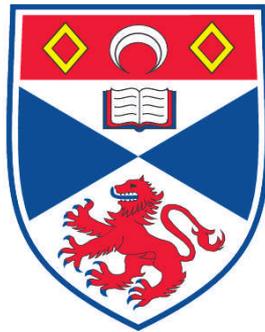


**CUBO-FUTURISM IN RUSSIA, 1912-1922 : THE  
TRANSFORMATION OF A PAINTERLY STYLE**

**Charlotte M. Humphreys**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St. Andrews**



**1989**

**Full metadata for this item is available in  
Research@StAndrews:FullText  
at:**

**<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>**

**Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:**

**<http://hdl.handle.net/10023/2946>**

**This item is protected by original copyright**

CUBO-FUTURISM IN RUSSIA, 1912-1922:  
THE TRANSFORMATION OF A PAINTERLY STYLE

Ph.D Thesis  
St. Andrews University

Charlotte M. Humphreys

Volume I: Text



I, Charlotte Mary Humphreys, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 90,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me, and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Date: .....15-12-88..... Signed:

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance No.12 in October 1984 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in March 1985; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews and in the Zhdanov University, Leningrad, USSR between 1985 and 1988.

Date: 15-12-88 ..... Signed:

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate to the degree of Ph.D. of the University of St. Andrews and that she is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

Date: ..... Signed: .....

Supervisor

.....

Supervisor

In submitting this thesis to the University of St. Andrews, I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker.

## ABSTRACT

Cubo-Futurism is defined both in terms of the development of Cubist and Futurist styles of painting by the Russian avant-garde artists Liubov Popova, Nadezhda Udaltsova, Olga Rozanova and Ivan Puni between 1912 and 1915, and in terms of the reworking and transformation of these two movements against the unique Russian cultural background into a new non-objective art after 1915.

The Russian artistic and cultural context, including Ouspensky and the fourth dimension and the linguistic theories of the Futurist poets Alexei Kruchenykh and Velimir Khlebnikov concerning a transrational language (zaum), played a vital role for a number of artists in their move into non-objective painting and construction. Zaum influenced the reworking of Cubist collage by Malevich, Puni and Rozanova, and the abstract collages and reliefs of Rozanova and Puni are defined as visual equivalents to the new logic "broader than sense" envisaged by zaum. As part of the Russian cultural context, indigenous art forms also acted as possible stimuli for the development of a non-objective painterly style. The abstract potential which artists saw in the icon was exploited by Puni in his non-objective reliefs of 1915-c1919, and the principles of decoration in Islamic Architecture may be seen as an important source for Popova's painterly architectonics of 1916-18.

After 1916, the principles of non-objective painting, established from an examination of Cubism and Futurism, were applied to tasks of design and the theatre. Puni, Rozanova and Udaltsova designed household and fashion items, and Alexandra Exter and Alexandr Vesnin completed set and costume designs for several productions in the Moscow Kamerny Theatre between 1916 and 1922. In their attempt to articulate a dynamic spatial environment, the principles for these designs derived from earlier Cubo-Futurist experiments in painting.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to my two Supervisors, Dr. Christina Lodder and Dr. Anthony Parton, for their assistance during different stages of my research. It was Dr. Lodder who first suggested to me the value of research on Russian Cubo-Futurism and who helped me in the initial stages of my investigations. Dr. Parton is responsible for initiating the actual shaping and writing of the Ph.D, and for helping to transform an initially abstract and vague notion into a concrete project. I am most grateful for all his constructive criticism, unflagging enthusiasm for the undertaking, and for his gentle but persistent encouragement throughout the writing of the thesis. I would also like to thank Dr. Lodder for her constructive and valued comments made during the latter stages of the Ph.D.

Much of the research for this thesis would not have been possible without a British Council Exchange Scholarship to the Art History Department of the Zhdanov University in Leningrad, for which I am very grateful. I wish to extend a particular thanks to Elena Basner of the Painting Department of the Russian Museum, Leningrad, for being my guide through the Reserve Collection and for her support and many kindnesses. I am grateful also to the staff of the Prints and Drawing Department of the Russian Museum, and to E.V. Kovtun for the interest he expressed in my research. To the staff of the Central State Archive of Literature and Art

(TsGALI), Moscow, the Lenin Library, Moscow, and the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library and the Library of the Academy of Sciences (BAN), Leningrad, I wish to express my gratitude for their assistance and patient responses to my enquiries. I would also like to thank Ekaterina Drevina and Dmitry Sarab'yanov for showing me their private collections of paintings and drawings by Nadezhda Udaltsova and Liubov Popova.

My interest in the Russian avant-garde was stimulated and enhanced by the opportunity to view works in both public and private collections. Apart from the collections in the Soviet Union, I am grateful to Jessica Boissel, of the Musee National d'Art Moderne, Paris, for allowing me access to the Museum's collection of paintings and reliefs by Ivan Puni, to Madame Dina Vierny, Paris, for showing me her private collection of drawings and reliefs by Puni, and to Herman Berninger, Zurich, for inviting me to view his collection and discuss Puni's works with him. In addition, Joop Joosten, of the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, was kind enough to show me paintings and graphic works by Puni and Malevich in the Museum's collection, as well as supplying me with documentary material.

Within St. Andrews, many people have helped in the completion of this thesis. I would like to extend a particular thanks to Susan Rowe of the Inter Library Loans Section of the University of St. Andrews and to Dawn Waddell of the Art History Department, for all the help and encouragement they have given me. I am also grateful to the Photographic Unit of the University of St. Andrews

for supplying my with illustrations for the thesis. A note of personal thanks must go to my mother for her financial assistance during the latter stages of my research. Thank you also to Margaret and John Parton, Charlotte and Hamish, Jane, Cathy and, above all, to Brian. A special thanks goes to him.

IN MEMORY OF MY FATHER  
WILLIAM ERIC KILLON HUMPHREYS

## CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION:	.....	1-9
CHAPTER ONE:	THE RECEPTION OF CUBISM AND FUTURISM IN RUSSIA.....	10-42
CHAPTER TWO:	CUBISM AND FUTURISM IN THE ART OF NADEZHDA UDALTSOVA, LIUBOV POPOVA AND OLGA ROZANOVA..	43-91
CHAPTER THREE:	<u>ZAUM</u> AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE REWORKING OF CUBIST COLLAGE BY RUSSIAN ARTISTS, 1914-1916.....	92-136
CHAPTER FOUR:	KHLEBNIKOV AND PUNI: REDISCOVERING THE LANGUAGE OF THE STARS.....	137-169
CHAPTER FIVE:	THE NON-OBJECTIVE RELIEFS OF IVAN PUNI AND THEIR RELATION TO THE RUSSIAN ICON.....	170-208
CHAPTER SIX:	THE CUBO-FUTURISTS IN 1916: NON-OBJECTIVE CREATION AND THE LIBERATION OF COLOUR.....	209-248
CHAPTER SEVEN:	BEYOND THE PAINTERLY PLANE: THE MOVE INTO DESIGN AND THE THEATRE.....	249-277
CHAPTER EIGHT:	BEYOND THE PAINTERLY PLANE: SCENIC DESIGNS BY ALEXANDRA EXTER AND ALEXANDR VESNIN FOR THE MOSCOW KAMERNY THEATRE, 1916-1922.....	278-309
CONCLUSION:	.....	310-317
BIBLIOGRAPHY:	.....	318-339

## INTRODUCTION

The term "Cubo-Futurism" (~~Kubo-futurizm~~) was first used in 1913 by the Russian critic Korney Chukovsky to refer to a specific group of Russian avant-garde poets whose work was seen to relate to French Cubism and Italian Futurism (1). Vassily Kamensky, Velimir Khlebnikov, Alexei Kruchenykh, Benedikt Livshits and Vladimir Mayakovsky, who were grouped around the artist David Burliuk and were known as the Hylaea group, were the first to be called "Cubo-Futurists". Subsequently, the term was used to refer to the experiments of the avant-garde in painting. This use of the term can be somewhat misleading, as the works of the avant-garde artists which had their formal source in Cubism and Futurism actually diverged to a great extent from these two movements. The close link which existed between Russian Futurist poets and the avant-garde artists was acknowledged from a very early stage and was implied in the application of the term "Cubo-Futurists" to both groups. Contemporary critics recognized the avant-garde's assertion of both poetic and painterly values concerning the nature of language and the working of the canvas through attention to the formal qualities of sound, colour and line. The affinities between visual and verbal forms as exemplified by the publication of Russian Futurist books, and the assertion of formal values in both poetry and painting, have constituted much of current art historical interpretation of this period of Russian Art (2). Research up to now has largely concentrated on the formal aspects

of Cubo-Futurism within a relatively short span of time from 1912-14. However, such an interpretation only goes half-way to explaining the complexities and significance of the movement. This thesis will attempt to show that Cubo-Futurism was a many-faceted concept, not easy to define or categorize, and one which actually went far beyond the mere adoption of Cubist and Futurist techniques of painting.

Certain figures and major movements within the Russian avant-garde, such as the Rayism of Mikhail Larionov, the Suprematist paintings of Kazimir Malevich and the Constructivism of Vladimir Tatlin, Alexandr Rodchenko and others, have already been well researched. However, there were numerous other figures, loosely referred to, both at the time and since, as "Cubo-Futurists". To date, the works of Liubov Popova, Nadezhda Udaltsova, Olga Rozanova and Ivan Puni have not been the subject of such detailed research. This thesis aims to redress the balance by focusing on the paintings, collages and reliefs of these artists. Consequently, the works and theories of Malevich and Tatlin will be used mainly as a standard of comparison, against which the works of the other avant-garde artists can be compared and contrasted.

The principles first established in Cubo-Futurist figurative painting were developed in 1915 and 1916 into a non-objective style which, in part, reflected the influence of Malevich's Suprematism. However, the artists, having developed an abstract style of painting, were no longer "Cubo-Futurists", in the original sense of the word used to describe their figurative works of 1912-15. Yet,

the term "Suprematists" seems equally inadequate as a blanket description, for artists such as Popova, Puni and Rozanova all reflected concerns in their art in 1916, which differed from those presented in Malevich's oeuvre. In order to distinguish these artists from Malevich, the term "Suprematist" will not, as a rule, be used in this thesis to describe their works, although the influence which Suprematism had on them is acknowledged. The discussion, in the final two Chapters, of the Russian avant-garde's experiments in design and the theatre, based on the principles of construction established in painting, also invites comparison with Constructivism, and there was clearly a point at which the ideas of construction, which evolved from Cubo-Futurism, overlapped with the interests of the emerging group of Constructivist artists.

One of the main aims of this thesis is to show that Cubo-Futurism or, more specifically, the principles of painting established by Cubo-Futurism, formed the basis for avant-garde activity right up to 1922, and not only in the field of painting. As such, the term "Cubo-Futurism" has been used not only to describe the formal influence of Cubism and Futurism on Russian artists, but also to identify a much broader concept, covering both the formal development of Cubism and Futurism, and the transformation of these two movements into an entirely new style of non-objective painting within the unique Russian context. This broader definition of the movement encompasses the figurative works of 1912-15, as well as those which broke with the world of objects after 1915 and began to build up an independent structure within

the work of art from its own material properties.

Russian Cubo-Futurist painting and sculpture will be examined firmly within their own context and historical development, as well as within the context of other European art movements. As part of the Russian context, the linguistic theories of Khlebnikov and Kruchenykh concerning a transrational language, zaum, are seen to play a vital role. Zaum translates as "beyond the mind" or "beyond sense". It was used to signify the fact that the Russian Futurist poets had rejected conventional logic, which defined words in terms of a specific meaning or content. It involved the liberation of words, parts of words, and of individual letters and sounds from their accepted meaning, so that they could take on new meanings within a higher system of logic which literally 'transcended' reason (3). Although the importance of the Futurist poets to Russian avant-garde art has been acknowledged, there have been few in-depth studies of how their theories of zaum were actually transmuted through the works of the Russian artists. A large part of the research in this thesis will concentrate on relating the work of Puni and Rozanova directly to the linguistic theories of Khlebnikov and Kruchenykh.

In tracing the development of Cubism and Futurism in the art of Popova, Udaltsova, Puni and Rozanova, the research for this thesis has relied principally on the external evidence of exhibition catalogues and reviews for the major avant-garde exhibitions in Russia of 1914-16 located in the Soviet Union. Although Cubism and Futurism emerged earlier in Russia, these years

are seen as crucial to the development of a unique Russian style of painting.

The thesis is divided into eight Chapters. Chapter One sets a general background for the future experiments of the Russian avant-garde. A chronology is established for the reception of Cubism and Futurism in Russia, and the Symbolist roots of Cubo-Futurism are indicated. Chapter Two examines the influence of Cubism and Futurism on the art of Popova, Udaltsova and Rozanova. The approach adopted here is both interpretative and formal, and seeks to establish a chronology of stylistic development in the artists' paintings.

Having charted the formal development of Cubism and Futurism in Russian art, Chapters Three to Five present the Russian context of Cubo-Futurism, by examining the linguistic theories of zaum, Ouspensky and the Fourth Dimension, and the Russian icon. In Chapter Three, the development of Cubist collage by Malevich, Puni and Rozanova is discussed in conjunction with zaum. Rozanova's collage illustrations for Kruchenykh's Futurist Books are discussed and defined as "transrational painting" [zaumnaia zhiyopis']. Chapters Four and Five essentially take the form of a case-study on Ivan Puni. Chapter Four examines his relationship with Khlebnikov, whose theories are discussed in depth. Puni's non-objective reliefs and paintings are interpreted as an attempt to find a visual equivalent to Khlebnikov's universal transrational language. Chapter Five discusses Puni's non-objective reliefs in light of the abstract potential which Russian avant-garde artists saw in the

icon in terms of a hidden content and meaning. Puni's works are also examined in relation to Malevich's Suprematism and to Tatlin's "culture of materials". It is argued that Puni's reliefs are contemporary equivalents to the material and spiritual reality of the icon.

The new structure of non-objective painting is examined in Chapter Six with respect to Rozanova's abstract collages and Popova's painterly architectonics. In addition, the Chapter discusses the possible influence of Islamic Architecture on the development of Popova's abstract style. The final Chapters, Seven and Eight, trace the Russian avant-garde's concern to apply their new principles of painting to more practical tasks of household and theatre designs. The scenic philosophy of the director Alexandr Tairov is discussed and Chapter Eight analyses in detail the set and costume designs of Alexandra Exter and Alexandr Vesnin for the Kamerny Theatre between 1916 and 1922, with a view to establishing a basis for the designs in the principles of non-objective painting.

References to footnotes within the text are indicated by the relevant number being placed in brackets and are found at the end of each Chapter. Figure numbers in brackets relate to illustrations in Volume II of the thesis, where they are accompanied by details of artist, title, date, media, size and location. Unless otherwise stated, all translations from Russian are by the author. Within the text, the titles of Russian books, exhibitions, etc., are translated into English and the

transliteration of the Russian original follows the first reference to the work in brackets, for example, "The Last Futurist Exhibition 0,10" (Posledniaia futuristicheskaia vystavka 0,10). Where English translations of Russian titles are cited in the text, they are not repeated in the footnotes. Within the footnotes, the titles of Russian newspaper articles and reviews, etc., are given in Russian, with an English translation in square brackets, for example, "'Bubnovyi valet'. Vpechatleniia ot vystavki" ["The 'Knave of Diamonds'. Impressions from the Exhibition"]. The titles of Russian newspapers and journals have not been translated from the Russian. Most of the dates cited in details of publications are given in the Old Style. However, where the periodical concerned also printed the New Style date this is indicated in parentheses. The titles of Russian, French and Italian paintings have been translated into English. Exceptions are a number of French paintings which are more commonly known by their original title, for example, Ma Jolie, Le Portugais, L'Équipe de Cardiff, Le Gôûter, La Plume Jaune and Femme aux Phlox. Where Russian works are listed in an exhibition catalogue, the transliterated original title is given in the footnotes.

The system of transliteration adopted throughout the thesis is that of the Library of Congress. Exceptions include a number of proper names, where the generally accepted form of spelling has been retained, for example, Ksanya Boguslavskaya, Yakov Tugendkhol'd, Sofiya Tolstaya, Natalya Goncharova, Vassily Kamensky, Wassily Kandinsky. When citing original quotes and

source material, or words found in paintings, the old orthography, where it appears, is retained. For example, the collage illustration by Varvara Stepanova (Fig. 6.3) contains the letters "NNYIA", which is the old nominative and accusative ending for plural feminine and neuter adjectives and participles. The new orthography, introduced in 1917, replaced this ending with the current "NNYE".

## FOOTNOTES

1. K. Chukovsky, "Ego-futuristy i kubo-futuristy" ["Ego-Futurists and Cubo-Futurists"], Zhipovnik, XXII, St. Petersburg, 1914, pp.95-154; cited in Vladimir Markov, Russian Futurism: A History, Macgibbon and Kee Ltd., London, 1969, pp.119 and 398. Chukovsky's essay was initially a lecture given in October 1913. See Russkie vedomosti, No.237, 15 October 1913, p.3.
2. See, for example, Charlotte Douglas, "Views from the New World. A. Kruchenykh and K. Malevich: Theory and Painting", Russian Literature Triquarterly, Vol.12, Spring 1975, pp.353-70; N. Khardzhiev, K istorii russkogo avangarda: The Russian Avant-Garde, Hylaea Prints, Stockholm, 1976; and Susan Compton, The World Backwards. Russian Futurist Books 1912-1916, British Museum Publications, London, 1978.
3. For a fuller exposition of zaum see Chapter Three, "Zaum and its Influence on the Reworking of Cubist Collage by Russian Artists, 1914-1916".

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE RECEPTION OF CUBISM AND FUTURISM IN RUSSIA.

With the opening of the first "Golden Fleece Salon" (Salon 'Zolotoe runo') in Moscow in April 1908 and the "Link" (Zveno) exhibition in Kiev in November, a new period unfolded in the history of early Twentieth Century Russian Art. Although the "Golden Fleece" exhibition included members of the former Blue Rose group, such as Pavel Kuznetzov and Martiros Sarian, as well as the Moscow artists Mikhail Larionov and Natalya Goncharova, it essentially marked the demise of Symbolism in Russian painting and the emergence of a new avant-garde. A separate section of the "Golden Fleece" contained a large number of works loaned by French artists, including, amongst others, Cézanne, Maurice Denis, André Derain, Van Dongen, Othon Friesz, Gauguin, Albert Gleizes, Van Gogh, Le Fauconnier, Henri Matisse, Jean Metzinger and Georges Braque (1). The exhibition marked the beginning of a new cultural dialogue between East and West, which was to last until the outbreak of World War One and to exert a profound and long-lasting influence on the nascent group of Russian avant-garde artists.

The first-fruits of the new cultural dialogue between Russia and the West were seen in the "Link" exhibition of November 1908, where Russian works showed the influence of French avant-garde paintings exhibited at the earlier "Golden Fleece Salon". The "Link" exhibition was also important for bringing together the core

of a self-conscious avant-garde group in the artists Alexandra Exter, David and Vladimir Burliuk, Larionov, Goncharova, Baranov-Rossiné, Fon-Vizen, Lentulov and Matveev. Together they issued a provocative manifesto which denounced the art of the past and defined their main visual source as the art of the Western painters Van Gogh, Gauguin and Cézanne, who were also the source for the Fauves (2). The "Link" exhibition, therefore, marked a cornerstone for the future development of the Russian avant-garde. The second "Golden Fleece" exhibition of January 1909 included works by the French Fauves Derain, Vlaminck, Friesz, Marquet, Matisse, Rouault and Van Dongen, as well as Le Fauconnier and Braque, who exhibited his painting Le Grand Nu (1908; Fig. 1.1) (3). Apart from the "Golden Fleece" exhibitions, works by these French artists were shown at the vast "International Exhibition of Paintings, Sculptures, Prints and Drawings" (Internatsional'naiia vystavka kartin, skul'ptury, graviury i grafiki), organized by Vladimir Izdebsky, opening in Odessa in December 1909, visiting Kiev, St. Petersburg and, finally, Riga, where it closed in June 1910. The theories and works of French Post-Impressionist and Fauve artists were further disseminated through the Symbolist journal Zolotoe runo [The Golden Fleece], published between 1906 and 1910 and which, in 1908, reproduced some 94 French paintings which had been shown at the first "Golden Fleece Salon", together with a number of theoretical articles (4).

In 1908-9, as well as a new orientation towards the art of the French Post-Impressionists and Fauves, Russian artists gradually became aware of the importance for their own development of indigenous Russian art forms. These included the lubok popular print, signboard painting and the icon. This attraction to the primitive qualities and immediacy of Russian popular and religious art paralleled the interest in Primitivism seen in the art of Gauguin, Van Gogh and Henri Rousseau, and in the proto-Cubist works of Picasso, all of whom were well represented in the private collection of the Moscow Art Dealer Sergei Shchukin. Together with another Moscow collector, Ivan Morozov, Shchukin amassed a vast collection of French Post-Impressionist, Fauve and Cubist works, and provided members of the Russian avant-garde with vital access to the paintings. In a rejection of the gentle, nostalgic forms of Symbolist painting as epitomised by the work of the Blue Rose group, the early Russian avant-garde sought a bolder, more aggressive and immediate approach to art. Such an approach also characterized the work of the French Fauves and of Matisse, who became one of the predominant influences on Russian artists in 1910-11.

Concurrent with the development of a Neo-Primitivist style, the metaphysical and mystical aspects of Symbolism were expressed in the theories of Dr. Nikolai Kul'bin, an associate of the Union of Youth (Soiuz molodezhi) group of artists founded in St. Petersburg in 1910. Moreover, a desire for a spiritual content to art was manifested in the writings and works of Kul'bin's close

friend Wassily Kandinsky. Within his art, Kandinsky embodied that particular spirituality which was to constitute one of the central features of Russian avant-garde art, alongside a more formal, painterly approach. Kandinsky sent four paintings entitled "Improvisation" to the first "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition (Vystavka 'Bubnovyi valet') in December 1910 and his works dominated the second "International Izdebsky Salon" (Vtoroi salon internatsional'noi vystavki kartin), which ran concurrently in Odessa (5). His essay "Content and Form" ("Soderzhanie i forma") appeared in the catalogue for the exhibition, together with his translation of Schoenberg's essay "On Parallel Octaves and Fifths" ("Paralleli v oktavakh i kvintakh"). As it contained these two contributions by Kandinsky and three essays which emphasized the relationship between painting and music, the catalogue for the second "Izdebsky Salon" clearly advocated a 'synthetic' approach to the arts. These ideas were to be taken up later by some members of the Russian avant-garde, and particularly by Alexandra Exter and Alexandr Vesnin in the theatre. Apart from his paintings, which were included in avant-garde exhibitions, Kandinsky's major essay, "Concerning the Spiritual in Art" ("O dukhovnom v iskusstve") was presented at the Second All-Russian Congress of Artists in St. Petersburg in December 1911. Through Kul'bin, Kandinsky was able to maintain close contact with artistic developments in Russia whilst living in Munich (6). He also kept in close contact with the Burliuk brothers, as well as with Larionov and Goncharova, whom he invited to contribute to the second "Blue Rider" (Der blaue Reiter) exhibition in Berlin in 1912. Returning to Russia in the

winter of 1914, Kandinsky exhibited with the avant-garde in St. Petersburg at a number of exhibitions held in the Dobychina Gallery from 1915-17. Although he was never totally at ease with members of the avant-garde, so that he remained to some extent isolated from the various groups in Moscow and St. Petersburg, Kandinsky's theories and, in particular, his concern with the spiritual 'content' of art, were relevant for a number of subsequent experiments by other artists.

In the autumn of 1911 Henri Matisse visited Russia at the invitation of Sergei Shchukin. The latter had over thirty works by Matisse in his collection and had recently commissioned the two large paintings, The Dance and Music, for his villa in Moscow (7). Matisse's visit attracted great attention in the Russian press and the newspapers reported his enthusiasm for the Russian icon, which he declared to be "...the primary source of all artistic endeavour", stating that "the modern artist should derive his inspiration from these primitives." (8) Larionov, Mashkov, Konchalovsky and David Burliuk were amongst the Russian artists present at an evening organized in honour of Matisse (9). Indeed, prior to the French artist's arrival, the press had consistently described the new Russian avant-garde at their exhibitions in 1910 and 1911 as "imitators of Matisse" and the "Russian Matisses" (10). A number of Goncharova's still-lives from 1909-10, such as Still-life with Pineapple (Kamennaja baba, c1909-10; Private Collection, Paris), reflect Matisse's use of abstract patterning as a flattening device in paintings such as Harmony in Red (1909; The

Hermitage, Leningrad), which was in the Shchukin collection at that time. At the first "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition in December 1910, Matisse's use of bold, bright colours was evident in works by Petr Konchalovsky such as Bull Fight Enthusiast (1910; Artist's Estate [sic]) and in Ilya Mashkov's Portrait of E.I. Kirkalda (1910; The Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow). The same aggressive use of bright colouration can be seen in Malevich's Bather (1910; Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam). Apart from its livid, flat colouring, the painting reflects the new conventions of figure drawing introduced by artists in the West, and exemplified in Braque's Grand Nu, where the monumental forms refuse to conform to one-point perspective (11). However, by the time of his visit at the end of 1911, Matisse's influence was on the decline, and was superseded in 1912 by the two new trends of Cubism and Futurism.

By this time, the Russian avant-garde was firmly established as a movement and had crystallized into several groups of artists. The St. Petersburg based Union of Youth, founded in 1910, listed Matiushin, Elena Guro, Shkol'nik, Filonov, Spandikov and Rozanova amongst its members, as well as the art critic Waldemar Matvejs (Vladimir Markov). The Union of Youth also attracted the participation of Kul'bin, Malevich, Tatlin, Kliun, Puni, Al'tman, and Petrov-Vodkin amongst others at its exhibitions, which took place from 1910 to 1914 when the group broke up. The Union of Youth worked with other groups, including the Donkey's Tail (Oslinyi khvost) and the Knave of Diamonds (Bubnovyi yalet). The Moscow Knave of Diamonds group included the Burliuk brothers,

Lentulov, Mashkov, Falk, Konchalovsky and Kuprin as its core members. It held its first exhibition in December 1910 and went on to exhibit avant-garde art until 1917. David Burluk also organized the group Hylaea, which included Kamensky, Khlebnikov, Kruchenykh, Livshits and Mayakovsky. Hylaea became the leading group of the literary avant-garde and its members were responsible for writing and publishing the majority of Russian Futurist books, while entertaining close collaborative relationships with the artists. The Donkey's Tail group was set up by Larionov and Goncharova after they had broken with the Knave of Diamonds at the end of 1911. The group held a number of exhibitions between 1912 and 1914, including the "Donkey's Tail" (Vystavka gruppy khudozhnikov 'Oslinyi khvost'), "Target" (Vystavka kartin gruppy khudozhnikov Mishen') and "The Exhibition of Paintings: Futurists, Rayists, Primitives. 1914" (Vystavka kartin: Futuristy, luchisty, primitiv [sic]. 1914). Other former members of the Knave of Diamonds, including Malevich and Morgunov, allied themselves with the Donkey's Tail, as well as students from both the Moscow School of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, and the Academy of Fine Arts in St. Petersburg - Kirill Zdanevich, Mikhail Le-Dantiu, Alexandr Shevchenko and Vladimir Tatlin. Of these three groups of artists, the Knave of Diamonds was perhaps the most conservative, refusing to follow the path of formal experimentation and public scandal which Larionov and his group pursued.

Although Filippo Tomaso Marinetti's "The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism" had been published in Russian translation in 1909, and the journal Apollon had printed a paraphrased version of the Italian Futurists' recent "Futurist Painting: Technical Manifesto" in 1910, these seem to have gone largely unnoticed and it was only in 1912 that Italian Futurism emerged as a major influence and had a serious impact upon Russian avant-garde painting (12). In February 1912 the Italian Futurists held their first major exhibition at the Galerie Bernheim-Jeune in Paris. Two reviews of the exhibition appeared in the Russian press with extracts from the Futurist manifestos and detailed analyses of some of the paintings shown, including Boccioni's States of Mind: The Farewells, Those Who Go, Those Who Stay (1911; Museum of Modern Art, New York); Simultaneous Visions (1911; Fig. 2.27); Russolo's Memories of a Night (1911; Private Collection, New York) and The Revolt (1911; Gemeentemuseum, The Hague) (13). In addition, the second Union of Youth journal, Soiuz molodezhi, contained two complete translations of the 1910 "Futurist Painting: Technical Manifesto" and of the preface to the 1912 exhibition catalogue, "The Exhibitors to the Public" (14). During the summer of 1912, David Burliuk travelled to Paris, Milan, Rome, Venice and Munich, and wrote to Benedikt Livshits: "I am getting all the Futurist Manifestos..." (15). By 1912, Russian artists regularly travelled between France and Russia. Alexandra Exter first went to Paris in 1908 and in subsequent years met Picasso and Léger, with whom she became friendly. Apart from subscribing to the Paris journal Les Soirées de Paris, Exter also brought back reproductions of the

latest works in France to Russia (16). Ivan Puni went to study at the Academy Julian in Paris in 1910, and Nadezhda Udaltsova and Liubov Popova went to work in the studios of Jean Metzinger and Le Fauconnier in the autumn of 1912. In 1914, Larionov subscribed to the Italian Futurist journal Lacerba, which regularly reproduced the latest works and theories of the Italian artists and poets. The exaggerated, bombastic statements of the Italian Futurists clearly influenced the provocative manifesto signed by David Burliuk, Kruchenykh, Mayakovsky and Khlebnikov, which appeared in the miscellany A Slap in the Face of Public Taste (Poshchechina obshchestvennomu ykusu, Moscow, 1912-13) and which affirmed the emergence of a fully fledged Russian avant-garde literary movement.

David Burliuk and Ilya Zdanevich collected black and white reproductions and lantern slides of Futurist works, which were displayed at their public lectures and debates. The latter were a regular feature of the Moscow and St. Petersburg art scene in 1913 and were widely reported in the press, largely because they invariably ended in scandal and outrage. Owing to the similarity of their public debates to the chaos of the Italian Futurists' cabaret evenings in Italy in 1910, the Russian avant-garde began to be referred to by the press and critics as "Futuristy" and, from early 1913, they were broadly identified with the Italian movement (17).

One example of the public scandals which now surrounded the Russian "Futurists" was the series of debates organized to coincide with the "Target" exhibition, which opened in Moscow on 24 March 1913. The first debate took place on the evening of the opening of "Target", when Zdanevich declared that a shabby ladies' boot in the American style was superior to the Venus de Milo, a slide of which was projected onto a screen. This comparison clearly derived from Marinetti's advocacy that:

"A racing car whose hood is adorned with great pipes, like serpents of explosive breath - a roaring car that seems to ride on grapeshot is more beautiful than the 'Victory of Samothrace'." (18)

The evening ended in uproar and the whole event was reported the next day on the front page of the St. Petersburg newspaper Rech' (19). On 8 April, Zdanevich gave a lecture, "On Futurism" ("O futurizme"), in the Tenishevsky Hall, St. Petersburg, where he made the same comparison between a real boot and the Venus de Milo, and "read a whole pile of Futurist Manifestos and showed reproductions of Futurist paintings on a screen" (20). Calling his fellow Futurists "Titans in jackets" [Titanami y pidzhakakh], Zdanevich declared Larionov and Goncharova to be the only true Futurists in Russia.

The influence of Italian Futurism was particularly evident in the Russian exhibitions of 1913-14. At the "Target" exhibition of March-April 1913, Larionov showed Head of a Bull (1912; Collection Evelyn Cournand, Paris), Rayist Sausage and Mackerel (1912; Collection Museum Ludwig, Cologne) and Portrait of a Fool (1912; Collection Boris Tcherkinsky, Paris), the intersecting rayist lines

of which largely stemmed from the Italian Futurists' force-lines. Goncharova exhibited a number of paintings with urban themes, such as The City at Night (1912; whereabouts unknown) and The Factory (1912; The Russian Museum, Leningrad), and Malevich showed a painting entitled "Dynamic Decomposition" and The Knifegrinder (Principle of Flashing, 1912) (21). Like Italian Futurist painting, The Knifegrinder (Fig. 1.3) is a depiction of movement, or the "sum of sensations" encountered in sharpening a knife (including the sparks generated by the movement of the blade on the wheel, suggested by the subtitle). Using the formal vocabulary of faceted planes and multiple viewpoints which the Futurists initially took from Cubism, Malevich represents successive stages in the movement of the Knifegrinder's head from centre to right, his arms and hands moving the knife on the wheel, and his feet driving the pedal. This series of successive stages of movement around the central wheel establishes a rotative movement common to Italian Futurist painting for linking subject-matter with the surrounding environment. This rotative movement was developed even further by Malevich in his graphic work, such as the letterpress Woman Reaping (1913; Fig. 1.4), which uses Futurist-type force-lines to break the human form up into a complex series of energetic, dynamic planes in the evocation of its movement. There is much greater dislocation, or 'displacement' of the form in Woman Reaping than in The Knifegrinder, and this contributes to its inherent rhythmic force. Owing to the fact that Malevich depicts clearly defined successive, static stages of action, The Knifegrinder lacks the sense of fluidity and rhythmic movement

present in Woman Reaping. Despite its urban nature in comparison to Malevich's earlier peasant subject-matter, The Knifegrinder is less genuinely 'Futurist' than later lithographs, such as Simultaneous Death of a Man in an Aeroplane and on the Railroad (Explodity, St. Petersburg, 1913, p.18), which reflects more fully the Futurists' denial of the limitations of time and space in their paintings, as well as the subject of aviation. Malevich's treatment of his forms in Woman Reaping and Simultaneous Death of a Man in an Aeroplane and on the Railroad may have been a response to the Italian Futurists' description of Boccioni's canvas Simultaneous Visions (Fig. 2.27) in "The Exhibitors to the Public" (1912), where they describe the "...dislocation and dismemberment of objects, the scattering and fusion of details, freed from accepted logic, and independent from one another" within a Futurist, simultaneous environment (22). Indeed, as Sherwin Simmons suggests, it is possible that a means to escape the confining logic of perspectival space in the expression of a new, higher consciousness was first suggested to Malevich by Italian Futurist theory and force-lines (23). Furthermore, the Futurist image of flight literally suggested the possibility of a "take-off" from the earth and its logical laws - a problem which was to preoccupy Malevich until the evolution of Suprematism in 1915.

