last penetrated the spirit of Russia's avant-garde and with the example of French primal colour it helped to precipitate the Russians into a stylistic application of their own native art. Though the Russians admitted to values in common with the French, they were conscious of their own

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1. See John Bowl: "Russian Exhibitions, 1904 to 1922" in Form, No. 8, Sept. 1968, p. 7.
 2. N. Ryabushinsky in "The Golden Fleece" 1908, Nos. 7-9, quoted op.cit.
 3. John Bowl: Ibid., p. 7.

greater emphasis on spirituality. Many more exhibitions followed including two by the "Golden Fleece" in 1909 (see Appendix XVI).

In 1908 David Burliuk and Alexandra Exter organised a group of artists in Kiev called Zv'eno ("Link"). Its first exhibition in Kiev, and possibly St. Petersburg,¹ included work by Baranov-Rossiné, the Burliuks, Exter, Goncharova, Larionov, Lentulov and others not then well known.

Daniel Vladimir Baranov-Rossiné had absorbed current western ideas, had formed a style of his own and exhibited in Russia between 1907 and 1914. He was born in the Ukraine in 1888 and began to study painting at Odessa in 1903 and later at the Academy of Fine Art at St. Petersburg. His style was then derived from post-impressionism. He used broad brush-strokes, thick impasto and painted with a palette knife. "College at Odessa" 1904-7 resembles the work of Bonnard but the thick patches of paint representing light shining through the trees are reminiscent of Monet's "Picnic". He took part in group exhibitions including "Stephanos" in Moscow in 1907-8; The "Link" in Kiev 1908 and "The Wreath Stephanos" in St. Petersburg in 1909. By this time he had experimented with a number of techniques. "Barge on the Dnieper" in 1907 (Figure 177) is painted in very light complementary colours in a stippled technique. Like late

1. See Camilla Gray, The Great Experiment, p. 79.

works by Monet they display varied treatment, but by using four textures of finely stippled paint to differentiate each element: The sky is painted in swirling strokes as in certain works of Van Gogh but smaller and undramatic; the barge and the water are mostly in small thick horizontal strokes; the land is represented in wider strokes painted with a flat brush while the cabin on the barge is smoothly painted. The same year, probably later, he painted "Sunset" (Figure 188) in a divisionist technique using bright complementary colours reminiscent of Van Gogh's work of the 1880s but more like Mondrian's early work. "Petrograd, Winter" (1907-9) is painted in a more dramatic Fauve style almost like that of Vlaminck. Around 1908 his work was influenced by Cézanne and a series of landscapes followed, which, in some instances are stylisations according to a fixed formula of sharp arabesques and spherical black lines half encircling spectral colours. The result is a synthesis of his previous style with trends current in Paris where he worked after 1910.

The Forge (Figure 181) was painted in 1911 and exhibited at the Salon des Indépendants that year. Like Goncharova's "Cyclist" and Malevich's "Knife Grinder" it is another rare interpretation of dynamism by a Russian artist after the manner of Italian Futurism but near to the "Section d'Or" painters. The influences of Braque, Gris and Picasso appear in his work of 1914. Much of his work after 1915 was eclectic and deteriorated somewhat.

From 1915 to 1917 he lived in Norway, returned to Russia after the February Revolution in 1917 and took part in revolutionary activities. In 1917 he exhibited at the Artistic Bureau of Madame N.E. Dobychina in Petrograd and her exhibition "Contemporary Paintings and Drawings" the following year. Also in 1918 he exhibited in Moscow and with the "World of Art" group in Petrograd. In 1919 he took part in the "First Free State Exhibition of works of art" at the Palace of Arts (formerly the Winter Palace, Petrograd). He organised a painting studio in 1918 with a few pupils which he conducted in a room of the former St. Petersburg Academy; exhibited at the "First Russian Art Exhibition" in Berlin in 1922 and in 1923 gave two concerts at the Meyerhold and Bolshoi Theatres where he used his "Opto-phonic piano" for the first time. He later gave a performance in Paris at the Studio des Ursulines after leaving Russia in 1925. Then returning to sculpture he produced constructions reminiscent of Miro's paintings and continued to exhibit regularly until his death in 1942.

Apart from peasant wood carving and the Western trends of St. Petersburg a Russian tradition of sculpture had hardly existed. Constructivism, which developed from an aspect of Cubism, became non-representational, but works such as Baranov-Rossiné's "Dynamic Sculpture" (Figure 583) and Kliun's "Musician" (Figure 582) belong

to its less developed figurative aspect (See also Chapter XXIV).

The "Link" was the first of many small exhibitions of avant-garde art held in Russia during the next ten years. None of the established "Blue Rose" group took part in this and it was a financial failure, but one of the unknown exhibitors Aristarkh Lentulov financed the Bubnovyi Valet ("Knave of Diamonds") exhibition. Larionov accompanied the Burliuks to Hylea after the failure of the "Link" and they made an effort to free themselves from Western European traditions, incorporating Russian folk art into their works. In 1908 with Alexander Exter in Kiev they organised a street exhibition which was basically the same as "Link". They then returned to Moscow and the following year Kulbin sponsored the exhibition "The Impressionists" in St. Petersburg with works varying in character from landscapes, Abramtsevo pottery and primitivist paintings.

Kulbin, V. Markov and E. Spandikov, concerned with new ideas in art organised the "Union of Youth" in St. Petersburg in 1910. It arranged a number of important exhibitions in 1910, 1911 and 1912 and distributed a series of pamphlets one of which included a translation of the Italian Futurist Manifesto (No. 2, June 1912). Its exhibitions introduced the work of Olga Rozanova, Tatlin and Filonov for the first time and showed works by Larionov, Goncharova and Malevich.¹ Other exhibitions included The

1. See John Bowlit: Ibid., pp. 7-8.

Moscow Salon which showed work by Malevich, Larionov, Goncharova, Konchalovsky, Lentulov and others.

"The Impressionists", later "The Triangle" exhibited work by E. Guro, N. Kamensky, A. Kruchenykh, the Burliuks and Alexandra Exter.¹ Kulbin described himself as an "Impressionist". Though the term "Impressionism" refers more precisely to the work of certain French painters in the 1870s and 80s, in popular use the word often refers to all art which is not of a certain "classical" tradition. It is significant that Italian Futurism is the continuation of certain French Impressionist tendencies in view of the vague use of the two terms. The word "Impressionism" began to be used in Russian literary criticism long before it became a reality in Russian painting. Chekov, Fet, Fofanov and Lokhvitskaya have been mentioned as Russian Impressionists. In 1906 V. Bryusov in describing the trends of Russian literature spoke of "Symbolism, Impressionism and Decadence", and noted a struggle in the Futurist movement to rid itself of Impressionist elements.

Monet in the 1870s represented a moment of external reality without much regard to psychology or personality where people were depicted. The approach followed the peculiarly French positivist tradition. Many Russian writers who had begun as "Impressionist" painters tended

1. Op.cit.

to write describing moments of the external world, but most Russian Impressionist writers emphasised subjective characteristics while stressing the ephemeral.

Thus Russian impressionism may be equated with lyrical realism both in writing and painting. The dividing line between this and symbolism is hardly defined. Kulbin explained to his audience at an exhibition:

We are impressionist, we give our impressions on the canvas....Everything is related to the world; even the sun is seen by some as being golden, by others grey,¹ by still others, pink, and by some colourless.

Livshits did not think very highly of his theories and called them "a salad of Bergson, Ramsay and Picasso."² Kulbin founded and directed the periodical "Studio of Impressionists" of which the first number appeared in December, 1909.³ His variety of "Impressionism" has been described as the most subjective of all Russian varieties of this movement. His main tenet was:

Except for its own feelings, the self does not know anything and while projecting these feelings it creates its own world.⁴

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1. V. Kamensky: Put èntusiasta (Moscow 1931), p. 100. Quoted in V. Markov: Russian Futurism, p. 5.
 2. Benedikt Livshits: Polutogralazyi Strelei (Leningrad 1933), p. 77. Quoted in V. Markov: Ibid., p. 6.
 3. Studiya Impressionistov ("Studio of the Impressionists") (St. Petersburg, December 1909 - February 1910).
 4. Studio of the Impressionists, p. 12. Quoted in V. Markov: Russian Futurism, p. 5.

"The Studio of Impressionists" was the first book in which work by leading Futurists was published. It opened with an article by Kulbin "Free Art as the Basis of Life". In this he discussed the importance of dissonance, "coloured music" and concluded "...art is a revelation; for art everything is possible which science no longer carries". After a number of minor poems, the well known poem by Khlebnikov "Incantation by Laughter"¹ appeared which was made up of words both coined and already in existence, based on the Russian root smekh - ("laugh") to which various prefixes and suffixes were added. With the exhibitions, Primitivism in painting, poetry and their united expression in illustrated publications and declarations developed.

1. Translated, V. Markov: Ibid., pp. 7-8.

Figure 176. Daniel Vladimir Baranov-Rossiné:
Houses under the Trees c. 1904-06.
Oil on canvas: 70 x 92 cm.

Figure 177. D.V. Baranov-Rossiné:
Barge on the Dnieper. 1907.
Oil on canvas: 63 x 84 cm.

Figure 178. D.V. Baranov-Rossiné:
Sunset, 1907.
Oil on canvas: 64 x 85 cm.



Figure 179. D.V. Baranov-Rossiné:
Wood in Autumn. c. 1908-12.
Oil on canvas: 89 x 65 cm.

Figure 180. D.V. Baranov-Rossiné:
Bottle of Wine on a Chair.
1913. Oil on Board. 78 x 58 cm.



Figure 181. D.V. Baranov-Rossiné:
The Forge, 1911,
Museum of Modern Art, Paris.

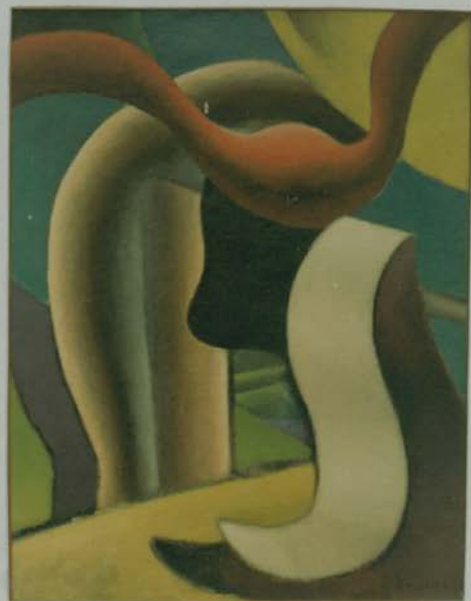


Figure 182. D.V. Baranov-Rossiné:
Apocalypse. c. 1910-15.
Oil on canvas: 130 x 160 cm.

Figure 183. D.V. Baranov-Rossiné:
Maternity 1912-13.
Oil on canvas: 100 x 74 cm.



Figure 184. D.V. Baranov-Róssiné:
Crescendo Ralenti. 1925.
Oil on canvas: 116 x 89 cms.