In Larionov's art, the Futurist repetition of contours can be seen most clearly in the painting Boulevard Venus (1913; Musée National d'Art Moderne), which he exhibited at the "Exhibition of Paintings: Futurists, Rayists, Primitives. 1914" in Moscow in

March-April 1914 (24). The painting demonstrates Larionov's adoption of Futurist techniques in the repeated forms of the woman's legs and arms, as well as the transparency of her clothing and body, so that her underwear and bones are visible. Through the transparency of the forms, the woman also fuses with the environment around her. However, the vulgar tone of Boulevard Venus is altogether more Russian, deriving in spirit from the lubok, and it represents a witty attack on the Italians who had rejected the subject of Venus in their art. At the "Target" exhibition, it was clear that, despite the influence of Futurism in urban subject-matter and formal treatment, Primitivism remained an important aspect of avant-garde art. Larionov showed his "Seasons" cycle and the exhibition included works by the Georgian signboard painter Niko Piroshmanashvili, as well as children's drawings; the "Second Workshop of Signboard Painters" had also been invited to contribute. For artists such as Olga Rozanova, Primitivism constituted a central element in her art right up to 1915, with a series of paintings and lithographs, Playing Cards, which still drew, to a large extent, on the schematized forms and flat treatment of the lubok popular prints.

The high-point of Russian public interest in Italian Futurism occurred in January 1914, when Marinetti visited Moscow and St. Petersburg. However, his visit was by no means welcomed by all the members of the Russian avant-garde. Khlebnikov refused to associate with him, and Larionov threatened to "pelt this renegade with rotten eggs and bath him in yoghurt" (25). To mark the

occasion, there were three new Russian publications: a translation of Marinetti's Le Futurisme (Paris, 1911), Marinetti: Futurizm, by N.N. Mikhailova (see Fig. 1.2), and two collections of Italian Futurist manifestos published in translation. These were Futurism (Towards a New Symbolism) (Futurizm: na puti k novomu simvolizmu) by Genrikh Tasteven, who had been responsible for arranging Marinetti's visit, and Italian Futurist Manifestos (Manifesty ital'janskago futurizma: Sobranie manifestoy), translated and compiled by Vadim Shershenevich, an enthusiastic supporter of Marinetti and author of the book Futurism without a Mask (Futurizm bez maski, Moscow, 1913), which had compared Russian Futurism unfavourably with the Italian movement (26). These two collections were the first attempt to group several manifestos into an anthology and to present Italian Futurism as a complete literary and painterly movement.

Apart from five manifestos, Tasteven's collection included several theoretical essays, "Our Art Today" ("Nashe khudozhestvennoe sevodnia"); "The Aesthetics of Futurism" ("Estetika futurizma"); "Religious and Idealist Moments in Futurism" ("Religioznye i idealisticheskie momenty v futurizme"); "The Psychological Bases of Contemporary Painting" ("Psikhologicheskie osnovy sovremennoi zhivopisi") and "Concerning the New Symbolism and the Art of the Future" ("O novom simvolizme i iskusstve budushchago"). From the titles alone, it is evident that Tasteven's approach to Futurism was from a Symbolist viewpoint. Many of his statements reflect the theories of members of the

Abbaye of Créteil group in Paris, such as Albert Gleizes and Alexandre Mercereau, who sought to create an art form appropriate to the new challenges and dynamism of twentieth century life (27). As Tasteven spent most of his time in Paris, he would presumably have been well acquainted with these theories. He associates the new art with a new order and morality, declaring that, in the new environment of technical and spiritual energy, art must respond with fresh and appropriate forms to

"...reflect the rhythms of life, to refract through their prism all our complexity, our anguish and thirst for a spiritual purpose." (28)

For Tasteven, then, Futurism had to respond not only to the new, mechanical imagery of the twentieth century, but also to a deep spiritual longing. This quest for spirituality marked a large degree of Russian criticism, especially of French Cubism.

The reception of Cubism in Russia is more difficult to chart than that of Futurism. Cubism underwent various stages in its development from 1907-14 (proto-Cubism, early analytical Cubism, hermetic Cubism and synthetic Cubism). Furthermore, within Cubism, artists such as Delaunay, Léger, Le Fauconnier, Gleizes and Metzinger pursued different tasks to Braque and Picasso. For the early Russian avant-garde, the most well-known Cubist works were the proto-Cubist paintings by Picasso of 1907-9, which were in the Shchukin collection in Moscow. The significance of the collection for works by Matisse has already been noted, but it was no less so for a dissemination of knowledge about Picasso, especially as his works rarely appeared at exhibitions. The catalogue for Shchukin's

collection, published in 1913, lists forty works by Picasso in the collection, the majority of which belong to the proto-Cubist period of monumental figure painting. There are five works from Picasso's synthetic Cubist period after 1912, but none from the brief hermetic period of 1910-11. The catalogue lists only one work by Braque in the collection, a painting entitled "The Castle" (29). Writing on Shchukin's collection for the journal Apollon in January 1914, the critic Yakov Tugendkhol'd listed a number of proto-Cubist works by Picasso and one painting from his synthetic Cubist period, "Violin" (1912). His discussion of Picasso concentrated solely on his proto-Cubist figure paintings. Although Ivan Morozov purchased Picasso's Portrait of Ambroise Vollard (1909-10) in 1913, the artist's periods of early analytical and hermetic Cubism remained the most poorly represented in both Moscow collections (30). By 1913, proto-Cubist works by Picasso in the Shchukin collection included Peasant Woman (1908; Fig. 1.5), Nude with Drapery (1907; The Hermitage Museum, Leningrad), Woman in an Armchair (Après le bal, 1908; The Hermitage Museum, Leningrad), Nude in a Forest (La Grande Dryade, 1908; The Hermitage Museum, Leningrad), Three Women (1908; The Hermitage Museum, Leningrad) and Friendship (1908; The Hermitage Museum, Leningrad).

Picasso's paintings of 1907-9 all depict crude, monumental figures of a peasant type, with emphasis on elemental and massive form. Many, such as Nude with Drapery, reflect the primitive forms of African and Iberian sculpture, with their lozenge-shaped eyes and sharply incised facial features. Shchukin actually exhibited

African sculpture side by side with the Picassos in his collection and this would have emphasized their link with primitive art forms even more to the onlooker (31). On visiting the collection, the artist and critic Alexandre Benois described his impressions:

"Huge monsters, like some type of kamennye baby, stare down from the wall - clumsy, askew, curved, with stupid, gloomy and protruding faces, looking exactly as if they have been hewn out of wood. Or terrible landscapes, drawn with a child's hand, dark and dismal..." (32)

Benois' comparison of Picasso's monumental figures with ancient Russian stone statues (kamennye baby) is interesting, as the latter were cited by Goncharova in her impromptu speech at the first Knave of Diamonds debate in February 1912 as one of the sources for her Cubism (33). In her own works, these kamennye baby can be seen in Still-life with Pineapple above, and in Pillars of Salt (Cubist method), c1909-10; Private Collection, Paris). At the Knave of Diamonds debate, Goncharova declared that "for a long time I have been working in the manner of Cubism" (34). However, the Cubism that she had in mind was not the hermetic Cubism of Braque and Picasso of 1910-11, but rather the monumental, sculptural forms of the works in the Shchukin collection such as Peasant Woman and Three Women above. In a conversation in 1910, Goncharova had stressed her search for solid, sculptural form and cited the work of Picasso in this context:

"...As far as my work is concerned, it should never be described as Impressionist, as is done in the newspapers. For Impressionism is the communication of an initial, almost unclear, indistinct impression. Like the new French painters (Le Fauconnier, Braque, Picasso), I am striving to achieve solid form, sculptural clarity (distinctness) and the simplification of drawing; depth, and not the brilliance of colour..." (35)

Paintings by Goncharova such as Peasants Picking Apples (1911; Fig. 1.6) show similarities with several of the early Picasso canvases in the Shchukin collection, in a desire to emphasize sculptural form beneath the clothing and in an overall monumentality of form which dominates the picture space. The elongated, oval shape of the peasants' faces, their vacant, lozenge-shaped eyes and pyramidal noses, which gives to them the appearance of masks, clearly demonstrate an awareness of Picasso's works of 1907 and 1908. In his Peasant Woman, Picasso exploited effects of light and shadow to accentuate the solidity and "sculptural clarity" of his forms and Goncharova likewise employs shading on her peasants' clothing and faces to suggest three-dimensional form. Although these early works by Picasso display no complex faceting of form or of pictorial space, characteristic of his hermetic works of 1910-11, they do demonstrate the concern with volume and with the construction of form on the surface plane which was central to his Cubist experiments.

This concern with pictorial construction was noted in early Russian criticism of French Cubism. In 1912 David Burliuk began lecturing on Cubism, speaking "On Cubism and Other Directions in Painting" at the first Knave of Diamonds debate in Moscow on 12 February 1912, on the same subject in a talk entitled "The Evolution of the Concept of Beauty" at the second Knave of Diamonds debate on 24 February, and delivering a lecture, "What is Cubism?", at a debate organized by the Union of Youth in St. Petersburg on

20 November 1912. An essay entitled "Cubism (The Surface-Plane)" ("Kubizm (poverkhnost'-ploskost')") was published in the anthology A Slap in the Face of Public Taste and was probably an elaboration of Burliuk's first lecture at the Knave of Diamonds debate in February. The text emphasized the formal approach of Cubism and its concentration on the painterly qualities of line, colour and the surface plane, so that Painting had now become "an end in itself" and had "begun to pursue only Painterly objectives". Burliuk defined the component elements of painting as line, surface, colour and texture, and spoke of a "surface construction" in painting first employed by Cézanne. He also described the "canon of displaced construction", which emphasized disharmony and dissonance in painting (36). The painterly concerns of Cubism were also noted by Larionov in his brochure Rayism (Luchizm) in which he described the growing interest of artists in structure, texture, colour and line (37). In 1913, in his review of the "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition, the artist A. Grishchenko stressed the adherence of Cézanne and Picasso to painterly laws and went so far as to call Picasso a "constructor-painter" (38). This emphasis on pictorial construction in Cubist painting, which was made by Russian artists and critics, conformed to Goncharova's search for "solid form" on the canvas. As an understanding of Cubism, it was also to be crucial for subsequent experiments by the avant-garde artists Udaltsova, Popova, Exter, Puni and Rozanova.

The "Knave of Diamonds" exhibitions displayed a commitment to the principles of early Cubism, as opposed to the more 'Futurist' oriented "Donkey's Tail" and "Target" exhibitions organized by Larionov. Reviewers of the 1912 "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition acknowledged that the influence of Cubism had replaced that of Matisse (39). However, in practice, artists demonstrated a superficial knowledge of the Cubist faceting of form. Lentulov's Bathing (1911-12; Fig. 1.7), which was shown at the 1912 exhibition (40), shows no fusion of the forms with pictorial space, so that the figures remain distinct. In this absence of a Cubist ambiguity of space, the painting is closer to Léger's Nudes in a Landscape (1909-11; Fig. 1.8), Le Fauconnier's L'Abondance (1910; Gemeentemuseum, The Hague), or Gleizes' Portrait of Jacques Nayral (1910-11; Tate Gallery, London), than to any contemporary canvases by Braque or Picasso. That the Knave of Diamonds was interested in these artists is indicated by their Collection of Essays on Art (Sbornik statei po iskusstvu), published in 1913. The anthology included extracts from Apollinaire's discussion of Léger in Les Peintres Cubistes, a Russian translation of Le Fauconnier's essay "La sensibilité moderne et le tableau" (1912), and reproductions of Léger's Nudes in a Landscape, The Smokers (1911; The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York) and Le Fauconnier's Nude Woman with Fan (1910; whereabouts unknown) (41). Le Fauconnier's earlier statement "Das Kunstwerk" had already appeared in translation in the second Union of Youth journal of June 1912 (42).

Alongside the perception of Cubism as pictorial construction, Russian criticism demonstrated a concern with the 'spiritual' or 'mystical' qualities of the movement. This understanding may have come, in part, from French critics like Apollinaire, or from Gleizes and Metzinger in their book Du Cubisme (Paris, 1912), who all attributed metaphysical concerns to Cubism. In his same essay, "Cubism (The Surface-Plane)", David Burliuk described Picasso as a "wizard and magician", who escaped to the "transcendental secrets of his art" (43). This occultist view of Picasso was a common feature of Russian criticism. An article in Apollon in January 1914, "Demons and Contemporaneity (Some thoughts about French painting)", described Picasso as an artist of "pessimistic demonism" and his paintings as "hieroglyphs of the Devil" (44). Picasso's work was seen as showing a tendency to "accentuate the psychological content of every object", an interpretation posited also by Tasteven (45). This emphasis on the psyche and the mystical aspects of Cubism reflected the atmosphere within Russia at the turn of the century - an atmosphere permeated with the occult, spiritualism and theories of a metaphysical hyperspace (46). Tugendkhol'd's article on Shchukin's collection, which appeared in the same 1914 issue of Apollon, attributed a sinister, magical quality to Picasso's work and described him as

"...a Spanish Don Quixote, the Knight of the Absolute, a devotee of mathematics, doomed to the eternal vanity of his own searchings." (47)

An understanding of Cubism as an expression of a higher dimension of reality coloured the criticism of Nikolai Berdiaev, who described the room of paintings by Picasso in the Shchukin

collection as a "cosmic winter wind" and declared Picasso to be

"...a genius at expressing the decomposition, the splitting and the dispersion of the physical, corporeal...world." (48)

Elsewhere in the same article, Berdiaev referred to Picasso as a "clairvoyant" and stated that:

"...the [current] crisis in painting will undoubtedly end in a removal from the physical, material flesh onto another, higher scheme of things....it can be described in no other terms than the dematerialization...of painting." (49)

This attitude towards Picasso's Cubism by both critics and artists - Malevich was also attracted to the mystical element which he felt existed in the proto-Cubist works in the Shchukin collection (50) - shows how the metaphysical aspects of Symbolism in Russia (the creation of an aesthetic suggestive of 'higher realities' and a 'cosmic order') came through into the avant-garde.

The link which was made by Russian artists and critics between Cubism and philosophies of a metaphysical hyperspace can be seen in the translation of Gleizes' and Metzinger's Du Cubisme by Mikhail Matiushin, which appeared in the third issue of Soiuz molodezhi in March 1913. Here, for the first time, Cubism was formally associated with the metaphysical hyperspace philosophy of P.D. Ouspensky, as expounded in Tertium Organum. A Key to the Enigmas of the World (Tertium Organum: kliuch k zagadkam mira, St. Petersburg, 1911), extracts from which were juxtaposed by Matiushin with his translation of the French text (51). According to Ouspensky, man's three-dimensional perception of reality was illusory as a result of an incomplete "space sense", which had to

be expanded in order to cultivate a new "cosmic consciousness".

Ouspensky's directive for man to

"...think out of the usual categories...to look at things and at ourselves from a new angle and simultaneously from many sides..." (52)

seemed to Russian observers a direct parallel to the Cubist language of multiple viewpoints and faceted planes, and was associated by Matiushin in his article with the "different kind of space" posited by Gleizes and Metzinger in their critique of Cubism. However, whereas Gleizes and Metzinger interpreted the Cubists' use of multiple views and faceting in a purely visual way, as indicative of a transition, in terms of perception, from a three- to a four-dimensional space, Ouspensky's hyperspace philosophy involved a complete transformation of consciousness to a state of 'being' in the fourth dimension and, consequently, a total rejection of the former 'reality' of three dimensions. From the very beginning, therefore, the Russian interpretation of Cubism, based on Ouspensky's hyperspace philosophy, operated on more than the purely formal level. It was not only a new form, but a new content which was being sought. As such, the Cubist style of painting was seen as the "first step towards the development of... a higher consciousness" (53). Matiushin's translation of Du Cubisme and his juxtaposition of excerpts from Ouspensky's Tertium Organum and The Fourth Dimension (Chetvertoe izmerenie, St. Petersburg, 1909), clearly implied that the Cubist formal language of multiple views and faceted planes was concerned with a transformation of consciousness into a higher spatial dimension. That this idea was assimilated by other members of the Russian

avant-garde is suggested by Kruchenykh's statement in his article "New Ways of the Word" ("Novye puti slova") of 1913 to the effect that "...incorrect perspective gives a new, fourth dimension (the essence of Cubism)" (54). In his review of the "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition of January-February 1914, Tugendkhol'd referred to Picasso as the "glorifier of the fourth dimension" [slavitelia chetvertogo izmerenia] (55). In this way, artists and critics alike regarded Cubism as indicative of the transition to the fourth dimension by means of the decomposition of objects.

Given the fact that a metaphysical hyperspace philosophy constituted part of the Russian avant-garde's interpretation of Cubism, it is difficult to deny the presence of a Symbolist legacy within Russian avant-garde thought. Indeed, the fact that members of the early avant-garde collaborated with the Symbolists in exhibitions such as "Stephanos" (Stefanos) in 1907, and that Futurists and Symbolists continued to associate with one another in places like the Stray Dog cabaret (Brodiachaja sobaka) in St. Petersburg, would suggest that hostilities between the two groups were not as great as implied by the demands of A Slap in the Face of Public Taste:

"...throw Pushkin, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy et al. from the Ship of Modernity... Who is so gullible as to direct his last love toward the perfumed lechery of a Balmont?... All those Maxim Gorkys, Kuprins, Bloks, Sologubs, Remizovs...Kuzmins, Bunins etc...need only a dacha on a river... We look at their nothingness from the heights of skyscrapers!" (56)

The notion of transcendence to a higher reality, present in the Symbolist aesthetic, was to permeate the linguistic theories of Khlebnikov and to be transmuted in the non-objective art of Malevich and Puni. In the writings of the Russian Symbolist poet Andrei Bely, the idea of transcendence was embodied in the image of the winged horse Pegasus. In fact, Boccioni refers to this Symbolist imagery in his painting The City Rises (1910-11; Fig. 1.9). Here, rather than a 'roaring automobile', Boccioni depicts horses, the halters of which take on the aspect of wings. The painting thus indicates the Symbolist roots of Italian Futurism. Subsequently, the Symbolist horse became the Futurist aeroplane - different images, but both retaining the idea of transcendence. References to aeroplanes and flight abound in Russian Futurism. Daring feats of aviation attracted much attention at the turn of the century and the Russian Futurist poet, Vassily Kamensky, was himself a pilot. Although the Russian Futurists often depict not the flight of an aeroplane, but its crash to earth, in a deliberate rejection of unfettered Symbolist flight, the images of flight which recur within the Russian avant-garde are used, particularly by Malevich, as symbols for the 'transcendence' of consciousness into a higher dimension. For example, in the Futurist opera Victory Over the Sun (Pobeda nad solntsem, December 1913), it is the pilot who survives the crash and accepts the terrible strength of the new age. Similarly, in Malevich's Alogist painting The Aviator (1914-15; Fig. 4.4), the pilot is depicted as one of those who, like the budetliianin, can transcend to a higher dimension (57). In his lithograph Universal

Landscape (1913; Fig. 1.10), Malevich sees the act of flying above the earth as a means to escape three-dimensional space and time. He takes the Futurists' denial of the limitations of space, as seen, for example, in Boccioni's Simultaneous Visions (Fig. 2.27), in which everything crowds together on the surface plane, and imbues it with metaphysical meaning. This notion of an aspiration towards a higher dimension of reality is suggested by Malevich's title for his lithograph, "'Universal' [ysemirnyi] landscape". In the same way, a spatial, 'cosmic' dimension proved crucial to Khlebnikov's theories of a transrational language, and his writings make frequent use of cosmological terminology. Thus, as W.S. Simmons notes:

"...the Russian Futurists, for all their attacks on the Symbolists, did not abandon the search for higher metaphysical realities." (58)

Khlebnikov's theories also show a profound concern with controlling 'Destiny'. In many of his writings he is preoccupied with the active "measurement of the fates", in contrast to the Symbolists' own feeling of fatalism at the inability to control human destiny (59). He speaks of "catching fate in a mousetrap" and declares that the task of the budetliane is to "toss a noose over the fat leg of fate" (60).

In this Chapter, two broad categories of the critical reception of Cubism and Futurism within Russia have been defined. These two categories concern form on the one hand, and content or meaning on the other. Artists and critics acknowledged the formal approach of Cubism as an art of "pictorial construction" on the

surface plane. However, the two movements from the West were interpreted against the background of an atmosphere of mystical and eschatological teachings, and of metaphysical theories of a hyperspace, at the turn of the century. It was this background which largely determined the Russians' interpretation of the content and meaning of the new art forms from the West. Within the Russian avant-garde, there were different responses to Cubism and Futurism. The Knave of Diamonds sought to pursue purely formal and painterly objectives, whereas Kul'bin and Matiushin in St. Petersburg were oriented towards the mystical and metaphysical in their art. Similar concerns are to be found in the writings of Khlebnikov. Although the members of the Donkey's Tail group claimed they were interested only in the formal aspects of painting, Larionov's references to the fourth dimension indicate a metaphysical undercurrent to his Rayism. Malevich's work, as seen in the lithograph Universal Landscape and subsequently in his Alogist paintings, adapted the formal language of Cubism and Futurism to his ideas of a higher dimension of reality. In subsequent Chapters, the work of the artists Ivan Puni, Nadezhda Udaltsova, Liubov Popova and Olga Rozanova will be discussed in light of the two broad categories of critical reception defined here. The formal development of Cubo-Futurism will be examined, but, in so doing, it becomes impossible to ignore the metaphysical allusions present in some of these artists' work, reflecting their desire for a hidden content and meaning in their new non-objective art.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Katalog vystavki kartin salon 'Zolotoe runo', Moscow, 1908; translated and reprinted in Valentine Marcadé, Le Renouveau de L'Art Pictural Russe 1863-1914, L'Âge d'Homme, Lausanne, 1971, pp.288-291.
2. "Vystavki I: 'Zveno'", V mire iskusstv, Kiev, 1908, No.14-15, pp.19-21.
3. Katalog vystavki kartin 'Zolotoe runo', Moscow, January-February, 1909. Braque's painting is listed as No.1: "Kupal'shchitsa".
4. M. Voloshin, "Novyia ustremlenia frantsuzskoi zhivopisi" ["New Aspirations in French Painting"]; Sh. Moris, "Novyia tendentsii frantsuzskago iskusstva" ["New Trends in French Art"]; Van-Gog, "Iz perepiski s druz'iami" ["From my Correspondence"]; G. Tasteven, "Impressionizm i novyia iskania" ["Impressionism and the New Searchings"]. The articles were published as a special section in Zolotoe runo, Nos.7-9. Some of Van Gogh's letters were also translated in the volume of the magazine for 1909, Nos.2-3, pp.80-86.
5. Katalog vystavki 'Bubnovyi valet', Moscow, December 1910 - January 1911. Kandinsky's paintings are listed as Nos.71-4: "Improvisation a, b, c, d.". Vtoroi salon internatsional'noi vystavki kartin, Odessa, 1910-11. Kandinsky's paintings are listed as Cat.Nos.200-253.
6. For a discussion of Kandinsky's complex relationship with his homeland see John Bowlt and Rose-Carol Washton Long (Eds.), The Life of Vasilii Kandinsky in Russian Art. A Study of 'On the Spiritual in Art', Russian Biography Series, No.4, Oriental Research Partners, Newtonville, Mass., 1984, p.17.
7. For details of works by Matisse in Shchukin's collection see Katalog kartin sobrania S.I. Shchukina, Moscow, 1913, pp.22-29.
8. "Matiss o Moskve" ["Matisse Talks about Moscow"], Utro Rossii, No.247, 27 October 1911, p.5.
9. Vechernaia gazeta, Moscow, 30 October 1911; cited by Yu.A. Rusakov, "Matisse in Russia in the Autumn of 1911", Burlington Magazine, Vol.CXVII, No.866, May 1975, pp.284-291.
10. See Sergei Glagol', "Moi dnevnik. Po kartinnym vystavkam" ["My Diary. Concerning the Art Exhibitions"], Stolichnaia molva, No.98, 2 January 1910, p.1; and Sergei Mamontov, "Vystavka 'Mir iskusstva'" ["The 'World of Art' Exhibition"], Russkoe slovo, No.279, 4 (17) December 1911, p.7: "...the works of the home-grown 'imitators of Matisse' from the ranks of the Blue

Rose, the Knave of Diamonds, and the Donkey's Tail...".

11. Malevich showed a painting entitled "Bathers" at the 1910 "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition, see Katalog vystavki 'Bubnovyi valet', Moscow, 1910, No.145. Konchalovsky's Bull Fight Enthusiast was listed in the catalogue as No.86: "Liubitel' boia bykov", and Mashkov's Portrait of E.I. Kirkalda as No.153: "Portret E.I.K."
12. Marinetti's manifesto appeared in Le Figaro (Paris), 20 February 1909 and was translated by Panda as "Futuristy" ["The Futurists"], Vecher, No.269, 8 March 1909. See also Paolo Buzzi, "Pis'mo iz Italii. Zhivopis'" ["Letter from Italy. Painting"], in "Khronika", Apollon, No.9, July-August 1910, pp.16-18, for a translation of the Italian Futurists' 1910 manifesto.
13. "Khudozhestvennye vesti. Frantsia" ["Art News. France"], Protiv techenia, No.22 (46), 18 February (2 March) 1912, p.4; Belorussov, "Otkliki zhizni. Futuristy" ["Comment. The Futurists"], Russkie vedomosti, No.33, 10 February 1912, p.2.
14. "Manifest futuristov", in Soiuz molodezhi, St. Petersburg, No.2, June 1912, pp.23-28, and "EkspONENTY k publike", ibid, pp.29-35.
15. Benedikt Livshits, Polutoraglazi strelets, Pisateli v Leningrade, Leningrad, 1933. Translation by John Bowlt, The One and a Half-Eyed Archer, Oriental Research Partners, Newtonville, Massachusetts, 1977, p.98.
16. Livshits, The One and a Half-Eyed Archer, pp.43-4.
17. For references to Russian Futurist Evenings and Debates see "Disput 'Bubnovogo valeta'" ["At the Knave of Diamonds' Debate"], Stolichnaia molya, No.293, 25 February 1913, p.4; "U futuristov" ["At the Futurists'"], Russkie vedomosti, No.261, 12 November 1913, p.5; "Vecher futuristov" ["A Futurist Evening"], Rech', No.319, 21 November (4 December) 1913, p.6; and "Futuristy, burliukisty i kul'binisty" ["Futurists, Burliukists and Kul'binists"], Peterburgskaia gazeta, No.330, 1 December 1913, p.10.
18. Marinetti, "The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism 1909". Translation in Umbro Apollonio (Ed.), Futurist Manifestos, Thames and Hudson, London, 1973, p.21. See also Anthony Parton, Mikhail Fedorovich Larionov 1881-1964: A Study of the Chronology and Sources of his Art, Ph.D. thesis, University of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, 1985, p.77.
19. "Skandal na sobranii" ["Scandal at a Meeting"], Rech', No.82, 25 March (7 April) 1913, p.1.

20. A. Rostislavov, "Doklad o futurizme" ["Lecture on Futurism"], Rech', No.97, 9 (22) April, 1913, p.4.
21. Katalog vystavki kartin gruppy khudozhnikov Mishen', Moscow, 1913. Larionov's Head of a Bull, Rayist Sausage and Mackerel and Portrait of a Fool were listed as Nos.74: "Golova byka"; 77: "Luchistaia skumbriia i kolbasa"; and 78: "Portret duraka" respectively. Goncharova's The City at Night and The Factory were listed as Nos.29 and 44: "Gorod noch'iu" and "Fabrika". Dynamic Decomposition and The Knifegrinder were listed as Nos.94 and 95: "Dinamicheskoe razlozhenie" and "Tochil'shchik (printsip mel'kania)".
22. Boccioni, Carra, Russolo, Balla, Severini, "The Exhibitors to the Public", 1912, in Apollonio, Futurist Manifestos, p.47.
23. W. Sherwin Simmons, Kazimir Malevich's Black Square and the Genesis of Suprematism, 1907-1915, Ph.D. Dissertation, The John Hopkins University, 1979, pp.78-9.
24. Vystayka kartin: Futuristy, luchisty, primitiv. 1914, Moscow, March-April 1914. Boulevard Venus is listed as No.92: "Progulka (Bul'varnaia venera)".
25. Pikard, "On i oni: k priezdu Marinetti" ["On Marinetti's forthcoming Visit"], Vechernie izvestia, Moscow, No.381, 24 January 1914, p.2; and "Gotoviatsia... vstrecha Marinetti Moskovskimi futuristami", ["The Moscow Futurists get ready to meet Marinetti"], Ranee utro, No.20, 25 January 1914, p.4. Larionov's statement may have been designed to shock rather than anything else. Elsewhere in the press Marinetti was reported referring to Larionov as "my friend" and as one of the few "genuine Futurists". See "Futuristskaia bitva v 'Estetike'" ["Futurist Brawl at the 'Association of Free Aesthetics'"], Russkie vedomosti, No.37, 14 February 1914, p.5.
26. N.N. Mikhailova, Marinetti: Futurizm, "Prometei", St. Petersburg, 1914; G. Tasteven, Futurizm (na puti k novomu simvolizmu), "Iris", Moscow, 1914; Vadim Shershenevich, Manifesty ital'ianskago futurizma: Sobranie manifestov Marinetti, Bocc'oni, Karra, Russolo, Balla, Severini, Pratella, Sen-Puan, Tipografiia russkago tovarishchestva, Moscow, 1914.
27. The Abbaye of Créteil was founded in 1906 by a group of writers and artists including Gleizes, Mercereau and Henri-Martin Barzun. Visitors included Marinetti and Metzinger. The group sought to produce work relevant to the new scientific and mechanical age, and used the term "simultaneity" to signify the fast pace of modern industrialized life, much like the Futurist usage. See Daniel Robbins, "From Symbolism to Cubism: The Abbaye of Créteil", Art Journal, XXIII, 2, Winter 1963-4, pp.111-116; and Linda Dalrymple Henderson, The Artist, 'The Fourth Dimension' and Non-Euclidean Geometry, 1900-1930: A

- Romance of Many Dimensions, Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1975, pp.198-9.
28. Tasteven, "Nashe khudozhestvennoe sevodnia", in Futurizm, p.7.
  29. Katalog sobrania S.I. Shchukina, pp.3; 34-40.
  30. Yakov Tugendkhol'd, "Frantsuzskoe sobranie S.I. Shchukina" ["S.I. Shchukin's Collection of French Paintings"], Apollon, Nos.1-2, January 1914, pp.25-37. See also Pierre Daix and Joan Rosselet, Picasso. The Cubist Years, 1907-1916. A Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings and Related Works, Thames and Hudson, London, 1979, for purchases by Shchukin and Morozov.
  31. Alexandre Benois, "Eshche o novykh putiakh zhivopisi" ["More on the New Trends in Painting"], Rech', No.356, 29 December 1912 (11 January 1913), p.4.
  32. ibid.
  33. Goncharova's speech is translated in John Bowlt, Russian Art of the Avant-Garde. Theory and Criticism 1902-1934, Viking Press, New York, 1976, p.78.
  34. ibid.
  35. "Beseda c N.S. Goncharovoi" ["Conversation with N.S. Goncharova"], Stolichnaia molva, No.115, 5 April, 1910, p.3.
  36. D. Burluk, "Kubizm (poverkhnost'-ploskost')". Translation from Bowlt, Russian Art of the Avant-Garde, pp.70-77.
  37. Larionov, Luchizm, Moscow, April 1913, p.13.
  38. A. Grishchenko, "O gruppe khudozhnikov 'Bubnovyi valet'" ["On the 'Knave of Diamonds'"], Apollon, IV, No.6, June 1913, pp.33 and 36; Margaret Betz, "From Cézanne to Picasso to Suprematism: The Russian Criticism", Artforum, April 1978, Vol.16, p.36.
  39. Rosstsi, "Vystavka 'Bubnovogo valeta'" ["The 'Knave of Diamonds' Exhibition"], Russkie vedomosti, No.22, 27 January 1912, pp.4-5.
  40. Katalog vystavki kartin obshchestva khudozhnikov 'Bubnovyi valet', Moscow, 1912. Lentulov's painting is listed as No.122: "Kupanie".
  41. Sbornik statei po iskusstvu: Obshchestvo khudozhnikov 'Bubnovyi valet', Moscow, 1913. As well as reproductions of French works, the Knave of Diamonds anthology illustrated works by the Russian artists Exter, Falk, Konchalovsky, Lentulov, Rozhdestvensky, Kuprin and Mashkov. The book also contained Aksenov's essay "On the Question of Contemporary Painting" ("K

- voprosu o sovremennom sostoianii russkoi zhivopisi").
42. Le Fauconnier, "Proizvedenie iskusstva", in Soiuz molodezhi, No.2, June 1912, pp.36-7.
  43. D. Burliuk, "Kubizm (poverkhnost'-ploskost')", in Poshchechina obshchestvennomu vkusu, Moscow, 1912-13, p.95.
  44. Georgi Chulkov, "Demony i sovremennost' (mysly o frantsuzskoi zhivopisi)", Apollon, No.1, January-February 1914, pp.64-74.
  45. Tasseven, Futurizm, pp.66-7.
  46. See Margaret Betz, "From Cézanne to Picasso to Suprematism: The Russian Criticism", p.36; and Henderson, The Artist. 'The Fourth Dimension' and Non-Euclidean Geometry, pp.297-8.
  47. Tugendkhol'd, "Frantsuzskoe sobranie S.I. Shchukina", p.37.
  48. Nikolai Berdiaev, "Pikasso", Sofia: Zhurnal iskusstva i literatury, No.3, March 1914, pp.57-62.
  49. ibid, p.58.
  50. Simmons, Kazimir Malevich's Black Square and the Genesis of Suprematism, p.87.
  51. Mikhail Matiushin, "O knige Metzinger-Gleiza, 'Du Cubisme'", in Soiuz molodezhi, St. Petersburg, No.3, March 1913, pp.25-34. The article ends with the note: "Translated and compiled with commentaries by M.V. Matiushin. St. Petersburg, 10 March 1913".
  52. P.D. Ouspensky, Tertium Organum. The Third Canon of Thought. A Key to the Enigmas of the World, translated N. Bessaraboff and C. Bragdon, Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner and Co., London, 1934, p.191. It should be noted that the English translation of Tertium Organum by Bessaraboff and Bragdon was made from the second Russian edition of 1916 and includes two chapters (Nos.XI and XV) which are not in the original edition of 1911.
  53. Matiushin, "O knige Metzinger-Gleiza, 'Du Cubisme'", p.31.
  54. Kruchenykh, "Novye puti slova", Troe, St. Petersburg, 1913; reprinted in Vladimir Markov, Manifesty i programmy russkikh futuristov, Munich, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1967, p.68.
  55. Yakov Tugendkhol'd, "Pis'mo iz Moskvyy" ["Letter from Moscow"], Apollon, No.3, March 1914, p.69.
  56. D. Burliuk, Alexandr [sic] Kruchenykh, V. Mayakovsky, Viktor [sic] Khlebnikov, untitled manifesto in Poshchechina obshchestvennomu vkusu, Moscow, 1912-13; translated in Markov,

Russian Futurism, pp.45-6.

57. A possible translation for budetliianin is "Man of the Future". The word was a neologism coined by Khlebnikov. For a more detailed explanation see Chapter Four, "Khlebnikov and Puni: Rediscovering the Language of the Stars".
58. W.Sherwin Simmons, "Kasimir Malevich's 'Black Square': The Transformed Self. Part Two: The New Laws of Transrationalism", Arts Magazine, Vol.53, November 1978, p.130.
59. Khlebnikov, untitled statement in Vremennik, 1916; reprinted in Sobranie sochinenii, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, Munich, 1968-72, Vol.III, p.144.
60. ibid. In his desire to control the fates, Khlebnikov also uses the analogy of a horse and rider: "With his iron grip the budetliianin has taken the reins. Tighten your hold on your horses's bit! One more gust of wind and a new, wild chase by the riders of fate will begin". Apart from the Pegasus imagery, Khlebnikov's analogy comes very close to Kandinsky's symbol of the horse and rider as the artist heralding the new "Epoch of Great Spirituality". See Khlebnikov, Sobranie sochinenii, Vol.III, p.144.

## Chapter Two

### CUBISM AND FUTURISM IN THE ART OF NADEZHDA UDALTSOVA,

### LIUBOV POPOVA AND OLGA ROZANOVA

In the autumn of 1912 Nadezhda Udaltsova and Liubov Popova went to Paris to study at the Academy La Palette under Jean Metzinger and Henri Le Fauconnier. Memories of this time are preserved in Udaltsova's memoirs:

"Here, in the studios where Metzinger and Le Fauconnier taught, my aspirations and endeavours began to define themselves. I worked there with L. Popova. Cognition of the world of phenomena, clarity of construction, an understanding of the composition of space, the correlation of masses - all these were elements which I had sought long and importunately. This was not the monotonous, superfluous copying of models, but rather a creative art, as it seemed to me then. I spent about a year in Paris as one enchanted. The city with its cubes of houses and the interweaving pattern of its viaducts, with the smoke of its locomotives, its aeroplanes and airships up in the sky, presented itself as a fantastic pictorial phenomenon of genuine art. Picasso embodied the ochre and silver architecture of the Parisian houses in his Cubist constructions. I often visited the Louvre to study Poussin, Leonardo, the Dutch School; I was particularly interested in their textures (*faktura*) and also in the drawings of the Renaissance artists such as Raphael and Michelangelo. I visited the Musée Cluny where the coloured 'vitraux' of Matisse helped me to understand the great Master..." (1)

The impression Udaltsova paints is of cosmopolitan Paris as the centre of the artistic world, full of the exciting new technological inventions from the beginning of the century. The city had already attracted many artists from abroad, and particularly from Russia, so that, by the end of 1912, there was a substantial 'colony' of Russian artists working there. Since first

going to Paris in 1908, Alexandra Exter had fulfilled an important role as intermediary between artists in France and Russia. Alexandr Archipenko had also moved to Paris in 1908, joining the group of artists at the studios of La Ruche and, by the time that Udaltsova and Popova arrived, both he and Exter were regular contributors to the Salons. Marc Chagall was also at La Ruche, where, amongst others, Léger, Laurens, Modigliani and Ardengo Soffici worked. The Russian artist Marie Vassilieva founded her own Academy Vassiliev in 1909, where Léger gave two lectures in 1913 and 1914 (2). La Palette, where Metzinger, A. Dunoyer de Segonzac and, recently, Le Fauconnier, had all been appointed to teach, was "a centre for the dissemination of Cubism" (3). Udaltsova was to write later: "I was carried away by Cubism" (4). She spoke of Americans, Swedes and other Russians who studied in the studios.

Udaltsova's memoirs imply that it was only in Paris that she found the painterly solutions to problems which had already occupied her in Russia. Both Udaltsova and Popova had begun work in Tatlin's 'Tower' studio in Moscow before leaving for Paris, and it was here that they first examined the nature of the structure of the human form. Tatlin had opened his studio on the Ostozhenka in the autumn of 1911 and, apart from Udaltsova and Popova, artists who worked there included Valentina Khodasevich and Alexandr Vesnin (5). Tatlin's own nude studies of 1911-14 suggest an interest in the Cubist faceting of form as a means to examine volume. However, it is unlikely that Udaltsova and Popova would have developed a

Cubist language of forms before going to Paris, although they were almost certainly already concerned with problems of structure from their work with Tatlin, as Udaltsova's memoirs indicate.

At about the same time as Udaltsova and Popova arrived in Paris, the "Section d'Or" exhibition opened at the Galerie la Boétie. Duchamp, Gleizes, Gris, Léger and Metzinger were all represented extensively, as well as Archipenko and Exter (6). Yet, at the very moment when Cubism had apparently reached the point of greatest exposure, critics spoke of the impossibility of establishing a definitive Cubist 'style'. This feeling was summed up by Oliver Hourcadé:

"The term 'Cubism' means nothing if it is used to designate a school: there is no school of Cubist painting. And it is absurd to think that the painters of the 'Section d'Or' and others, scattered throughout the 'Salon d'Automne', share any concern other than that of reacting against the sloppiness of Impressionism... The main interest of Cubism is the total difference of the painters from each other." (7)

By the end of 1912, the work of Braque and Picasso had evolved from an early analytical and hermetic Cubism, which broke up the forms of the object into faceted planes, to a synthetic Cubism, which involved building up a pictorial image on the canvas by integrating painted planes or planes of papiers collés and collage. Picasso's first use of collage was in the painting Still-life with Chair-caning (Musée Picasso, Paris) of April 1912, which incorporated a piece of oil cloth, overprinted to imitate chair-caning; the whole canvas was framed by a piece of rope. In September 1912, Braque completed the first papier collé, a drawing,

Compotier et Verre (Douglas Cooper Collection, France). This incorporated three pieces of wallpaper, printed to imitate wooden panelling, pasted onto the canvas (8). The synthetic Cubism of Braque and Picasso was characterized by a reintroduction of colour and an intensified interest in texture, used to identify or draw analogies with their objects. Sometimes these analogies were made through related textures, but, elsewhere, non-painterly textures of plaster and sand were introduced to enhance the tactile qualities of the canvas. In general, Braque and Picasso moved towards greater clarity in their synthetic Cubist works, in contrast to hermetic paintings such as Picasso's Man with Mandolin (autumn 1911; Musée Picasso, Paris), where the identification of the subject was virtually impossible owing to the intense fragmentation of the forms and their fusion with pictorial space. During 1912 and 1913, Picasso also began to experiment with cardboard and wooden constructions, such as Bottle and Guitar (destroyed) of 1913. This work incorporated shapes which were the reverse of the counterpart in real life (for example, the use of a projecting wax cone to represent the hole of the guitar), and this technique became a feature of subsequent Cubist sculpture (9).

However, the works of Braque and Picasso were not the only examples of a Cubist style of painting in Paris in 1912 and 1913. Although their paintings were always on show at the Galerie Kahnweiler, neither Braque nor Picasso contributed to the Salons, so that most of the public exposure to Cubism was to paintings by Delaunay, Gleizes, Gris, Léger, Le Fauconnier and Metzinger.

Delaunay's art in 1912 and 1913 was not concerned with an examination of pictorial volume, but with the simultaneous contrasts of colour, as seen in his sun and moon series and in his Fenêtres paintings of 1912. Here, figurative objects became almost incidental to the real subject-matter of light and the breaking up of the picture surface in terms of transparent interacting coloured shapes (10). A similar desire for dynamic pictorial contrasts of forms also characterized the work of Léger at this time, such as his series of Contrasts of Forms of 1913. In 1913, Delaunay's wife, Sonya, a Russian by birth, collaborated with the poet Blaise Cendrars on his book Prose du Transsibérien, designed to unfold as a continuous script and in which the verbal movement of the poem was accompanied by pure colour contrasts (11).

Gris's works of this period were characterized by a complex process of breaking down or building up his forms, which resulted in a linear grid or framework appearing on the surface of the canvas, as in the painting The Man in the Café (1912; Philadelphia Museum of Art). Gris had never abandoned colour and responded to Braque's and Picasso's gradual reintroduction of it after 1912 by increasing the intensity of his own colours to an even greater degree. Canvases such as Landscape at Céret (1913; Moderna Museet, Stockholm), or Violin and Guitar (1913; Collection Mr and Mrs Ralph F. Colin, New York), demonstrate Gris' use of forceful and luminous colours in 1913. Works by Metzinger such as Le Gouter (1911; Fig. 2.3) show a superficial understanding of the intent of Braque's and Picasso's hermetic Cubism, where several viewpoints

are combined only in the treatment of the head and the tea-cup, and where there is no genuine concern with the internal structure of the forms. Metzinger's method of optical synthesis for the tea-cup in Le Gôûter reflects more the influence of Gris than that of Braque and Picasso, and a simplified version of Gris' linear framework appears in other works by Metzinger such as Portrait of Albert Gleizes (c1911-12; Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design). Metzinger often introduced areas of patterning and decorative details into paintings, as, for example, in La Plume Jaune (1912, Collection Mr and Mrs R. Stanley Johnson), Woman with Fan (c1913; Fig. 2.10) or Dancer in a Café (1912; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York). Small decorative details such as a necklace, painted lace, a fan, a mirror, or flowers and vegetation, incorporated into paintings as whole, figurative elements, became a hallmark of Metzinger's art between 1911 and 1913.

The propensity to bright colours in paintings by Gris of 1912-13 also characterized the work of Archipenko. Influenced by Picasso's wooden constructions, Archipenko made a number of free-standing constructions between 1912 and 1914, including Carrousel Pierrot (1913; The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York), Médrano I (c1912-14; whereabouts unknown) and Médrano II (c1913-14; The Museum of Modern Art, New York). Colour was used differently in each work, evoking the mood and movement of a merry-go-round in Carrousel Pierrot, but helping to clarify structure in Médrano II.

Apart from Cubism, Paris in the autumn of 1912 was exposed to the art of the Italian Futurists, who had had their first major exhibition at the Galerie Bernheim-Jeune in February. In their paintings, the Futurists expressed the concepts of pictorial dynamism and simultaneity. Pictorial dynamism signified the Futurists' emotional involvement in the dynamics of modern life. Simultaneity was initially seen by the Futurists as the painting of "states of mind" as a product of the speed and complexity of modern life, but was gradually expanded after 1912 and associated specifically with the painting of speed and movement (12). This Futurist simultaneity relied on the negation of sequential or narrative time, so that views were no longer presented in a narrative context, but rather juxtaposed within the simultaneous instant which denied the limitations of both time and space. Such a simultaneity can be seen in Severini's Memories of a Voyage (1910-11; whereabouts unknown). In this way, elements from the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries could combine within one image and a landscape could penetrate into an interior. The painting of "states of mind", as seen in Boccioni's States of Mind: The Farewells. Those Who Go. Those Who Stay (1911), also demonstrated an important, psychological, aspect to Futurist simultaneity.

For the Puteaux Cubists, simultaneity was largely understood as the combination of multiple, successive viewpoints within a single image. For Metzinger, it found its ultimate visual expression in paintings such as Portrait of Albert Gleizes and

Woman with Fan above, in the complex division of the face into multiple aspects, heavily influenced by the perpendicular frameworks of Juan Gris. The visual stimulus for this idea came from the deliberate recombination of multiple views by Picasso in his paintings of 1907-1910, with which Metzinger was the most familiar of all the Puteaux Cubists. It was this that he had in mind when he spoke of Picasso's "free, mobile perspective" in his "Note sur la peinture" of 1910 (13).

The fundamental differences between the two concepts of simultaneity were not that great, and examples of a Futurist simultaneity can sometimes be seen in Metzinger's art, for example, in The Blue Bird (1913; Fig. 2.4), as well as in Delaunay's painting L'Équipe de Cardiff (1912-13; two versions, Stedelijk Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven, and Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris), and in Cendrars' poem Prose du Transsibérien above. In the latter, a series of childhood memories of Russia is combined with the modern experience of a train journey on the Trans Siberian Express, and the train becomes a symbol for the drawing together of disparate thoughts, places and times into one simultaneous ambience (14). Another related aspect of the Puteaux Cubists' understanding of simultaneity was the fusion of man and mechanical object, originally espoused by the Abbaye of Créteil group (15). With its sense of rotating movement established by the alternating bands of colour, and the fusion of disparate elements, Archipenko's Carrousel Pierrot may also be seen to exemplify this concept of simultaneity (16). However, the Futurists' emphasis on the

"dynamic sensation" of an object, stimulating the viewer's aural as well as optical sensation, which formed a crucial part of their simultaneity, was not present within the Puteaux Cubists' understanding of multiple viewpoints, which concentrated primarily on static forms.

Of the Italian Futurists, Severini lived and worked in Paris, and Boccioni made regular visits, on one occasion visiting the studios of Archipenko (17). The painter and critic Ardengo Soffici also made frequent trips to Paris. He was friendly with Alexandra Exter and another, lesser known Russian artist in Paris, Serge Férat (Sergei Yastrebtsov), himself a close friend of Apollinaire and the latter's co-editor on the literary magazine Les Soirées de Paris from 1912-14. Férat was acquainted both with the Montparnasse Cubists and with Severini and Soffici (18).

It was largely due to intermediaries like Exter, who regularly brought back reproductions from Paris, that artists within Russia had an extremely good knowledge, albeit monochromatic, of contemporary avant-garde developments in Europe by the end of 1912. Lantern slides of Cubist and Futurist works were shown at public lectures by Zdanevich and David Burliuk and further knowledge of Cubism was gleaned from works sent to Russian exhibitions (19). However, an examination of the French works loaned to Russia for exhibitions reveals that, in the majority of cases, the Cubism represented was principally that of the Puteaux Cubists - Gleizes, Metzinger, Le Fauconnier, Delaunay and Léger, and not always that of Braque and Picasso. Few analytical works from the hermetic

period of Cubism of 1910-11 seem to have been sent to Russian exhibitions. Any Picasso works shown were, for the most part, drawings or studies (20). Contrary to this, Léger, Le Fauconnier and Metzinger sent some of their most recent and important canvases to Russia. At the "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition of January-February 1912, Le Fauconnier showed a study for his painting L'Abondance (1910), which had caused such a sensation at the "Salon d'Automne" of 1911, and Léger exhibited his Study for Three Portraits (1911; Milwaukee Art Center), from the same Salon (21). Léger's painting shows the same use of cylinders and cones as in Nudes in a Landscape to fragment the forms of his figures and their spatial environment. Its main concern, however, is with contrasting rhythms established through the interpenetration of the figures by luminous forms of light, to create a work which is much more pictorially dynamic than the earlier Nudes in a Landscape. By depicting the penetrative movement of light in Study for Three Portraits, Léger was able to break open his objects and make them part of a continuous fluxing dynamic theme (22). Léger's concern with dynamism and with the rhythmic interpenetration of his forms makes his art quite distinct from that of Braque and Picasso.

One of the most important exhibitions for disseminating current French trends was the "French Exhibition of Paintings 'Contemporary Art'" (Frantsuzskaia vystavka kartin 'Sovremennoe iskusstvo'), held in Moscow from December 1912 to January 1913. Exhibits included paintings by Gris, Léger's Woman in Blue (1912, Kunstmuseum, Basel), from the 1912 "Salon d'Automne", and a canvas

by Metzinger, listed in the catalogue as "Figures", possibly his Two Nudes (1910-11, whereabouts unknown), recently shown at the "Section d'Or" in Paris (23). Several reviews of the exhibition mentioned the poor examples of Picasso's work, represented only by drawings, so that the overall impression of the "extreme leftist section of the exhibition" was of paintings like Léger's Woman in Blue (24). As there were no works by Braque at all, the Cubism represented at the exhibition "Contemporary Art" was predominantly that of the recent Paris Salons. A review of the exhibition in Rampa i zhizn', included an extract from the catalogue's preface concerning the Cubists' desire "to destroy the immobile state of nature by means of the analysis of individual objects and the constructive distribution of the parts on the canvas" (25). This specific reference to dynamism within Cubism reflected, not the art of Braque and Picasso, but the concerns of Fernand Léger with the dynamic contrasts of his pictorial forms first suggested in his examination of the interpenetration of light in Study for Three Portraits and in the colour contrasts of Woman in Blue, and subsequently developed in his series of Contrasts of Forms of 1913 (see Fig. 2.8). The reviewer of the exhibition "Contemporary Art" in Utro Rossii described Léger as a "representative of Futurism" (26). Léger's objectives in 1913 could indeed be described as being close to those of the Italian Futurists, and he deliberately cultivated a mechanistic imagery as part of his search for dynamism and dissonance on the canvas. Hence, within Russia, and in terms of works shown at exhibitions in 1912 and 1913, Cubism was largely presented as a dynamic art characterized by the paintings of

Fernand Léger. Elsewhere in the press, Gleizes was often referred to as the "founder" or "forefather" of Cubism (27).

Two Russian publications early in 1913 reinforced the pre-eminence of the Puteaux Cubists. These were the third issue of Soiuz molodezhi in March, which contained Matiushin's translation of excerpts from Gleizes' and Metzinger's Du Cubisme, and the Knave of Diamonds' collection of essays on art, containing Le Fauconnier's essay, "La Sensibilité moderne et le tableau" ("Sovremennaiia vospriimchivost' i kartina") and extracts from Apollinaire's discussion of Léger from Les Peintres Cubistes (28).

Le Fauconnier's essay, written for the "Moderne Kunst Kring" exhibition of 1912 in Amsterdam, describes how contemporary advances in science and technology, the motorcar and electricity, have conditioned the artist's sensibility and necessitated a change in his style to incorporate the "new rhythm" of contemporary life:

"The means for rapid travel which force us to see totally different landscapes within a short period of time, result in a contemplation of nature which is more synthetic. Scientific discoveries offer up before our eyes forms hitherto unseen. Machines, motors and electricity have all changed our ideas about movement and force. Industrial tension has changed the appearance of our cities, creating unexpected perspectives, a brave new architecture, strange dissonances... The artist is not content with simply transmitting the external aspect of contemporary life. His aim is to provide its plastic correlation..." (29)

Le Fauconnier's desire for a new art form to reflect the dynamism of modern culture had its initial source in the group of artists around the Abbaye de Créteil in 1906, but was also undoubtedly influenced by the ideas of Italian Futurism, which became widely

known and discussed after the Futurists' exhibition in Paris in February 1912. For Russian observers reading "La Sensibilité Moderne", the similarity between Le Fauconnier's ideas and those of the Italian Futurists would have suggested that Cubism was essentially an art of dynamic forms like the paintings of Léger. Many of the works of the Puteaux Cubists were reproduced in Russian publications. The Knave of Diamonds' collection of essays illustrated Léger's Nudes in a Landscape and The Smokers (30). Two full Russian translations of Gleizes' and Metzinger's Du Cubisme were published in July and November 1913, and the first of these, by A. Voloshin, contained several illustrations of the work of the Puteaux Cubists, but only one apiece by Braque and Picasso, a Still-life by Braque and Guitar Player by Picasso (31).

Accustomed to working from life models in the 'Tower' studio in Moscow, Udaltsova and Popova continued to paint nudes in Paris, either in an interior or landscape setting. There are a number of studies by Udaltsova which were probably completed when she was at La Palette or immediately after her return to Russia in 1913. Female Nude (1912-13; Fig. 2.1) is set within a bare interior. Unlike Picasso's analytical works, Udaltsova's study shows no depiction of pictorial space as faceted planes which interact with the subject. As a result, her figure remains completely distinct from its surroundings. This separation of subject and pictorial space, together with the sculptural and monumental quality of Udaltsova's Female Nude, actually relates it to Picasso's proto-Cubist works in the Shchukin collection, such as Three Women

and Peasant Woman (Fig. 1.5). In the latter, Picasso exploits stark contrasts of light and shade to delineate the planar forms, and similar techniques can be observed in Udaltsova's painting. There are also some similarities between Udaltsova's Female Nude and Metzinger's Le Gouter (1911; Fig. 2.3), where some of the forms are divided and broken up in an attempt at Cubist faceting. However, despite this treatment and the integration of parts of the subject with the surrounding space, Le Gouter creates no real tension between the forms, an element also missing from Udaltsova's canvas. This painting and other contemporary nude studies by Udaltsova share features with Tatlin's drawings of nudes from the same period (Fig. 2.2) (32). In these drawings, Tatlin uses a simple Y-shape to delineate the breasts and knee joints of his figures in combination with hatching to suggest their volume. The result of this treatment, which relies principally on the contrast of light to dark areas, establishes an undulating progression of volumes down the surface of the painting. This is a feature of both Udaltsova's Female Nude and Picasso's Peasant Woman above.

Another work from Udaltsova's Paris period or immediately after is Composition (c1914; Fig. 2.5), a watercolour of four nudes in a landscape, which is related to another watercolour in the Costakis collection (33). The theme of figures in a landscape was one used particularly by the 'Salon' Cubists, as, for example, Le Fauconnier in L'Abondance (1910), Léger in Nudes in a Landscape (1909-11; Fig. 1.8) and Metzinger in Women Bathers (1912-13; Philadelphia Museum of Art). Metzinger's painting includes a

chimney and an arched bridge, the forms of which are not subdivided into facets like the rest of the landscape. A similar arched bridge is to be found in Udaltsova's Composition (Fig. 2.5). Her watercolour also resembles the composition of Metzinger's painting The Blue Bird (1913; Fig. 2.4). The similarity in the posture of Udaltsova's and Metzinger's figures, especially in the reclining nude at the forefront of each work, is most striking from a comparison with the study that Metzinger made for his painting (Fig. 2.6). The position of the woman's legs, her pose, half in profile and half twisted round to the front of the picture plane, together with the curvilinear treatment of the breasts, knee and shoulder joints, are all duplicated in Udaltsova's watercolour. Udaltsova has also sought to create a balance in her composition between standing, kneeling and reclining figures, similar to that achieved by Metzinger in the three different stances of his female nudes.

Popova's Female Model. Standing Figure (c1913-14; Fig. 2.7) suggests a greater desire to examine the structure and internal volumes of her forms, than seen in Udaltsova's nude studies. Parts of the subject have been extended into the surrounding space, which is itself treated in a more solid manner than the pictorial space of Udaltsova's Female Nude. This extension of form into the environment (noticeable especially in the treatment of the forehead plane) suggests the influence of Boccioni and his force-lines, which express the fusion of the internal rhythms of forms with their environment. Popova's painting also shows a much greater use

of colour, which plays an important rôle in highlighting certain areas in order to emphasize the roundness and volume of the forms. The basic Y-shape with a semi-circle underneath, used both for the female nude's breast and for her face, reflects similar techniques by Tatlin in his nude studies above. It can also be seen to a lesser extent in Metzinger's Le Gôûter (Fig. 2.3). Generally, however, Le Gôûter does not express genuine interest in the internal structure of form to the degree shown by Popova's painting and Tatlin's drawings.

The painting Two Figures (c1913-14; Fig. 2.9), which was shown at the 1914 "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition, is an early Cubist work by Popova which suggests the influence of Metzinger, especially in its landscape setting and in the use of decorative details (34). Some of the lines of faceting extend beyond the figures into the landscape. This and Popova's use of the colours red and yellow for both parts of her background and her figures, suggests a desire to integrate the forms with the pictorial space. However, this is not entirely successful and the two nudes remain distinct against their setting, in a manner similar to Metzinger's Le Gôûter above. Popova's painting shows the same faceted treatment of face, breasts, shoulder and knee joints as in Standing Nude, also applied to the bowl of fruit and to the trees in the landscape. The treatment of the seated woman's head, which combines a thin dark profile and a frontal view of one eye, indicates a method of juxtaposing successive viewpoints to create a single pictorial image similar to that used by Metzinger in paintings like Woman

with Fan (c1913; Fig. 2.10). The relatively naturalistic, untreated details of pitcher and guitar, which display only superficial dislocation, are reminiscent of Metzinger's sectioning of cup and saucer in Le Gouter. In the latter, a vertical or diagonal line separates two different viewpoints of an image, the one in profile, the other tilted round onto the surface plane, and the impression created is of the contours of the form 'slipping' down along the line. Essentially the same treatment can be seen in Popova's still-life objects of pitcher and guitar in Two Figures. This splitting of viewpoints by means of a line was also a feature of Gris' art, as seen in The Man in the Café above, where lines separate several views of an object. Gris expanded this technique into a complex linear grid as part of his process of breaking down or building up his objects.

The blue fan, which the seated nude holds in Popova's Two Figures, is a recurring image in Metzinger's paintings of this period, for example, in Woman with Fan (Fig. 2.10) and The Blue Bird (Fig. 2.4). Likewise, the string of beads around the neck of Popova's nude was one of Metzinger's favoured decorative details. There is a certain ambiguity as to the spatial environment of Popova's work. A reference to a parquet floor at the bottom of the canvas, and the shape of a lamp in the upper right, suggest an interior, but there are clear references to a landscape at the top. The same ambiguity is found in The Blue Bird, where Metzinger incorporates a collection of small details, such as an image of Sacré Coeur, a boat and a bowl of fruit, to create a mélange of

interior and exterior elements. This is an example of Metzinger's own interpretation of Futurist simultaneity, in which there is no sequential time or space, so that a liner can stream across the interior of a house.

The use of the inverted cone in Popova's Female Model, Standing Figure (Fig. 2.7) (evident in the lower leg joints), not present in Two Figures, suggests the influence of Léger's mechanistic forms in his series of Contrasts of Forms of 1913 (Fig. 2.8), or in works such as Still-life with coloured cylinders (1913; Louis Carré Collection, France). These canvases demonstrate Léger's move towards a style of painting based on the pictorial contrasts of dynamic, mechanistic images, the forms of which are constructed from cylinders, inverted cones and ovals. Léger expressed his concern with pictorial dynamism and the dissonance of contrasts in the two lectures which he gave at the Academy Vassiliev in Paris in May 1913 and June 1914 (35). Moreover, in his series of Contrasts of Forms, Léger juxtaposed areas of white and dark paint in order to heighten the contrasting force of his oblique lines and colours. A similar technique was employed by Popova in her paintings and painterly reliefs of 1914 and 1915, as part of a delineation of the internal structure and rhythms of her forms.

Popova further developed the use of conical forms in Seated Nude (c1914; Fig. 2.11), where they delineate both the figure's arms and parts of the surrounding pictorial space. This painting shows a more successful interaction of the figure with its

environment, resulting in a greater sense of the translucency of the forms, contrasted to the density of those in the earlier Two Figures. Apart from Léger's dynamic pictorial forms, the work of Boccioni also assumed greater significance for Popova in 1914 and 1915. To supplement her knowledge of Boccioni gained in Paris, Popova would have had access in Russia to his theories of sculpture, as the "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Sculpture" was published in February 1914, together with the Futurists' "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Painting", in Manifesty ital'ianskago futurizma, translated by Shershenevich. In his manifesto, Boccioni wrote of the "atmospheric planes which bind and intersect things" (36). These planes had already been depicted in such canvases as Matter (1912; Mattioli collection, Milan), shown at the Futurists' Paris exhibition in February 1912. Popova's Seated Nude shows an attempt to fulfil these demands by opening up the forms of her figure to the surrounding spatial environment, which she represents by means of a series of solid planes and cones. This integration of the subject with its environment is most successful in the treatment of the right shoulder, where the curved base of the inverted cone extends beyond the contours of the human form and where the beam of light from the lamp penetrates the body. This solid beam of light suggests a response on Popova's part to an interest which artists displayed at this time in light. Léger gave substance to smoke and light as agents of fragmentation and interpenetration in The Smokers, and Boccioni portrayed the beams of electric light in Laughter (1912; Museum of Modern Art, New York) as distinct forms which penetrate the figures in the

restaurant.

However, despite a loosening of the forms, Popova's nude still remains to a large extent inert and separate from her surroundings. The familiar treatment of the head maintains the link with the earlier painting Two Figures, which is more overtly influenced by Metzinger. Taken together, these three paintings of nudes, all completed within a relatively short space of time between 1913 and 1914, suggest that Popova was assimilating and experimenting with the various techniques of Metzinger, Léger and Boccioni, in her desire to explore the rhythms of the internal structure of the human form. The fact that Popova entitled the final, 1915, version of her Seated Nude, Person + Air + Space (Russian Museum, Leningrad), indicates that she was working towards the same dynamic interaction of objects with their surroundings as Boccioni in his sculptures of 1912, one of which was entitled Head + House + Light.

Like Female Nude, Udaltsova's canvas The Seamstress (1912-13; Fig. 2.12) was probably painted while she was at La Palette. The subject-matter of the painting was not common to the work of Braque and Picasso, but relates more to that of the Puteaux Cubists. In 1909, Léger painted The Seamstress (La Couseuse, Private Collection) and, in 1912-13, Gleizes painted Women Sewing (The Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam), which depicts three women in a landscape. Udaltsova's painting uses diagonal and vertical lines to divide her forms into sections and in this she comes close to Gleizes' treatment in Women Sewing. The forms of her sewing machine have 'slipped' along the vertical line which separates them

and this recalls Popova's treatment of the guitar in Two Figures (Fig. 2.9) and the cup and saucer in Metzinger's Le Gôûter (Fig. 2.3).

The figure of the Seamstress has been depicted with superficial Cubist faceting, like Metzinger's nude in Le Gôûter. Angular and curvilinear forms are juxtaposed and the head shows a rendering of profile and frontal views within one image, as the face is brought round onto the surface plane. This suggests the influence of works by Picasso which marked the transition from proto-Cubism to early analytical Cubism, such as Girl with a Mandolin (Portrait of Fanny Tellier, 1910; Fig. 2.13). This painting depicts much less intense faceting of form in comparison to earlier works such as Nude Woman in an Armchair (1909; Private Collection), with the result that the planes of the human figure seem to lie flatter on the canvas. This increased sense of flatness is accentuated by the fact that the nude's face is brought round onto the surface plane in the same way as Udaltsova's in Seamstress. In Picasso's painting, the human form has not yet become completely integrated with the painterly space, as was to happen in subsequent hermetic works. This distinction of the form against its background can be seen in both Metzinger's Le Gôûter and in Udaltsova's The Seamstress. However, in the latter, the planes of the figure's head do effect a successful integration with the surrounding pictorial space. Tilted upwards and brought round onto the surface of the painting, these planes fuse with the spatial environment, negating any sense of distance or recession

and creating a series of surface relations and tensions. This treatment of form suggests that Udaltsova was aware of the direction Picasso had taken in his analytical works of 1910-11. The surface nature of The Seamstress is enhanced by the flat patterning in the upper left-hand corner, so that the painting essentially avoids the 'pockets' of depth discernible in Metzinger's Le Gouter and, to a lesser extent, in parts of Picasso's Girl with a Mandolin. As far as the depiction of movement is concerned, The Seamstress makes no real attempt to represent the motion of the sewing machine. Picasso has clearly been the model for Udaltsova's painting and her work shows no influence, as yet, of Italian Futurist ideas.

However, a number of paintings by Udaltsova of 1914-15 do begin to show a concern with conveying a sensation of movement and dynamism whilst remaining within a Cubist framework. Two such paintings are At the Piano (c1914-15; Fig. 2.14) and The Restaurant (1915; Fig. 2.15) and they suggest increased awareness on Udaltsova's part of the theories and paintings of the Italian Futurists. One of the main features of At the Piano is the repetition of the contours of the human form in a manner analogous to Malevich's representation of movement in the Knifegrinder (1912; Fig. 1.3). Within Italian Futurist painting, this technique of repeating the contours of forms can be seen in works such as Carlo Carra's Simultaneity - The Woman on the Balcony (1912; R. Jucker Collection, Milan), where the arched curve of the woman's back is repeated three times. Giacomo Balla's canvases such as Dynamism of

a Dog on a Leash (1912; The Museum of Modern Art, New York) and The Violinist's Hands (1912; E. Estorick Collection, London), express the same idea and are closely related to the experiments of Anton Guilio Bragaglia in photography. By depicting the "volumes of individual motions", Balla and Bragaglia sought to construct a work of art which embodied the synthesis of forms and their movement (37). This synthesis formed part of the Futurist concept of simultaneity:

"...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... Thus a running horse has not four legs, but twenty, and their movements are triangular." (38)

The Futurists adapted the formal vocabulary of Cubism to their desire to depict the "simultaneity of the ambience", which, they believed, led to the 'dislocation' of objects (39). Udaltsova's representation of movement also remains within a Cubist format. The word "BACH" and the letters "M JO", which may refer either to Picasso's painting Ma Jolie or to the popular contemporary song of the same name, are printed across the canvas, in a reference to Braque's and Picasso's allusions to music in their works. The letters "A.SKR..." can also be identified as a reference to Scriabin, the Russian composer who died in April 1915. Scriabin was known for his theories linking colour and music, in which he assigned particular sounds to particular colours. One of his 'correspondences' was that of the colour blue with the note F-sharp major. In Udaltsova's canvas, the predominant colour is the blue of the pianist's dress and a large letter "F" has been painted

above the word "BACH" (40). It is conceivable, therefore, that At the Piano is Udaltsova's homage to Scriabin, in which she has sought to recreate the musical sensations and analogies associated with his name (41). Udaltsova's use of multiple profiles for the forms of her seated figure, as part of the recreation of its movement and internal rhythms, and her concern with a "dynamic sensation", suggest assimilation of Futurist ideas. Her painting contains a greater sense of rhythmic movement than the closest Cubist model of a similar subject-matter, Gleizes' Woman at a Piano (1914, The Louise and Walter Arensberg collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art).