CHAPTER VIII

PRIMITIVISM IN PAINTING, POETRY AND ILLUSTRATION

History, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was extended in range and detail mainly as the result of extensive archaeological discoveries revealing the "prehistoric" past. The old and new Stone Ages and the historic sequence of their culture was established; the literary history of early civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia began to be read from contemporary documents; more was being learned of the history of the civilizations of India, the Far East and of the Americas while at the same time hundreds of thousands of detailed facts from documents or excavations were being fitted into the classical, mediaeval, and modern European histories.¹

The framework of events through which the present was shown to grow from the past owed much also to the new science of anthropology started in the mid-nineteenth century, when L.H. Morgan (1818-81) and E.B. Taylor's (1832-1917) studies of American Indian and other cultures revealed striking similarities to social structure of tribes in many parts of the world.² Such, they conjectured were the more primitive states of our civilization and they showed how they corresponded to the social organisation of Greece and Rome.³

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1. J.D. Bernal, Science in History (first published London, 1964), p. 781.
 2. L.H. Morgan: Ancient Society London 1877; E.B. Taylor, Anahuac London, 1861, Quoted ibid., p. 783.
 3. The first serious field anthropological studies were those carried out by Miklucho-Maklai (1846-88) to New Guinea in 1871 and by the zoological expedition to the Torres Straits in New Guinea in 1898-99 in which A.C. Haddon (1855-1940) and W.H.R. Rivers (1864-1922) took part. Ibid., p. 784.

Interest in pre-history and primitivism was marked in European art by Gauguin and Symbolists of the nineties and visits by German Expressionist artists to New Guinea and Polynesia. At about the same time work of neo-primitive artists like Henri Rousseau, African and other forms of 'primitive' art from French colonies drew the attention of the avant-garde. Restoration of ethnic or national styles at the end of the nineteenth-century recreated Catalan poetry in Barcelona and the Celtic revival in Britain. This corresponded with the return to Slavic sources in late nineteenth century Russia which led to the early twentieth century "primitivism" in literature and painting derived from Russian folk-art.

Ancient Russia had been evoked and represented as the result of historical research before 1900. This was merely a change of subject matter and form remained realistic. The movement attempting to affect a return to the village during the second half of the nineteenth century possessed a political nuance ^{of} "Narodnichestvo" ("all for the people and by the people") and it was from this source that the socialist revolutionary party emerged. The encouragement of popular art forwarded by Princess Tenisheva who organised embroidery and ceramic classes intended for the peasantry, the influence of Russian folk art and the encouragement of western European interest in their own cultures led to the development of a conscious primitivist movement in Russia before 1910.¹ Cubism, the "Kunstlervereinigung" German Expressionist movement and

1. See Peter Vergo "A Note on the Chronology of Larionov's Early Work", Burlington Magazine, Vol. CXIV, No. 832, July 1972, pp. 476-479.

Marinetti's Futurism also began to make an impact in Moscow during those years. Exchanges with artists originating from Russia and Western European artists working in Paris, Berlin, Munich and Italy during the ten years preceding the First World War (see Appendix XVIII) was of great importance to the development of seminal ideas in the arts, not only in painting but also literature, film, architecture, new concepts of sculpture and a fusion of two or more previously separate art forms. Justifying these innovations and as a defence against the hostility of established critics, artists and writers invented names for their new art forms, gave lectures, published theories and manifestoes and more or less convincingly related their innovations to other modern movements and to the history of art and society.

Mikhail Fyodorovich Larionov was born in Teraspol on the borders of the Ukraine and Poland in 1881. He regularly returned there for holidays from his Moscow gymnasium after 1891 and from his art studies until he left Russia in 1914. He entered the Moscow College of Painting in 1898 but worked mostly at home. After a year's expulsion (1902-3) he was at college until about 1910. From 1902 until 1906, Larionov's work had been generally described as "impressionist" though it had less in common with that French school's concern with optical impressions and more affinities with the work of Bonnard in the late 1890s, especially where in works such as "Landscape with Fence" (Figure 189) he painted with expressive brush-strokes and thick impastoes. There is occasionally, for example, in the treatment of the path in "The Park" (Figure 190), a little

application of complementary colours reminiscent of its use by Signac or more particularly the early French Fauves. In Larionov's picture this is not absorbed into a systematic style but used to aid the excitable poetic impression. The expressive black outlines are used for the same purpose in a technique which was already beginning to display tendencies which he formed later into his "primitivist" style—between 1906 and 1909 his colours became gradually brighter though he also absorbed Cézanne's methods in the characteristic broken brush-strokes and outlines as well as in the still-life arrangements (Figure 191). Much of this was probably taken indirectly from Cézanne himself through the work of the early fauves especially Matisse. Larionov described his work of this period as:

diluted impressionism which had reached Russia by the intermediary of Germany.¹

In his "Fishes" (Figure 192) painted in about 1906 there is a more uninhibited use of divisionist colour reminiscent of Van Gogh's first use of light colours in Paris but the composition is deliberately informal and scattered. Both the subject and the loose patches of light colour are similar to some of the work of James Ensor (1860-1949, see Figure 193).

The man who helped Larionov and Goncharova formulate their theories was Ilya Mikhailovich Zdanevich, son of a French teacher from Tiflis, the only poet in Larionov's group. Zdanevich never recognised the Hylaeans whose work he thought old fashioned and imitative apart from some by Khlebnikov.

1. Dora Vallier L'Art Abstract, Paris, p. 276.

The book by Zdanevich "Nataliya Goncharova (and) Mikhail Larionov" was written under the pseudonym Eli Eganbury and published in 1913 in Moscow. It is the best and most detailed account of the first twelve years of their painting and gives an interesting survey of Russian Art and neo-slavophilism. It praises the Tartar yoke for its influence on native art and claims that Peter the Great practically destroyed native tradition by dividing Russian culture between town and country. Larionov's paintings that date from between 1906 and 1909 are generally described as "Post-Impressionist" and at the third exhibition of the "Golden Fleece" journal in December 1909 he and Goncharova were the most prominent exhibitors with work of this kind.¹ While the inspiration for paintings of this period came largely from the western European heritage of Cézanne, Gauguin and the Fauves, Russian pure and applied folk-arts (see Figures 185-188), toys, lubki² (peasant wood cuts, see Figures 204-206) and traditional icon paintings had attracted artists since the activities of the Abramtsevo colony had begun. It was in adapting the style of the rich sub-culture of art even more than the subjects that artists in Russia and Germany developed "neo-primitivist" styles between about 1905 and 1909. The work was a print of the image d'épinal type with bright colours

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1. E. Eganbury: Natalya Goncharova [i] Mikhail Larionov, Moscow (1913).
 2. The Lubok (pl. Lubki) is the name given to peasant wood-cuts which are similar to the wood-cuts of English chap-books and French images d'épinales. They date from the eighteenth-century often representing political subjects later as well as popular songs and the signs of the zodiac.

overlapping contours and they began to take more and more interest in popular art. Conscious of the two aspects of Russia, where only the town is westernised, its life consisting of many cultural elements imported from France and Germany, whereas the country retained traditional Russian life throughout many centuries. Larionov favoured the latter, even to the point of speculating on a collective art in keeping with other co-operative aspects of rural Russian tradition.

Objects of folk art and craft were exhibited with works of contemporary art in exhibitions organised by Larionov and Goncharova between 1909 and 1914. These exhibits at the third "Golden Fleece" exhibition such as "Walk in a Provincial Town", displayed a more deliberate carelessness and child-like quality of drawing than similar subjects of the former period. The niceties of divisionist colour were abandoned for larger broken brush-strokes and outlines resembling works by the Die Brücke group (see Figure 9) and the French Fauves (see Figures 7 and 8).

Larionov's painting "The Hairdresser" (Figure 195), belongs, stylistically at least, to the same period as "Walk in a Provincial Town" (see Figure 194). Other hairdresser subjects (see Figures 196-199) are dated over a period of years that follow. In view of the fact that Larionov gave dates to his pictures many years after he did them, little precise information has been available as to his chronology. If it may be assumed that his series of paintings representing

soldiers (see Figures 200-203) mostly in barracks, date from his period of military service it is also probable that his "Soldier at the Hairdresser" was painted after his conscription. Eganbury says that Larionov was called up in 1910¹ after he had been given time to finish his studies, and that military service lasted for eleven months. Peter Vergo² concludes that since it is known that Larionov spent the summer of 1910 in Russia with Burliuk and Khlebnikov he was probably called up late in 1910, perhaps November or December and that he was discharged from the army by October or November 1911. The same article quotes Logina as saying that Larionov received his diploma in painting on the 24th of September 1910.³ However Isarlov, writing in the early 1920s stated that Larionov was called up in the Autumn of 1909. Eganbury discussed the "new subjects" of soldiers and the influence of Cubism and Futurism which began after his demobilization. His conclusion is that Larionov was painting these subjects between 1910 and 1911 after the emergence of Italian Futurist painting and that his Rayonist period followed immediately after this.

In view of the evidence that Larionov appeared to give his pictures dates which were in general too early it is reasonable to believe that the painting "Soldier at a Hairdresser" dated 1909 (in C. Gray) was probably painted while he was doing military service some time between late 1909 and

1. Eganbury: ibid.

2. Peter Vergo: ibid., p. 476.

3. Goncharova et Larionov, témoignages et documents recueillis et présentés par Tatiana Loguine, Paris [1971], p. 13, n. 9. Quoted in P. Vergo, ibid., p. 476.

1911. Eganbury gives the dates of his "synthetic, cubistic (see Figure 291) futuristic and primitivistic" works as 1907-12 and individual pictures "Study of Burliuk", "Dancing Soldiers", and "Soldiers' Venus" as 1910-11. Larionov's later dating of these was 1907-10.

It was probably not only the subjects of urban life of the western impressionist heritage that had inspired Larionov to look for new themes such as hairdressers and soldiers but it may also have been "impressionist" literature in Russia and Lubki in which a traditional theme of soldiers was treated in a primitive way (see Figures 204-205). David Burliuk was also painting the subject of hairdressers in 1910. But Larionov was in advance of writers with some of his subject matter. "Pom ada" ("Po made", Figures 210-214) published in January 1913 as a small book of thirteen poems by Kruchenykh and E. Lunev was illustrated by Larionov. The cover-drawing of a barber was primitivist in style and inside the illustrations are in his new Rayonnist manner.

Some of the poetry is recognisable and translatable in spite of a primitive style. It corresponds in its style to some of Larionov's illustrations such as the title page (Figure 210) and the page bearing the names of the lithographers G.L. Kuzmin, S.D. Dolinsky and C. Mukharsky above which appears the drawing of a bird carrying a branch in its beak (Figure 212). Both these pages are illustrated in a similar manner to the paintings of the seasons (Figures 208 and 209) in which words and poetry are painted and the image which is stylised and simplified to fit the writing incorporated in the picture.