The desire to encapsulate a musical ambience in At the Piano is also found in The Restaurant (Fig. 2.15), which was first shown at the "First Futurist Exhibition of Paintings, Tramway V" (Pervaja futuristicheskaja vystavka kartin, Tramvai V) in the spring of 1915 (42). The two figures in the painting are barely visible, apart from the suggestion of a top hat and frock-coat and a waft of smoke from the man's pipe. The word "RESTAURANT" curves round the top of the canvas and a placard announces "TANGO", the most popular dance in Europe at the time, parodied in Kamensky's poem "Tango with Cows" ("Tango s korovami", 1914). There is a strong diagonal thrust to the painting and the repeated forms of musical instruments in the upper and lower right-hand corners render tangible a sensation of the vibrations and sounds of the music. The entire work shows a desire to express the multifarious sensations encountered in a restaurant and, as such, shows an

awareness of the Futurists' concern with the "sum of sensations" experienced simultaneously in a given environment, as, for example, Boccioni's Laughter (1912), which is also set in a restaurant. Hence, these works by Udaltsova freely combine both Cubist and Futurist elements; a basic Cubist vocabulary of faceted forms and printed letters is applied to the task of transmitting an essentially dynamic content.

In Popova's art, a concern with the Futurist dynamic sensation can be seen in the two versions of Woman Traveller (1915, Costakis Collection; and Fig. 2.16). These may be seen as an attempt to capture the accumulated sensations of travel on the two-dimensional canvas. The subject-matter itself relates to the Futurist aesthetic of simultaneity, where the negation of sequential time and of the limitations of space gives a sense of temporal and spatial displacement, so that Popova's paintings are bombarded with images and letters which penetrate and crowd in on the railway carriage (Fig. 2.16). These isolated words and letters, with their references to travel (zhurnaly, gaz[ety], II kl[assa] - magazines, newspapers, second class) contribute to the "sum of sensations" experienced by the traveller. In their depiction of the psychological aspects of travel, Popova's two paintings recall Boccioni's States of Mind: The Farewells (1911), in which the undulating force-lines across the paintings give visual expression to the psychological and emotional state of those travelling and those left behind. In both versions of Popova's Woman Traveller, the sensation of a chaotic display of images and emotions is

created through an intense fragmentation of the forms and of pictorial space on the canvas. The suggestion of the motion of the wheels of a locomotive in the bottom section of the Costakis painting indicates, perhaps, a response to the Futurism of Balla and his examination of the sensations of speed and motion (Racing Car, 1913; Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; Velocity of an Automobile + Noises + Light, 1913; Kunstmuseum, Zurich).

As a result of the fragmentation of forms, the figures in Popova's Woman Traveller are so dislocated as to render identification almost impossible, except for a few recognizable details, such as the white starched shirt of a man and a white glove (Costakis version), or a string of beads (Norton Simon version), the latter reminiscent of Metzinger's forms. These details suggest that Popova did not want her paintings to lose all contact with an identifiable subject-matter. The strong sense of patterning in the Norton Simon version of Woman Traveller (Fig. 2.16) recalls Metzinger's painting The Blue Bird (Fig. 2.4), which incorporates similar striped patterning in the upper left-hand corner, together with simulated wallpaper. Popova simulates wallpaper in the criss-cross pattern of white and green in the upper right-hand corner of her painting. Like Udaltsova's use of patterning in The Seamstress above, the patterned areas of Popova's canvas reinforce its surface dimension, as in synthetic Cubism, and the striped upholstery of the carriage seat fuses with the planes of the head and body of the traveller, preventing the establishment of any definable space within the painting. The

printed isolated letters or parts of words incorporated in both versions of the painting are now all in Cyrillic, as opposed to the earlier predominant use of the Latin alphabet in 1913 and 1914. This suggests that Popova was now more comfortable with her own language as a formal source than with the French words in Cubist paintings. There may also be an element of nationalist feeling involved, as the First World War had broken out in 1914.

In Russia at this time, Ivan Kliun also sought to evoke the multiple sensations experienced by movement through a landscape in his relief Rapidly Passing Landscape of 1914 (Fig. 2.17). This uses red and white painted disks to suggest the moving wheels of a locomotive and incorporates porcelain elements and wire to evoke telegraph poles in the landscape. Apart from its depiction in Futurist paintings, the subject of motion through a landscape was discussed in the essays on simultaneity by the Puteaux Cubists Le Fauconnier ("La Sensibilité moderne et le tableau", 1912) and Léger ("Les réalisations picturales actuelles", 1914). Kliun's relief also has a strong sense of the diagonal to impart the dynamic sensation of the distortion of the landscape effected by rapid motion through it. His use of the subtitle "My Friend" for Rapidly Passing Landscape recalls Carrà's painting What the Tram Said To Me (1911; Bergamini Collection, Milan), which expressed the Futurists' belief that all objects, including inanimate landscapes and trams, have their own internal rhythms which actively integrate with those of other objects.

There are four known reliefs by Popova which all date from 1915, Jug on a Table (Plastic Painting; Fig. 2.18), Relief (Portrait; Fig. 2.19), Volumetrical and Spatial Relief (whereabouts unknown) and Still-life (Plastic Painting) (Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow). Two works subtitled "Plastic Painting" were exhibited at the "Last Futurist Exhibition 0,10" (Posledniaia futuristicheskaia vystavka 0,10) in December 1915 - Jug on a Table and Vase with Fruit; the latter may possibly be identified as the still-life above. Owing to a contemporary photograph in the Costakis collection, Relief (Portrait) can be identified as the work Portrait of a Woman (Plastic Drawing), which was also exhibited at "0,10" (43). Judging by the evidence of the works at the exhibition, Popova had now taken her concern with the internal structure of form and its dynamic interaction with the environment into three dimensions.

The painterly relief Jug on a Table (Plastic Painting; Fig. 2.18) literally opens up the forms of the jug to the surrounding space and, conversely, allows that space to enter into the interior dimensions of the jug, in a dynamic interaction which recalls Boccioni's own sculpture, Development of a Bottle in Space (1912; Museum of Modern Art, New York) and which meets his demands to "split open our figures and place the environment inside them" (44). Development of a Bottle in Space was shown at Boccioni's exhibition of sculpture in Paris at the Galerie la Boétie in June-July 1913 (45), so that Popova may have seen it then while she was in Paris. Boccioni's work and his theories for producing a

"sculpture of the environment" (46), would most certainly have been the subject of discussion in the 'Tower' studio, as Tatlin's own reliefs worked towards a similar interaction of form and space. In its use of only one material for the jug, Popova's relief is closer to Boccioni's sculpture than to Tatlin's counter-reliefs and corner counter-reliefs, which examined specifically the relations and tensions of one material to another. However, the contrast of the smooth cardboard of the jug with the rough grainy paint to its right and with the section of real wood clearly demonstrates an interest in the working of material (faktura) (47).

In Jug on a Table (Plastic Painting), Popova has limited herself to the monochrome colours of Braque's and Picasso's Cubism of 1909-11 and she still retains Cubist-type lettering in one of the upper corners. Relief (Portrait), however, is much more brightly coloured (Fig. 2.19). It is also more abstract than Jug on a Table (Plastic Painting), and shows how the painted arabesques with their highlights of white can now begin to establish a pictorial structure themselves, independent of recognizable subject-matter. The forms actively emerge from the ground plane, some even overlapping, so that they are at one and the same time both 'painted' and 'real' elements. This interplay of painted planes and real planes fuses the relief with its painted ground. These two reliefs represent the culmination of the formal tasks which Popova pursued in her earlier Nude canvases, of effecting a complete and dynamic integration of form with environment. The sense of dynamic and rhythmic form, actively fusing with external

space, reflects both the Futurists' belief in the innate dynamic rhythm or "interior force" of every object, and Braque's and Picasso's concern with the integration of the internal volumes of forms with pictorial space. As such, the formal development of the painterly reliefs can be traced from Popova's two-dimensional Cubo-Futurist paintings and portraits of 1913-15. The fact that Popova subtitled these works in relief "Plastic Painting" [plasticheskaja zhivopis'] clearly shows that she saw them as a logical progression of her earlier painterly experiments.

In 1915, at the same time as giving expression to Futurist concerns in At the Piano and The Restaurant, Udaltsova explored aspects of Picasso's post-1912 synthetic Cubist works in a number of still-lives. She may have encountered Picasso's synthetic Cubism while studying in Paris, but her interest was probably renewed as a result of recent purchases by Shchukin, which included Table in a Café (Bottle of Pernod, 1912; Fig. 2.20) and Knife, Fork, Menu, Bottle and Ham (1914; The Hermitage, Leningrad) (48). Although Picasso still uses the faceted planes of hermetic Cubism in the treatment of the bottle and glass in Table in a Café (Bottle of Pernod), the work also indicates a move towards a clearer kind of painting which Picasso made after 1912. This involved integrating the planes of his forms on the surface to build up a pictorial image, and removing the spatial ambiguity which resulted from the fusion of object with painterly space in hermetic Cubism. Picasso's synthetic Cubist works were also characterized by a reintroduction of colour and an intensified interest in texture.

Udaltsova responded to this kind of painting in two canvases of 1915, Blue Jug (Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow) and Bottle and Glass (Fig. 2.21). Blue Jug is heavily textured with thick, grainy paint and the incorporation of abstract, flat planes of colour suggests an awareness of Cubist collage. As further indication of this, the central brown plane has been painted to resemble a panel of woodgrain, in much the same way as Picasso's textured surface in Table in a Café (Bottle of Pernod) evokes the form of a wooden table. The faceted forms of bottle and glass in Picasso's painting are duplicated in Udaltsova's Bottle and Glass (Fig. 2.21), which may even have been modelled on the Picasso. The concrete planes of Udaltsova's forms are built up into an identifiable pictorial image which lies flat on the canvas. By tilting the planes up onto the surface, any spatial recession in the painting is negated, but the images nevertheless remain clear.

Udaltsova's Self-Portrait with Palette (1915; Fig. 2.22), which was exhibited at "0,10", shows an interest in textured surfaces, as well as an awareness of the vertical pictorial structure which resulted from the application of papiers collés or collage techniques in Cubist painting (49). However, apart from the examples of Picasso's synthetic Cubism, there are other possible sources for the formal treatment of Self-Portrait with Palette. In its subject-matter of artist with palette, the painting recalls Metzinger's Portrait of Albert Gleizes (c1911-12). Metzinger's synthesis of several viewpoints within a single image resulted in a series of narrow vertical strips on the canvas (see

also Woman with Fan, Fig. 2.10). In her own painting, Udaltsova combines various separate and distinct viewpoints to build up a pictorial image, and this results in a simple grid-like system similar to that in the Metzinger painting. As a consequence of this, the contours of the face appear to have been dislocated. Of the French Cubists, this impression was most noticeable in the work of Juan Gris. His system of analysis and synthesis resulted in a linear grid or framework appearing on the canvas at the point where the different views of objects meet. This technique can be seen in two still-lives of 1913, The Book (Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris) and Glass of Beer and Playing Cards (Fig. 2.23). The effect of this type of dislocation is of transparent, sliding planes, like glass panels. One of the features of Glass of Beer and Playing Cards is that each individual section is treated in a different way and with different textures, whether it be real pieces of patterned paper stuck onto the canvas, heavily impastoed paint, or a smooth abstract plane marked only by the thin outline of an object. A similar variety in textures and in the formal application of paint exists in Udaltsova's painting. In juxtaposing several viewpoints of the head within a linear structure, Udaltsova contrasts smooth abstract planes of black and white paint, which represent back and profile views, with a heavily textured strip bearing the rough outline of a face. The latter is similar to the African masks which influenced Picasso's early Cubist paintings such as Nude with Drapery in the Shchukin collection. Thus, Self-Portrait with Palette shows Udaltsova employing devices for building up her pictorial image which can be

compared with those used by Gris.

The paintings and reliefs of Udaltsova and Popova of 1913-15 show a careful and thorough examination of the Cubism and Futurism which they initially encountered in Paris. They reveal an understanding of the basic principles behind the two movements, subsequently assimilated into their own concerns with structure, faktura and the dynamics of painting. In Russia, the art of Olga Rozanova in 1913-15 also shows an attempt to come to terms with Cubism and Futurism, but with varying degrees of success. Her painting Metronome (c1914-15; Fig. 2.24), contains many references to Cubism and Futurism, and to the modern world of movement and the machine. The picture surface is divided up into planes, with the form of the metronome literally torn apart to reveal its internal mechanism, and the words of various countries are splattered across the canvas to evoke a Futurist cosmopolitan environment. However, in its analysis of the form of the metronome, Rozanova's painting suggests a less detailed knowledge of Cubism than seen, for example, in Popova's canvas The Clock (1915; Fig. 2.25).

Essentially, both artists have taken a mechanical object (a clock and a metronome), and have subjected them to analysis, but with different results. Popova's analysis of the clock can be compared with Tatlin's analysis of form in his painterly relief The Bottle (1913; whereabouts unknown). Both Tatlin and Popova fragment the object in order to reveal its external and internal structure, and to analyse its basic function, shape and texture. Thus, Popova paints the multiple images of the swinging pendulum in

an evocation of the movement of the clock's internal mechanism, and suggests the wooden casing of the clock through a section of imitation woodgrain. Furthermore, the papiers collés wallpaper and newspaper in the upper left-hand corner place the clock in its real environment of hanging on a wall. Rozanova's Metronome also exposes the internal aspects of her form, and the object's mechanical, repetitive movement is suggested through the use of dotted lines, in a manner which recalls Balla's Girl Running on a Balcony (1912; Civica Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Milan). However, her canvas lacks any concern with the analysis of the metronome's internal structure and does not employ different textures or papiers collés to identify and locate her object. As a result, her painting contains more Futurist overtones than Popova's Clock, but lacks Popova's and Tatlin's understanding of both Cubist analysis and the use of papier collé.

Rozanova's urban landscapes, such as Man in the Street (Analysis of Volumes, 1913; Fig. 2.26) and The Factory and the Bridge (c1913; Fig. 2.28), reflect, not only a response to Italian Futurism, but also, conceivably, to the dynamic forms of Léger's paintings exhibited in Russia, and to Le Fauconnier's essay, "La Sensibilité moderne et le tableau", translated into Russian and published in the Knave of Diamonds' anthology in February 1913, in which he advocated a new, dynamic style of painting to express the "new rhythms" of modern life. The images in Rozanova's paintings crowd and 'collapse' into the picture plane, in a manner analogous to the forms in Boccioni's own urban scene in Simultaneous Visions

(1911; Fig. 2.27). Like Boccioni's forms, Rozanova's inanimate objects of houses, factory chimneys and bridges become active components in the transmission of the dynamism of the new urban landscape. Her Man in the Street becomes interchangeable with the houses which he passes and with the wheels of vehicles. Barely identifiable by his top hat and overcoat, the repeated forms of his head show an attempt to depict his movement through the street. The grey forms of his overcoat and of the landscape behind prevent any sense of distance or spatial recession, as multiple images simultaneously occupy the same space. This denial of the limitations of space is a feature of Futurist simultaneity, as expressed in Boccioni's Simultaneous Visions above.

The Factory and the Bridge (Fig. 2.28) is a particularly aggressive example of this technique, where the forms push upwards and threaten almost to break out of the picture frame in which they are enclosed. The contours of the forms extend beyond to penetrate other forms, as those in Man in the Street (Analysis of Volumes) penetrate the surroundings in fulfilment of the Futurists' exhortation in their "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Painting":

"To paint a human figure you must not paint it; you must render the whole of its surrounding atmosphere...our bodies penetrate the sofas upon which we sit and the sofas penetrate our bodies..." (50)

By integrating the forms of her painting in this way, Rozanova also created those "unexpected perspectives" and "strange dissonances", about which Le Fauconnier spoke in his essay. Rozanova sent a number of urban landscapes to the "International Futurist Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture" (Esposizione Libera Futurista

Internazionale Pittori e Scultori) in Rome in April 1914, including The Harbour (1912-13; Private Collection, New York), The Factory and the Bridge and Man in the Street (Analysis of Volumes). The fourth canvas which she exhibited was entitled "Dissonance" and can probably be identified as the painting formerly called "Directional Lines" (c1913; Leonard Hutton Galleries, New York) (51). It is appropriate that Rozanova sent these works to Rome, for they are undoubtedly the most Futurist of her paintings up to 1914. The Factory and the Bridge and Dissonance suggest that Rozanova was concerned with finding and transmitting that very "plastic correlation" for the new, dynamic content of modern urban life advocated by Le Fauconnier in 1912. This in turn closely approximates the Futurists' claim that "there is with us not merely variety, but chaos and clashing of rhythms, totally opposed to one another, which we nevertheless assemble into a new harmony" and that "all inanimate objects display, by their lines, calmness or frenzy, sadness or gaiety" (52).

Rozanova's paintings and Futurist book illustrations of 1913 bear a strong similarity to contemporary works by Larionov and Goncharova, such as Larionov's Head of a Bull (1912), or his Rayist paintings of 1912-13, and Goncharova's The Factory (1912). In their manifesto, "Luchisty i budushchniki" ("Rayists and Future-People", The Donkey's Tail and Target, 1913), Larionov and Goncharova declared:

"We exclaim: the whole brilliant style of modern times - our trousers, jackets, shoes, trolleys, cars, airplanes, railways, grandiose steamships - is fascinating, is a great epoch, one that has known no equal in the entire

history of the world." (53)

Larionov's Rayism, which he developed during 1912, was itself influenced by Italian Futurism - its concern to represent the "intersection of the reflected rays of various objects" corresponded to the Futurists' declaration to the effect that they depict, not sounds, "but their vibrating intervals" by means of force-lines (54). Like Rozanova, Goncharova painted a number of works with urban themes. At this time, Rozanova also collaborated with her husband, the poet Alexei Kruchenykh, on the illustration of Russian Futurist books. Her illustrations for Explodity (Vzorval', St. Petersburg, 1913), A Game in Hell (Igra y adu, second edition, Moscow, 1914) and Kruchenykh's A Duck's Nest...of Bad Words (Utinoe gnezdyshko...durnykh sloy, St. Petersburg, 1913) express the same dynamic, rhythmic quality as the paintings which she exhibited in Rome the following year.

The illustrations in Explodity show the two main influences of Rayism and Italian Futurism acting on Rozanova at this time. One seeks to evoke the force and energy associated with the explosion of a bomb by means of rayist-type lines emanating from the centre, together with a sweeping circular movement (Fig. 2.29). The illustration probably relates to a fragment of one of Kruchenykh's poems in the book:

"frighten-ness pistol  
explodity bomb"

The other illustration depicts a rearing horse and recreates its movement through the use of repeated contour lines and a series of curves in the upper section of the drawing to suggest the movement

of the horse's head backwards as it rears up. This recalls the Italian Futurists' technique of repeating the contours of forms and their advocacy, in "Futurist Painting. Technical Manifesto" (1910), that "...a running horse has not four legs, but twenty, and their movements are triangular" (55). A Duck's Nest... of Bad Words includes illustrations of collapsing buildings and a drawing of a figure surrounded and penetrated by "heavy directional lines" in a manner similar to the painting Man in the Street (Analysis of Volumes). There is clearly a close correlation at this time between Rozanova's Futurist book illustrations and her paintings. Indeed, it is in her illustrations for Kruchenykh's and Khlebnikov's zaum poems that the sense of dynamism and energy in her art is most successfully transmitted. Rozanova's association with Kruchenykh was to prove crucial for her subsequent development, through her assimilation of the principles of zaum for her own art. It is not surprising, therefore, that her most effective and original works should not be paintings, but the collage illustrations for Kruchenykh's later books of 1915 and 1916.

Compared to her Futurist works of 1913 and 1914, analytical Cubism seems to have exerted relatively little influence on Rozanova at this time. The reasons for this may be twofold. Firstly, the differences between Cubism and Futurism did not initially appear to be that great, for the majority of Cubist examples and writings in Russia in 1912-13 advocated a dynamic style of painting, as seen in the works of Léger sent to Russian

exhibitions and in Le Fauconnier's essay. Secondly, the relative lack of works by Braque and Picasso from the hermetic period of Cubism of 1910-11 in Russian collections and exhibitions (56), resulted in a knowledge of Cubism limited largely to that of the Puteaux Cubists, until the beginning of 1914, when the influence of post-1912, synthetic Cubism was first felt in Russian art. The introduction of Cubist collage was to have a profound effect on the art of both Malevich and Rozanova. Hence, Rozanova's paintings such as Metronome above, do not show a serious analysis of form as part of an exploration of its internal structure. However, some paintings and book illustrations which probably date from late 1914 or early 1915, do show a degree of Cubist analysis. Different viewpoints are juxtaposed within a single image in some of Rozanova's illustrations for A Game in Hell (second edition, 1914; sheet 26) and in her series of paintings, Playing Cards, which were shown at the "Exhibition of Leftist Tendencies" (Vystavka kartin levvykh techenii, Petrograd, May 1915), linocuts of which also illustrated Kruchenykh's Transrational Book (Zaumnaiia gniga, Moscow, 1915) (57).

Two paintings which show a similar approach to the above illustrations are Dresser with Dishes (c1915; Fig. 2.30) and The Workbox (c1915; Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow). The use of various textures, of collage elements of paper and lace (The Workbox) and the simulation of woodgrain (Dresser with Dishes) are evidence for an awareness of Cubist collage. Likewise, the flat, abstract planes of colour, which were probably influenced by Malevich's

contemporary Alogist paintings, ultimately originate in the paper planes of Cubist collage. However, of the French Cubists, these two paintings suggest the closest affinities to the art of Gris and Metzinger. In his still-lives of 1912-13 which examined domestic objects similar to those in Rozanova's canvases, Gris attempted to fuse various viewpoints into a single image, and this resulted in the appearance of a linear framework over his forms (Fig. 2.31). Gris did not employ his method of analysis and synthesis for all the forms in his paintings; in The Washbasin (1912; Fig. 2.31), for example, the drapery and blinds, and the small forms of brush, comb and scissors on the washstand are left intact. Both of Rozanova's paintings include certain forms which have been left complete (the spoon, glass and rack of knives in Dresser with Dishes; the scissors, thimble and cotton reel in The Workbox). In Dresser with Dishes, these figurative images, drawn to proper perspective, are combined with the representation of the crockery from several different viewpoints, including the aerial view favoured by Gris in The Washbasin and The Watch (1912, Collection Hans Grether, Basel). This combination of perspectives recalls not only the work of Gris, but also that of Metzinger, in paintings such as Le Gouter (Fig. 2.3), where objects are depicted both in profile and rotated round on the plane, in a simplified version of Gris' method of analysis. In Le Gouter, Metzinger also combined sectioned objects with those left untreated (the spoon). However, although Rozanova's Dresser with Dishes and The Workbox display certain characteristics of an analytical approach to form, they suggest, in the same way as Metronome above, that Rozanova noted the

consequences of Cubist analysis and papiers collés in a flattening and opening of the forms on the surface plane, without actually exploring the internal structure of her objects. As a result, her paintings reflect the effect of Cubist analysis in terms of the distribution of the forms on the canvas, but not its original intent.

However, The Workbox and Dresser with Dishes do hint at another important aspect of Rozanova's art, related to the concept of zaum. The small details of the scissors and spoon in the two paintings have that sense of floating in space which was to be a fundamental feature of Malevich's and Puni's Alogism (58). As yet, they are still within their correct and 'logical' context of a sewing basket and a crockery set. It is only with the removal of objects from their habitual context that the influence of zaum poetry becomes apparent in Rozanova's art. As such, Dresser with Dishes and The Workbox may be seen as proto-Alogist works, which examine the consequences of Cubism, without, as yet, demonstrating the fusion of a Cubist treatment of form with the Russian concept of zaum as formulated by Kruchenykh and Khlebnikov.

In examining Cubism and Futurism in the art of Udaltsova, Popova and Rozanova, it is necessary to distinguish between the various manifestations of Cubism, to which the Russian artists would have been exposed. In their choice of subject-matter for their earlier works, both Udaltsova and Popova reflect more the influence of the Puteaux Cubists Gleizes, Metzinger and Leger than that of Braque and Picasso. The patterning and decorative details,

apparent even in Popova's later paintings, indicate a similar source. Despite this, their subsequent works reveal a detailed understanding of the basic principles of Cubism and Futurism. Although based within a Cubist format, Udaltsova's canvases of 1914-15 also clearly demonstrated an interest in Futurist dynamism, one which was shared by Popova, as she sought to combine a concern with the internal structure of form with the evocation of a Futurist dynamic sensation. Thus, the paintings of both Udaltsova and Popova from this period are characterized by the combination of Cubist and Futurist elements. The relative lack of a genuine analytical approach in Rozanova's art prior to 1914 suggests that, within Russia at that time, Cubism was largely seen in terms of the paintings of the 'Salon' Cubists. Nor is there any concrete evidence to date to support claims that Rozanova visited France and Italy (59). She kept her examination of Cubism and Futurism for the most part separate, with her works of 1913 displaying mainly Futurist characteristics and a concern with dynamism, gained from her knowledge both of the Italian movement and of French Cubism in Russia. For Rozanova, the most significant aspect of Cubism was to be the potential which she saw in the combination of collage techniques with zaum. Consequently, her paintings of 1913-15 appear largely experimental in comparison to the more systematic examination of Cubism and Futurism by Udaltsova and Popova. For them, Cubism provided the formal means for their own investigations into structure, faktura and the dynamism of form.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Nadezhda Udaltsova, "Avtobiografiia" (1933), MS, Private Archive, Moscow. The translation is taken from John Bowlit in Sieben Moskauer Künstler: Seven Moscow Artists, 1910-1930, Galerie Gmurzynska, Cologne, 1984, pp.297-99.
2. Fernand Léger, "Les origines de la peinture et sa valeur représentative" (May 1913) and "Les réalisations picturales actuelles" (June 1914). See Paris-Moscou: Parizh-Moskva, 1900-1930 (Ex. Cat.), Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou, Paris, 1979, p.28, for Russian artists in Paris.
3. Ekaterina Drevina, "Nadezhda Andreevna Udaltsova", in Seven Moscow Artists, p.308.
4. untitled manuscript, Private Archive, Moscow.
5. See V.I. Kostin, "Risunki Tatlina" ["Tatlin's Drawings"], in Sredi khudozhnikov. Khudozhniki i proizvedeniia. Stat'i ob iskusstve 20-kh i 30-kh godov. Stat'i po voprosam sovremennogo iskusstva, "Sovetskii khudozhnik", Moscow, 1986.
6. Salon de "La Section d'Or", Paris, Galerie La Boétie, 10-30 Oct., 1912. Exhibits included Duchamp's Nude Descending a Staircase (No.19); Gleizes' Femme aux phlox, 1910 (No.35), The Hunt (No.37), Portrait of Jacques Nayral (No.38), Women Bathers (No.40), Passy (No.41); twelve works by Juan Gris; Metzinger's Nude in an Interior (Nu à la cheminée, 1910, No.112); Nudes in a Landscape (Two Nudes, 1910-11, No.113), Le Gouter, 1911 (No.115), Woman on Horseback (No.116), La Plume Jaune (No.119) and Portrait of Albert Gleizes (No.120).
7. Oliver Hourcadé, Paris Journal, 23 Oct., 1912; cited in John Golding, Cubism. A History and an Analysis, 1907-1914, Faber and Faber, London, 1968, pp.26-7.
8. For references to Braque's and Picasso's first synthetic Cubist works see Golding, Cubism, p.103.
9. ibid, pp.125-6.
10. ibid, p.175.
11. See Christopher Green, Léger and the Avant-Garde, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1976, pp.77-9.

12. Henderson, The Artist, "The Fourth Dimension" and Non-Euclidean Geometry, pp.197-199.
13. Jean Metzinger, Pan, November 1910; translated in Edward Fry, Cubism, Thames and Hudson, 1978, p.60.
14. Green, Léger, p.79.
15. For the Abbaye of Créteil see Chapter One, "The Reception of Cubism and Futurism in Russia", note 27.
16. For a discussion of Carrousel Pierrot see Katherine Janszky Michaelson, Archipenko: A Study of the Early Works 1908-1920, Garland Publishing Inc., New York and London, 1977, pp.93-6.
17. Katherine Janszky Michaelson and Nehama Guralnik, Alexander Archipenko: A Centennial Tribute, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1986, p.33. Many of the Russian artists in Paris, including Popova, were also in contact with Archipenko. See Vasilii Rakitin, "Liubov Popova", in Künstlerinnen der russischen Avantgarde: Women Artists of the Russian Avant-Garde, 1910-1930, Galerie Gmurzynska, Cologne, 1979, p.198.
18. For Serge Férat see Eddie Wolfram, History of Collage. An Anthology of Collage. Assemblage and Event Structures, MacMillan, London, 1975, p.25; and Paris-Moscou, pp.28 and 551. Férat's sister, Hélène, Baroness von Oettingen, held soirées in Paris and her visitors included the Russian artists Chagall, Exter, Leopold Survage, Archipenko, Sonya Terk (Delaunay), Larionov, Goncharova, and Baranov-Rossiné. For Soffici's friendship with Exter see Ronny H. Cohen, "Italian Futurist Typography", in The Print Collector's Newsletter, Vol. VIII, No.6, January-February 1978, p.168.
19. See Chapter One, "The Reception of Cubism and Futurism in Russia".
20. Picasso sent four works to the 1912 "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition, but they are untitled in the catalogue. His contributions to the "French Exhibition of Paintings 'Contemporary Art'" (Frantsuzskaia vystavka kartin 'Sovremennoe iskusstvo'), Moscow, December 1912 - January 1913, are listed in the catalogue as Nos.153: "Grand dessin, figures dans un paysage en couleurs"; 154: "Étude de femme nue en pied"; and 155: "Dessin à la plus double face". Picasso's contribution to the 1913 "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition is listed in the catalogue as "Kompozitsiia (guash')".
21. Katalog vystavki kartin obshchestva khudozhnikov 'Bubnovyi valet', Moscow, 1912. Le Fauconnier's and Léger's paintings are listed as Nos.210: "Esquisse pour le tableau 'L'Abondance' (1910)", and 117: "Essai pour trois portraits (Salon d'Automne

- 1911)".
22. Green, Léger, pp.19-23.
  23. Katalog frantsuzskoi vystavki kartin 'Sovremennoe iskusstvo', Moscow, 1912. Léger's painting is listed as No.96: "Zhenshchina v golubom (osennii salon)"; and Metzinger's as No.132: "Figury". Gris' exhibits (Nos.46 and 47) are untitled. The exhibition also included works by the German Expressionists Heckel and Kirchner.
  24. Alexandr Koiransky, "Vystavka frantsuzskikh khudozhnikov 'Sovremennoe iskusstvo'" ["The Exhibition of French Paintings 'Contemporary Art'"], Utro Rossii, No.2, 3 January 1913, p.4.; and Yu. B., "Po vystavkam. Vystavka frantsuzskikh khudozhnikov" ["Around the Exhibitions. The Exhibition of Paintings by French Artists"], Ranee utro, No.4, 5 January 1913, p.4.
  25. M. Yurev, "Po vystavkam" ["Around the Exhibitions"], Rampa i zhizn', No.2, 13 January 1913, pp.4-5.
  26. Koiransky, "Vystavka frantsuzskikh khudozhnikov 'Sovremennoe iskusstvo'", p.4.
  27. See "Chto takoe kubizm?" ["What is Cubism?"], Birzhevye vedomosti, vech. vypusk, No.12834, 13 (26) March 1912, p.6.; and "Novye techeniia v zhivopisi: kubizm i rung" ["New Trends in Painting: Cubism and Rung"], Ogonek, No.14, 31 March (13 April) 1912 (unpaginated).
  28. Matiushin, "O knige Metzinger-Gleiza 'Du Cubisme'", in Soiuz molodezhi, pp.25-34; and Sbornik statei po iskusstvu: Obshchestvo khudozhnikov Bubnovyi valet. For further details see Chapter One, "The Reception of Cubism and Futurism in Russia".
  29. Le Fauconnier, "Sovremennaia vospriimchivost' i kartina", Sbornik statei po iskusstvu, p.45.
  30. See Chapter One, "The Reception of Cubism and Futurism in Russia". Livshits took the title for his prose piece "Liudi v peizazhe" ["People in a Landscape"], published in A Slap in the Face of Public Taste and dedicated to Exter, from Léger's painting Nudes in a Landscape. He described his own piece as "100% Cubism transferred to the sphere of organized speech; it was not for nothing that, having appropriated the title of this work from one of Léger's paintings, I dedicated it to Alexandra Exter". For, as Livshits himself declared: "Exter had rather close relations with Léger". See Livshits, The One and a Half-Eyed Archer, p.67, n.30 and p.132.

31. M. Voloshin, Al'bert Gleiz i Zhan Metzinger: O kubizme, Illiustrirovannoe izdanie, Knigoizdatel'stvo "Sovremennyya problemy", Moscow, 1913 (Knizhnaia letopis': 17505. 8-15 July); E. Nizen, O kubizme, published by Matiushin, St. Petersburg, 1913 (Knizhnaia letopis': 30934. 19-26 November). Apart from the works of Braque and Picasso, illustrations in Voloshin's translation included Metzinger's Le Gôûter (1911), Landscape (c1912), Harbour (c1911-12), Nude (Nu à la cheminée, 1910) and Woman on Horseback (1911); Gleizes' Portrait of Jacques Nayral (1910-11), Passy (The Bridges of Paris, 1912), a study for Man on the Balcony (1912), Trees and Women Bathers (1912); Gris' Portrait of a Man (1912); Léger's Rooftops (1911), Houses and Smoke (1911) and Landscape. There were also reproductions of works by Cézanne, Derain, Marie Laurencin, Marcel Duchamp and Picabia.
32. Some of Tatlin's drawings from his album (located in the TsGALI Archives, Moscow), and a Nude Study (1912; Collection D. Sarab'yanov, Moscow), are reproduced in Larisza Alekszejevna Zsadova [Zhadoval], Vlagyimir Jevgrafovics Tatlin, Corvina Kiado, Budapest, 1985. See especially Plates 53-8; 62, and 67.
33. See A. Rudenstine (Ed.), The George Costakis Collection. Russian Avant-Garde Art, Thames and Hudson, 1981, p.485, Plate 1123, "Nudes in a Landscape".
34. Katalog vystavki 'Bubnovyi valet', Moscow, 1914. Popova's painting is listed as No.119: "Kompozitsiia s figurami". This painting is very large, 157 x 123cm. Its size, and that of other contemporary works by Popova, compares with the large paintings of the Puteaux Cubists intended for the 'Salon' exhibitions, such as Metzinger's Bathers (148 x 106cm) or his Blue Bird (230 x 196cm). One of Udaltsova's paintings, shown at the 1914 "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition, was listed in the catalogue as "Kompositziia". It is possible that it was related to the watercolour Composition discussed above (Fig. 2.5). If so, both Udaltsova's and Popova's contributions to this exhibition reflected the influence of Metzinger. Popova's other contribution was entitled "Tinware" ["Zhestianaia posuda"] and may be the painting of still-life objects which can be identified in the installation photograph of the posthumous Popova exhibition in Moscow in 1924. See George Peck and Lilly Wei, "Liubov Popova: Interpretations of Space", Art in America, October 1982, p.96, for a reproduction of the installation photograph.
35. Green, Léger, pp.72; 80-88.
36. Boccioni, "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Sculpture", 1912, in Apollonio, Futurist Manifestos, p.52. See also Shershenevich, Manifesty ital'ianskago futurizma, pp.28-35, for the Russian translation of Boccioni's manifesto.