The first three poems in the book "Pomada" are described by the author as being "written in my own language. It is different from others! Its words have no precise meaning." Kruchenykh introduced the word "zaum" here. The first poem gives an example of this type of "trans-rational language" (see Figure 212). It may be transcribed as:

dyr	bul	shchyl
ubeshshchur		
skum		
vy so bu		
r l ez		

Later he claimed that it was more Russian than all the poetry of Pushkin. This would have been especially provocative to an academician because these sounds are never found together in the Russian language. Those of Larionov's illustrations which are in a Rayonist style match this form of poetry appropriately by being non-representational as in the illustration below this poem and on other pages (see Figures 212-214). These correspond to the earliest forms of Rayonist pictures done after "the Glass" in which traces of nature were being abandoned. The shapes of a face emerge (Figure 214) in illustrations resembling the painting "Blue Rayonism" (Figure 300). Shapes reminiscent of Goncharova's "Cats" (Figure 301) appear in this painting. But the dates of the paintings are not necessarily more easy to establish because the dates of the printed texts and illustrations are known. If inconsistencies and flexibility by the artist are to be allowed for, no certain dates can be established

through stylistic similarities in this way. Larionov worked in several styles at once as these illustrations show. It is probable that painting styles preceded his illustrations as they did with Malevich. About the same time Starinnaya Lyubov ("Old Time Love") appeared, illustrated mostly by Larionov. The author of these and of another publication Mirskonts a ("Worldbackwardness") was Kruchenykh (see Figures 215-218). The first poem in "Old Time Love" is a parody of love poetry written by provincials, mixed with deliberately chosen cliché, melancholy nineteenth-century langour and non-aesthetic detail. The style of these writings resulted from discussions centred around art exhibitions and which was an interpretation in the same spirit as the pictures.

Larionov's bawdy subjects between about 1907 and 1913 are typical of the mood also of Russian literary and artistic futurism generally at that time. Imitation of children's art, folk imagery, epithets, street language, words out of context, eroticism, archaisms and "trans-literal" or "trans-rational" language characterise avant-garde writing in Russia between 1912 and 1914. Though this was mainly inspired by the example of painting in which Larionov's ideas were very prominent the two arts were closely integrated. Larionov, Goncharova and others illustrated poems and carefully combined the media. "Igra v Adu" ("A Game in Hell") was published in August 1912 in Moscow with sixteen illustrations by Goncharova (see Figure 219) and was published again in a new form at the end of 1913¹ in St. Petersburg in another edition illustrated

1. V. Markov gives the date as 1913 but Troels Andersen in his Catalogue Malevich (Stedlijk Museum) Amsterdam 1970 states that the date is 1914, attributes the source of the information to Kruchonykh in 1963.

by Olga Rozanova and Kazimir Malevich (see Figures 220-225) "A Game in Hell" as Kruchenykh admitted began in the style of a lubok and describes a card game between devils and sinners in hell.

The 1912 issue has a handwritten text in archaic characters resembling old Church Slavonic script. The sixteen lithographed illustrations appear on fourteen pages including the cover also by Goncharova. The cover (Figure 219) shows a cross-eyed devil turning the corners of his mouth down while three aces of the pack are represented each side of his horns. The style of the drawing is deliberately inelegant as are most of Larionov's and Goncharova's illustrations. Calligraphic jaggedness characterises them and unifies them with the handwritten parts of the cover and of the pages. The title was borrowed from Rimbaud's "Saison en Enfer: Le chef d'oeuvre des éditions aveniristes".¹

The second edition of "A Game in Hell", 1913 (Figures 220-225) had a cover designed by Malevich as well as three other illustrations by him and twenty-two illustrations by Rozanova. The handwritten text was in different handwriting from the first edition. It was much altered and enlarged with a preface attacking the "Golden Fleece".²

The illustrations by Malevich appear on pages 19, 20, and 21 of the publication and are in a sketchy style as are those of the previous edition. Figures are placed at the side of the poem or, as in the title page, amongst the hand-

1. Valentine Marcadé, Le Renouveau de l'Art Pictural Russe 1863-1914, Paris 1971, p. 221.

2. See Markov, pp. 41-42.

written credits and reflecting the style of the calligraphy.

The front cover (Figures 221 and 222) contains the drawing of a devil within a roughly chalked square with the author's names and the title above and below respectively in handwriting. The devil is depicted inside the square, with Pan-like horns on a small head. The cryptic classical profile and side view of the eye have an innocent expression while the head of two small devils with horns emerge from the left and right pockets of the principal devil. Female breasts and a rounded belly suggest his bi-sexual nature and a few crayon marks in the top left of the square suggest the edges of the flames. Apart from the heads and hands the devil is drawn in curves and almost parallel straight lines.

The drawings on pages nineteen and twenty (Figures 223 and 224) show devils as unnatural compositions of other animals and the drawing on page twenty-one (Figure 225) shows a naked woman being sawn in half by two devils while a third is sitting on her face.

Following the publication of "A Game in Hell", and "Worldbackwardness" Kruchenykh brought out another book, published together with Kuzmin and Dolinsky at the beginning of 1913 and entitled "Poluzhivoi" ("Half-Alive") (See Figures 227-246). The book consisted of primitivist verse and primitivist illustrations by Larionov. The poem suggests images of war and violence culminating in the picture of a vampire sucking the blood of dead and wounded soldiers on a battlefield. The diction and metre of the poem reveals an imitation of Khlebnikov.¹

1. See V. Markov, Ibid., p. 43.

Another mimeographed edition printed by hand and entitled "Vzorval" ("Explosion") was published in 1912 and followed by a second augmented edition in St. Petersburg in June 1913 (see Figures 247-254) which contained new scenes from "A Game in Hell". It contained twenty-nine sheets of differing paper, loosely enclosed in covers including two lithographs signed on the stone by Malevich; others by Rosanova, including the cover, and a portrait of Kruchenykh by Kulbin. At the end of this volume Kruchenykh refers for the first time to glossallic manifestations by Russian religious sectaries as predecessors of his own free zaum language in which man takes refuge in moments of crisis: "On the 27th of April at 3 p.m., I suddenly became master of all languages". This assertion is followed by three verses allegedly in Japanese, Spanish and Hebrew.¹

Rozanova's signed lithograph on the cover (Figure 247) suggests a town with smoking industrial chimneys. It appears to be rapidly drawn in a sketchy style similar to Goncharova's cover for the 1912 publication of "A Game in Hell" but nearer to cubism and expressionism in the method of covering the page with rhythmic lines and shapes consisting of rapidly drawn curves, straight lines and the impression of a stencilled letter "S" on the right. The title and author's name are incorporated into the scheme. An impression of dynamism is attained by means of the rapidity of the drawn lines by tilting the shapes and by traversing them with curves.

1. See Sotheby's Catalogue of Twentieth Century Russian Paintings, Drawings and Water Colours, 27th March 1973, p. 45.

The invented word "byelomatokiyai" has been inscribed as a motif crossing the first page diagonally amid other letters and calligraphic shapes (Figure 248).

Another lithographed page signed on the stone by Rozanova depicts an explosion (Figure 251). Lines splay out from a central form, some ending in the impressions of a cloud.

Malevich's drawing "Simultaneous death in an aeroplane and at the railway" is lithographed on page 18 (Figure 254). This title "Smert cheloveka odnovenno na aeroplane i zhelozny doroge", and the artist's signature have been written on the litho stone. Though the format is only 11 x 7 cm. the sense of space and movement is suggested by a careful arrangement of straight lines of varying strength, a few curves and keys to the identity of the images represented. The railway is seen from above as a series of parallel lines, with a few shapes that look like telegraph poles and railway furniture. The aeroplane in movement is expressed by lines splaying out in the centre of the picture and meeting others at various apexes. These shapes give an impression of both an explosive quality and of the forms of an aeroplane. The identity of the aeroplane is made more distinct toward the left of this mass of angles by fine shading resembling a propeller in motion and small wheels under a wing and fuselage.

On page twenty-two Malevich's drawing "Molitva" ("Prayer") and his signature are lithographed (Figure 253). A variant of this print exists with additions in water colour (Figure 255). Like many of the illustrations by Malevich at this time they at first appear to be non-representational

until the shape of a figure is gradually identified. In this case the shapes at first sight resemble the rhythms of Marc's "Tiger" of 1912 (see Figure 302) and his Horses in the curves and straight lines may be seen the simplified shape of a figure kneeling. The large feet are at the bottom left of the drawing and the head and clasped hands are at the top right. The hands appear small and pointed touching the forehead of the figure. Both Malevich's drawings are based very closely on his water coloured lithographs done in 1913. Kulbin's portrait of Kruchenykh (Figure 250) is rapidly but precisely executed drawing in clean curved lines. Other pages (see Figure 249) are printed probably with rubber stamp letters and others lithographed (see Figure 252) in such a way that the lines of words are used as plastic shapes in an arrangement that is reminiscent of Suprematist designs.

"Mirskontsa" ("Worldbackwardness") (Figures 215-218) was published by Kruchenykh in Moscow in 1912 being made up of odd pages, some hand-written and others printed as repetitions of the same text upside-down. It contains a haphazard selection of verse and five unpunctuated pages of Kruchenykh's prose "Voyage Across the Whole World"; fifteen semi-abstract or primitivist lithographs by Goncharova, six by Larionov, five by Rogovin and one by Tatlin.¹ The cover (Figure 215) has a large plant like shape in black paper collage below which the title and two author's names "A. Kruchenykh, B. Khlebnikov" appear in a mixture of capital

1. See Sotheby's catalogue of Twentieth Century Russian Paintings... 27th March, 1973, p. 39.

letters with serifs as well as magiscule and miniscule handwriting. Inappropriateness in general was a device used in Russian Futurist publications and the title of this publication was probably inspired by a Russian popular print or lubok. A certain popular French print entitled "The topsy-turvy world" consists of a number of scenes depicting the absurd and humourous reversal of normal conventions, literally putting a horse before the cart in one scene.¹

Later "Pustinnitsa" ("A Hermit-Woman") (Figures 256-258) was begun as an imitation of religious folk poetry about life in a hermitage, but it gradually became blasphemous, erotic and surreal. It was illustrated by Goncharova. It was published in Moscow in 1913 and Goncharova's fifteen illustrations include some which are primitivist such as the cover design (Figure 256). This shows a female figure resembling a neolithic amulet or venus contemplating a vulvic form, vulvular form resembling a sea-urchin.

Other illustrations such as those of the title page (Figure 257) are done in Goncharova's more decorative style. The title of the book and the credits are enclosed in a rectangle and written in bold capital letters and the curving shapes and dark masses of foliage surround it forming a margin and resembling a theatre curtain. The text is also written in thickset capital letters presumably by Goncharova's hand (see Figure 258).

1. "The topsy-turvy world", wood block, 300 x 410 x 180 cms. A series of four, the last of which bears the mark of the Rabier-Boulard establishment active in Orleans 1812-1842. A print from the Musée Carnavalet collection, Paris, was shown at "French Popular Imagery", Hayward Gallery, London, 27th March - 27th May 1974, Cat. No. 142.

Figure 185. Wooden ladle, with handle carved as ducks. Vologodskaya Province, XVIIIth century (traditional).

Figure 186. Lion with a horse's head. Carved wooden window sill, Upper Volga region, Russia. XIXth century (traditional).