37. Anton Guilio Bragaglia, "Futurist Photodynamism", 1911, in Apollonio, Futurist Manifestos, p.43.
38. Boccioni, Carra, Russolo, Balla, Severini, "Futurist Painting: Technical Manifesto", 1910, in Apollonio, Futurist Manifestos, pp.27-8.
39. "The Exhibitors to the Public" 1912, in Apollonio, Futurist Manifestos, p.47.
40. The correlation between the blue and the letter F in Udaltsova's canvas is made in R. Herbert (Ed.), The Société Anonyme and the Dreier Bequest at Yale University. A Catalogue Raisonné, New Haven, 1984, p.667.
41. This would necessitate a date after April 1915. This painting may have been exhibited under the title "Music" at the "Last Futurist Exhibition 0,10" (Posledniaia futuristicheskaia vystavka 0,10) in December (Cat.No.145).
42. Pervaiia futuristicheskaia vystavka kartin. Tramvai V. Udaltsova's painting is listed as No.71: "Restoran (1915g)".
43. Posledniaia futuristicheskaia vystavka 0,10, 1915. Popova's paintings are listed as No.95: "Portret damy (plasticheskii risunok)"; No.96: "Kuvshin na stole. Plasticheskaia zhivopis'"; and No.97: "Vasa s fruktami. Plasticheskaia zhivopis'". See The George Costakis Collection, p.366, Plate 813, where Relief is reproduced with the inscription, in Popova's handwriting, "Portrait (plastic drawing)".
44. Boccioni, "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Sculpture", 1912, in Apollonio, Futurist Manifestos, pp.62-3.
45. Galerie La Boétie. Ier Exposition de Sculpture Futuriste du peintre et sculpteur futuriste Boccioni, Paris, 20 June - 16 July, 1913, Cat.Nos.6 and 11.
46. Boccioni, "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Sculpture", in Apollonio, Futurist Manifestos, p.62.
47. Faktura literally signified the working of materials to bring out their individual qualities and involved more than the simple feel or 'texture' of a surface. The term is defined more fully in Chapter Five, "The Non-Objective Reliefs of Ivan Puni and their Relation to the Russian Icon".
48. Table in a Café (Bottle of Pernod, 1912) was purchased by Shchukin in 1912 and Knife, Fork, Menu, Bottle and Ham (1914), in 1914. A reference is made to Table in a Café (Bottle of Pernod) in a newspaper article of January 1913, which discusses Shchukin's purchases over the previous year and speaks of a work "from the very latest post-Cubist period - the 'Decanter

- and Glass', painted in grey, brown, blue and lilac colours, interesting for the fact that letters have been introduced into the composition as a decorative element". See "Sobranie S.I. Shchukina" ["The Collection of S.I. Shchukin"], Utro Rossii, No.20, 24 January 1913, p.5.; and Pierre Daix and Joan Rosselet, Picasso. The Cubist Years.
49. Posledniaia futuristicheskaja vystavka 0,10. Udaltsova's painting is listed as No.150: "Moe izobrazhenie".
  50. "Futurist Painting: Technical Manifesto", 1910, in Apollonio, Futurist Manifestos, p.28.
  51. Esposizione Libera Futurista Internazionale Pittori e Scultori, Galleria Futurista, Roma, April-May 1914. Pittori Futuristi Russi. Olga Rosanoff [sic]: 1."Il porto"; 2."La fabbrica e il ponte"; 3."Dissonanza"; 4."L'uomo nella strada". "Dissonance" can be identified as the work Directional Lines because all four paintings remained in Italy after the exhibition and formed part of Marinetti's private collection in Rome. Prior to the Futurist exhibition, Rozanova's Harbour and Man in the Street (Analysis of Volumes) were shown at the "Union of Youth" exhibition of December 1913-January 1914 (Cat.Nos.103 and 105).
  52. "Exhibitors to the Public" 1912, in Apollonio, Futurist Manifestos, pp.48-9.
  53. "Luchisty i budushchniki", 1913; translated in John Bowlt, Russian Art of the Avant-Garde, p.89.
  54. "Exhibitors to the Public" 1912, in Apollonio, Futurist Manifestos, p.48.
  55. "Futurist Painting: Technical Manifesto", in Apollonio, Futurist Manifestos, p.28. The image of a horse with multiple legs recurred frequently in David Burluk's paintings and book illustrations. See Landscape from Four Points of View, c1911-12, illustrated in Livshits, The One and a Half-Eyed Archer, p.47; also A Trap for Judges 2 (Sadok sudei II), St. Petersburg, 1913, and the back cover of Victory Over the Sun: an opera (Pobeda nad solntsem: opera), St. Petersburg, 1913.
  56. See Chapter One, "The Reception of Cubism and Futurism in Russia".
  57. Vystavka kartin levykh techenii, Petrograd, 1915. Rozanova's paintings are listed as Nos.78-88: "Igral'nye karty. Seria iz 11 kartin". See especially No.78: "Chetyre tuza. Odnovremennoe izobrazhenie" ["Four Aces. Simultaneous Representation"] and No.79: "Odnovremennoe izobrazhenie bubnovogo i chervonnogo koroliei" ["Simultaneous Representation of the King of Diamonds and the King of Hearts"]. The similarity of this series to the Russian lubok, which itself

combined profile and frontal views of an image, does suggest an indigenous visual source for the paintings, although the lines of displacement along the diagonal, and the suggestion of representation from several viewpoints, also reflect Cubist formal language.

58. See Chapter Four, "Khlebnikov and Puni: Rediscovering the Language of the Stars".
59. Jean-Hubert Martin and Carole Naggar write that Rozanova spent a few days in Paris in 1914 en route for Rome and the Futurist exhibition there in April, but provide no evidence to support their statement. Maurizio Calvesi states that Rozanova visited Balla's studio in 1914. See Paris-Moscou, p.30; and L'Arte Moderna, Fratelli Fabbri Editori, Milan, 1967, p.310.

## Chapter Three

### ZAUM AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE REWORKING OF CUBIST COLLAGE BY RUSSIAN ARTISTS, 1914-1916

Reviewing the 1914 "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition in Moscow, Yakov Tugendkhol'd wrote of "pieces of paper stuck onto the canvas which are the new thing and the 'hit' of this year's 'Knave of Diamonds' exhibition" (1). He attributed this latest technique to the influence of Picasso and noted that collage was the predominant feature of the exhibition. Similarly, the artist and critic A. Grishchenko recognized the "mark of Picasso" at the "Knave of Diamonds", observing the use of collage by, amongst others, Konchalovsky, Lentulov and Exter (2). This exhibition, at the beginning of 1914, seems to have been the first public showing of paintings by Russian artists that had been inspired by Cubist collage, although collage itself was already a feature of Futurist book design (3). The introduction of collage into Russian art was to prove highly significant for the assimilation of Cubism and its transformation into a new painterly style. Ultimately, it was to lead both to the non-objective art form of Suprematism and to the three-dimensional relief. Most of the artists who first exhibited collage works at the "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition in January and February 1914, did not appreciate the full significance of the new technique, but its potential was subsequently noted and explored by some of the main protagonists of non-objective art in pre-revolutionary Russia - Kazimir Malevich, Ivan Puni and Olga

Rozanova. For each of these artists, collage or collage techniques played a vital role in their move towards non-objectivity in 1914 and 1915. An analysis of the development of collage within the Russian Futurist environment of 1913-14, can therefore shed important new light on our understanding of the emergence of Suprematism and non-objective relief constructions at the end of 1915.

As already indicated, the formal language of Cubism was associated in Russia with Ouspenskian hyperspace philosophy (4). Associations had also been made between Cubism and current experiments in Futurist poetry, especially the advocacy of zaum (or a transrational language) by Kruchenykh and Khlebnikov. In conjunction with Cubist collage, zaum was to have important repercussions for Russian artists.

The main principles of zaum were laid down in Kruchenykh's articles "New Ways of the Word" in Troe, 1913, The Word as Such (Slovo kak takovoe, Moscow, 1913) and The Declaration of the Word as Such (Deklaratsiia slova kak takovogo, St. Petersburg, 1913). The Word as Such was written in conjunction with Khlebnikov. Zaum involved the rejection of conventional logic in which the function of words is determined by their specific meaning or narrative content. Its aim was to liberate the word from its meaning by breaking it down into its individual letters and sounds ('textures'), and reassembling these components into new combinations according to a higher logic which was "broader than sense" [shire smysla] (5). In "New Ways of the Word", Kruchenykh

states that:

"Clear and decisive proof of the fact that, hitherto, the word has been in fetters, is its submission to meaning. Up until now it has always been asserted that 'the idea dictates laws to the word and never the contrary'. We have pointed out this mistake and provide a language which is free, transrational and universal." (6)

Hence the individual components of the word themselves became autonomous elements. The word freed from meaning was described as the "self-oriented" or "self-sufficient" word, and it provided the new content of Futurist zaum poetry. The Futurist poets saw in pictorial Cubism a treatment of form which paralleled their own treatment of the word and, indeed, contemporary critics noted "Cubist" devices in Russian Futurist poetry. Writing in the Petersburg newspaper Birzhevye vedomosti in January 1913, A. Izmailov commented:

"Recently we all had a good laugh over the 'Union of Youth' exhibition and its ridiculous daubing of Cubist faces, four-cornered flowers and people, as though they had been screwed together from chiselled sections of steel. A Slap in the Face of Public Taste provided the verbal motivation for such outrageous innovations." (7)

Of course, it was in A Slap in the Face of Public Taste (Moscow, 1912-13) that the "New-coming Beauty of the self-sufficient word" was heralded. In his own discussion of the Italian and Russian Futurist movements, Genrikh Tasteren noted the concurrence of Russian Futurist painterly and verbal techniques in respect of their decomposition and interpenetration of forms:

"There is the same interaction between words in a Futurist poem as there is in Futurist paintings...It is interesting to note that particular deformation which the words undergo depending on rhythm and mutual attraction. This attraction strongly brings to mind the interpenetration of forms in Cubist painting." (8)

Nikolai Khardzhiev reached similar conclusions when discussing the Cubist techniques found in David Burliuk's and Mayakovsky's poetry:

"...the phonetic decomposition of words (analogous to the breaking up of objects and the intersecting of their planes in the paintings of the Cubists) and the continuous flowing movement which the repeated words, graphically accentuated, establish (compare the device of merging colours in painting), give to the semantic schemes totally original effects of 'sdvig'." (9)

Hence, the concept of sdvig [displacement] - the combination of seemingly unrelated components where the conventional boundaries of logic have literally 'slipped', creating displaced forms analogous to the effects obtained from the faceted planes and multiple views of Cubist objects - was related to painting and poetry alike. In a similar way, Futurist poets spoke of the "faktura of the word" to signify the sound of individual letters and their combinations, freed from meaning. Khardzhiev described Mayakovsky's poem "From Street to Street" ("Iz ulitsy v ulitsu", 1913) as an example of the use of the principles of Cubism in Futurist poetry:

"U -	"S -
litsa.	treet
Litsa	treet/of face
u	s
dogov	of Great Danes
godov	of years
rez -	ugh -
che.	thro
Che -	Thro -
rez.	ugh
zheleznykh koniei	Iron horses from the windows
s okon begushchikh domov	of speeding houses
prygnuli pervye kuby..."	jumped the first cubes." (10)

Words are broken up and inverted, or letters stand alone, valued for their phonetic 'texture' as such. According to Khardzhiev, Malevich considered this poem to be the most successful attempt at "poetic Cubism" (11).

Kruchenykh's first 'transrational poem', "Dyr bul shchyl" consisted entirely of consonants in apparently unrelated combinations, and the poem was prefaced by Kruchenykh's statement:

"three poems written in my own language which differs from other languages in that its words do not have any definite meaning." (12)

Apart from breaking down words into individual letters and sounds, Khlebnikov and Kruchenykh created neologisms from existing words by simply changing the initial letter, or by running two words together (13). For contemporary critics, such techniques evoked the overlapping planes and the faceted sections of objects in Cubist painting. Kruchenykh openly drew an analogy between experiments in poetry and in painting:

"The budetliane artists love to use parts of bodies and sections; and the budetliane speech-creators [rechetyortsy] likewise use broken up words, half-words and their whimsical and intricate combinations (transrational language). In this way the greatest degree of expression is attained. And it is precisely this which distinguishes the language of our aspiring, modern age, which has destroyed the stupefied language of the past." (14)

Having freed the word from conventional meaning, Kruchenykh and Khlebnikov were able to concentrate on the expressive potential of individual letters and their sounds. The process of re-combining individual components was not senseless, but worked according to a new logical system which allowed for maximum expressiveness of the liberated sound fragments in an unlimited number of new interrelationships. It is this which Rozanova had in mind when she stated in her article "The Bases of the New Creativity and the Reasons Why it is Misunderstood" ("Osnovy novogo tvorchestva i

prichiny ego neponimania"):

"The Art of Painting is the decomposition of the prepared forms of nature into the distinctive properties of universal matter imprisoned within them and the creation of other forms from the interrelation of these properties...an interrelation which is established by the individual attitude of the Creator... The world is a lifeless block, the wrong side of a mirror for the unreceptive soul and a mirror of continually appearing reflections for the soul that is open to such reflections." (15)

In this way, within zaum there are an infinite number of "reflections" once the "properties" of the word have been freed, thereby opening up the possibility for a completely new content. Hence, it is not just the forms of the words which have changed; by responding to a higher logic, the new combinations of letters and sounds also imply a new content. This is corroborated by Kruchenykh's statement in "New Ways of the Word":

"...for the depiction of the new and the future, completely new words and a new combination of them are necessary...a combination of words according to their own inner laws, discovered by the speech-creators, and not according to any rules of logic or grammar...A new content is only revealed when new devices of expression are attained...Once there is a new form there is cosequently a new content; in this way, form causes content." (16)

Elsewhere he declares that:

"...BY CREATING NEW WORDS I bring in a new content WHERE EVERYTHING begins to slip...(the conventions of time and space etc.)..." (17)

The "new content" of zaum lay at the basis of the Futurist opera, Victory Over the Sun, performed in December 1913. This opera represented a coordinated attempt by artists and poets to escape the illusory world of three dimensions and embrace a new reality which was "broader than sense". The libretto was the work

of Kruchenykh, with the prologue by Khlebnikov, costumes and set designs by Malevich and the music written by Matiushin. The theme of the opera was the capturing of the Sun - a symbol for the natural order and logical system of the known three-dimensional world - and the vision of the future once the Sun had been conquered (18). One of the most important features of Victory Over the Sun with respect to Malevich's subsequent development, was his use of lighting to highlight certain areas of the actors' costumes depending on their colour. The costumes themselves were composed of separate coloured shapes, which appeared as isolated, 'displaced' planes in the light from coloured projectors:

"...what K.S. Malevich did in Victory Over the Sun could not but astound the spectators... Out of the primordial night the tentacles of projectors seized on parts, now of this object, now of that, and, saturating it with colour, gave it life.... The novelty and distinction of Malevich's method lay primarily in the utilization of light to create form. This confirmed the existence of an object in space... These figures were cut up by the blades of light and were deprived alternately of hands, legs, head etc., because, for Malevich, they were merely geometric bodies subject not only to disintegration into their component parts, but also to total dissolution in painterly space... This was a zavm of painting..." (19).

As a result of the contrasts of light and shade from the stage lighting, the flat, unmodulated planes of colour on the costumes and the objects on the backdrops appeared suspended in space and 'removed' from their original context. It would seem that Malevich chanced upon this potential of the 'displaced' surface plane while working on Victory Over the Sun. However, at the same time, he began to experiment with another technique of painting, which also highlighted the significance of the surface plane for his art. This was Cubist collage, the visual influence of which can be seen

in Malevich's Violin and Glass of 1913-14 (Fig. 3.1).

The bilingual catalogue of Shchukin's collection, published in 1913, suggests that the Moscow collection contained four paintings of musical instruments by Picasso, which belonged to the period of synthetic Cubism after 1912, although none actually used papiers collés. The four paintings in question are:

1. Table with Violin and Glasses (1913; The Hermitage Museum, Leningrad), probably the painting listed as "Guitar" in the Shchukin collection catalogue (No.226), because a work with the same title was illustrated by Tugendkhol'd in his book The New Western Art in Russian State Museums in 1923 (20);
2. Musical Instruments (1913; Fig. 3.2), listed in the Shchukin catalogue (No.227) under this title and also illustrated by Tugendkhol'd in 1923 (21);
3. Violin and Clarinet (1913; The Hermitage Museum, Leningrad), probably the painting listed as "Flute" in the Shchukin catalogue (No.228) (22);
4. Violin (1912; The Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow), listed in the Shchukin collection catalogue (No.178) as "Violin. Painting of oval shape" (23).

Malevich's own painting, Violin and Glass (Fig. 3.1), which combines different sections of a violin, its sound-holes, strings and curved neck, together with a simulation of patterned wallpaper and painted black and white surface planes, has several features in common with the above works, and seems to have been closely modelled on Picasso. Malevich is clearly aware of the vertical

structure of synthetic Cubist works, which has derived from the use of papiers collés, and of Picasso's use of real or simulated collage elements as part of the identification of the object and its textures. He draws the sound-hole of his violin on top of a white painted plane in a similar way to Picasso in Violin and Clarinet and his incorporation of simulated wallpaper models exactly that found in Picasso's Musical Instruments (Fig. 3.2). In Violin and Glass, the use of collage techniques results in a new pictorial structure of textured surface planes.

As distinct from the works by Picasso in the Shchukin collection in 1913, which use simulated and not real papiers collés, Braque exhibited one papier collé drawing at the "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition of January-February 1914. This is particularly significant in light of Malevich's subsequent development. The work was listed in the catalogue as "L'Arlequin (dessin)" (24). The fact that it was a drawing which incorporated papiers collés is corroborated by one of the reviews for the exhibition:

"Georges Braque's painting, entitled 'L'Arlequin (dessin)', which depicts something white and indefinite, has several pieces of wallpaper 'in imitation of oak' and blue wrapping paper stuck onto it. This is something new and opens up endless possibilities for the gentlemen of the Knave of Diamonds..." (25)

The papier collé itself (Fig. 3.3) is unusual in that the section of coloured paper is set uncharacteristically across the canvas horizontally, as opposed to Braque's technique, in a related series of papiers collés from 1912, of placing the paper planes vertically on either side of the central composition, as is the case here with

the pieces of paper imitating woodgrain (26). Moreover, the section of coloured paper seems to cover and therefore obscure part of the drawing of the harlequin's face in a provocative way which is also uncharacteristic of Braque. This is an early papier collé and, as such, lacks the spatial complexity and recession of later works like The Clarinet (1913; Fig. 3.10), where several layers of paper are built up on top of each other. Nevertheless, a degree of depth is suggested in Harlequin by charcoal shading beneath the coloured paper plane. This has the effect of emphasizing the surface dimension of the papier collé plane in relation to the drawn elements which seem to lie behind it. It is also clear that the papiers collés of imitation woodgrain have not been used to identify a related object such as a table or a wooden musical instrument. In this way, they have been isolated or 'removed' from their association with objects and do not perform the same function as the imitation woodgrain in Picasso's Violin and Clarinet above, which describes the wooden materials of the musical instruments. As Harlequin was shown at the "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition in 1914, where Malevich also exhibited, it is highly likely that he saw it and exploited its potential for his own art, which, at this time, was concerned with breaking away from form as related to recognizable objects, in the same way as Khlebnikov's and Kruchenykh's zaum had liberated the word from specific meaning.

In his review of the "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition of 1914, A. Grishchenko noted Malevich's treatment of the object "in terms of the distribution of its fragments on the surface plane" (27).

Although none of Malevich's paintings shown at this exhibition incorporated real collage elements, he was clearly beginning to explore the new possibilities afforded by collage and papiers collés in terms of the isolated development of the surface plane "as such". Grishchenko also noted Malevich's inclusion of figurative details such as the "forehead, hair and collar" in Portrait of Matiushin (1913; Collection George Costakis), which remained the only indications that the painting was a portrait. In his works after 1912, Picasso built up a pictorial image on the canvas by integrating a concrete series of planes, some of which included references to specific objects or their texture. However, the sections of figurative detail in Malevich's Portrait of Matiushin are not integrated into a pictorial image, but suggest rather the gradual 'removal' of the forms from the system of conventional logic which defines them, by focusing attention on the isolated surface plane and by denying the opportunity to build up any recognizable image. This, then, subverts the accepted notion of a portrait. This development in Malevich's art, which leads to his Alogist paintings of 1914-15, is closely linked to the theories of zaum and has been well documented by Sherwin Simmons (28). That it was Cubist collage and papiers collés which first suggested to Malevich the new direction for his art is corroborated by the painting Composition with Mona Lisa (1914; Fig. 3.4), which he showed at the next major exhibition to which he contributed, "Exhibition of painting 'Year 1915'" (Vystavka zhivopisi '1915 god'), that opened in Moscow on 23 March 1915. Composition with Mona Lisa is a clear example of the combination of collage and zaum

in Malevich's work.

Malevich's contributions to "Year 1915" are not listed in the catalogue, which also omits the works of A. Morgunov and Vladimir Tatlin, who exhibited his counter-reliefs. However, one of the reviews of the exhibition specifically refers to Composition with Mona Lisa, as well as to the apparent 'rejection of reason' by Malevich and Morgunov:

"... 'We spit upon reason'... The author of this upright dictum has himself exhibited two paintings. For some reason or other, a photograph of Shaliapin has been nailed to the middle of one, as well as a real wooden spoon, while the canvas bears the inscription: 'The Hairdresser went to the Baths' and has newspaper advertisements stuck all over it. The other painting has a postcard with the Mona Lisa instead of Shaliapin's photograph and, under the Mona Lisa, a newspaper cutting with the words: 'apartment for let'. And again a spoon and various newspaper advertisements." (29)

Further light is shed on Malevich's painting by a catalogue for the exhibition, now in the archives of the Russian Museum, Leningrad. This catalogue contains pencilled notes on the inside cover, presumably made by the original owner who visited the exhibition, together with several drawings, one of which is of Malevich's Composition with Mona Lisa. In the drawing, the words "partial eclipse" [Chastichnoe zatmenie] have been written on the left-hand side of the figure, together with the inscription "K. Malevich" underneath. There is also a pencilled arrow pointing to the section of the drawing which represents the photograph of the Mona Lisa in Malevich's painting, accompanied by the words "Giaconda... apartment to let" [Giaconda... peredaetsia kvartira]. Another drawing shows a painting incorporating a photograph of Shaliapin,

with the inscription "The Hairdresser went to the Baths" [Parikmakher poshol y bani]. The owner of the catalogue has also jotted down some haphazard notes, which may come from slogans pinned up at the exhibition. These include "we have liberated ourselves from reason" [my osvobozhdeny ot razuma], "goes to zero" [idiet k nuliu], and an apparent reference to a "concealed fevralism" [zamaskirovannyi fevralizm] (30). Thus, from the evidence of the catalogue and the review in Russkoe slovo, it would seem that Malevich was making a very strong statement at "Year 1915" as to the transrational nature of his art.

In Composition with Mona Lisa, the photograph/postcard of Leonardo's Mona Lisa has been torn and her face and bosom crossed out by two diagonal lines. Next to the photograph is a flat painted plane. This establishes the same interplay between abstract and figurative form as seen in Woman at a Poster Column (1914; Fig. 3.5), where a pink painted plane is placed next to a newspaper cutting of a human face. In both paintings, Malevich has replaced the representational image of a face with the flat plane. Indeed, as Simmons documents, the scoring out of Leonardo's Mona Lisa signifies Malevich's rejection of the entire tradition of mimetic art in favour of a new, transrational realism, which operates according to a higher logic and which is revealed in pictorial terms by the surface plane (31). The inscription "partial eclipse", written across Composition with Mona Lisa, is also found in An Englishman in Moscow (1914-15; The Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam). Although this could refer back to the

conquering of the Sun in the Futurist opera Victory Over the Sun, the use of the phrase "partial eclipse" in both of these 'portrait' paintings may also be a specific reference by Malevich to the process of partially obscuring and finally removing altogether the representational image from his work. For Malevich, both the Sun and the representational image were part of that very system of three-dimensional logic from which he wished to escape: the art of representation was to be replaced by the new value of the surface plane, which, freed from the existing logical system, now lived in another dimension.

The same process of obscuring the representational image can be seen throughout Malevich's Alogist works of 1914 and 1915. For example, two Alogical drawings, Man, Violin and Spoon (1914-15; Fig. 3.6) and The Ensign (1914-15; Private Collection) vividly demonstrate Malevich's use of the coloured surface plane to cover the place where the image of the face traditionally belongs. They also reveal the extent to which he may initially have seen the potential for this eliminatory process in the section of papier collé which Braque incorporated into his Harlequin drawing shown at the 1914 "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition. Malevich's later writings on Cubism indicate the importance which he placed on the discovery of the surface plane in Cubist collage:

"...the sheet of paper and the letters that figure on it are nothing other than new elements of pure contrast... This new element has brought to the picture a pure and completely unpainterly contrast, which by its very nature conveys the sensation of flatness with its characteristic tone, revealed in the moment of segmentation... This new 'additional element' will also be a new forming element, since the structure of the future work will be

changed..." (32)

He also referred to Leonardo's Mona Lisa in this context:

"And if the masters of the Renaissance had discovered the surface of painting, it would have been much more exalted and valuable than any Madonna or Gioconda." (33)

The Alogical drawing Man, Violin and Spoon (Fig. 3.6) contains figurative depictions of sections of objects, such as the neck and body of a violin, a man's hair and forehead, and the whole form of a wooden spoon. Malevich may have been initially attracted to Cubist collage, not only because of the surface quality of the collage elements, but also because these, by their very nature, were fragmented forms - sections which had been removed and divorced from their natural environment, as for example, cuttings from newspapers, the headings of journals, or pieces of wallpaper. Essentially the same idea was revealed in Malevich's use of lighting in Victory Over the Sun when he made his set and costume designs appear as flat sections of objects. These fragmented collage elements could play for Malevich the same role as the individual letter and sound of a word played for Kruchenykh and Khlebnikov. Liberated from the environment which identified them and gave them a specific meaning, collage fragments and individual syllables alike became autonomous elements which could be recombined in new relationships according to the new logic of zaum. Woman at a Poster Column (Fig. 3.5) presents just such fragmented elements: newspaper cuttings, pieces of lace, words and letters, all taken out of context. For example, the painting contains the word "KVARTIRA" [apartment], preceded by an isolated letter "A", as

well as the section of a sentence, "razoshelsia bez" [parted without]. The isolated letters B and Y, and the number 25, can also be identified in the painting, together with the suggestion of a person's hair. Because all these fragments have been removed from their conventional environment, as defined by known logic, and are not used in the same way as Picasso to build up a pictorial image, they consequently lose their 'objectness' and their 'identity within the material world' and are free to take on a new, transrational form. It was this very process of 'removing' objects from their usual context, and, by so doing, abstracting them, which Grishchenko hinted at in his review of the 1914 "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition, when he spoke of Malevich presenting "the fragments of his objects as abstracted forms, without actually changing them, either from the point of view of form, or from that of colour" (34). Hence, the initial example of Cubist collage has been transformed. Malevich violates not only form, but also the entire content of art as understood in terms of narrative meaning which links objects in a painting and which is defined by the logical laws of three-dimensional space (35). In rejecting the latter, he moves towards a new content which literally 'transcends' reason.

Malevich was not the only artist to experiment with collage and collage techniques in 1914 and 1915. In fact, the practice was fairly widespread amongst the avant-garde and this was evident at the exhibition "Year 1915" in Moscow. Contemporary reviews of the exhibition suggest that it divided itself into serious painters and "scandal-makers", amongst whom were included Larionov, David

Burliuk and Mayakovsky. Several reviews describe how the "scandal-makers" nailed a top hat cut in half, pasted over with yellow paint, onto the wall (36). E. Adamov, writing in Kievskaja mysl', narrates how Larionov exploited an electric fan in the exhibiting room by setting it in motion and attaching string and pieces of wood to it (37). Although these antics can properly be said to belong to the Futurists' desire to épater le bourgeois, as part of a light-hearted response to Tatlin's reliefs first shown the previous spring, there is evidence to suggest that Larionov exhibited collage works of a more serious nature. The catalogue for the exhibition lists, amongst others, two paintings by Larionov, both entitled "Portrait of N. Goncharova". The second is subtitled "Plastic Rayism" (38). One of these is likely to be the painting formerly attributed to Goncharova, which depicts the artist, palette and brushes in hand, against a background of papiers collés newspaper cuttings (Fig. 3.7). The painting was certainly not completed before 27 January 1915, as one of the cuttings refers to the play "The Fan", the première of which took place in Moscow on that date, with set decorations by Goncharova. Another cutting relates to the performance of "Le Coq d'Or" in Paris in 1914. Tugendkhol'd makes specific mention of this canvas, in light of Larionov's more fantastic experiments, in his review of "Year 1915":

"...this time the Muscovites have not limited themselves to merely sticking pieces of paper onto their canvases. For Larionov simply sticking cuttings from theatrical posters onto his portrait of Goncharova to remind the public of her work on 'Le Coq d'Or' and 'The Fan', was altogether inadequate, far too basic and not ambiguous enough. He decided that it is possible to abandon the

canvas altogether, by showing the public real things, which are either painted in bright colours or left as they are. And so, in his other 'portrait' of Goncharova made out of bits of paper, he has attached a real piece of hair..." (39)

Although Larionov was clearly not using collage to the same ends as Malevich, the evidence of contemporary reviews of the exhibition "Year 1915" does suggest that several of his canvases incorporated extraneous elements. The presence of Tatlin's painterly reliefs at the exhibition showed yet another use of real materials distinct from that by Larionov and Malevich.

As far as is known, Ivan Puni did not exhibit at "Year 1915", but he did show several works at the "First Futurist Exhibition of Paintings, Tramway V" in Petrograd, which ran almost concurrently with "Year 1915", opening on 3 March 1915. From the evidence of works at the exhibition, in the period up to early 1915, Puni was exploring both the analytical stage of Cubism and the second synthetic stage involving papiers collés and collage.

Two canvases shown by Puni at "Tramway V" were Portrait of the Artist's Wife (Fig. 3.8) and a papier collé, Boots and Chair (Fig. 3.9), both of 1914 (40). In both technique and treatment of form, Portrait of the Artist's Wife is similar to hermetic Cubist works by Braque and Picasso, for example, Le Portugais (1911; Kunstmuseum, Basel) by Braque, or Ma Jolie (1911-12; The Museum of Modern Art, New York) by Picasso. As Puni studied in Paris from 1910-1913, he would have had every opportunity to acquaint himself with these and similar works. Indeed, his technique of applying tiny patches of paint over the canvas, together with his use of

thin lines to mark the contours of his figure, suggest an examination of Braque's and Picasso's works of 1911. The forms of the subject have been opened out and lie flat on the canvas, integrated with the surrounding pictorial space, in the manner of Braque's and Picasso's hermetic Cubism. However, Puni's use of pastel colours of cool blues, pink, white and pale green in Portrait of the Artist's Wife, differs from the ochres and greys of Braque's and Picasso's hermetic canvases. It resembles far more the palette of Picasso's synthetic Cubist works, into which colour had been reintroduced, such as Musical Instruments (Fig. 3.2) in the Shchukin collection.

Boots and Chair (Fig. 3.9) shows Puni's recognition of Braque's and Picasso's use of papiers collés as space-defining elements, whereby the composition is built up from planes of paper applied one on top of another to suggest spatial recession. This and Puni's extensive use of shading on and around the paper planes to accentuate the sensation of depth, relates the painting to Braque's Clarinet of 1913 (Fig. 3.10). In this respect, Puni's use of Cubist collage differs from that of Malevich, who interpreted it purely in terms of the flat surface plane. In another papier collé, Still-life with Cup and Spoon (1914; Fig. 3.11), Puni combines real paper planes with the figurative drawing of still-life objects which are tilted forwards onto the picture plane, emphasizing its surface and establishing an interplay with the depth suggested by the overlapping pieces of papiers collés (41). This collage has a strong resemblance to several still-life

papiers collés by Juan Gris executed in 1914, in particular to Breakfast (Fig. 3.12) and to Glasses and Newspaper (Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Massachusetts). In these works, Gris combines abstract coloured planes of paper and paint with drawn figurative details. Puni's own drawing of a cup and saucer with spoon is virtually identical to those in Gris' Breakfast. Gris also achieved a degree of spatial complexity and ambiguity in these canvases, particularly in Glasses and Newspaper, where the imitation woodgrain which represents the table is actually placed on top of the abstract diamond pattern of the table cloth. The latter, in turn, establishes an ambiguous relationship with the newspaper, which seems to sit both on and underneath it. These spatial possibilities and the potential for ambiguities, which Puni recognized in the various forms of Cubist collage in 1914 were subsequently elaborated in his exploration of the medium of the relief in 1915 and 1916.

Puni's experimentation with collage techniques in Boots and Chair and Still-life with Cup and Spoon remained closely linked to Cubism and showed no influence, as yet, of zaum. However, his most interesting contribution to the exhibition "Tramway V" was the Still-life listed in the catalogue (No.37), which was actually a relief, incorporating a real hammer nailed onto a board (Fig. 3.13) (42). In removing the hammer from its conventional context and turning its usual function in on itself by nailing it to the ground plane, Puni essentially isolated the form and denied it its own 'objectness' and 'identity', in the same way as Malevich used

collage elements in Woman at a Poster Column or figurative images such as the wooden spoon, violin and fish.

This same process of the 'abstraction' of forms by placing them within a seemingly unrelated and incongruous environment can be seen in Puni's works at the "Last Futurist Exhibition 0,10", which he himself organized in Petrograd in December 1915. Several reviews of the exhibition referred to Puni's incorporation of real, unrelated elements into his canvases. In Petrogradskie yedomosti, the painting Man in a Bowler Hat (c1914-15; whereabouts unknown) was described as "...a selection of various fragments of the human body and of objects, with a real fork stuck onto the painting."