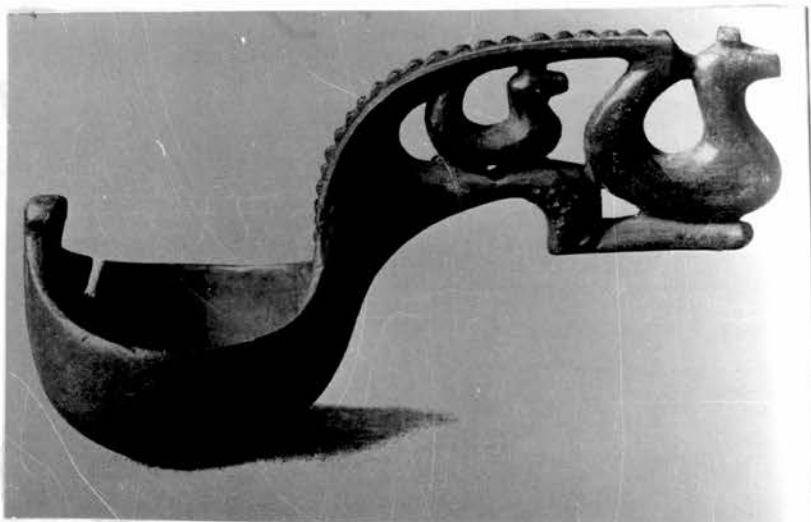


Figure 187. Upper part of a distaff, second half of the nineteenth century, Olonets region. Painted wood, measurement of entire distaff: 90 x 26 x 56 cms.

Figure 188. Painted base of a distaff, 1870s, Nizhy Novgorod region, measurement of entire distaff: 52 x 31 x 72 cms.



Figure 189. Mikhail Larionov:
Landscape with Fence, 1898.

Figure 190. M. Larionov: The Park, 1900.



Figure 191. M. Larionov: Still Life
with Teapot, 1906
Private collection, Paris.



Figure 192. M. Larionov. Fishes 1906,
oil on canvas, $35\frac{7}{8}$ x 50,
artist's collection, Paris.

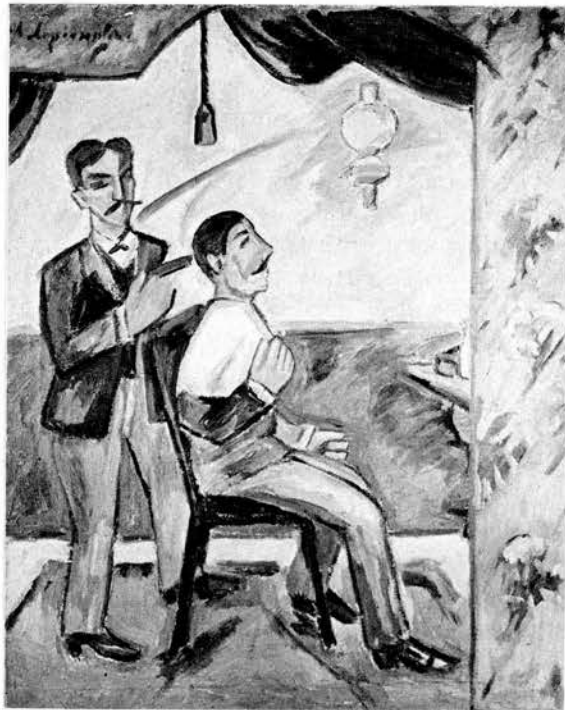
Figure 193. James Ensor: The Skate, 1892.
Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts,
Brussels.



Figure 194. M. Larionov:
Walk in a Provincial Town 1907-8,
oil on canvas, $18\frac{1}{2}$ x $35\frac{7}{8}$.
Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.



Figure 195. M. Larionov: The Hairdresser 1907,
oil on canvas, $33\frac{1}{2}$ x $29\frac{3}{4}$ (85 x 68 cms.)
Collection of Mme. Larionov, Paris,
(exhibited at the "Golden Fleece" exhibition
Moscow 1909-10, "Union of Youth" exhibition
St. Petersburg, 1910 and "World of Art"
exhibition Moscow, 1911).



Figures 196 and 197.

M. Larionov: Soldier at the Hairdresser,
1909-11, oil on canvas, 46 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 35,
collection of Mme Larionov, Paris.



Figure 198. M. Larionov: Lady at the Hairdresser,
1909-11. Private Collection, Paris.



Figure 199. M. Larionov: Prostitute at the
Hairdresser. c. 1910, Oil on canvas,
151.5 x 150 cms. Private collection,
Paris. (exhibited at the Donkey's Tail
group exhibition 1912 unnumbered).



Figure 200. M. Larionov: The Soldiers, second version c. 1909-11, oil on canvas, $34\frac{5}{8}$ x $40\frac{5}{16}$. Collection of Madame Larionov, Paris.



Figure 201. M. Larionov: The Relaxing Soldier
1911, oil on canvas, $46\frac{7}{8}$ x 48,
Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

Figure 202. A Red army soldier photographed
in Odessa in 1969.



Figure 203. M. Larionov: Soldier on a Horse
c. 1909-11, oil on canvas 34½"x 39"
Tate Gallery.
(Presented by Mme Alexandra Larionov
1965).

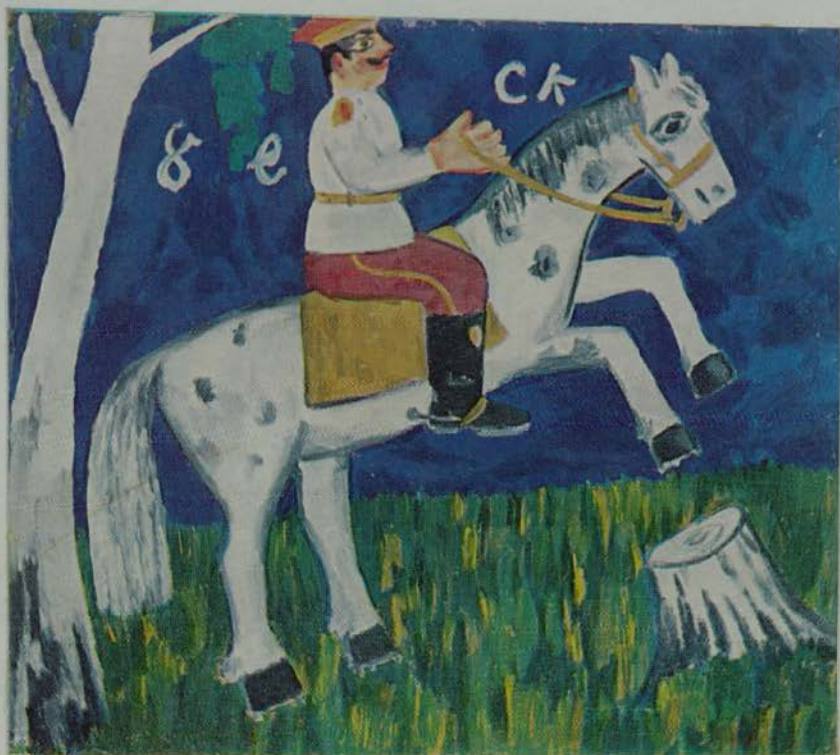


Figure 204. A Lubok of a Mounted Grenadier,
Woodcut, 1860s.
42.6 x 34 cms.

Figure 205. Detail of a lubok representing
Alexander the Great fighting a
Battle with King Porus. Woodcut
of the first quarter of the
eighteenth-century.



Figure 206. The Cat of Kazan. Woodcut,
possibly by Vasily Koren. Late
seventeenth-century.
35 x 26.7 cms.

Figure 207. M. Larionov: Venus, 1910.



Figure 208. M. Larionov: Autumn, c. 1912,
oil on canvas, 136.5 x 115 cms.
Collection of Mme Larionov, Paris.
(exhibited at the "World of Art"
exhibition, Moscow, 1911; "Union of
Youth" exhibition, St. Petersburg,
1912 and the "Target", Moscow, 1913).



Figure 209. M. Larionov: Summer, c. 1912,
oil on canvas, 138 x 118 cms.
Collection of Mme Larionov, Paris.
(exhibited at "The Target", Moscow,
1913 and Galérie Paul Guillaume,
Paris, 1914).

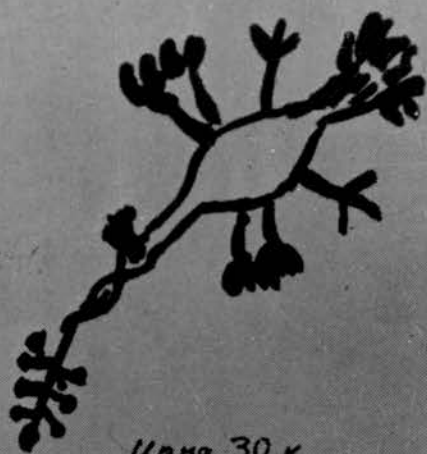


Figure 210. M. Larionov: Cover of
A. Kruchenykh's "Pomada" ("Pomade")
containing hand-written text litho-
graphed on one side of the paper and
twelve lithographed illustrations by
Larionov, some mounted on gold paper.
Lithographed in Moscow, 1913.

Томада



Figure 211. M. Larionov: Illustration from
A. Kruchenykh's "Pomada"
(Moscow, 1913).



Цена 30 к.

Изд. Г. А. Кузьмина

и
С. В. Золотникова

Лит. С. Мухоморова
Москва.

Figure 212. One of the first three poems from
A. Kruchenykh's "Pomada"
"are written in my own language.
It is different from others!
Its words have no precise
meaning". (author's preface).

З стихотворіа
Калісакія на
свабодным языку
яго не змяшчаецца!
Калісакія не можаць
змяшчаць Калісакія

В. К. С.



Figure 213. One of the poems from
A. Kruchenykh's "Pomada".

Холодной влагою объята
Ты предаешься воле ей
Готова томить плыть всегда ты
И видеть всплеск огней

И ни на что не променяешь
Ты грустно блещущий винец
И не заботясь плавает
Пылькой мученичих сердец

Ты нам пример явила

строгий

Среди нас безмятежной красоты
Трепещет наш удел

убедный

И для тебя несет цветы

Figure 214. M. Larionov: Illustration from
A. Kruchenykh's "Pomada"
(Moscow, 1913).



Figure 215. Cover, lithographed with black collage on upper part, for A. Kruchenykh and V. Khlebnikov's Mirskontsa ("Worldbackwardness") containing verse; five unpunctuated pages of Kruchenykh's "Voyage across the Whole World" and fifteen, semi abstract or primitivist lithographs unpunctuated by Goncharova (6), Larionov (5), Rogovin and Tatlin (1). Edition of fifty copies Lithographed by Tityaev, Moscow, 1912.



МІРСКОНИЦА
д. Крученихъ
В. Хлѣбниковъ

Figure 216. A page of Verse from
"Mirskontsa".

РАПА ГОРИТ
ТЕМНОТ
ТЛАНІЕ

МОЖЕТЕСЬ
МОЛІТЬСЯ
ОН НЕ УМЕР

ЧЕРЕЦ
ТРАВА КУХ
СЛЕНКА

СОН
ТЛАНІЕ

УТРОМ ОНИ
РАБОТАЮТ
НА ПЛЯЖІ
ВРАНА ХОЛДА

Figure 217. A page of Kruchenykh's
"Voyage across the World"
in "Mirskontsa".