(43). B. Lopatin in Den' went even further:

"If I'm not mistaken, the greatest success was enjoyed by Puni's painting Man in a Bowler Hat, the main part of which was a fork stuck onto cardboard and a pocket tape-measure hanging on a nail." (44)

The figurative image of a fork cuts across the face of the pilot in Malevich's painting The Aviator (1914-15; Fig. 4.4); a fork and a fish are also incorporated into his Alogical drawing: Woman (1914-15; Private Collection). Thus, Puni's Man in a Bowler Hat and another painting, Official (c1914-15; whereabouts unknown), described as being painted according to the same principle, with a doll's wax leg attached to the canvas at a perpendicular angle (45), both incorporated unrelated images which had been denied their former identity according to accepted logic, in the same way as demonstrated in Malevich's Alogism and in Khlebnikov's and Kruchenykh's zaum poetry. These forms are all complete figurative images in themselves (a fork, a spoon, a tape-measure), but they

are 'abstracted' once they have been removed from their habitual context and the logic of their function is contradicted. This approach to the treatment of form is identical to Khlebnikov's and Kruchenykh's treatment of the individual letter and sound, which are removed from their context of a specific meaning and thereby freed to take on new meanings.

The use of the figurative image was also a feature of Rozanova's art in 1915, as seen in The Workbox and Dresser with Dishes (Fig. 2.30). Her article, "The Bases of the New Creativity and the Reasons Why it is Misunderstood", had already appeared alongside Matiushin's translation of Du Cubisme in the third issue of the journal Soiuz molodezhi in March 1913. In it she spoke of the "individual transformation [pretvorenie] of the visible world" and of the "Painting itself and of its self-contained value", clearly associating the New Art with zaum poetry (46). After moving to St. Petersburg in 1912, Rozanova worked closely with the Futurist poets, particularly with Kruchenykh, whom she married\* in 1913. In her illustrations for his Futurist books she sought to evoke those formal values of pictorial dynamism and energy which she had advocated in her essay. Rozanova even experimented with zaum poetry herself, to such an extent that, at one time, she even feared for her painting (47). Hence it is clear that, for Rozanova, the processes involved in zaum poetry and in painting were interrelated.

In her review of Rozanova's posthumous exhibition in 1919, Varvara Stepanova identifies the "Alogism of forms" as one of the periods in Rozanova's art (48) and, indeed, certain similarities can be observed between the Alogist works of Malevich and Puni, and Rozanova's own paintings of 1915. In particular, Rozanova's Barbershop (c1915; Fig. 3.14) has affinities with Puni's painting The Hairdresser (1915; Fig. 3.15) and Window Washing (1915; Fig. 4.3), two Alogist works which were exhibited at "The Last Futurist Exhibition 0,10" in December 1915 (49). The figurative images which Malevich, Puni and Rozanova employ in their works of 1914-15 are usually set within a Cubist-inspired format and Rozanova's composition for Barbershop is placed within a Cubist-type oval framework. The painting has essentially the same subject-matter as Puni's Hairdresser, one which had already been treated by other artists and by Larionov in particular (50).

Both Rozanova and Puni incorporated figurative forms into their paintings, which were exaggerated out of all proportion to the other elements on the canvas and which, moreover, seemed to bear no qualitative relationship to them. Puni included the huge form of a frock-coat in The Hairdresser and Rozanova painted a similarly large sock in Barbershop. Both these objects are prominent within the composition, but seem to have no relationship to the subject-matter of the title. Likewise, the various images in Puni's Window Washing seem completely isolated from one another and from the ostensible subject of the painting. The use of lettering by Rozanova in Barbershop and by Puni in The Hairdresser

is distinct from that in French Cubist paintings. On one level, Puni's incorporation of a text as a complement to the pictorial composition reflects the similar juxtaposition of text and imagery in the lubok, but, on another level, the text itself seems to bear no relation to the forms of the painting. Puni additionally included isolated letters and numbers. Similarly, Rozanova's individual letters and sections of words do not resemble the Cubists' use of newspaper cuttings or words, which are generally legible and often refer to the subject of the painting, but are rather letters 'abstracted' from words, or from part of a word which is obscured, hence rendering them illegible and seemingly meaningless. This use of letters by both Puni and Rozanova can be related to Malevich's Woman at a Poster Column above, where the incorporation of words and letters taken out of context is indicative of a rejection of three-dimensional logic in favour of a new, transrational content (51).

Rozanova's Barbershop contains part of a woman's face and forehead, as well as a profile view of her hair. However, this is all of the 'portrait' that we see, for no further identification of the image is allowed, as in Malevich's earlier Portrait of Matiushin. The Hairdresser, which incorporates an entire face, depicted figuratively and partially obscured by the number 2, also acts against any reconstruction of the overall image. No actual collage elements or papiers collés have been used in these two works by Puni and Rozanova, although the painted surface plane on the left of Rozanova's composition has the trompe l'oeil effect of

suggesting real paper nailed on a board, and Puni has built up the planes within The Hairdresser in a manner analogous to his technique in the earlier papier collé Boots and Chair, suggesting a certain recession from left to right across the canvas. This overlapping of planes and the fact that some of them resemble the imitation woodgrain or simulated wallpaper of Cubist papiers collés shows the incorporation of certain features of the latter within the painting, but these have now been combined with and transformed within the new logic of zaum. Barbershop and The Hairdresser perform a similar function to Malevich's Alogism: the means of expression initially suggested by Cubism, namely the section of an object and the papier collé surface plane, have been transformed to effect, not the Cubist identification and integration of the forms of the object, but the continuation of the process of de-objectification, in order to liberate the forms of painting from conventional logic. Henceforth it was to be the forms of painting themselves which implied the new transrational content and which became, in Rozanova's own words:

"...the Qualitative...New Basis which proves the 'Self-Sufficient' significance of the New Art [and]...the rise of a new era in creativity - an era of purely artistic achievements... of the final liberation of the Great Art of Painting from alien traits of a literary, social and everyday character." (52)

The use of figurative imagery by Puni, Rozanova and Malevich in their Alogist canvases of 1914-15, testifies to the fact that, essentially, it is not the form of painting which has undergone such a radical change, but the content. By transforming Cubism in this way, the Russian avant-garde conquered three-dimensional logic

to create a new, transrational painting [zaumnaia zhivopis']. However, it is Rozanova's unique series of non-objective collages of 1915 and 1916, completed in the main as illustrations for Futurist books by Kruchenykh, that present the clearest example of pictorial zaum in her art.

Kruchenykh published three Futurist books in 1915 and 1916, which contained collages by Rozanova. These were Transrational Book (Zaumnaia gniga, Moscow, 1915), War (Voina, Petrograd, 1915) and Universal War (Vselenskaia voina, Petrograd, 1916). Already by the end of 1913, Rozanova was not only illustrating Kruchenykh's Futurist books, but had begun to play an active role in their overall design and layout. This can be seen in A Duck's Nest... of Bad Words (St. Petersburg, 1913) and Te Li Le (St. Petersburg, 1914), where Rozanova rewrites Kruchenykh's texts by hand in order to integrate them more fully with her own illustrations and to enhance the dynamic tension of the books. In Te Li Le, the calligraphic lines and arabesques of Rozanova's drawings fuse with the handwritten words, here printed in colour, to create a cohesive and dynamic ensemble (Fig. 3.16) (53).

Transrational Book bears a cover collage by Rozanova, which consists of a cut-out red heart to which a real white button has been affixed (Fig. 3.17). In the title of the book, the Russian letter "k" from kniga [book] has been deliberately replaced with the letter "g". This simple act of changing one letter within a word was a common practice used by both Khlebnikov and Kruchenykh to liberate the word from one specific meaning and open the way for

other possible meanings. Hence, the title of Transrational Book suggests that the book and its contents no longer conform to the known system of logic. Rozanova's illustrations consisted, in the main, of coloured linocuts from her series of Playing Cards, including the Simultaneous Representation of the King of Hearts and the King of Diamonds and the Simultaneous Representation of the Four Aces, together with one non-objective papier collé of two pieces of overlapping pink paper. The pages of illustrations are alternated with pages of zaum poems or inscriptions consisting of a few words, rubber-stamped in red ink. The pages themselves are of different size, colour and texture, and the texts are placed either in the usual way or upside-down. The series of Playing Cards, which draws heavily on the folk tradition of the lubok in their flat and schematized forms, may have been prompted by the recent establishment of "The Contemporary Lubok" corporation in Moscow in August/September 1914, which aimed to produce lubok posters and postcards. Lentulov, Mayakovsky and Malevich all took part in this venture (54). However, the sense of dynamism in the diagonal lines and shifting contours of Rozanova's Playing Cards, which is not present in the lubok, continues to demonstrate her concern with the energy of her painted forms on the surface plane. The illustration Simultaneous Representation of the Four Aces was printed in yellow on blue/purple paper. The dominant colour of the latter asserts the primacy of the flat plane in the overall design of the illustration and relates Rozanova's work to the Alogist canvases of Malevich of 1914-15, which had established the self-sufficient value of the surface plane. Likewise, the forms of the

non-objective papier collé in Transrational Book may have been suggested by the pink surface plane in Malevich's Woman at a Poster Column, exhibited at "Tramway V" in the spring of 1915, although Rozanova's illustration now contains no allusions to the world of objects at all (55). There were close links, at this time, between Malevich, Rozanova and Kruchenykh. Concurrent with Transrational Book, the anthology Secret Vices of the Academicians (Tainye poroki akademikoy) was published in the summer of 1915, containing articles by Malevich, Kliun and Kruchenykh. Although the final cover bore an illustration by Kliun, a drawing by Rozanova was originally to have been used (56).

The cover for War is a coloured papier collé by Rozanova, the components of which resemble the abstract geometric shapes of Malevich's Suprematism. An inscription below describes Rozanova's illustrations as "cuttings" [rez'ba], as opposed to the "drawings" of her earlier Futurist book illustrations of 1913 and 1914, and the "coloured graphics" of Transrational Book. War consisted of four pages of linocut text, printed in colour, two papiers collés (including the cover) and a cycle of ten linocuts, depicting contemporary battle scenes and Saint George and the Dragon. The papier collé within the book (Fig. 3.18) incorporates geometric coloured paper shapes in conjunction with the outline of a figure in red on white paper and a linocut depicting aeroplanes at war, executed in the Futurist and dynamic style of Rozanova's earlier works and book illustrations. Three of the paper planes overlap each other in a receding movement across the canvas from left to

right, with a cut-out black circle placed on top. The depiction of the aeroplane - itself part of a Futurist iconography - and the placement of the collage elements along the diagonal, evoke the sensations of dynamism, energy and excitement associated with war. In this context, the prostrate figure in red may depict a casualty of the battle being fought between the two aeroplanes in the linocut, and the deep red of one of the abstract paper planes has similar bloody connotations. It is interesting that Rozanova combined both contemporary battle scenes associated with the current World War, and more mythological ones, such as Saint George and the Dragon. The Russian Futurists did not share the Italians' advocacy of "war as the sole hygiene of the world" and Rozanova's illustrations convey a mood closer to folklore and the lubok (see, for example, The Glorious Battle of King Alexander of Macedonia and Poros, King of the Indias, lubok, 17-18c, The Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library, Leningrad) (57).

Contrary to the series of linocuts and the papier collé within the book, the cover papier collé for War is composed entirely of non-objective shapes cut out of paper. The point at which the two large, dominant triangles, with their apices moving in opposite directions, meet, recalls the lines of displacement [sdvig] found in some of Rozanova's paintings and linocuts from her Playing Cards series. In the papier collé, it represents a balance of opposing tensions as each form seeks to pull and move away in a different direction.

The hand-printing method, used in War, allowed for different textural effects and this potential was noted by Rozanova herself in a letter to Shemshurin:

"To give variety to the graphics on war it would be good to print a number of drawings...in two or three colours... Unfortunately handprinting has the disadvantage of blurring some prints, but then the beauty of this method lies in the exceptional faktura which it provides..." (58)

According to Khardzhiev, Rozanova considered War to be her greatest achievement in "the art of printing" (59).

As distinct from Transrational Book and War, Rozanova's illustrations for Universal War, described on the cover as "coloured pastings" [tsvetnaia klei], consisted entirely of collages of abstract coloured planes of paper and fabric, attached to coloured backgrounds (Figs. 3.19 and 6.1). There were no printed linocuts. The book deals with Kruchenykh's prediction that "a universal war will occur in 1985". The text is divided into twelve 'scenes' of zaum poetry, each with a separate heading, and there are twelve collages by Rozanova. Although the book does not follow strictly the sequence of text followed by collage, Rozanova's "coloured pastings" are clearly intended to complement each scene. In his foreword to the book, Kruchenykh indicates that Rozanova's non-objective collages are a pictorial equivalent to zaum in poetry:

"These coloured pastings herald from the same source as transrational language - the liberation of Creativity from unnecessary comforts (violent non-objectivity). Transrational painting is becoming the predominant art form. Earlier O.V. Rozanova provided images for it and now several other artists, including Malevich and Puni, are elaborating on it, only they have given it the

meaningless name of Suprematism. But I rejoice at the victory of painting as such, to spite the philistines of the past and the newspaper-like art of the Italians. Transrational language (of which I was the first exponent) holds out its hand to transrational painting."  
(60)

Apart from confirming Rozanova's collages as examples of transrational painting [zaumnaia zhiyopis'], Kruchenykh's reference to Malevich and Puni also links their Suprematist painting and non-objective work to zaum, which consequently lies at the basis of the whole New Art. Finally liberated from the logic which defined objects in terms of specific meanings, Rozanova's collage fragments can act as a complement to the written fragments of Kruchenykh's zaum poems, and take on new meanings. The close link which existed between visual imagery and text was already evident from earlier Futurist books, where text and illustrations were integrated and the dynamic, harsh nature of the drawings matched the dissonant sounds of the zaum poetry. Many of Mayakovsky's early poems were inspired by visual forms, as, for example, "To Signboards" ("Vyveskam", 1913), which sought to recreate in words the visual immediacy of Russian signboards crowded with images which were larger than life. According to Khardzhiev, in 1914 Kruchenykh described Mayakovsky's "They understand nothing" ("Nichego ne ponimaiut", 1913), not as a poem, but as a "craftsman's signature to Larionov's painting The Hairdresser" (61). In the same vein, Kruchenykh's zaum poems and titles in Universal War may be seen as a signature in verse to Rozanova's collages, so that the two forms of zaum in the album, painterly and linguistic, are inextricably connected.

The titles which Kruchenykh gives to his twelve 'scenes' are:

1. Battle of the budetlianin with the Ocean;
2. Battle of Mars with Scorpio;
3. Explosion of a Trunk;
4. Battle with the Equator;
5. Betrayal;
6. Destruction of the Gardens;
7. Battle of India with Europe;
8. Heavy Gun;
9. Germany aroused;
10. Germany routed;
11. Prayer for Victory;
12. Military State. (62)

Although Kruchenykh declares the book's theme to be a universal war in the future, some of the titles of his zauw poems clearly refer to the First World War. The poems are essentially columns of words, such as that which follows the title "Battle of India with Europe":

"driving	(ekhal)
ruffian	(nakhal)
fluff	(pukh)
so	(tak)
baby	(rebenochek)
reason	(razum)
rat	(krysa)
unshoed the armchair	(razula kreslo)"

In this and in other poems, words share similar letters, but with different initial consonants, so that their 'sound textures' are related (ekhal, nakhal; razum, krysa, razula kreslo; and riza, roza, koza, gruzovik, in "Germany routed"). Some poems contain a mixture of recognizable words and isolated syllables which rhyme, as, for example:

"with the whip's full tail  
cuts the stone with revenge  
gor cher lyts  
okh fi ge"  
(Scene 3: "Explosion of a Trunk")

and:

"humming and nibbling the Marseillaise  
 in the billiard pocket  
 of the hall  
 zi - ti -  
 chi - pi.  
 the noseless hump of Asia  
 ate  
 kissel."  
 (Scene 5: "Betrayal")

Aurally, the combined words and syllables in these poems set up a harsh, dissonant rhythm, in accord with Kruchenykh's advocacy of "violent non-objectivity" in his foreword. These interrelationships of syllables and 'sound textures' make up the new content of the zaum poems. They have no relationship to the accepted meaning of words. Even when a recognizable word is used, there is no qualitative link with other words, for the word itself has been removed from its usual context and has therefore lost its material identity as defined by that context. For example, the tenth scene, "Germany routed", contains the following list of words:

"donkey	(osel)
ant	(muravei)
nightingale	(solovei)
Muse...	(muza)
anonym	(anonim)
form	(anketa)
pulmonary	(legoch')
by-street	(ulochniki)
marriage	(brak)
factory owner	(fabrikant)
riza	(riza)
rose	(roza)
nanny-goat	(koza)
lorry	(gruzovik)"

Likewise, the poem under the title "Heavy Gun" consists of coherent phrases, which nevertheless do not seem to be part of any overall narrative content in the conventional sense, but are rather

isolated and abstracted miniature 'scenes':

"the corkscrew of fate...  
a jacket made from swan's skin  
the sweet smell of provisions  
intoxication with poisonous vodka  
the hole of joys has sprung."

However, the use of narrative titles for the zaum poems implies, that they are not without meaning, only that the new meaning cannot be understood from the standpoint of existing logic. The whole transrational context of these poems distinguishes them from the flamboyancy of the Italian Futurists' parole in libertà [words in freedom], despite the fact that the latter were also concerned with the particular 'sound' of the words used, as well as with their optical effect in print. In his foreword to Universal War, Kruchenykh expressed his contempt for the showy, outspoken methods of Marinetti and the Italian Futurists, which he regarded as superficial in comparison to the liberation of the "self-sufficient" word in zaum.

Owing to the fact that Rozanova's name did not appear on the cover for Universal War, some commentators believe the collages to be the joint work of Rozanova and Kruchenykh, or even of Kruchenykh alone (63). This seems untenable, as the collages in Universal War are related stylistically to those attributed to Rozanova in War. Through her combination of different types of paper and fabric in these collages, with their varied qualities of transparency, opacity and density, Rozanova is able to achieve contrasts of faktura analogous to those in War which incorporated smooth abstract coloured planes and the coarser hand-printed linocuts.

Furthermore, the same dynamic component is present in Rozanova's collages both for Universal War and for War, where the collage elements inter-weave along the diagonal in a series of dynamic interrelationships. Indeed, the collages for Universal War embody the principles which Rozanova had laid down in 1913 as the bases for the "self-sufficient" significance of the New Art, namely:

"...pictorial dynamism, volume and equilibrium; weight and weightlessness; linear and planar displacement; rhythm as a legitimate division of space; design; plane and surface dimension; faktura; colour correlation..."  
(64)

In this way, the painterly "as-suchness" of Rozanova's non-objective collages, corresponds to the "word as such" in transrational, zaum poetry. Her overlapping and interpenetrating paper and fabric planes are a pictorial equivalent to Kruchenykh's juxtaposition of individual syllables and isolated portions of words within a new context. Further evidence for a direct association, made by Rozanova herself, between her non-objective work and zaum language, is provided by the drawing, Project for a Composition (1916; Fig. 3.20), which is accompanied by the hand-written heading: "Rhythms from consonants". Thus, Kruchenykh's consonantal rhythms have been transformed into the coloured rhythms of Rozanova's non-objective planes. Like Kruchenykh's harsh, dissonant consonants, the jagged edges of the paper and fabric cut-out shapes of Rozanova's collages for Universal War also evoke a strong sense of asymmetry and dissonance, to a degree not generally found in Malevich's Suprematist paintings of this period. In Rozanova's collages, any association with the characteristics of conflict (movement, energy

etc.) is achieved solely through the organization of her materials (line, colour, faktura), as opposed to a recognizable visual narrative, which is still the case in the earlier linocuts for War. It is these coloured rhythms of non-objective form which make up the 'new content' of transrational painting.

Apart from incorporating pieces of fabric, Rozanova exploited other extraneous elements in her collages. Non-Objective Composition (1916; Fig. 3.21), for instance, includes a photograph partially covered by two overlapping planes of coloured paper. This work is interesting because it relates Rozanova's work back to the pictorial zaum of Malevich's Alogism - indeed, the photograph seems to be of Malevich himself, seated at a desk. Rozanova's real paper elements produce the visual effect of a representational image which has been partially obscured by a flat coloured plane. This seems to refer directly to Malevich's process, in his Alogist paintings of 1914 and 1915, of obscuring and finally removing the traditional image of a face, to replace it with the flat surface plane, a method first suggested to him by Cubist collage. Thus, Rozanova's Non-Objective Composition visibly demonstrates the same rejection of the logic of the world of objects, represented by the photograph (a mechanical 'copying' of nature), in favour of the liberated coloured plane "as such", the "self-sufficient" value of zaum. Her work represents an embodiment of the Russians' unique transformation of reality through collage and zaum, towards the creation of a new content which was totally removed from Cubism.

The years 1914 and 1915 marked an important stage in Russian art, as artists sought to redefine the language of Cubism within the context of zaum propounded by Kruchenykh and Khlebnikov. Malevich's attempt to free painting from the narrative link between objects was essentially the same rejection of the logical laws governing receptivity within three-dimensional space as that revealed in the Futurist poets' "self-sufficient word". Moreover, it signified the point at which Russian art marked out its own path as distinct from that of French Cubism. The Cubist language of forms and, in particular, the example of collage, were assimilated by Malevich, Puni and Rozanova into the process of removing and 'abstracting' the forms of painting from their conventional environment, so that they could take on new meanings as themselves within the context of a higher, transrational logic. In this way, Russian avant-garde art transformed and went beyond Cubism, not only by violating the forms of objects, but by rejecting the very content as related to qualitative meaning which lay at the basis of representational painting. It was to establish firmly the new content for Russian art that artists abandoned the object altogether and developed an abstract style of painting in the second half of 1915. Rozanova's collages for Universal War are examples of transrational painting [zaumnaiia zhiyopis'] in its non-objective form. For Malevich, the path towards abstraction led to the evolution of Suprematism, whilst Ivan Puni's exploration of the consequences of zaum in pictorial terms resulted in a concentration on the medium of the three-dimensional relief.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Ya. Tugendkhol'd, "Vystavka 'Bubnovogo valeta'" ["The 'Knaves of Diamonds' Exhibition"], Rech', No.43, 13 (26) February, 1914, p.2.
2. A. Grishchenko, "'Bubnovyi valet'. Vpechatleniia ot vystavki" ["The 'Knaves of Diamonds'. Impressions from the Exhibition"], Noy', No.2, 8 February 1914, p.9.
3. Goncharova had used a collage cut-out of a flower for the cover of Worldbackwards (Mirskontsa, Moscow, 1912) and Larionov's lithographs for Pomade (Pomada, Moscow, 1913) were glued onto shiny red and gold leaf paper.
4. See Chapter One, "The Reception of Cubism and Futurism in Russia".
5. Kruchenykh, "Novye puti slova", in Markov, Manifesty, p.66.
6. ibid. In this passage, Kruchenykh refers to Ouspensky and Tertium Organum. Ouspensky was an important influence on the development of zaum. His theories are discussed more fully in Chapter Four, in relation to Velimir Khlebnikov and Ivan Puni.
7. A. Izmailov, in Birzhevye vedomosti (vechernii vypusk), 25 January 1913, cited by Khardzhiev, K istorii russkogo avangarda, p.83. The original title and pagination for Izmailov's article are not given.
8. Tasteven, "Estetika futurizma", in Futurizm, p.26. Tasteven also acknowledged the more radical treatment of language by the Russian poets than by the Italian Futurists: "...as far as destruction is concerned, the Cubo-Futurists have shown themselves to be further to the left than Marinetti. If Marinetti destroyed syntax and proclaimed the liberation of the word, the Cubo-Futurists destroy the word and free the individual syllables."
9. Khardzhiev, K istorii russkogo avangarda, p.68.
10. ibid, p.67. It is almost impossible to translate this verse, due to the fact that Mayakovsky has inverted his words to provide possible alternative meanings. For example, the word "Litsa -u" can either be read as "street" backwards, or as a new word, "face", from the Russian "litso". In the same way, the inversion of the letters in "godov" [of years] creates a new word "dogov" [of Great Danes]. However, the actual meanings of the words become secondary to the combination of sounds and new word and letter relationships.

11. ibid.
12. A. Kruchenykh, Pomada, Moscow, February 1913. "Dyr bul shchyl" was subsequently printed in The Word as Such, Moscow, 1913) and in Te li le, St.Petersburg, 1914 (see Fig. 3.16).
13. The TsGALI archives in Moscow contain two letters dated August 1913 from Khlebnikov in Astrakhan to Kruchenykh, which include extensive lists of his neologisms, formed by combining the parts or ideas of existing words. Some examples which he gives are: sozertsog (from sozertsat', to contemplate) for zrelishche (performance, spectacle); zertsal'nia for zritel'nyi zal (auditorium); sozertseben for teatr (theatre); bytava for a play outside time (drama vne vremeni), byvava for a play from the present (drama iz nastoiashchego) and bylava for a play from the past (drama iz proshlogo); golosynia for opera, and the two words shutynia and smeiaryshnia for the Russian komedija (comedy). Khlebnikov's lists were proposed words for the Futurist opera Victory Over the Sun, performed in December 1913. See TsGALI, fond 1334, op.1, ed.khr.217.
14. A. Kruchenykh and V. Khlebnikov, Slovo kak takovoe, Moscow, 1913, in Markov, Manifesty, p.57.
15. O. Rozanova, "Osnovy novago tvorchestva i prichiny ego neponimania", in Soiuz molodezhi, No.3, March 1913, p.14.
16. Kruchenykh, "Novye puti slova", in Markov, Manifesty, pp.68, 72. Emphases as in the original.
17. Kruchenykh, Deklaratsiia slova kak takovogo, St. Petersburg, 1913, in Markov, Manifesty, p.64. Emphases as in the original.
18. Charlotte Douglas provides a detailed analysis of Victory Over the Sun, which she describes as being part of a number of avant-garde theatre productions which sought to synthesize new styles which were being explored in painting, writing and music. She also emphasizes the importance of zaum language in the opera, which was intended to shock everyone into a new consciousness by altering normal perception and providing visions of an alternative reality. The spatial ambiguities and conflicting perspectives of Malevich's set designs, with their portions of objects, were part of the same search for a transcendent psychological sensation which broke with conventional logic. Victory Over the Sun and Vladimir Mayakovsky: A Tragedy are also discussed by Susan Compton and described as examples of a "theatre of the future-man". Compton suggests a possible link between Victory Over the Sun and Kandinsky's The Yellow Sound through the association, in the opera, of colour and sound. See Charlotte Douglas, Swans of Other Worlds: Kazimir Malevich and the Origins of Abstraction in Russia, U.M.I. Research Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1980, pp.35-47; ibid, "Victory Over the Sun", Russian

History: Histoire Russe, No.8, Parts 1-2, 1981, pp.69-89; and Compton, The World Backwards, pp.45-66.

19. Livshits, The One and a Half-Eyed Archer, pp.163-4.
20. Katalog kartin sobrania S.I. Shchukina, No.226: "Gitara. 53 x 63 [cm]". Volume One of Tugendkhol'd's book dealt with the former collection of Shchukin. See Ya. Tugendkhol'd, Novoe zapadnoe iskusstvo y russkikh gosudarstvennykh muzeiakh: Vypusk 1: b. sobranie S.I. Shchukina, Moscow/Petrograd, 1923, where Picasso's Table with Violin and Glasses is illustrated as "Pikasso. Gitara: Picasso. La guitare", Plate 29, opposite p.170. The same painting is illustrated by Daniel-Henri Kahnweiler in Oeuvres des Musées de Leningrad et de Moscou et de quelques collections Parisiennes, Editions Cercle d'Art, Paris, 1955, where it is listed as "Violin and Glass".
21. Katalog kartin sobrania S.I. Shchukina, No.227: "Muzykal'nye instrumenty (kartina oval'noi formy). 79 x 97 [cm]"; Tugendkhol'd, Novoe zapadnoe iskusstvo, "Pikasso. Muzykal'nye instrumenty: Picasso. Instruments de musique", Plate 30, opposite p.172.
22. Katalog kartin sobrania S.I. Shchukina, No.228: "Fleita. 32 x 53 [cm]".
23. Katalog kartin sobrania S.I. Shchukina, No. 178: "Skripka. Kartina oval'noi formy. 54 x 45 [cm]". Apart from the four paintings of musical instruments, Picasso's Table in a Café. Bottle of Pernod (1912; Fig. 2.20), purchased by Shchukin in 1912, is listed in the catalogue (No.150) as "Nature morte - butylka i bokal'. 32 x 45 [cm]". The catalogue of Shchukin's collection was published at the end of 1913 (Knizhnaya letopis', No.32975, 9-16 December 1913).
24. Katalog vystavki 'Bubnovyi valet', Moscow, January-February 1914, No.1. Harlequin (1912) seems to have been Braque's sole contribution to the exhibition. There was also one work by Picasso, listed as No.112: "Nature-Morte (dessin)".
25. Sergei Glagol', "Bubnovyi valet" ["The Knave of Diamonds"], Stolichnaya molva, No.353, 10 February 1914, p.4.
26. This small series of papiers collés by Braque, which had as their subject the human figure, comprised Harlequin, Man with a Pipe (1912; Kunstmuseum, Basel) and Head of a Young Girl (1912; Private Collection, Geneva). All three papiers collés are illustrated in Georges Braque: Les Papiers Collés, Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou, Paris, 1982, Plates 8-10.

27. Grishchenko, "'Bubnovyi valet'. Vpechatleniia ot vystavki", p.9.
28. W. Sherwin Simmons, "Kasimir Malevich's 'Black Square': The Transformed Self. Part One: Cubism and the Illusionistic Portrait, Arts Magazine, Vol.53, October 1978, pp.116-125.
29. Sergei Yablonovsky, "Oskar Meshchaninov", Russkoe slovo, No.68, 25 March (7 April) 1915, p.6.
30. The sentiment of the phrase "idiet k nuliu" reappears in Malevich's statement printed for the "Last Futurist Exhibition 0,10" in Petrograd, December 1915, in which he declares: "I have transformed myself in the zero of form and have fished myself out of the rubbishy slough of academic art". His painting The Aviator (Fig. 4.4) also depicts a red arrow pointing to a painted 'zero' on the pilot's top hat. Simmons briefly discusses Malevich's reference to fevralism in a letter to Matiushin of November 28, 1914, and concludes that it probably marked a further stage in the development of Malevich's "transrational realism", characterized by paintings such as An Englishman in Moscow and The Aviator, both of 1914-15. These statements, made by Malevich in the spring of 1915, clearly show that he was already on the threshold of making the final break with figurative painting, which he achieved in Suprematism. In the third edition of his article "From Cubism and Futurism to Suprematism. The New Realism in Painting" ("Ot kubizma i futurizma k suprematizmu. Novyi zhivopisnyi realizm", Moscow, 1916), he specifically states that "through zero [I] have reached creation, that is, Suprematism... non-objective creation." See Simmons, "Kasimir Malevich's 'Black Square': The Transformed Self. Part Two: The New Laws of Transrationalism", p.130. The translation of Malevich's article is taken from Bowlt, Russian Art of the Avant-Garde. pp.110-135. Malevich's statement for "0,10" is reproduced in Berninger and Cartier, Pougny. Catalogue de l'Oeuvre. Tome 1: Les Années d'avant-garde. Russie-Berlin, 1910-23, Tubingen, 1972, p.53.
31. Simmons, "Kasimir Malevich's 'Black Square'. The Transformed Self. Part One: Cubism, pp.122-3.
32. Malevich, "New Art and Imitative Art (Picasso, Braque)", in Troels Andersen (Ed.), K.S. Malevich: Essays on Art, 1915-1933, Vol.II, Copenhagen, 1971, pp.44-5.
33. Malevich, "Ot kubizma i futurizma k simbolizmu. Novyi zhivopisnyi realizm", 3rd edition, Moscow, 1916; translated in Andersen, K.S. Malevich: Essays on Art, Vol.I., p.25.
34. Grishchenko "'Bubnovyi valet'. Vpechatleniia ot vystavki", p.9.

35. Simmons, "Kasimir Malevich's 'Black Square'. The Transformed Self. Part One: Cubism, p.120.
36. See Yablonovsky, "Oskar Meshchaninov", p.6; Rosstsi, "Khudozhestvennye vesti. Vystavka '1915 god'" ["Art News. The 'Year 1915' Exhibition"], Russkie yedomosti, 28 March 1915, No.70, p.5; and Ya. Tugendkhol'd, "V zheleznom tupike (po povodu odnoi moskovskoi vystavki)" ["In an Iron Cul-de-sac (Concerning one Moscow Exhibition)"], Severnye zapiski, literaturno-politicheskii ezhe mesiachnik, July-August 1915, pp.102-111.
37. E. Adamov, "Zhivopis' '1915-ogo goda' (Pis'mo iz Moskvy)" ["Painting at the 'Year 1915' Exhibition (Letter from Moscow)"], Kievskaia mysl', 6 May 1915, No.125, p.2.
38. Vystavka zhivopisi 1915 god, Moscow, 1915, Nos.59b: "Portret N. Goncharovoi" and 60: "Portret N. Goncharovoi (Plasticheskii luchizm)".
39. Tugendkhol'd, "V zheleznom tupike (po povodu odnoi moskovskoi vystavki)", p.104. Emphases as in the original. Tugendkhol'd goes on to describe Larionov's Iron Battle (No.60a: "Zheleznyi boi") as a board covered with "military maps, sweet wrappers and national flags, with a child's toy house in the form of a fortress stuck onto it and little black sticks representing canon...".
40. Pervaia futuristicheskaja vystavka kartin: Tramvai V, St. Petersburg, 1915. Puni's Portrait of the artist's wife is listed as Cat.No.51: "Portret zheny khudozhnika"; and Boots and Chair as No.59: "Sapogi i stul".
41. Both Portrait of the Artist's Wife and Still-life with Cup and Spoon were exhibited at the "First Summer Exhibition of Paintings" (Pervaia letniaia vystavka kartin, Petrograd, May-July 1916) and illustrated in Ogonek, No.25, 19 June (2 July) 1916, where they were both listed as "Studies".
42. The evidence for the nature of this work is provided by one of the reviews of the exhibition which declares that it is "much better to hang a hammer onto a piece of paper attached to the wall, than to sell the hammer for drink...". See Birzhevye yedomosti (utrennii vypusk), No.14708, 5 March 1915, p.3.
43. "Po vystavkam. U futuristov" ["Around the Exhibitions. At the Futurists'], Petrogradskie yedomosti, No.287, 22 December 1915, p.2.; Posledniaia futuristicheskaja vystavka 0,10, Petrograd, December 1915. Man in a Bowler Hat is listed as Cat.No.100: "Chelovek v kotelke".