я долго путешествовал и побывал
в этих странах принимали всюду с
серно но вынес много впечатлений
взял с персией и индией из индии
привез 2 пуда сахара хотел захватить
олше и арабскую да забыл ирланд
говорят я не помню а я радуюсь я
из камня потом я увидел у женщин
и ут моравия лица надушены как будто
авозом и вьдано не развел руки запячки
пал в чагодубию приволилс будою и цем
пущил книзу и цвѣток платок а мѣста мнѣ
бы все ктло то залукивает и шепчет не забх
сте вырвать зубы я обомлел лишь то
дамы на пути когда не видно и
ума и дорога упала на небо и сходится де
вья дух народки оплетается с медвипы
и мѣри скрипят и производят между
юбом и дѣвухами рук опостыла мнѣ скли
а сто заносила ноги так ожа не бжало а
аспалась распозалась тужула и тѣл
е подобен мѣрѣ все вѣтисленія устар
то устала лнчйка оказалась невѣрными а зала
а в камышах фалѣших вѣткн орыоайксв и тедло
и тѣ пѣрв пряди прядк съхутся в уши лѣзут

Figure 218. A page of Verse and illustration by
Larionov in "Mirskontsa".

Как трудно мертвых воскрешать..
Трудней воскреснуть самому!
Вокруг могил бродили таты
Призыви шелгешь одному...-

Но бесполезны все слова,
И нат творящей вгори в чудо,
Ужорам шелгешь лтс трава
И ты молчишь... забуду...



Литературный
В. С. ТРЕВА Москва

М. Лупинов

Figure 219. N. Goncharova: Cover of "Igra
v Adu" ("A Game in Hell")
First edition, Moscow, Rikhter,
August 1912.



Figures 220, 221, 222.

K. Malevich: Lithographed title page, front cover and detail of cover for V. Khlebrickov and A. Kruchonykh Igra v Adu ("A Game in Hell"). St. Petersburg, 1914.



обложка
и
3 рис. К.
Малевича

оформил
рис.
О. Розанов
в ДИ

2-е дополн. изд.

80 коп.

а. Кругликов В. Хлебников



игра в
ААУ

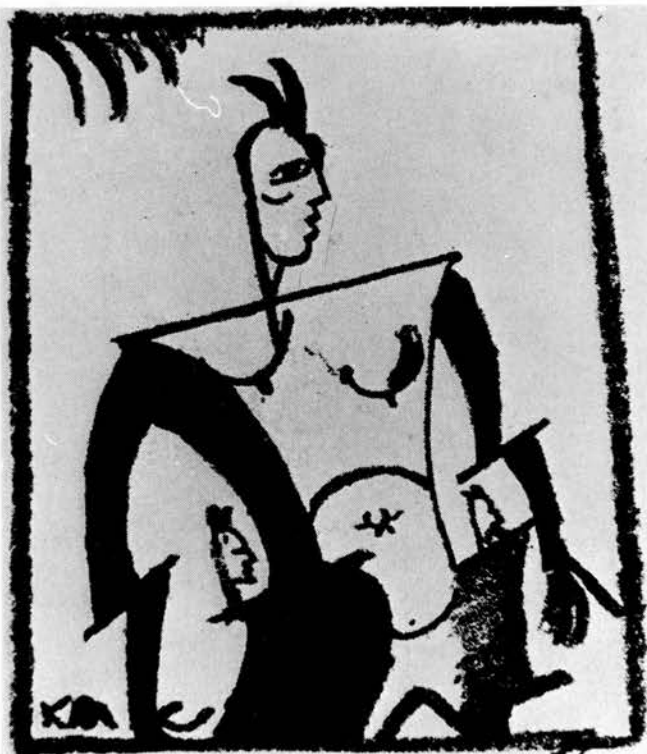


Figure 223. Page 19 of "Igra v Adu" illustrated
by K. Malevich.

Figure 224. Page 20 of "Igra v Adu" illustrated
by K. Malevich.

Figure 225. Page 21 of "Igra v Adu" illustrated
by K. Malevich.



И ВОТ НА МИГ СОШЛО
И ПРОК ОТВРОЩЕННЫЙ
ИХ СУД НЕ ВЪДАИ
ОН ДУШУ В ЗЛАТО ОБРАЩАЛ
СМЪЮН, ЧТО ТУТ БРОСАЛ
УПАЛ КАК БУДТО В ЗА-
СКАЗАТЬ КОТЪЛОМЪ СЕРДУ
ВСЕ СОЖИГАЛОСЬ ДАНЬЮ
ЛЮБИМЦУ ВЪДЪМ ВЪНЕЦ
ПОД НОЖ ТОСКЛИВЫЙ
НИЗКОМ УПАЛ ОН НА
А ЧУБ (ПЛАВН) ВЪЛЪИ
ЗЪМ ЛЕН

19



У ЗЛАТА ЗАРЕВО
И СЪДИНА БОЛЬНЪИ
ОНА НИЗТОЖНА И
ПРЕД НЕЙ КОЛЫШЕТ-
И ЧЕРТЪ РАСПИЛЕ-
КАК ЗМЪЙКИ В ВОЗ-
ДУХЪ ТОРЧАТ
ГЛАЗА ВОЗЖЕННЫЯ
ВЫТЬ ОТПУЩЕННЫМ
БЕЗ ПЪСНИ
БЕЗ УТЪХИ И СЛЕЗЫ
ТОЧНО ПАРУБКИ НА
КЛАДБИЩУ ВЫХОДЦЫ
ЛЮБОВНИЦУ ХОР ОТРАВЫ

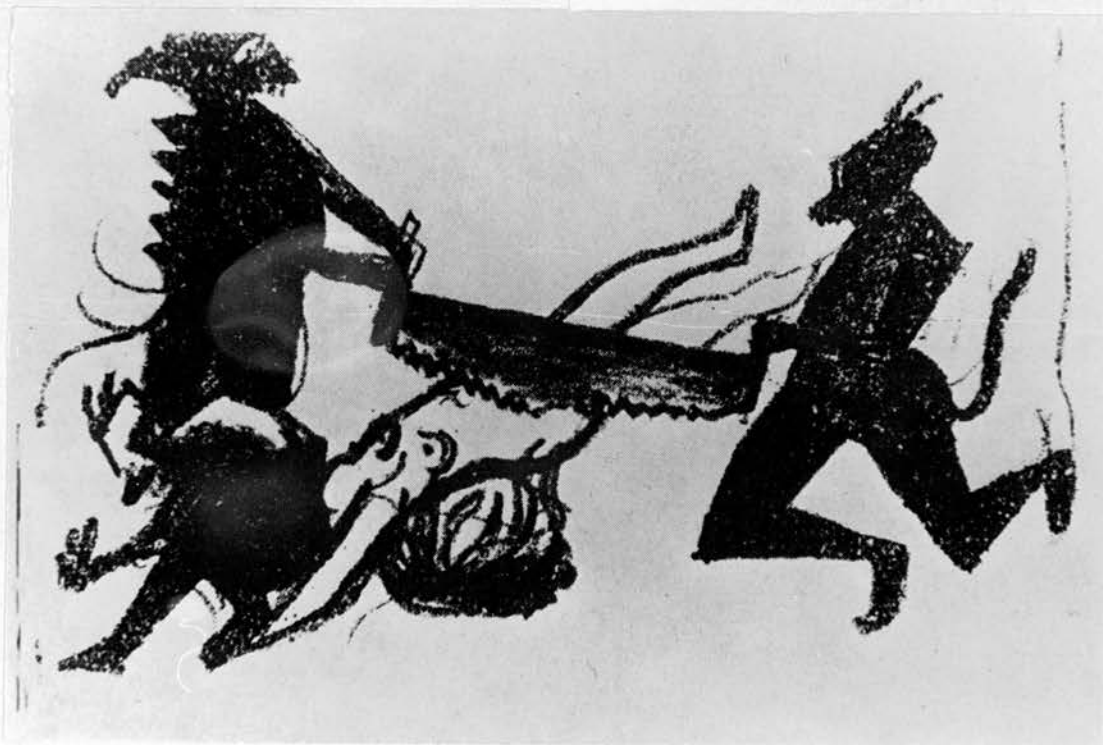
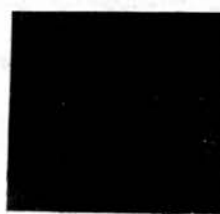


Figure 226. Old Church Slavonic, early
seventeenth-century.



Figures 227-246.

A. Kruchenykh: "Poluzhivoi" ("Half Alive")
illustrated by M. Larionov,
co-published by R.L. Kuzmin and
S.D. Dolinsky and lithographed by
S. Mukharsky, Moscow, 1913.

Полуживой
соч.
А. Крученых



Рис. Мих. Ларионова

"Le demi-vivant"

Lesins de Mikail
Larionoff

1907.

Vol. I. 36 C.

Крученых А.

Посвящается
Михаилу
Ларионову

Я смело бросился на них
Когда во тьме бог прокричал...
И прозвонил как смех: хорош!
По столам втрехней зеркал

Я обезрежьи изобрел?
Я ухрюкну похотел?
Раздвину на виду
У всех паду на локать?

О бог войны! отерли
Златого пояса и кисти!
Я прокрасил на луг выстрел серж
И там жой праздник кисти!



Всюю он многих победил
И в бегство обращал как сброд
Давнишню ярость утопил
Холод теперь зовет

Погибли воины засады
Давно в лесу их стерегла
Завно желанная награда
Врагу улагена была

И в небо тусклое гляжу
Лишь вiatr вздохнет паркою
И бросит мусор на межу
Все облегает тьмюнотою

Из века я в родстве с ногами
Мой пыльный цвет тогда хорош
Хоть и мечтал порой в пегали
В новой карье взорю таж



Нас много на земле валялось
В пыли и крови все немцы
Тела их уж разлагались
Я жидился жадно тьмю

Все на крови не осаждалась
Хоть в небо гладко было
Улица стая напуганная
Сидит вокруг покуро

Тут лезва острая как лук
Пальцы стелю землею
Игнбких копий лук
Холодем холодной волною

В вьатаз оружје дышало
Кердык пролитым алом
И тут же старое моголо
Под крови слоем



Здесь малл ванныи чадл
Значивший рать избранно
Все бились местно горля
Но победил злость покаял

Их вожди уснул на дне даки
Устав на смерть от боя
Звали воще его полли
Он жаждет сна мокоя

На красно брат чадл
Открыл убжище больного
На красно клятва: повторя
Х защити звал родного

Забити страсти и трудн
И не вернут билей отваги
Он спит под кровлею воды
Пускай печально влюет стяги



И вот настал коней
Блики позоров и кролятий
Завороженный я мертвец
Тянуля жду котых объятий

Тогда я встану и койду
Средь жертвнх колыхахсе
И грозных воино руду
Сосать начну всег усмхахсе

И издвась над живыми
Я стану раны берейте
Глазами бланно стеклянными
Следице геркнющую нить

Травю тглад непокрою
Все отдаю втрам
И пыли жесткой зною
Путь укажу звярж



Во сердца доберусь эта боится
В последнем изступлении
Стрелу нажму - полетит
Попальцеж так мучений

Увишь вином последней жести
Под рапорт каршуна, и струй
Тверды даю без лестки
Тебя кроша льный похмельи

Застонет ваин и узнает
Набитву звавшего лобца
И страшным словом покарает
В последней судороги лица

Но я возстану цял и красен
Возьму копьё его и щит
И буду жить вькам причастен
Меня ничто не поведит ...