44. B. Lopatin, "Futurizm - suprematizm" ["Futurism - Suprematism"], Den', No.351, 21 December 1915, p.2. The title of Puni's painting suggests that the subject was a bourgeois gentleman similar to those depicted by Malevich in The Aviator and An Englishman in Moscow. The Futurists themselves often wore the clothes of the bourgeoisie (top hat and frock-coat) at their evenings, as part of their behaviour, which was deliberately provocative and 'dandified'. Their 'exhibition' of half a top hat at "Year 1915" and Puni's inclusion of a frock-coat in The Hairdresser (1915; Fig. 3.15) are probably related to the same idea. Khlebnikov described his own hero KA as wearing a bowler hat. See "Ka", 1915, in Velimir Khlebnikov, Snake Train: Poetry and Prose, Gary Kern (Ed.), Ardis, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1976, p.165.
45. "Po vystavkam. U futuristov", p.2; Posledniaia futuristicheskaia vystavka 0,10. Puni's Official is listed as No.103: "Chinovnik".
46. Rozanova, "Osnovy novago tvorchestva", pp.14; 17.
47. In a letter to Kruchenykh, Rozanova wrote: "My poetry has taken me so far that I have begun to fear for my painting...And what would happen if I were suddenly to abandon painting for poetry?". Some of Rozanova's zaum poems were included in Varvara Stepanova's article on her posthumous exhibition in 1919. See N. Khardzhiev, K istorii russkogo avangarda, p.23; and Varst [Varvara Stepanova], "Vystavka Olgi Rozanovoi" ["Exhibition of Works by Olga Rozanova"], Iskusstvo, No.4, 22 February 1919, p.2.
48. Varst, "Vystavka Olgi Rozanovoi", p.2.
49. Posledniaia futuristicheskaia vystavka, 0,10. Hairdresser is listed as Cat.No.98: "Parikmakherskaia"; and Window Washing as No.105: "Myt'e okon".
50. See, for example, Larionov's Neo-Primitive series of Hairdresser paintings. The subject of Hairdressing, which recurs in paintings by Larionov, Burliuk, Puni and Rozanova, seems to have been prompted by the example of the Russian lubok. A series of lubki depicting Barber themes were issued during the reign of Peter the Great.
51. The visual impetus for the use of isolated letters in the Alogical canvases of Malevich, Puni and Rozanova, may have come from Russian signboard painting. Its formal influence on artists and poets was noted by Viktor Shklovsky: "In the pictures of the artists of that period lived not only objects, but letters - big signboard letters. Mayakovsky knew them all...He saw the letters O and a French S skipping on the roof tops advertising watches...He saw the signboards and read those iron-backed books. He admired the china teapots and the flying

rolls pictured on tavern shutters." See Viktor Shklovsky, Mayakovsky and his Circle, edited and translated Lily Feiler, London, 1974, p.23.

52. Rozanova, "Osnovy novago tvorchestva", p.21.
53. Rozanova's exploitation of handwriting demonstrated the Russian Futurist poets' belief in the expressive potential of the written word or letter to convey the mood of the author. As such, it was unparalleled in Italian Futurist typography. Kruchenykh acknowledged the aesthetic significance of this handwriting, describing it as capable of conveying the feeling of the poet independently of, as well as parallel with, the zaum poems. See A. Kruchenykh and V. Khlebnikov, "The Letter as Such" ("Bukva tak takovaia"), MS, 1913, reprinted in Markov, Manifesty, pp.60-61.
54. Rudenstine, The George Costakis Collection, p.421.
55. According to Herta Wescher, "purely abstract pictures of white, grey and black planar forms were shown for the first time by Rozanova in May 1915, at the 'Exhibition of Leftist Tendencies' in Petrograd". It was at the "Exhibition of Leftist Tendencies" (Vystavka kartin levykh techenii) that Rozanova also showed her series of Playing Cards, some of which are reproduced as linocuts in Transrational Book. It is possible that some of the paintings which Rozanova exhibited in May were subsequently incorporated as illustrations in Kruchenykh's book, which was published in the summer of 1915 (Knizhnaiia letopis': 19058, 11-18 August). Wescher's statement suggests that Rozanova was already producing non-objective works in the spring of 1915. The presence of the papier collé in Transrational Book certainly indicates that she was experimenting with non-objective paper planes by the summer. See Herta Wescher, Collage, translated Robert Wolf, Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1968, p.87.
56. Tainye poroki akademikov, Moscow, 1915. Although the cover bears the date of 1916, the book was published in August 1915, at the same time as Transrational Book (Knizhnaiia letopis': 19059, 11-18 August). It contained an essay by Kliun, "Primitives of the Twentieth Century" ("Primitivy XX veka"), an untitled extract by Malevich, in which he declared his rejection of reason, and an attack by Kruchenykh on the literature of the past. The original proposed cover design for the book, by Rozanova, is held in the TSGALI archives, Moscow, fond 1334, op.1, ed.khr.1309.
57. F.T. Marinetti, "La guerre, seule hygiène du monde", in Le Futurisme, Sansot, Paris, 1911, pp.53-56; translated as "Voina edinstvennaia gigiena mira", in N.N. Mikhailova, Marinetti: Futurizm, pp.64-66. Goncharova's portfolio of lithographs, War (Voina), published in 1914 and subtitled "Mystical Images of

War", is similar to Rozanova's linocuts in both mood and style. Rozanova's illustrations may also be compared with Kandinsky's allegorical battle paintings of 1912-14, where the image of the horse and rider symbolizes the triumph of the spiritual over the material. The horse and rider, abstracted to patches of colour and lines, appear in Kandinsky's Composition VII (1913; Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow), a painting which contains references to the Great Flood, The Last Judgement and The Resurrection, and which was shown at the exhibition "Year 1915" in Moscow (Cat.No.40).

58. Letter from Rozanova to Shemshurin, 20 July 1915, in Khardzhiev, K istorii russkogo avangarda, p.61. Both War and Universal War were published in editions of 100 copies. As each book was made by hand, different versions exist for some of the papiers collés and sometimes the same shapes are distributed in a different manner. One other copy of Rozanova's papier collé for War includes an additional drawing of an aeroplane. See From Surface To Space. Russia 1916-1924, Galerie Gmurzynska, Cologne, 1974, Plate 51.
59. Khardzhiev, K istorii russkogo avangarda, p.61.
60. A. Kruchenykh, Vselenskaia voina, Petrograd, 1916 (unpaginated).
61. Khardzhiev, K istorii russkogo avangarda, p.67. The poem, which describes a bizarre visit to the Hairdressers, was included in the anthology Futurists: Roaring Parnassus (Futuristy: Rykaiushchii Parnas), Petrograd, 1914.
62. Vselenskaia voina, 1916:
  - List 1 - Bitva budetlianina s okeanom;
  - List 2 - Bitva Marsa so Skorpionom;
  - List 3 - Vzryv sunduka;
  - List 4 - Bitva s ekvatorom;
  - List 5 - Prodatel'stvo;
  - List 6 - Razrushenie sadov;
  - List 7 - Bitva Indii s Evropoi;
  - List 8 - Tiazheloe orudie;
  - List 9 - Germania v zadore;
  - List 10 - Germania vo prakhe;
  - List 11 - Pros'ba pobedy;
  - List 12 - Voennoe gosudarstvo.
63. Khardzhiev, K istorii russkogo avangarda, p.61.
64. Rozanova, "Osnovy novago tvorchestva", p.20.

## Chapter Four

### KHLEBNIKOV AND PUNI:

#### REDISCOVERING THE LANGUAGE OF THE STARS

Conflicting opinions surrounded the Futurist poet Velimir Khlebnikov within Russian poetic and artistic circles in the first decades of the twentieth century. "Of course, Khlebnikov is an idiot, but he is nicer than Mayakovsky", exclaimed one critic in 1915 (1). Another described him as a "talented maniac of the naked word" (2). Yet, for Mayakovsky, Khlebnikov was no less than a "Columbus of new poetic continents" (3). Despite all this attention, Khlebnikov was an unassuming character, unlike both David Burliuk and Mayakovsky. He was often withdrawn and did not share the delight of his fellow Hylaeans in shocking the public with their uproarious declamations and antics. If he ever did appear on stage to read his poetry, he was rarely a success, as Spassky's later account reveals:

"I remember him once on the stage of the cafe, as though he had been driven into a corner by the rays of the electric light. He mumbled something to himself. The audience immediately turned away. There was the clatter of crockery, conversations started up. He stood, hands behind his back, silent and in thought. Finally they took him off." (4)

In short, Velimir Khlebnikov seemed an unlikely candidate for the title of "King of Time", which was granted to him in 1915 (5).

It would be a mistake, however, to view Khlebnikov as a weak and pathetic child-like figure. He was capable of vigorously defending his belief in the rebirth of language that for too long had been confined within everyday, prosaic meanings, and liberating it so that the "waves of language" would once again "sparkle with life, as in the first days of creation" (6). He angrily opposed the invasion of his language by Western words and coined the terms budetlianstvo [Will-Be-Ness] and budetlianin [Man of the Future] to avoid any possible association with Italian Futurism. The words budetlianstvo and budetlianin were neologisms formed from the future tense of the verb budet' - to be. Although the word Futurizm was already used to denote Futurist movements, its association with Italian Futurism led Khlebnikov to create his own coinage for the Russian group around Hylaea. He described the word budetlianstvo as "the study of the future on the past", a return to a primitive and timeless age in which man is wedded to the harmony of nature (7). Despite his normal reticence, Khlebnikov was one of the most vociferous opponents of Marinetti's visit to Russia in January and February 1914. He refused to meet the leader of Italian Futurism and, together with Livshits, produced leaflets that he distributed at Marinetti's first public lecture in St. Petersburg, which upbraided fellow Russians for "betraying the first advance of Russian art along the path of freedom and honour" by "placing the noble neck of Asia under the yoke of Europe". The leaflet ended with the warning:

"Foreigner, don't forget where you are!  
The lace of servility on the sheep of hospitality." (8)

By 1910 Khlebnikov was already associated with the future circle of avant-garde artists and poets through the publication of the anthology The Studio of Impressionists (Studia impressionistov, St.Petersburg, 1910), which contained his poem "Incantation by Laughter", consisting of neologisms formed from the root word for laughter - smekh. The Studio of Impressionists was shortly followed by A Trap for Judges (Sadok sudei, Moscow, 1910), printed on wallpaper and containing poems by Kamensky, Khlebnikov, Elena Guro, Nikolai and David Burliuk, with illustrations by Vladimir Burliuk. Although the book contained no group manifesto, it did mark the beginning of a long and unique association between poets and artists which was important for the subsequent development of both groups. Formal elements from painting found their way into poetry and vice versa. Khlebnikov developed a form of "sound-painting" [zvukopis'], where initial consonants were associated with individual colours so that the sound of his letters could actually paint the portrait of a face, as in the poem "Bobeobi", which was published in the anthology A Slap in the Face of Public Taste (Moscow, 1912-13):

"Bobeobi sang the mouth	(B=red)
Veeomi sang the gazes	(V=blue)
Peeomi sang the brows	(P=black)
Leeei sang the aspect	(L=white)
Gze-gzi-gzeo sang the chain	(Z=golden)
Thus on a canvas of would be correspondences	
Beyond this dimension there lived a face." (9)	

The attempt by Khlebnikov to visualize the sounds of his individual letters, either in terms of colour or of movement through space, was central to his conception of language. For example, he defined the letter Z as "the reflection of a moving point from the line of

a mirror at an angle equal to the angle of incidence. The impact of a ray on a hard plane", and B as "the meeting of two points moving along a straight line from different directions. Their struggle, the recoil of one point from the impact of the other". The letter K, on the other hand, signified the absence of movement, with all points at rest (10). All Khlebnikov's works reveal a visual interpretation of the forms of language - letters - as graphic signs, which not only carry information about the word they describe, but also describe the nature of space itself and the movement through space of forms. Khlebnikov's belief that the principles behind his experiments with language were shared by the artists of the avant-garde is demonstrated in his article of 1919 "Artists of the World" ("Khudozhniki mira"). This was a direct appeal to artists to provide a "network of written signs" for his own "network of sound 'images' for different types of space" provided by his letters, which he described as the "strings of the alphabet" (11). Khlebnikov's definition of the alphabet as a "concise dictionary of the spatial world that is so close, artists, to your art and to your paintbrushes" (12), shows that he saw a parallel between his own concern with the spatial dimension of letters and contemporary experiments in art. This plastic, spatial dimension to Khlebnikov's theory of language was to be very important in the context of his influence on Ivan Puni.

Khlebnikov was not the only Futurist poet to see language in visual terms. Vassily Kamensky wrote ferro-concrete poems where the words formed a visual image, as in "Ferro-concrete poem: The

Sun (lubok)" of 1913. At the exhibition "No.4: Futurists, Rayists, Primitives" in Moscow in March 1914, Kamensky went even further and 'exhibited' his ferro-concrete poem "A Fall from an Aeroplane". This comprised a heavy weight which had a face painted on it, hung by a wire in front of a metal sheet, above fragments of aeroplane and a pool of blood. The spectator was supposed to strike the sheet with the weight and produce Kamensky's thunder of joy at having survived the aircrash (13).

In "A Fall from an Aeroplane", the words or narrative content of the poem have literally become visual images and the sound of the crash can be physically recreated. Both Kamensky and Khlebnikov shared a common concern with the 'construction' of language and their endeavours to recreate in their poems the physicality of sound correspond to the painterly concerns of many of the artists of the avant-garde with the actual texture and working of the painted surface (faktura), as well as with the construction of form and space. Throughout his work, Khlebnikov uses analogies of buildings and of construction in the context of his words and obsession with numbers. He speaks of the word as a "tower" and describes his 'supertale' "Zangezi" (1922) as being "constructed from words like the units of a building... A story is an architecture of words..." (14).

The development of zaum in poetry, prompting its painterly equivalent of Alogism, is evidence of the formal interaction which existed between artists and poets in pre-revolutionary Russia. Apart from Kruchenykh's theories of zaum, as laid down in "New Ways

of the Word", The Word as Such and Declaration of the Word as Such, Khlebnikov himself expounded his theories for a universal, transrational language - the "language of the stars" as he often referred to it - in a number of articles written between c1915 and 1920 (15). In his own linguistic experiments, Khlebnikov sought to demonstrate the power of individual letters and sounds, freed from the confines of meaning, to appeal directly to the human consciousness. He frequently cited incantations, so-called "magical speech" and glossolalia, as language forms analogous to zaum:

"The fact that transrational language predominates in invocations and charms, driving out rational language, goes to show that it has a special power over the consciousness, special rights to live alongside rational language" (16).

By rejecting the existing laws which defined meaning, Kruchenykh and Khlebnikov sought to convey a new meaning through their zaum poetry, one which could not be understood from the conventional system of logic. For the meaning of a word or object, as defined by existing logic, was not the only possible meaning - "fresh, innumerable meanings" existed beyond the confines of three-dimensional receptivity. According to Khlebnikov and Kruchenykh, transrational language was a means to "rediscover" these other "remaining meanings", which had become "ossified" through the use of a false system of logic. It was this process that Khlebnikov had in mind when he spoke of populating the "impoverished waves of language with new life" (17). Apart from neologisms, the deliberate misprint was cited by Khlebnikov as one of the means to take language 'beyond reason':

"...You remember how a misprint can sometimes provide freedom from the given world. This misprint, caused by the unconscious will of the type-setter, suddenly gives the sense of the whole thing and is one of the forms of holy creation [sobornogo tvorchestva]. In this way it can be welcomed as a desired help to the artist..." (18)

Deliberate spelling errors and misprints were a regular feature of Futurist book design. Kruchenykh's title for Transrational Book, "Zaumnaia gniga" (Fig. 3.17), is an example of the use of deliberate misprints to transform the meaning of a word. Khlebnikov described the word as living a double life: it could either obey 'reason' or be self-ruling [samoderzhavii] and self-oriented [samovityi] (19). The self-oriented or self-sufficient word (Kruchenykh's "word as such") was not limited by the "everyday" meanings given to it by reason, for it lived in another dimension, as a "beautiful majestic star" (20).

Kruchenykh's and Khlebnikov's concern to free the word from the confines of existing reality and transpose it into a new spatial dimension had its source in the hyperspace philosophy of P.D. Ouspensky, which had been formally associated with the language of Cubism by Matiushin in 1913. In Tertium Organum. A Key to the Enigmas of the World, Ouspensky uses the analogy of a two-dimensional being entering three-dimensional space to describe the reactions of a three-dimensional being perceiving four-dimensional space. He describes how man's initial reaction will be of horror and a sense of the apparent absence of logic:

"In the new as yet he sensed chaos only, the old had disappeared, gone away and become unreal. Horror and regret for the loss of the old mingled with horror of the new - unknown and terrible by its infinitude....He

will...experience indeed an incredible horror, fear and sadness, until this fear and sadness shall transform themselves into the joy of the sensing of a new reality."  
(21)

This reaction of horror is due to the fact that the laws of the previous dimension no longer operate in the new, higher dimension:

"We have now established that the laws discovered by us in a space of three dimensions, and operating in that space, are inapplicable, incorrect and untrue in a space of a greater number of dimensions... as soon as we begin to think in other terms than those of concepts, we must be prepared to encounter an enormous number of absurdities from the standpoint of existing logic. These absurdities seem to us such, because we approach the world of many dimensions with the logic of the three-dimensional world." (22)

Because the laws of man's three-dimensional perception of the world cannot penetrate into a world of many dimensions, the new reality will at first seem chaotic. Indeed, in order to perceive realities in the world of higher dimensions as meaningful and not as absurdities, it is necessary to consciously "throw off the chains of our logic" and "understand the new order of things" (23). For Ouspensky, this was the first stage in the transition from the world of three dimensions to the fourth dimension of reality. It marked the freedom from the constraints of logic which was embraced by Khlebnikov and Kruchenykh in their language of zaum and by artists in their pictorial Alogism, where the forms contained within themselves the potential for transformation onto another, higher plane of consciousness. This, in turn, involved a state of 'being' in an entirely new spatial dimension. The instrument for this transformation was the "self-sufficient word", described by Khlebnikov as "the magical stone [yolshebnyi kamen'] for transforming all Slavonic words one into another..." (24). By

taking individual letters and sounds out of their everyday context and juxtaposing them in new combinations, Khlebnikov was able to discover other "remaining meanings" which existed behind the "everyday meanings" of words. The same 'abstraction' of forms can be seen in the Alogist canvases of Malevich, Puni and Rozanova.

Theories of higher dimensions were to be found not only in the hyperspace philosophy of Ouspensky, but in the theoretical articles of Dr. Nikolai Kul'bin, who was active in the avant-garde circles of St. Petersburg. In his article "Free Art as the Basis of Life" ("Svobodnoe iskusstvo kak osnova zhizni"), which appeared in the anthology The Studio of Impressionists in 1910, Kul'bin argued that natural structures such as the crystal and stone indicated the existence of a state of universal harmony where all phenomena are as one. He assigned a special role to art and poetry, describing them as the "magic wand" or the "magical stone" which can penetrate to the true reality of things, to their inner harmony (25). For Ouspensky also, art worked with the logic of a higher dimension and was a vital instrument in the transition to a higher consciousness (26). Kul'bin's recourse to organic structures to express his idea of universal harmony parallels Khlebnikov's frequent dependence on analogies from nature to describe his "self-oriented word" (27). According to Berninger and Cartier, it was Kul'bin who first introduced Puni to Russian avant-garde circles after his return from Paris in 1913. (28). Receptive to the theories of Kul'bin, Matiushin, Waldemar Matvejs (29) and Ouspensky, the Union of Youth group in St. Petersburg was acutely aware of metaphysical theories

concerning a higher dimension of space and the illusory nature of the existing laws of three-dimensional reality. The final rejection of these laws was symbolized in the Futurist opera Victory Over the Sun (December 1913), which was organized by the Union of Youth and which opened the way for a higher "cosmic consciousness" and for Khlebnikov's "language of the stars" (30).

After studying in Paris for three years, Ivan Puni returned to Russia and married Ksanya Boguslavskaya in 1913. According to Livshits, their studio in St. Petersburg became an important meeting-place for the avant-garde:

"...the budetliane had their own 'salon'...the Puni couple who had returned from Paris in 1913 and had transferred the Montmartre joie de vivre and freedom of spirit to their attic on Gatchinskaya. This was the Petersburg variant of Exter's house, only more 'bohemian'. We all used to visit the Punis: Khlebnikov, Mayakovsky, Burliuk, Matiushin, Severyanin..." (31)

During 1913, the focus within the Russian avant-garde gradually shifted from Moscow to St. Petersburg. Tatlin and Malevich became members of the Petersburg based Union of Youth (32); Kruchenykh married Rozanova and they worked together on Futurist books; and the Futurist operas Victory Over The Sun and Vladimir Mayakovsky: A Tragedy (Vladimir Mayakovsky: Tragedia) were performed in Luna Park. Puni and Boguslavskaya, therefore, became closely associated with the Union of Youth during one of its most productive periods. In 1915 Puni became much more active within Russian artistic circles, participating in the organization of the "First Futurist Exhibition of Paintings, Tramway V" in March and organizing "The Last Futurist Exhibition 0,10" in December. Judging by the fact

that his first collages and painterly reliefs date from 1914 and his Alogist canvases from 1915, it seems reasonable to assume that Puni's analysis of the consequences of Cubism for his art coincided with his return to St. Petersburg and with his subsequent acquaintance with the painterly experiments of Malevich and the linguistic theories of zaum propounded by Kruchenykh and Khlebnikov (33).

In his memoirs, Benedikt Livshits provides some interesting insights into the relationship between the Punis and Velimir Khlebnikov. Indeed, one of the reasons why everyone flocked so readily to the Punis' apartment seems to have been the beauty of Ksanya:

"Ksanya Puni, witty, full of energy and palpable charm, soon became a focal point for the budetliane who were tired of dragging out their rather uncomfortable existence... Her legs on the divan, she inspired the writers of the manifesto "Go to the Devil" not so much by her sarcastic comments as by her presence. We vied with one another in our attempts to please the enchanting publisher..." (34)

The manifesto "Go to the Devil", signed by David Burluk, Kruchenykh, Livshits, Mayakovsky, Severyanin and Khlebnikov, was written in the Punis' apartment and published in the anthology Futurists: Roaring Parnassus (Futuristy: Rykaiushchii parnas, St. Petersburg, 1914), which was itself paid for out of Ksanya Boguslavskaya's personal funds. The anthology contained works by Khlebnikov, one of which, "The Otter's Children", was illustrated by Puni (Fig. 4.1). Khlebnikov often read his poems aloud to Ksanya and is shown doing this in a lithograph by Puni of 1917 (Fig. 4.2). In discussing Puni and his wife, Livshits makes

specific mention of Khlebnikov's feelings for Ksanya:

"... there would be no need to dwell on Ksanya Puni's personality in such detail, were it not for Khlebnikov who was extremely fond of her. None of us was entirely indifferent to her, but the King of Time royally wasted his time, sitting by the hours in the attic on Gatchinskaya. I had no idea of the depth of his sentiment." (35)

It is clear that Khlebnikov spent many hours in the company of the Punis, and that their apartment housed literary debates on several occasions. Puni would thus have acquainted himself with Khlebnikov's theories of zauu and his belief that cosmological truths lay hidden behind the "everyday meanings" of words.

An examination of Malevich's and Puni's Alogist paintings, such as Puni's Window Washing (1915; Fig. 4.3), will immediately reveal that the 'normal' relationships between objects according to known logic no longer exist. The chaotic display of images is mindful of Ouspensky's description of the sense of loss and horror felt by a three-dimensional being perceiving the fourth dimension for the first time. This juxtaposition of apparently unrelated images within 'another dimension' is found equally in Khlebnikov's writings. For example, in his narrative "Ka", written at the beginning of 1915, Khlebnikov describes a seemingly nonsensical sequence of events which also has traces of the sinister and macabre. An interesting feature of "Ka" is the use of shifting timescales, so that Ka can be at one moment in Ancient Egypt and in the next in the present, with Sikorsky planes flying overhead (36). This principle of sdvig [displacement] was important for both Russian artists and poets, as it allowed for the possibility of

more than one 'space' within a text or painting. It represented the shift in consciousness from the limitations of three-dimensional space to incorporate the sensation of 'other dimensions' beyond. It is what Kruchenykh had in mind when he spoke of the conventions of time and space "slipping" (37). Likewise, for Ouspensky, time as we know it does not exist in the fourth dimension. Similar ideas are to be found in Larionov's and Zdanevich's theory of 'everythingism' [ysechestvo], formulated in 1913, which had, so they declared, "conquered time and space" (38).

One of the formal means for depicting sdvig is through the juxtaposition of objects which have no relationship to each other according to known logic, thereby altering (literally "shifting") the perception of the three-dimensional world. This can be seen in Puni's Window Washing (Fig. 4.3), where the minute figure of a woman is overshadowed by huge objects and sections of objects - an armchair, table or stool-leg, bowl, oil-lamp, upside-down boot and umbrella, none of which appear to be related to one another. Another feature of Window Washing is its sense of an undefined spatial dimension, so that the forms of the painting do not actually appear to 'be' anywhere. There is almost, in fact, a sense of weightlessness as the woman floats helplessly upside-down, as though all of these objects have been severed from their connection to the Earth's gravity and are 'existing' in another dimension. Malevich's painting The Aviator (Fig. 4.4) also has suggestions of more than one spatial dimension. The subject of the painting, the pilot, stands in one plane of space which is both

above and separate from his background, so that he does not appear to be in the same dimension. Indeed, Malevich establishes a direct relationship between his pilot and Khlebnikov's Ka by including the word "KA" in the painting. This undefined spatial dimension, which is present in the Alogist works of Malevich, Puni and Rozanova (note the spatial ambiguity of Barbershop) is an indication of the fact that their forms no longer belong to the known system of logic, which defines objects within a specific space and time. The floating forms of Puni's painting essentially express the same idea as Kruchenykh's words in "New Ways of the Word":

"...We can change the weight of objects (that eternal pull of the Earth); we see hanging buildings and heavy sounds. In this way we provide a world with a new content." (39)

They demonstrate that new level of approach to reality which had already been emphasized by Ouspensky:

"Every thought expressed about [the world of higher dimensions] in our ordinary everyday language will be false... It is possible to speak about it only conditionally, by hints, by symbols... If one interprets literally anything said about it, nothing but absurdity results..." (40)

In this way, the objects in Window Washing are not to be interpreted according to their "everyday meanings" or as statements of their own legitimacy, but as suggestions of a new attitude towards reality. A possible connection between Puni's objects may be found through recourse to an analogy employed by Khlebnikov in "Ka". In describing Ka's free movement through space and time, Khlebnikov writes that:

"...he makes himself as comfortable [raspolagaetsia udobno] in the centuries as in a rocking chair. Isn't it

true that one's consciousness brings together different times like chairs and stools in a parlour?" (41)

The key, therefore, to discerning a relationship between these objects lies in man's consciousness. By breaking free from the limitations of three-dimensional logic and transforming itself into a new dimension, it is able to discern and bring together multiple spaces, different times and new relations between objects. Ouspensky described this process as the "expansion of consciousness" (42). Thus, the objects in Puni's canvas are indicative of this transformation of consciousness into a new logical system. As if to reiterate this, Puni has actually placed an armchair and a table or stool-leg in the centre of Window Washing, as though to demonstrate literally the bringing together of "different times like chairs and stools in a parlour" (43).

A possible source for the incorporation of the number "5" in Puni's Window Washing can also be found in Khlebnikov's vision of transrational reality. This number had a particular significance for Puni as it also occurs in The Hairdresser (1915; Fig. 3.15) and in a number of later works, including the costume designs for a "ballet of letters" in Berlin in 1921. For Khlebnikov, the number 5 was part of the mathematical symmetry which he felt operated in his own verse. In an early dialogue of 1913-14 Khlebnikov quotes from his own poem "Grasshopper" ("Kuznechik"), which appeared in the anthology A Slap in the Face of Public Taste, as an example of his "law of freely flowing self-sufficient speech", according to which, between any two points, the sounds K,R,L and U each occur five times. Khlebnikov concludes that:

"... the self-sufficient word has a construction of five rays and sound settles [raspolagaetsia] between points, within the framework of thought, along five axes, just like a hand or a starfish." (44)

A similar five-fold 'structure' is identified in the long poem "I and E" (45). The number 5 was integral to Khlebnikov's visualization of the harmonious and logical structure of his transrational "sound-speech". Its presence in Puni's work, together with the armchair, used by Khlebnikov as a metaphor for the displacement of temporal and spatial conditions in the new reality 'beyond reason', suggests that Window Washing is an attempt to find a visual equivalent to Khlebnikov's "law of freely flowing self-sufficient speech" and that, consequently, the combination of its formal elements is both harmonious and logical.

Unlike Malevich, whose Alogism eventually led him to the assertion of the two-dimensional surface plane, Puni retained an interest in three dimensions and, after 1914, experimented with several types of painterly relief as an extension of the two-dimensional canvas. One of the fundamental features of Puni's reliefs is his use of ordinary, everyday objects. Again, although this recalls the objets trouvés of French Cubism, an examination of Puni's three-dimensional works reveals a use of the everyday object which is completely divorced from that of Braque and Picasso.

There are two possible ways to interpret Puni's reliefs. From the Western point of view they may be seen as examples of anti-art statements in the manner of Dada, a condemnation of the role of art by simply using "ready-mades" taken from real life. However, if

viewed within the context of Ouspensky, the Union of Youth and the linguistic theories of Khlebnikov and Kruchenykh, that is, from the Russian as opposed to the Western cultural standpoint, they take on a completely different meaning. The question of the correct level of approach here is vital. Although Cubism exerted a formal influence on Puni, both his and Malevich's Alogism already indicated a development away from Cubism, as part of the much more fundamental rejection of meaning as related to the object in favour of a higher reality which was "broader than sense". Hence, at a time when Braque and Picasso were reinforcing the basis of their art in the world of known objects by increasing the legibility of the image in their synthetic works after 1912, the Russian artists were rejecting the very logical laws which defined the form and content of the object within a three-dimensional perception of reality. Taken within this context, Puni's reliefs are not statements against art at all, but are new attempts at redefining the vitally important role of art in the transformation of consciousness to a higher dimension. In fact, Puni's reliefs of 1914-19 demonstrate an approach to reality which bears an increasingly greater affinity to that posited by Velimir Khlebnikov.

Many of Puni's works of this period are characterized by a recurring image or 'symbol', making them analogous to a riddle which must be decoded. In this respect, Puni and Khlebnikov shared a common approach to art as a game or riddle with deliberately hidden meanings. Puni's own sense of wit was very important to his

art and his work frequently makes a pun on visual reality, as in Still-life - Relief with Hammer of 1914 (Fig. 3.13), where the "everyday meaning" and function of the hammer are subverted. There is an additional feature to this work in the section of the background plane which is turned up and folded over, throwing a shadow, thereby revealing another side to what appeared to be a flat plane. Puni has made the flat plane three-dimensional, in a manner analogous to Ouspensky's description of a two-dimensional, planar being encountering the third dimension, where, for the first time, he perceives solid form above and below his own plane of existence. Ouspensky describes the three-dimensional world in terms of the two-dimensional planar being as follows:

"The properties of the phenomena of the plane world will be extremely monotonous;...Solids and the things of this world will be flat and uniform, like shadows, that is, like the shadows of quite different solids..." (46)

It is thus a shadow, thrown onto the two-dimensional plane, which suggests the presence of another, three-dimensional form. Taking the analogy further, the three-dimensional world is but a 'shadow' of the true nature of things in the fourth dimension. Hence the impossibility, for Ouspensky, of understanding the fourth dimension from the existing standpoint of the third:

"To hope to find in the (real) world...anything logical from our standpoint is just as useless as to think that the world of things can exist in accordance with the laws of a world of shadows." (47)

The three-dimensional world is essentially an illusion, an imperfect section of the whole which lives in another dimension. The 'true' dimension will thus be perceived by a three-dimensional being only in terms of shadows passing through his world.

Khlebnikov uses the same analogy in his own writings when discussing his transrational language. In his main theoretical article, "Our Foundation" ("Nasha osnova"), he declares:

"One can say that the everyday meanings of a language are but the shadows of the great laws of the pure word which have fallen upon an uneven surface." (48)

For Khlebnikov, the "everyday meaning" of the word is merely the shadow of infinitely richer meanings which lie in another dimension. Likewise, Puni makes extensive use of the shadow in many of his reliefs and canvases in the period from 1914-19, such as White Ball (1915; Fig. 4.5) or Relief with a Plate (c1919; Fig. 4.6), as one of his most important visual 'clues' for the presence of another reality beyond the known reality.

In "Our Foundation", Khlebnikov makes his position as regards the 'apparent' reality of the word and its 'true' reality very clear:

"The word can be divided into the pure word and the everyday word. One can think of the word as concealing within itself both the reason of the starlit night and the reason of the sunlit day. This is because any single everyday meaning of a word also obscures from view all the word's remaining meanings, just as the daytime brings with it the disappearance of all the shining bodies in the starlit night... In separating itself from everyday language, the self-sufficient word differs from the living word, just as the revolution of the Earth around the Sun differs from the everyday passage of the Sun around the Earth. The self-sufficient word renounces the spectres of a particular everyday situation and in the place of this self-evident lie constructs a twilight of the stars." (49)

Using the analogy of the cosmos, Khlebnikov likens the other "remaining meanings" of a word to the stars in the sky, still present in daylight, but unseen. Consequently, the 'apparent'

reality of the "sunlit day" is, in fact, only a "spectre" (analogous to the shadow above) of the true reality of the "twilight of the stars". It can be argued that this distinction between 'apparent' reality and 'true' reality is also found in Puni's reliefs, for example, in White Ball (Fig. 4.5) and Relief with a Plate (Fig. 4.6). White Ball was exhibited at the "Last Futurist Exhibition 0,10" in December 1915 (50). In conjunction with this exhibition Puni and Boguslavskaya published a joint statement, the tenets of which bear a remarkable similarity to Khlebnikov's theory of the "self-sufficient word":

"...The substance of an object (reality) and the being of an object like a chair, a samovar, a house etc, are not the same thing.

Freedom of the object from meaning, the destruction of utility.

A picture is a new conception of abstracted real elements, deprived of meaning.

2 x 2 is anything you like, but not four...

An object (a world) freed from meaning disintegrates into real elements - the foundation of art.

The correlation of elements discovered and revealed in a picture is a new reality, the departure point of the new painting." (51)

From the above statement it is possible to determine Puni's attitude towards the ordinary, everyday objects that he incorporates into his reliefs. It becomes clear that, for Puni, as for Khlebnikov, the semblance of reality is not necessarily the true reality and that the object, like the word, can lead a double life. Hence, what looks like a chair, a house or, indeed, a plate or a cue ball on a billiard table, is not necessarily any of these things, once the 'old' law governing meaning and function is removed.

The relief White Ball comprises a real plaster ball set in a hole which has been cut out in the base of a fairly deep wooden box, roughly put together and half painted in green and half in black. There is clearly a pun on visual reality through the association with a cue ball on a billiard table. Likewise, for his Relief with a Plate Puni has taken a real plate set against the backdrop of a section of real table. However, in the light of the above, the reality of these objects in terms of their 'everyday function' becomes less important than their potential to take on other meanings. For example, a possible understanding of Relief with a Plate may be made through recourse to Khlebnikov's theories. In "Our Foundation", Khlebnikov uses the analogy of a game to show how the semblance of a particular word or object can actually become something else:

"...As a boy at play can imagine that the chair on which he is sitting is a real thorough-bred horse and, during the course of the game, the chair takes the place of the horse for him, so, during spoken and written speech, the small word 'Sun' in the relative world of human conversation acts as a substitute for a beautiful majestic star...Equally, a child playing dolls can genuinely burst into tears when his bundle of rags dies, mortally wounded...During the game these bits of rag are living, real people with a heart and passions..." (52)

Thus the "everyday meaning" of an object is actually a substitute for other possible meanings. Puni's Relief with a Plate has been constructed according to the same principles as Khlebnikov's imaginary game. The plate-object, therefore, no longer carries the "everyday meaning" of a plate. Like Khlebnikov's "bundle of rags", this is merely incidental to its real purpose of acting as a substitute for other "remaining meanings". Its importance does not

lie in a statement as to its reality as a plate, but as "a new conception of abstracted real elements, deprived of meaning", which have become the "departure point of the new painting". As Khlebnikov "decomposed" his words into individual letters and sounds, thereby freeing them from meaning apportioned by reason, so Puni's plate has been broken down into the formal elements of a white circle on a green circle, set against a wooden ground. In the same way as transrational language has rejected the false 'names' given to a word by three-dimensional logic, the everyday, real object of the plate has lost its identity as defined by the "relative world of human conversation" and taken on a new role perhaps as a substitute for a "beautiful majestic star" which lives in another dimension. Thus, Relief with a Plate may be seen as the culmination of the process of the 'abstraction' of forms by removing them from their conventional context, already demonstrated in Still-life - Relief with a Hammer and in the Alogist canvases of Puni and Malevich which drew on the formal example of Cubist collage.

It is possible to conjecture, therefore, that Puni's forms in Relief with a Plate and White Ball are free to take on meanings other than those suggested by our conventional understanding of objects. Because cosmological associations and imagery feature so prominently in the writings of Khlebnikov, it may also be argued that Puni's reliefs themselves contains references to the cosmos. Through their shapes alone, the plaster ball and the real plate can evoke sensations of planetary forms, and these sensations are

enhanced by the grounds for the two reliefs. The wooden ground for Relief with a Plate (Fig. 4.6) is covered with knots and lines of grain which swirl around the form of the plate. The combination of the natural pattern of the woodgrain with light thrown onto the relief, so that the plate casts a shadow does, in fact, create a visual analogy for the infinite space of cosmic galaxies. Likewise, the plaster ball in White Ball (Fig. 4.5) casts a shadow and part of its ground is painted in black. This colour was used elsewhere by Puni, in Cubo-Sculpture (c1915-16; Fig. 5.10), to evoke the vast depths of infinite space, in which objects float, their link with Earth's gravity severed like the forms in the painting Window Washing above (53). Indeed, the aspiration towards 'cosmic' space was also shared by Malevich in his Suprematism:

"My new painting does not belong to the Earth exclusively. The Earth is thrown away like a house eaten up by termites. And, in fact, in man, in his consciousness, there lies a striving towards space, the pull of a 'take-off' from the Earth..." (54)

Khlebnikov's use of cosmological terms to define his transrational language suggests that the evocation of a 'cosmic' dimension is one of the most important features of his work. For Khlebnikov, universal reality is clearly seen in terms of cosmic space; it is the constellations which hold the universal truths. In "Our Foundation" he advises man to:

"... go and read the cuneiform of the constellations. To understand the will of the stars is to unroll before the eyes of all the scroll of true freedom. The stars hang above us in the pitch black of night, these boards of the future laws..." (55)

It is no coincidence that Osip Brik described Khlebnikov as a "poet-astrologer" who worked with "constellations of words" (56).

Thus, Puni's White Ball and Relief with a Plate may also be seen as part of the artist's attempt to provide a visual equivalent to Khlebnikov's "language of the stars" by literally evoking the imagery of the cosmos.

It has already been seen how Khlebnikov ascribed to the individual letters and sounds of his transrational language the power to transcend "everyday meanings" as defined by three-dimensional logic. This potential for transformation onto another plane of consciousness was described by Khlebnikov by using the analogy of the rotation of a two-dimensional plane about an axis to create a three-dimensional shape. For Khlebnikov, this process has two outcomes: by rotating a two-dimensional shape about an axis a three-dimensional shape in space is described and the original identity of the shape is lost (57). In this way, Khlebnikov's attitude towards the individual letter can be related to Puni's attitude towards the real object in his reliefs: both object and letter lose their original identity in terms of the function, form and content of a three-dimensional perception of reality, as they become instruments for the transformation of consciousness from the third to the fourth dimension of space.

Although Puni had incorporated words and letters into his earlier Alogist canvases, it was only in 1919 that letters "as such" became the subject of his painting. One such painting is The Flight of Forms (Begstvo form), painted in 1919 (Fig. 4.7). This can be regarded as a pictorial depiction of Khlebnikov's "strings of the alphabet", where the recognizable objects have literally

'fled' to be replaced by word and letter combinations which are now "self-sufficient". It can be argued that the absence of identifiable objects signifies the complete rejection of the logic of the three-dimensional world which defined them in terms of a specific form and content. Indeed, all that remains of the forms is their "spectre" and this is no longer depicted visually, as a shadow, but by the word "SPECTRE" [SPEKTR] itself, written on the canvas. The Flight of Forms shows that objects no longer have any value at all in the new reality and have been replaced by the letter "as such". The white background of Puni's painting relates it to Malevich's Suprematist canvases, which also signified the rejection of three-dimensional logic in favour of a higher dimension of consciousness, expressed by means of abstract planes of colour on a pure white ground. In 1919, both Puni and Malevich were invited by Chagall to teach at the Vitebsk Institute of Art and Practical Work [Vitebskii khudozhestvenno-prakticheskii institut], and The Flight of Forms indicates the affinities which existed in their attitudes to painting at this time.

Puni's use of letters in The Flight of Forms does have a formal link with Futurist typography, both Russian and Italian. Zdanevich's cover for Milliork in 1919 likewise combines letters and Suprematist shapes (Fig. 4.8). In 1919 Zdanevich was in Tiflis with Kruchenykh, working as a zaum-poet with letters in freedom. The displacement of letters and incongruities of their scale is also found in Marinetti's "Words in Freedom" of 1919, which, like Kamensky's ferro-concrete poems, uses the written word and repeated

letter to create a form of visual poetry. These works all exploit the expressive potential of the written word.

The importance of letters and numbers to Puni was further demonstrated in 1921, at an exhibition of his works held at Der Sturm Gallery in Berlin. Contemporary photographs show that numbers and letter combinations played a central role in Puni's visual presentation of his oeuvre (Fig. 4.9). The number "28" which can clearly be seen in one of the photographs was also an important number for Khlebnikov, associated with his attempts to discover physical laws for time. The numbers 365 and 28, both depicting planetary movements, were considered vital to national and individual fates respectively (58).

An examination of Puni's works after 1914 reveals many visual parallels to Khlebnikov's linguistic theories of a universal transrational language existing beyond the "everyday meanings" of words. Puni's interest in cosmic dimensions was one shared by many of the artists associated with the Union of Youth group in St. Petersburg, where Ouspensky's hyperspace philosophy of a fourth dimension, with all its mystical overtones, was diffused amongst formal interpretations of Cubism and Kruchenykh's and Khlebnikov's theories of zaum. In rejecting the logical laws which defined the word and object in terms of three-dimensional space, artists and poets sought a transformation of consciousness onto a higher plane of existence which operated according to its own logic. For Khlebnikov, transrational language signified not the absence of logic, but the transformation "beyond reason" to rediscover the

rich "waves of language", the "language of the stars". In his memoirs, Benedikt Livshits recalls how he saw "language come alive" in Khlebnikov's manuscripts, as the poet

"...awakened the word's dormant meanings and the birth of new ones... exploding the linguistic strata of millenia and plunging fearlessly into the depths of the primal word." (59)

Hence, Khlebnikov's zaum was a means to "expand the frontiers of meaning" (60). In the same way, Puni's Alogist paintings and three-dimensional reliefs were not intended as a condemnation of art, but as attempts to redefine its role as an instrument for the "expansion of consciousness" to embrace other "remaining meanings" behind the 'apparent' reality of his objects.

## FOOTNOTES

1. B. Lazarevsky, in Velimir Khlebnikov, Izbrannye stikhotvoreniia, "Sovetskii pisatel'", Moscow, 1936, p.42; cited in Vladimir Markov, The Longer Poems of Velimir Khlebnikov, University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol.62, 1962, p.23.
2. R. Ivanov-Razumnik, in Vladimir Mayakovsky ('Misteriia' ili 'Buff'?), "Skify", Berlin, 1922, p.12; cited in Markov, The Longer Poems, p.23.
3. Mayakovsky, "V.V. Khlebnikov", in Vladimir Mayakovsky, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii, Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, Moscow, 1955-61, Vol.12, p.23.
4. Sergei Spassky, "Khlebnikov"; cited in Raymond Cooke, Velimir Khlebnikov: A Critical Study, Cambridge University Press, 1987, p.49.
5. "On 20 December 1915, I was elected King of Time", Khlebnikov, "Extracts from a Diary" ("Iz dnevnika"), in Sobranie sochinenii, Vol.III, p.333. (Henceforth indicated as SS). Khlebnikov also wrote that Mayakovsky called him the "King of Russian Poetry".
6. Khlebnikov, "Our Foundation" ("Nasha osnova"); SS:III:234.
7. V. Barooshian, Russian Cubo-Futurism, 1910-30. A Study in Avant-Gardism, Mouton, The Hague/Paris, 1974, p.36.
8. Livshits, The One and a Half-Eyed Archer, p.183-4. References to Khlebnikov's distribution of the leaflet can be found in Rech', No.32, 2 (15) February 1914, p.6, and in Birzhevye vedomosti (utrenniy vypusk), No.13984, 2 February 1914, p.3. Khlebnikov also boycotted a meal organized by Kul'bin in honour of Marinetti.
9. Khlebnikov, in Yu. Tynianov and N. Stepanov (Eds.), Sobranie proizvedeni, Izdatel'stvo pisatelei v Leningrade, Leningrad, 1928-33, Vol.2, p36. (Henceforth indicated as SP)
10. Khlebnikov refers to the geometrical and spatial quality of his letters in his article "Artists of the World" ("Khudozhniki mira"), SS:III:217-8. The original typescript of this article included drawings by Khlebnikov of his new signs.
11. Khlebnikov, "Khudozhniki mira", SS:III:216-221. Reference to the "strings of the alphabet" can be found in Khlebnikov, "Svoiasl", introduction to unpublished edition of his works,

- 1919; SP, Vol.2, p.9.
12. Khlebnikov, "Khudozhniki mira", SS:III:219.
  13. See John Milner, Vladimir Tatlin and the Russian Avant-Garde, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1983, p.90; and Simmons, "Kasimir Malevich's 'Black Square': The Transformed Self. Part Two: The New Laws of Transrationalism", p.140, n.22.
  14. Khlebnikov, "Ka(2)", 1916, SS:III:132; preface to "Zangezi", SP, Vol.3, p.317.
  15. These include the narrative "Ka", written, according to Khlebnikov's notes on the rough draft, between February 22 and March 9/10, 1915, and published in the collection Moskovskie mastera in 1916; "The Decomposition of the Word" ("Razlozhenie slova"), 1915-16; "On the Simple Names of Language" ("O prostikh imenakh iazyka"), 1916, in Ocharovannyi strannik, al'manakh osennii, No.11, 1916; "A List. The Alphabet of the Mind" ("Perechen'. Azbuka uma"), 1916; "Artists of the World", dated 13.IV.1919; "On Contemporary Poetry" ("O sovremennoi poezii"), 1920, in Puti tvorchestva, No.6-7, 1920; ["On Verse"] (["O stikhakh"]) untitled fragment, 1919-20; "Our Foundation", 1919-20, in Liren', Kharkov, 1920. See SS:III:124-137; 198-243; 350-353, notes from original 1928-33 edition by Stepanov.
  16. Khlebnikov, "Nasha osnova", SS:III:235; and ["O stikhakh"], SS:III:225.
  17. Khlebnikov, "Nasha osnova", SS:III:234.
  18. ibid, p.233.
  19. Khlebnikov, "O sovremennoi poezii", SS:III:222.
  20. Khlebnikov, "Nasha osnova", SS:III:234.
  21. Ouspensky, Tertium Organum, pp.258 and 244. Emphases as in the original.
  22. ibid, p.254. Emphases as in the original.
  23. ibid, pp.256 and 246.
  24. Khlebnikov, "Svoiasi", SP, Vol.2, p.9.
  25. N. Kul'bin, "Svobodnoe iskusstvo kak osnova zhizni: Garmonia i dissonans (o zhizni, smerti i prochem)" ["Free Art as the Basis of Life: Harmony and Dissonance (Concerning Life and Death and Similar Questions)"], Studia impressionistov, St. Petersburg, 1910, p.9.

26. Tertium Organum, p.83. Ouspensky describes art as "the first experiments in a language of the future".
27. Discussing the transrational word, Khlebnikov states that: "On some invisible tree the word blossomed like buds...harking to the force of spring, dispersing themselves in all directions...". The analogy of nature reawakening in spring is very close to the following description by Kul'bin in "Free Art as the Basis of Life": "...The Force is at rest...a potential, hibernating force. Open the lock and the spring leaps out like a wild beast awakening; it reveals itself as an active, vigorous force, as energy". See Khlebnikov, "O sovremennoi poezii", SS:III:223; and Kul'bin, "Svobodnoe iskusstvo", pp.3-4.
28. Berninger and Cartier, Pougny, p.246.
29. Waldemar Matvejs (Vladimir Markov), artist and critic, became a member of the Union of Youth at the beginning of 1910. His ideas and theories on art had a profound influence on the group's subsequent artistic direction. In 1914 the Union of Youth published his book Principles of Creativity in the Plastic Arts: Faktura (Printsipy tvorchestva v plasticheskikh iskusstvakh: Faktura).
30. The term "cosmic consciousness" is used extensively by Ouspensky in Tertium Organum to describe visionary flashes experienced by artists and mystics, which are to be cultivated as the first step towards full comprehension of the fourth dimension. Khlebnikov refers to the "language of the stars" in his poem "Scratch Across the Sky" ("Tsarapina po nebu", c1920), the first section of which, "A Breach into Languages" ("Proryv v iazyki"), is subtitled "The combination of the language of the stars and everyday language". A "dictionary of the language of stars" was appended to the poem so that the reader could decipher Khlebnikov's transrational language. See SP, Vol.3, pp.75, 376-7; and Tertium Organum, Chapter XXIII.
31. Livshits, The One and a Half-Eyed Archer, p.224. Extracts from Khlebnikov's diaries contain references to the fact that Khlebnikov stayed with the Punis, either in their apartment or at their dacha, on several occasions between 1913 and 1915. See Khlebnikov, "Iz dnevnika", SS:III:327-335.
32. On 3 January 1913 the "Moscow" artists Tatlin, Morgunov and Malevich were elected members of the Union of Youth in a break away from Larionov's group. Malevich, however, did not make his break complete until 1914 and still exhibited at the "Target" exhibition in 1913. See Matiushin, "Mayakovsky v bor'be novatorskikh gruppirovok" in Khardzhiev, K istorii russkogo avangarda, p.40.

33. Puni sent works to the "Union of Youth" exhibitions in St. Petersburg of 1912-13 (Cat.No.67: "Zavtrak" ["Breakfast"]) and 1913-14 (Cat.Nos.99-101; no titles listed). Although the exact nature of the works shown at the end of 1913 cannot be ascertained, various sources suggest that Promenade in the Sun (1912; Private Collection, Zurich) or Self-Portrait (1912; Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris), both painted in a Fauvist style, were shown, together with two of Puni's illustrations for the book Futurists: Roaring Parnassus, published in February 1914. See Berninger and Cartier, Pougny, p.31; and Donation Pougny (Ex. Cat.), Paris, 1966, p.19.
34. Livshits, The One and a Half-Eyed Archer, p.224.
35. ibid, p.225.
36. Khlebnikov, "Ka". Translation in Kern, Snake Train, p.163.
37. Kruchenykh, Deklaratsiia slova kak takovogo, in Markov, Manifesty, p.64.
38. Livshits, The One and a Half-Eyed Archer, p.165.
39. Kruchenykh, "Novye puti slova", in Markov, Manifesty, p.71.
40. Tertium Organum, p.267.
41. Khlebnikov, "Ka"; SP, Vol.4, p.67.
42. Tertium Organum, p.258.
43. Like Puni's Window Washing, An Englishman in Moscow (1914-15) and The Aviator (Fig. 4.4), both dated by Simmons to the later phase of Malevich's Alogism, before his final break with figurative painting depict various stages in the transformation of consciousness. Simmons describes An Englishman in Moscow as "the upwelling of associative images encountered by the individual who undergoes the transformative process". The images are thus an outer manifestation of the inner psychological transformation of man's consciousness from the third to the fourth dimension. See Simmons, "Kasimir Malevich's 'Black Square': The Transformed Self. Part Two: The New Laws of Transrationalism", p.137.
44. "Conversation between Oleg and Kazimir" ("Razgovor Olega i Kazimira"), 1913-14, published in The First Journal of Russian Futurists (Futuristy: Pervyi zhurnal russkikh futuristov), No.1-2, Moscow 1914; SS:III:191. Sources for Khlebnikov's analogies for his "self-sufficient speech" can be found in the writings of Nikolai Kul'bin and Ouspensky. Kul'bin declared that the organic structures of nature contained the greatest symmetry and harmony and Ouspensky used the same analogy of a hand to illustrate the perception of three dimensions by a

- two-dimensional planar being. See Kul'bin, "Svobodnoe iskusstvo kak osnova zhizni"; and Ouspensky, Tertium Organum, pp.37 and 68-72. It is interesting to note that Khlebnikov uses the same verb, "raspolagat'sia", to describe both the movements of Ka through space and time and the movement of his "self-sufficient" sounds. Both Ka and transrational "sound-speech" have the power to move freely from one dimension to another; they are the link between different levels of reality, the apparent and the real.
45. Raymond Cooke relates the number 5 to Khlebnikov's search for symmetry within his own verse. Khlebnikov refers to five-fold structures in "A Conversation between Two" ("Razgovor dvukh osob"), c1912, published in Soiuz molodezhi, No.3, March 1913. See SS:III.185; and Cooke, Khlebnikov, p.100.
  46. Tertium Organum, p.71.
  47. ibid, pp.262-3.
  48. Khlebnikov, "Nasha osnova", SS:III:230.
  49. ibid, SS:III:229.
  50. The relief White Ball is not listed in the catalogue for "0,10", but it is mentioned in Matiushin's review of the exhibition, "0 vystavke 'Poslednikh futuristov'" ["On the 'Last Futurist' Exhibition"], in Ocharovannyi strannik: Al'manakh yesenni, Petrograd, 1916, p.17.
  51. Puni and Boguslavskaya, untitled statement. Translation in Bowlt, Russian Art of the Avant-Garde, p.112. The original statement is reproduced in Berninger and Cartier, Pougny, p.52.
  52. Khlebnikov, "Nasha osnova", SS:III:234.
  53. For a more detailed exposition of Cubo-Sculpture see Chapter Five, "The Non-Objective Reliefs of Ivan Puni and their Relation to the Russian Icon".
  54. Malevich, letter to Matiushin, [June] 1916, in E.F. Kovtun, "K.S. Malevich. Pis'ma k M.V. Matiushinu", Ezhegodnik rukopisnogo otdela Pushkinskogo Doma na 1974 god, "Nauka", Leningrad, 1976, p.192.
  55. "Nasha osnova", SS:III:242.
  56. O.Brik, "On Khlebnikov", in E. Proffer and C.R. Proffer (Eds.), The Ardis Anthology of Russian Futurism, Ardis, Ann Arbor, 1980, p.231.

57. Khlebnikov describes the letter "L" as a body which becomes three-dimensional from two-dimensional as a result of its rotation about an axis, during which time the shape of the letter will also change. See "Khudozhniki mira", SS:III:218.
58. Milner, Vladimir Tatlin, p.119.
59. Livshits, The One and a Half-Eyed Archer, pp.55-6; 193.
60. Cooke, Khlebnikov, p.71.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE NON-OBJECTIVE RELIEFS OF IVAN PUNI AND THEIR RELATION TO THE RUSSIAN ICON.

Before examining Puni's non-objective reliefs, mainly executed during 1915 and 1916, in light of Tatlin's counter-reliefs and corner counter-reliefs and Malevich's two-dimensional Suprematism, several visual and conceptual stimuli, which influenced all three artists, need first to be clarified. These stimuli divide themselves into those associated with Cubism in France and those specifically Russian in character. As with Tatlin, so the development of the relief in Puni's art needs to be seen from both French and Russian points of view, with the structural impetus from Cubism being married to the unique tradition in the Russian visual arts of the icon and the concept of faktura.

Unlike Tatlin, who visited France only briefly, Puni studied in Paris from 1910 to 1913, during which time hermetic Cubism reached its apex and was replaced in 1912 by a reassertion of the object through the introduction of collage and extraneous elements onto the canvas by Braque and Picasso. It was during this period that artists such as Archipenko, Lipchitz, Laurens and Baranov-Rossine began to explore in three dimensions the structural possibilities afforded by Cubist painting. That Puni was aware of this is evidenced by a reference in his later book, Contemporary Painting (Sovremennaiia zhivopis'), to the fact that "in 1913 or

1912 I saw Archipenko's non-objective constructions in Paris" (1). By the beginning of 1913, Archipenko was working on polychrome figures constructed from articulated planes in several materials, such as Médrano I (1912-14) and Médrano II (c1913-14), although these could not be described as non-objective sculptures. Their importance lay in the use of diverse materials to express sculptural forms for which traditional materials now proved inadequate. Although Médrano I and Médrano II are clearly figurative works, another sculpture, Carrousel Pierrot (1913), is, at first sight, more abstract with less resemblance to the human form, and may be one of the works Puni considered as "non-objective". It is possible that Puni visited Archipenko at the La Ruche studios either when he was studying in Paris, or when he returned with works for the "Salon des Indépendants" in the spring of 1914. The break away from traditional materials of sculpture had already been advocated by the Futurist Boccioni in his "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Sculpture", published in 1912, in which he cited "glass, wood, cardboard, cement, concrete, horsehair, leather, cloth, mirrors, electric lights etc." as possible materials for the artist, whom he exhorted to "refuse to accept the exclusive nature of a single material in the construction of a sculptural whole" (2). Living in Paris in 1912, Puni would probably also have been aware of Boccioni's sculptures, as well as those of Archipenko. Moreover, by 1913, Picasso had extended his own examination of volume into three-dimensional constructions of Musical Instruments.

Puni's own papiers collés such as Boots and Chair (Fig. 3.9), dating from 1914, after his return from Paris, show an understanding of the use of collage by Braque and Picasso as a space-defining element (3). His interest in the creation of ambiguities between surface and depth on the two-dimensional canvas may have been additionally prompted by the papiers collés of Juan Gris, which he could have seen in 1914, such as Glasses and Newspaper (1914), with their spatial complexities and illusions.

Puni subsequently expanded his use of collage to incorporate strips of wood nailed to the canvas in The Accordion (c1914; Fig. 5.1), so that the painting extends outwards from the picture plane even more. The action of light on these real strips of wood, covered in brown paper, establishes troughs of shadow and has a similar effect to the use of charcoal shading on the papier colle Boots and Chair, by setting up an interplay between surface and depth on the canvas. There are four additional vertical strips of painted wood, and a row of white dots painted onto a strip of paint imitating woodgrain recalls the keys of the accordion, as the circle of dots in the bottom left of the canvas suggests its sound-holes. The musical associations of the accordion are pursued throughout the work with bars of music and treble clefs. Puni is using both painted and real elements in order to identify his object in the manner of synthetic Cubism. As such, his work can also be related to Popova's and Tatlin's analysis of form in The Clock (Fig. 2.25) and The Bottle (1913). Like these two works, Puni's Accordion has been fragmented to reveal its structure and

component parts according to the principles of Cubist analysis. It also shows an awareness of Picasso's use of papiers collés and different textures after 1912 to identify his objects and build up a pictorial image on the canvas. Like Popova in The Clock, Puni suggests the material of the accordion with imitation woodgrain. He recreates the concertina shape of the instrument through the real strips of wood, in a similar way to that in which Tatlin identifies the nature and shape of the bottle in his painterly relief by means of glass and a curved sheet of metal. Puni further maintains a link with Cubism by incorporating fragments of words onto the canvas, mixing the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets. The bright greens and blues and the decorative quality of The Accordion, with the daubs of paint creating a mosaic-like pattern in certain areas of the canvas, relate it particularly to synthetic Cubism. Puni's concern to articulate different painterly surfaces reflects Picasso's increased use of varied textures in his works after 1912, for example, mixing paint with sawdust or plaster. An interest in the painterly surface was also a Russian concern, related to the concept of faktura. The Accordion, however, is not concerned solely with an analysis of abstract form and material, but is still a representational work like Tatlin's Bottle relief (4).

Faktura involved the working of material to bring out and enhance the inner qualities of that material, its potential to assert its own tangibility and presence as a self-contained element. As a technique faktura was not new, for it was an

integral part of the artistic tradition of the Russian icon. Here, the power of expression of the forms derived both from the intensity and the resonance of the colours, which 'lived' themselves as much as the forms they depicted, and from the contrast between the material quality of the paints and the presence of real material elements in the form of metal oklady and rizy (the mountings attached to icons, see Figs. 5.3 and 5.17). Faktura was also a feature of the Futurist poetry of zaum, in which Khlebnikov and Kruchenykh sought to revitalize language by rejecting the specific meanings of words and liberating the sounds ('textures') of individual letters to create a new 'transrational' reality (5). For Russian artists, faktura was able to provide a different central focus altogether from Cubism, allowing for concentration on the medium and technique of painting rather than on the object, so that material itself became the determinant of form.

It was this vital quality of material, its intensity, which almost overwhelms the actual subject-matter, that the critic A. Rostislavov had in mind when he spoke of the "saturation of faktura" in works by Malevich, Exter, Rozanova and Puni exhibited at the "First Futurist Exhibition of Paintings, Tramway V" in March 1915 (6). One such work was Puni's relief The Cardplayers (c1914-15; whereabouts unknown). This combined painted planes with wallpaper and real pieces of metal, wood and cardboard, so that the inner qualities of each material could resound and the diverse textures combine to create a powerful material presence of the

forms themselves. Unlike The Accordion, this work apparently made no attempt to identify the subject alluded to in the relief's title. Puni's concern had thus shifted from the analysis of an identifiable object to an investigation of the interrelationships and properties of materials per se.

In 1914 the critic Waldemar Matvejs (writing under the pseudonym of Vladimir Markov) published The Principles of Creativity in the Plastic Arts: Faktura (Printsipy tvorchestva y plasticheskikh iskusstvakh: Faktura), in which he defined faktura as

"the decoration and working of material, enabling us to extract from it all its inherent forms and 'noises'." (7)

This reference to the inner 'noise' of material was echoed by Nikolai Tarabukin in A Tentative Theory of Painting (Opyt teorii zhiyopisi), where he spoke of the relative "resonances" and intensities of materials and paint in constructions made from different materials, and stated that:

"In painting and in art in general, the problem of materials must be considered separately, in that the artist must acquire a developed sense of materials, he must feel the inherent characteristics of each material which of themselves condition the construction of the object. The material dictates the forms and not the opposite. Wood, metal, glass etc., impose different Constructions. Consequently, the constructivist organisation of an object depends on the materials used: the study of diverse materials constitutes an important and autonomous consideration." (8)

Although this passage specifically relates to the "culture of materials" developed in Tatlin's counter-reliefs and corner counter-reliefs, an awareness of material and faktura as concerns independent from the object was also shared by Tatlin's

contemporaries. Writing in 1919, Puni referred to the construction of materials and to different faktura in Cubo-Futurist art. Acknowledging that the object could act as a stimulus for the use of certain materials, he nevertheless asserted the primacy of material, declaring that "the nature of the material or faktura need by no means be dictated directly by the object depicted" (9). In citing this use of materials other than those associated with a specific object, Puni referred the reader to the work of Archipenko (10). Recent commentaries have also suggested that, despite the obvious formal impetus of Cubism on Archipenko, his sculptural aesthetic may equally have been founded on the Russian concepts of faktura and material, as well as on the tradition of the icon (11). Archipenko often exploited faktura for the purposes of illusion, using, for example, materials with reflective qualities, such as sheet metal, shiny metal foil or glass (Woman in front of a Mirror, 1914; destroyed; Before the Mirror (In the Boudoir), 1915; Fig. 5.2). Although this use of faktura differed from that employed by Tatlin, and remained linked to figurative depiction, Archipenko showed a similar sensitivity towards the intrinsic qualities of materials.

In The Principles of Creativity in the Plastic Arts: Faktura, Markov recognised the use of different materials by contemporary artists and saw as a precedent the use of diverse textures (faktura) in the icon:

"But let us think of our icons; they are embellished with metal halos, metal casings on the shoulders, fringes and incrustations. We even have examples of paintings decorated with precious stones and metals etc. All of

this destroys our contemporary understanding of the painting medium... Of course, we need to admire a single material in isolation. But our soul contains an irrepressible urge to... combine this with other materials... Through the resonance of the colours, the sound of the materials, the assemblage of textures (faktura), the people are called to beauty, to religion, to God... The Russian people paints its icons: of the Virgin, Saint or others. These are non-real images. The real world is introduced into the essence of the icon only through the assemblage and incrustation of real, tangible objects. One could say that this produces a combat between two worlds, the inner... and outer." (12)

The crucial role that the icon plays for the Russian avant-garde is encapsulated by Markov in this reference to the "combat between two worlds", that is, between the concrete assemblage of materials and the spiritual 'essence' of the icon. For the icon operates on two levels: on the one it represents the combination of diverse materials and faktura through the use of differently textured paints, grounds and metal embellishments (Fig. 5.3), but, on the other, it stands for the transformation of reality and represents the "transfigured state of beings and things" (13). The significance of the icon was outlined by the Russian collector Ilya Ostroukhov, who had been Matisse's guide through the collections of icons and the Moscow cathedrals and monasteries in 1911:

"The icon takes us into an absolutely special world, one which has nothing in common with the world of painting - into the world beyond, a world created by faith and filled with representations of the spirit, not of the flesh. This world is unreal and therefore it is implausible to approach the icon with demands that it embody real problems of earthly phenomena..." (14)

The materials of a painted icon do not merely represent a sacred image, but the image itself becomes that sacred persona - the icon is traditionally seen in Russia as the actual transubstantiation of the face of Christ or the Madonna. Hence the icon contains within

itself the transformation of reality from the concrete (earthly) to the abstract and infinite (spiritual). When the twofold nature of the icon is seen within the Russian avant-garde context of concerns with the fourth dimension and of Khlebnikov's vision of a transrational, universal reality, its true significance as both a visual and 'spiritual' (metaphysical) stimulus emerges. Indeed, Russian artists were as aware of the importance of the icon as was Markov. Larionov had his own collection and organised an exhibition of icons and lubki in 1913, the same year in which there was an exhibition of icons to celebrate three hundred years of Romanov rule in Russia (15). Matisse, visiting Russia in 1911, had already declared the icon to be "the primary source of artistic endeavour", and Tatlin acknowledged his own debt to the icon when he stated that "if it wasn't for the icons I should have remained preoccupied with water-drips, sponges, rags and aquarelles" (16). Indeed, the notion of the transformation of reality which lies at the very essence of the icon is crucial to an understanding of the experiments of the Russian avant-garde in general and of Ivan Puni in particular.

Of all the Russian artists, Tatlin stuck most rigidly to the concept of the "culture of materials", using only those forms inherent in the commonplace materials that he used (wood, glass and metal), and exploiting wherever possible their natural colours (Fig. 5.4). Tarabukin's description of the contemporary artist's reverential "piety towards material" is especially appropriate to Tatlin (17). His counter-reliefs and corner counter-reliefs are an

investigation into the faktura and 'inner rhythms' of different materials. Through their combination, Tatlin sought to resolve the tensions generated between them and to reveal an underlying rhythmic and linear structure. Tarabukin called this process

"the creative organization of the elements of a work of art, with the aim of expressing in them the idea of unity where an internal law is expressed in the external logical link between parts" (18).

All the contrasts, tensions and rhythms of Tatlin's reliefs were generated entirely by the interrelationships of his material elements with each other and with the surrounding space.

In contrast to Tatlin's assemblages of real materials, Malevich's Suprematism concerned itself with the sensation of conceptual, infinite space on the flat painted plane. Solely by means of simple planes of colour on the two-dimensional canvas, sometimes placed along a diagonal, Malevich sought to evoke a multi-dimensional, weightless, 'cosmic' space, in which the transformation of consciousness onto a higher plane of existence took place. It is the concept of a metaphysical space within another dimension, and the iconic symbolism of Malevich's Black Square, which are important in the context of Puni's own non-objective constructions. The identification of the Black Square with the Russian icon, the 'face of God', has been well documented by Sherwin Simmons (19). The Black Square was first exhibited at the "Last Futurist Exhibition 0,10" in December 1915, and was deliberately hung diagonally across one of the upper corners of the exhibiting room in the place traditionally used in Russian homes for the icon (