Непокоблем меч чертей
Я правлю, мир подземный!
Что избжит судьбы своей?
Что тут противится надменн

Меж тем чуужно дребесна
Между планет скрипели
И плаз у гереле два пса
Точили черной прבלью...



я злиий бандкий сирадный
Вошел во ад как в дом
Тоял там воздух гадный
Некя обрали кляпцом

И тотчас е ногти мня вилися
Уормили сажими грвалии
Я глаза глядели и вилися
Бя отвислыми ушамн

Их палец тучилас кагертаь
Мок земния пать имен
Но легге коготи поломать
Гим отадаат как я клеймен

Пут я узрал родное плеса
И ни ошуал на зву
Лосил равно я пытки беля
И прокфигал с хозе том: живу!



Люблю я ноги и свист залятый
Люблю кипенье казакн
Заво забил са обзатя
Забил и шуми пиль зума

Огонь и муки мня кипоган
И стиснув зубы хулу шелау
Тод тонким жалющим бисси
Смлясь тихоко палазу

Его рога торгат упрямо
И веси он скверни образеу
В боку отверзта ама
И вней поверженый вордеу

И бес стал пачитяся неволено
Зажьтив что глумлюсь
Шепнул себя щилгах бляно
Тыб з преданосе



Тебя навки я отдадена
Взяса вьдыма изрекля
И вьтвр и зьвры и дьвагадина
Касались моего тела

Меня вьизвали гердныи знаком
И укусу мри на ззык
Копьем украсили и паки
Вознесся дикий крик

Посаи ты утомился там
Зьдсь отуащи ми погы погаси
Зьдсь царство вьзное клутам
Ми убьокжети и сон украсим

Хакое царство подарили
Тебя вперви
Тебя ми вьизвали из щили
И наша крльма вьзя...



Не огеня мьжма твоб вокяло
А так твоб еносно дя живи з
А вьместо простыни одяла
Мостель из слов лусыиз

Клянусь усон весекей рози
Ты будешь сладко спать
Мебя лелют гром и грозы
Они тебя отец и мать!..

И смертерадостный мертвец
Заснул а тут вперви
Зарю увидал и вьлеу
И стал толстать я как женеу





Figure 247. Olga Rozanov: Cover of A. Kruchenykh's "Vzorval" ("Explosion") second augmented edition. Mimeograph, printed by hand and pencil or rubber stamp, haphazard on 29 sheets of differing paper, some of it lined, loosely enclosed in covers (Markov, pp. 202-203). Lithographed by Sviet, St. Petersburg, June 1913.



Figure 248. Front page of Kruchenykh's "Vzorval" containing the non-existent word "byelomatokiyai". (second augmented edition, St. Petersburg, 1913).

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7

Figure 249. A page from Kruchenykh's

"Vzorval".

(second augmented edition,
St. Petersburg, 1913).

ВНИМАНИЕ ПРОСМОТРЕТЬ
ДЕЛУ К АМЕРИКАМ
НА ВОРАХОВ ПОЛЕЗ ЛИ
КТО
ХОУТ. СКА ПРАД ВОСЕМ

Figure 250. Nikolai Kulbin. Portrait of Kruchenykh, Lithograph illustration in "Vzorval". (second augmented edition, St. Petersburg, 1913).



Figure 251. O. Rozanova. Lithographed illustration, signed on stone, from Kruchenykh's "Vzorval". (second augmented edition, St. Petersburg, 1913).



Figure 252. A page from Kruchenykh's
"Vzorval".
(second augmented edition,
St. Petersburg, 1913).



Figure 253, K. Malevich. "Molitva"
("Prayer").

Lithographed illustration on
page 22 of Kruchenykh's "Vzorval".

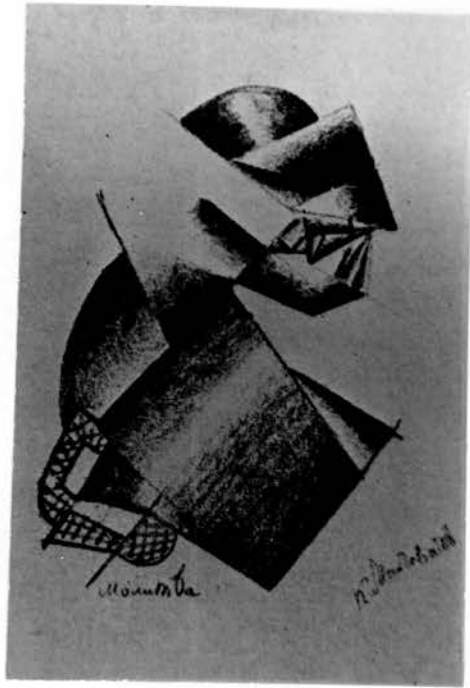


Figure 254. K. Malevich. Smert cheloveka odnovenno na aeroplane i zheleznoy doroge.

("Simultaneous death in an aeroplane and at the railway"). Lithograph, 11 x 7 cm.

Page 18 from Kruchenykh's "Vzorval"

(second augmented edition,

St. Petersburg, 1913).

Figure 255. K. Malevich. "Molitva" ("Prayer"), 1913, 17.5 x 11.5 cms. Lithograph, water-colour on paper.

Collection: Kupferstichkabinett der Oeffentlichen Kunstsammlung,

Kunstmuseum, Basle. A variant on

Figure 233.

Figure 256. Natalia Goncharova. Cover of
A. Kruchenykh's "Pustynniki"
("Hermits"), "Pustynnitsa" ("Hermit
Woman") containing 15 drawings (in-
cluding upper cover and title page)
by Natalia Goncharova. Text in
capital letters on one side of page.
Lithographed, Moscow, 1913.

ПУСТЫННИКИ
ПОЭМА
А КРУЧЕНЫХЪ



РИСУНКИ НАТ. ГОНЧАРОВОЙ

Figure 257. N. Goncharova. Title page of
Kruchenykh's "Pustinniki -
Pustinnitsa". Lithographed in
Moscow, 1913.



А КРУЧЕНЫХ
Д ВЪ ПОЭМН
ПУСТЫНН
ИКИ
ПУСТЫНН
ИЦА
РИС НАТАЛ
ГОНЧАРОВ
ОИ

ЛИТ. МРХАРСКАГО МОСКВА

Figure 258. Text from Kruchenykh's
"Pustinniki - Pustinnitsa"
written in capital letters by
N. Goncharova.

Замечна: прет бедни,
чи попречма в кустарни...
ет есе баже конь баобасный,-
Ржут дачно кобылицы,-
Вот уж дышит в садни чирый,
Удлинятся наши лица,
Мы жибел обсеркма,
По дорвгь спитынемма,-
И драпит вземлемный конь,
И назад лтит высоко!
Ау, скакать хотва далеко!
У колит блестят ладонь...

Иль на руки уладает
С свистом, пскый диким
лит!

Сваы, лады, пауки,-
Все нам мило, все с руки!..

И свбачея мелкии любим,
Заласкает, приголует,
Взяв чернавку, уберлет -
Спать худма под забор,
А потом пускает в дом,

Без мы любим юный жар -
Он жанил и занил удар!
Мы и дльбушек порвай
Нагоняем за горой,
Разсылаем их корзины,
И цыпочки оун ярки
Топчут роса в нежужной свавк

То бажим за вгурчма,
Легкой радости тварцел,
С опракнутом лицом.
С коркит бьрвем и сожжем.
Бьрос он на жирной глине,
Таким нит давно в помини,
Ни в горах, ни там в Долинн!

Бык идет с пятою ногови
Та, что лишня, за рогам.
На него садится рыжий
Всех лукавьи, к грязн баже,
Озирается кругом,
Прогит молит шепотком.
По горам бысоким качет,
И за ним вокльда, удача:
Вярный гонится народ,

CHAPTER IX
THE "HYLAEANS"

The work of David Davidovich [redacted] Burliuk was important to the development of Primitivism. He was born in Moscow in 1882 but his ancestors had emigrated from the southern shores of the Crimean Peninsula and settled in the rich village of Riabushki near Kharkov. David's uncle was a writer and his mother encouraged an interest in literature in her children. David the eldest was born on a fairly primitive small farm but through poverty the family moved to the Cossak village Koteliva.

In 1889 David's father decided to take a position as superintendent of an estate and for about 25 years moved from one estate to another all over Russia.

In 1895 David began tuition for his entry into a gymnasium and about that time at Kharkov he shared a room with an art student and saw how he painted with oils.

At school he was praised for academic art studies and at home he painted still life groups.

His first journey alone was in 1896 to see the "National Russian Commercial and Applied Art Exhibition" in Nizhi Novgorod on the Volga (now called Gorki) where he experienced the gaiety of the Russian fair. He began to read extensively including forbidden works such as the revolutionary poetry of Tarass Shevchenko and Darwin's "Origin of Species". Entering the Gymnasium at Tver (now Kalinin), in 1898 he stayed with Madame Peacock whose son was at the Gymnasium. She was the granddaughter of the Russian anarchist Bakunin (1824-76) a student of Hegel and opponent of Marx. David then

began to read Shelley and write poetry himself. At 17 he entered Kazan Art School late in 1899 and the same year he was greatly impressed by Tolstoy's book "What is Art?" in which Tolstoy describes two categories of art, the moral and immoral, the moral being that which tends to make men better, while the immoral degrades. David became convinced later that this clarified the demarcation between the socialist and bourgeois art.

From 1900-1904 David's father was supervisor on the estate of the Dnieper River and David painted three hundred canvasses in an impressionistic style during the summer of 1900. He was inspired that year by his first visit to the Black Sea and returning from Odessa with more paintings he followed the example of the peasants and worked from dawn to dusk studying the variations of light. In the Autumn of 1900 he registered at Odessa Art School but found little success there and returned to Kazan Art School a year later. His sister Ludmilla and brother Vladimir (see Figures 262 and 263) had also begun to paint. Ludmilla began studying at St. Petersburg but David failed the examination and went to Munich to study under Professor Willi Dietz and returned at Christmas with many art books, magazines and reproductions of Menzel, Holbein, Rubens and Liebermann. David and his brother Vladimir returned to Munich for the winter of 1903 to study with Azb  where Kandinsky was also working, though there is no evidence of contact between Burliuk and Kandinsky at that time. There were a great many Russians and other Slavs in the city then. Neither David nor Vladimir Burliuk were still in Munich by the time that "Die Br cke" or the "Neue

Künstlervereinigung" began. During the Russo-Japanese War they left to go to Paris in the spring of 1904 to study at the Ecole de Beaux Arts under Cormon who had previously been the teacher of Jacques Villon and Marcel Duchamp. At the Louvre the works of Leonardo, Courbet and the Barbizon School appealed most to them.

When his father took charge of the large estate of Tchernyanka near Kherson, he and his brother painted men at work, horses, cows and other farm animals in styles which may be described generally as "Post-impressionist". Paintings done during this period by David Burliuk display elements of the western European art forms he had just seen. The expressive brush strokes of Van Gogh are fused into what tended to be by 1907 a kind of naive expressionism and a prelude to the primitivist style which he and Larionov were to evolve after their meeting in 1907. It was during the winter of that year that the Burliuk family exhibited in Moscow and St. Petersburg as well as with the "Union of Soviet Artists" ("Soyuz") and with "Mir Isskustva".

Associated with primitivism and folk art was the ideal of country life. Vasily Kamensky's "Zemlyanka" ("the Mud Hut") which he described as a new kind of novel was written in 1910-11. It was the story of a man who returned to the country to find happiness away from the corrupt city. This was the first major work by a Russian Futurist to be published and makes use of free verse. It is a good example of the impressionist sources of Russian Futurism and was created in the same spirit as the more intensely primitivistic painters. After receiving bad reviews Kamensky gave up writing and took

up flying. However his plane crashed in Poland at a display, he survived miraculously and decided to purchase a farm near Perm.

Soon after the "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition in 1910 Kulbin began to write about the art of children and pre-historic men in the same context as nature.¹ The main areas that attracted Russian Futurist poets in their effort to create primitivism was childhood. This overlapped the impressionist stage in such poets as Guro and Khlebnikov who used infantilism as a poetic method. With this was associated pre-history and some of Khlebnikov's longer poems are set in an imaginary Slav stone age while others are reminiscent of graffiti or cave art and others of Russian folk-lore.

After the "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition (see Chapter X) David Burliuk discovered the talent of Mayakovsky and about the same time Kruchenykh joined the group and in December 1911 at Kiev a fellow artist introduced him to Livshits an admirer of Corbière and Rimbaud.

The Burliuks lived in Chernyanko, formerly of the Tauride region and not far from the city of Kherson on the Black Sea coast. Livshits saw something Homeric in his way of life in that region called by the ancient Greeks "Hylaea" ("G. ilya" in Russian). They had also just discovered the work of Picasso about a month before their next exhibition was to open. Therefore they immediately began to experiment with multiple perspective and to incorporate the earth of Hylaea by throwing canvasses in the mud. Livshits described one of

1. Studya Impressionistov ("Studio of the Impressionists"), p.9.

his prose works "Lyudi v Peizazhe" ("People in a landscape") written at this time as "a hundred per cent cubism transferred to the area of organised speech".

The "Hylaea" group was founded by the Burliuk brothers and Livshits and Mayakovsky and Kruchenykh soon joined. It was more than two years before they called themselves "Futurists". They were a primitivist group rather than purely cubist. Apart from symbolist sources they had a wide interest in Slavic mythology especially the theme of the human beast in Russian prose of the period (Leonid Andreyev, Artsybashev), but more specifically it was the third exhibition of the "Golden Fleece" in December 1909 that stimulated them with the early primitivist work of Larionov and Goncharova to the fore. Burliuk's primitivism in painting was not stimulated entirely by Scythian art, it was also based on his study of Polynesian and Pre-Columbian Mexican art as well as an interest in contemporary sign-boards of which he had a large collection.

The subject of the barber's shop introduced probably by Larionov was used in a number of David Burliuk's compositions in 1910. Two of which "A Good Shave" (Figure 267) and "The Headless Barber" (Figure 266) show the extent to which the forms of cubism and the brilliant colours of primitivism were synthesised with the simplified stiffness and humorous effect of the lubok. It is partly Burliuk's sense of humour present in all his paintings that allows him to adapt these different styles to one composition and produce a harmonious new style of his own as a result.

Chagall's paintings at this time (see Figures 268 and 269) had similar sources as both Burliuk and Larionov, but the

Lubki from which he took ideas were often Yiddish as were those of Lissitzky. The subject of the barber's shop and headless men, interiors in bright colours painted with heavy rapid impastoes often show an open window and inanimate objects that appear to be flying about are prominent in Chagall's work of this period. A head flying off from the rest of the body is frequently depicted in Chagall's paintings and appears also in Burliuk's "Headless Barber" who is shown after having made too swift a stroke of the razor in shaving a client. The subject is probably derived from a lubok showing a barber cutting off the beard of an old believer.¹ Alternatively it may be inspired by a fictitious barber who accidentally shaves off his own beard in a Russian joke version of "Tiddley-winks the Barber".

The theme also satirises the tendency of cubism to displace objects from normal positions. David Burliuk's obvious lack of care for developing a single personal style allowed him to synthesise and experiment with many styles one after the other. The elements of cubism which Burliuk had been using hitherto were mostly the simplification of forms into angles and curves that adapted themselves as basic shapes to aid the effect of "Primitivism". By 1911 however other aspects of cubism and more probably Italian Futurism appeared in works such as "Sibirskiy Flotili" ("Siberian Navy", Figure 270). In 1910 Braque had painted compositions such as his "Still Life with Violin and Pitcher" (Figure 70) in which angular rhythms covered the surface out of which it was gradually possible to identify the realistic subjects fragmented and fused with the background. His "Portuguese" of 1911 depicting a figure playing a musical instrument is even more fragmented with divisionist brush-strokes in muted

1. See John E. Bowlit: "Neo-primitivism and Russian Painting" in The Burlington Magazine, March 1974, pp. 133-140.

brown and greys and lettering is introduced for the first time as a plastic element. Carlo Carrà had suggested jerking rhythms of movement in his "Jolting Cab" of 1911. The Orphists were also employing simultaneous viewpoints at this time. Burliuk's signature and date written in large red Roman magiscules appears inconsistent with the abbreviation for "Siberian Navy" written in Cyrillic script. The character and prominence of this lettering recalls Picabia's "Udnie" (Figure 663) more than Braque's use of lettering. "Siberian Navy" represents a sailor in a manner that suggests the movements of his head from a front view to a side view by simultaneously showing his profile and full face. The effect is a little like Duchamp's work of a year later which he would not have seen. Works by Gleizes, Le Fauconnier and Lhôte at the "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition of 1910 were known to him. Other works by David Burliuk appear to satirise western European trends, thereby contributing a new element to his primitivist style. The clichés of Cubism have been used deliberately in his painting the "Sitting Nude" (Figure 271) of about 1912 in the same way that clichés of folk poetry were incorporated by the poets. In the "Sitting Nude" the stock characteristics of French Cubism are the classical subject with jagged cubes in the background. The back is twisted around to allow a view of both buttocks, the face is flat as seen in Picasso's portrait of Fanny Tellier as a "Girl with a Mandoline" 1910, (Figure 71) but the unified wholeness of the figure is basically representational like the figures of Le Fauconnier and members of the Section d'Or group.

By 1913 some of his subjects such as "The Mason" (Figure

272) correspond to the representation of workmen and peasants used at this time also by Goncharova and Malevich. Burliuk's picture is even more representational and less disintegrated by cubo-futurist tendencies than formerly. Many discussions centered around art exhibitions preceded the formation of the "Hylaea" group which made its appearance at the end of 1912 with the publication "A Slap in the Face for Public Taste".

"A Slap in the Face for Public Taste" was printed on grey and brown wrapping paper and the cover was coarse sackcloth. It was probably written mainly by David Burliuk, Kruchenykh and Mayakovsky in November and December 1912 in Moscow. The full text of the manifesto is translated by V. Markov:

To the readers of our New First Unexpected
 Only we are the face of our Time. The horn of time
 trumpets through us in the art of the word.
 The past is crowded. The Academy and Pushkin are more
 incomprehensible than hieroglyphics.
 Throw Pushkin, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy et al. overboard
 from the ship of Modernity.
 He who does not forget his first love will not
 recognize his last.
 But who is so gullible as to direct his last love toward
 the perfumed lechery of a Balmont? Does it reflect the
 virile soul of today?
 Who is so cowardly as to be afraid to strip the warrior
 Bryusov of the paper armor he wears over his black
 tuxedo? Is the dawn of an undiscovered beauty seen there?
 Wash your hands, you who touched the filthy slime of the
 books written by all those innumerable Leonid Andreyevs.
 All those Maxim Gorkys, Kuprins, Bloks, Sologubs,
 Remizovs, Averchenkos, Chernyis, Kuzmins, Bunins, etc.,
 etc., need only a dacha on a river.
 Tailors are rewarded by destiny in this way.
 We look at their nothingness from the heights of
 skyscrapers!...

We decree that the poets' rights be honoured:

- 1) to enlarge vocabulary in its scope with arbitrary
 and derivative words (creation of new words).
- 2) to feel an insurmountable hatred for the language
 existing before them.

- 3) to push aside in horror from our proud brow the wreath of dirt-cheap fame, which you have fashioned from bathhouse veniks (swishes)
- 4) to stand on the solid block of the word "we" amid the sea of boos and indignation.
And if for the time being even our lines are still marked with dirty stigmas of your "common sense" and "good taste", there tremble on them for the first time the summer lightnings of the New-coming Beauty of the Self-sufficient (self-centered) word.

Moscow, 1912, December

D. Burluk, Alexander
Kruchenykh, V. Mayakovsky,
Victor Khlebnikov.¹

It resembled the texts of the Italian Futurists in many ways and the declamatory tone of the opening particularly recalls the spirit of the last line of Marinetti's "Initial Manifesto of Futurism" published in 1909.

We stand upon the summit of the world and once more we cast our challenge to the stars!²

Iconoclasm and attacks on the nineteenth century writers in the main part of the "New first Unexpected" is expressed in a similar manner to Marinetti's "Initial Manifesto":

It is in Italy that we launch this manifesto of violence, destructive and incendiary, by which we this day found Futurism, because we would deliver Italy from its canker of professors, archeologists, cicerones and antiquaries.

Italy has been too long the great market of the second-hand dealers. We would free her from the numberless museums which cover her with as many cemeteries.³

However, the Russian manifesto proceeds more specifically to attack cliché and language which is habitual and in need of being revitalised by new forms relevant to the age. The "self-sufficient, (self-centred) word" is a direct reference to zaum

1. Quoted V. Markov: Russian Futurism, p. 46.

2. Marinetti: Initial Manifesto of Futurism 1909 in Joshua Taylor Futurism, Museum of Modern Art, New York.

3. Ibid.

and its abstract implications and in this respect seems to be more advanced and also more specific than the longer Italian manifesto. The reference to "the heights of skyscrapers" from which the old-guard is viewed suggests a modern urban spirit which, nevertheless, was not central in the creative works of "A Slap..." Theory was ahead of practise in a similar way when the Italian Futurist Manifesto was written.

Matyushin assisted in editing a small book entitled Sadok Sudei ("A Trap for Judges") in 1910 (see Figure 274). This book had a light grey cover on which there were red spots and a stripe with the title pasted on it. The paper chosen for the book was wallpaper with text on the reverse side which formed the recto pages. There are nine drawings by Vladimir Burliuk in the book, most of them portraits of contributors. Twelve poems by Kamensky open the book, most of them with significant changes were included in "Zemlyanka" ("The Mud Hut") The poems are expressive of the joy of nature written mostly in primitivist free verse.¹ Kruchenykh and Mayakovsky dated futurism from 1912, Livshits from 1911 but Burliuk and Kamensky considered Sadok Sudei to have been "the dawn of a new epoch".²

Khlebnikov's "Pamyatnik" ("the Monument"), entirely primitivist in spirit and "People in a Landscape" by Livshits were also included and consisted of three short chapters written in prose. The title was taken from a painting by Léger and its aim was a "cubist shaping of the verbal mass".³ Four

1. V. Markov: Ibid., pp. 22-23.

2. Put entuziasta p.109; Entelekhizm p.3, quoted in V. Markov: Ibid., p.27.

3. Benedikt Livshits Polutoraglazi Strelits Leningrad 1933, p.50, quoted in Vladimir Markov Russian Futurism, p.48.

short prose passages in Russian by Kandinsky were included, according to the futurists, by accident.¹ These appeared later published in Munich as "Klange".

Mayakovsky's "Noch" ("Night") and "Utro" ("Morning") however are urbanist poems and more reminiscent of Italian Futurism than Russian primitivism. The same publication contains four essays, the first two of which were wrongly attributed to Nikolai Burliuk and are actually by David. One of these "Kubism", written in a deliberately disorganised fashion was nevertheless a fairly conventional account of the movement. He also described child art as being the best example of "free drawing".² Burliuk borrowed the terms sdvig ("shift" or dislocation) and faktura ("texture" or "surface") from painting and applies them to literature in this text. Some years earlier Khlebnikov had made certain predictions concerning the fall of an empire in 1917 and this re-appeared in this publication. To complicate matters, the Hylaeans published a different leaflet entitled "A Slap in the Face for Public Taste" in February 1913. The same year David Burliuk prepared the joint publication "Sadok Sudei II" which was illustrated by Larionov, Goncharova, Vladimir Burliuk and himself and in their manifesto they claimed to have given a start to the "Ego Futurists", rivals of the Hylaeans in St. Petersburg. Part of the manifesto is given over to "new principles of creation":

1. We have ceased to look at word formation and word pronunciation according to grammar rules, beginning to see in letters only the determinants of speech. We have shaken syntax loose.

1. Ibid., p. 48-49.

2. Ibid., p. 48.

2. We have begun to attach meaning to words according to their graphic and phonic characteristics.
3. The role of prefixes and suffixes has become clear to us.
4. In the name of the freedom of personal chance (svoboda lichnogo sluchaya), we reject orthography.
5. We characterize nouns not only by adjectives (as was chiefly done before us) but also by other parts of speech, as well as by individual letters and numbers:
 - a) considering corrections (pomarki) and the vignettes of creative expectation inseparable parts of a work,
 - b) deeming that the handwriting is an ingredient (sostavlyayushchaya) of a poetic impulse,
 - c) therefore, we have printed in Moscow 'self-written' books of autographs).
6. We have abolished punctuation, which for the first time brings the role of the verbal mass consciously to the fore.
7. We think of vowels as space and time (character of direction); consonants are colour, sound, smell.
8. We have smashed rhythms (Khlebnikov brought the poetic cadence (razmor) of the living conversational word.) We have ceased to look for meters in textbooks; every new turn of movement gives birth to a new and free rhythm for a poet.
9. The front rhyme (David Burliuk), the middle and reversed rhymes (Mayakovsky) have been worked out by us.
10. The poet's justification is in the richness of his vocabulary.
11. We consider the word a creator of myth; the word, when dying, gives birth to a myth and vice versa.
12. We are obsessed with new themes: futility, meaninglessness, and the mystery of a power-hungry mediocrity were glorified by us.
13. We despise fame; we experience feelings that did not exist before us.

The document ends with the words, "We are new people of new life"; and there follow the signatures of D. Burliuk, Guro, N. Burliuk, Mayakovsky, Nizen, Khlebnikov, Livshits, and Kruchenykh.¹

Great attention to the problems of language appears in

1. Ibid., pp. 51-53.

this manifesto and the new techniques of writing poetry are stressed. Among the primitivist poems in the book Kruchenykh adopted the new abstract or semi-abstract language in his "Myatezh v Snegu" ("Rebellion in the Snow") and Guro's sister E. Nizen included the prose work "Pyatna" ("Spots") written in a stream of consciousness technique.

In 1913 the Hylaeans reappeared as an autonomous section of the St. Petersburg group "Soyuz Molodezhi" ("Union of Youth"). The group which included Pavel Filonov and Olga Rozanova fought for the ideals of new art, popularized western trends and explored oriental and African art. The alliance between "Union of Youth" and "Hylaea" lasted a short while in 1913 after which the "Union of Youth" dissolved.

Nikolai Burliuk shows the start of Russian futurist shift towards the orient in his first poem which ends with the words:

Vo mne aryantsa golos smolk
Ya vizhu minarety Kryma
(The Aryan's¹ voice is silent in me I see the minarets
of Crimea)

Through the synthesis of primitive and other Russian literary and plastic arts with the most recent western art, the Russians evolved distinctive styles during the first decade of the twentieth century. In a series of exhibitions of which the "Knave of Diamonds" was to be fundamental new Russian works began to rival the power of the western European avant-garde.

1. Quoted Ibid., p.59.

Figure 259. M. Larionov: Portrait of the Poet
Khlebnikov. 1907-10. Private
collection, Paris.

Figure 260. M. Larionov: Portrait of Vladimir
Burliuk, c. 1910, oil on canvas.
52½ x 41 collection of
Mme Larionov, Paris.



Figure 261. Vladimir Burliuk:
The poet Khlebnikov. 1909,
Ink on paper, 25 x 81 cm.
Private collection, New York.

Figure 262. Vladimir Burliuk:
Portrait of Benedict Livshits, 1911
oil on canvas.
Formerly Leonard Hutton Gallery, New York.



Figure 263. Vladimir Burliuk:
Trees, oil on canvas, 1911,
26 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 33 ins. (68 x 84 cms)
Private collection.

Figure 264. Pablo Picasso:
Carafe and Three Bowls (Les Bols),
1907, oil on board, 26 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ ins
(67 x 52 cms) Hermitage Museum,
Leningrad.

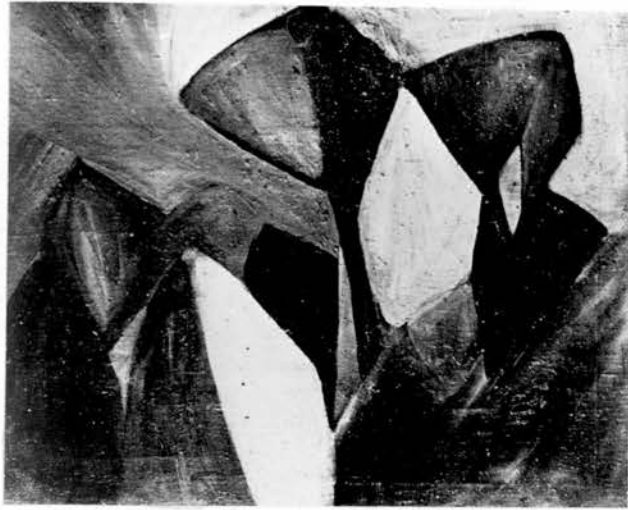


Figure 265. Vladimir Burliuk:

Farm Houses, oil on canvas,
signed; dated to V 1913 on the reverse.
24 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 26 $\frac{3}{4}$ ins. (61.5 x 68 cms.)

Present whereabouts unknown.



Figure 266. David Burliuk:

The Headless Barber, c. 1910.

Formerly in an American collection.

Figure 267. David Burliuk: A good shave

(1910, oil on canvas, 32.5 x 30 cm)

Philadelphia Museum of Art, Gift of
Christian Brinton.

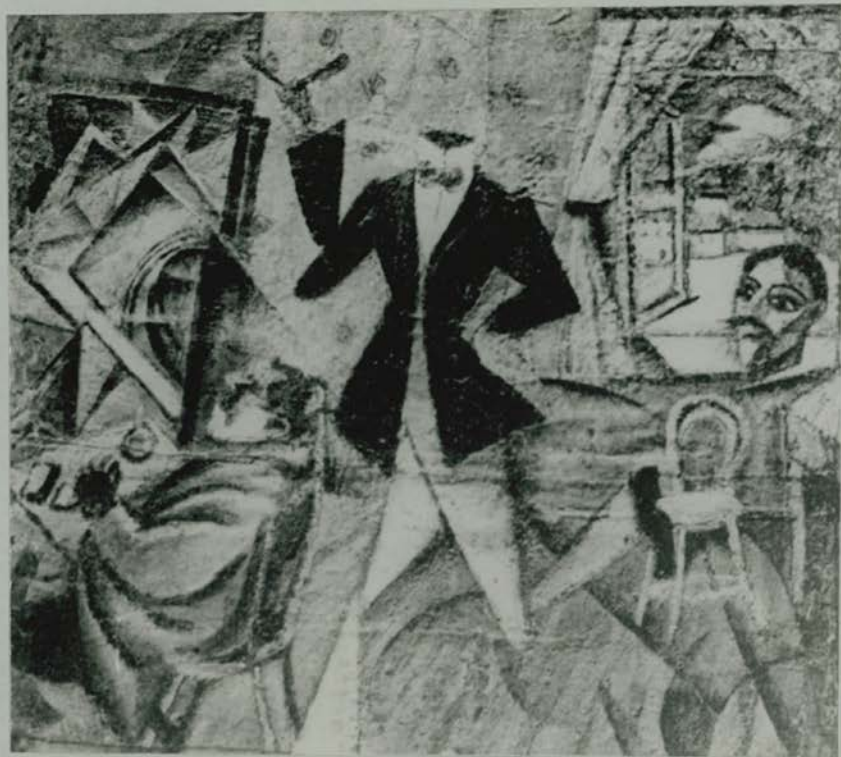


Figure 268. Marc Chagall: The Drunkard, 1911-12,
Oil on canvas, $33\frac{1}{2}$ x $45\frac{1}{4}$ ins.
Collection Hans Neumann, Caracas.

Figure 269. Marc Chagall: Woman with Fan, 1911.
Gouache and ink on brown paper.
 7 x $11\frac{5}{8}$ ins. Private collection,
Paris.



Figure 270. David Burliuk:
Sibirskiy flotili ("Siberian Navy")
(c.1911, oil on canvas, 38 x 45 cm.
Grosvenor Gallery, London)

Figure 271. David Burliuk:
Seated Nude, Painted c. 1912.
 $32\frac{3}{4}$ x $26\frac{3}{4}$ in (83 x 68 cm)
Given by the artist to Robert Falk
before the Revolution.



Figure 272. David Burliuk:
The Mason (1913, oil on canvas,
31 x 33 cm.) unknown collection.



Figure 273. David Burliuk:
Spring (1913, oil on canvas,
73 x 47 cm.)

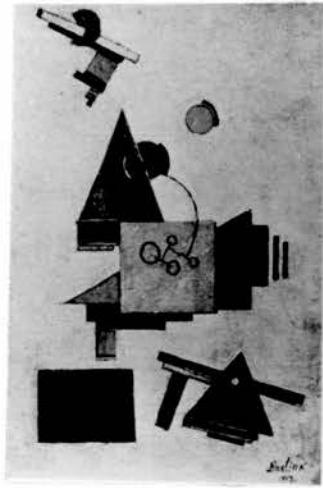


Figure 274. Vladimir Burliuk:
Four pages from Sadok sudei
(1910) with drawing of
Nicolai Burliuk.

Figure 275. Two pages from the Croaked Moon
(1913), with drawing by
David Burliuk.

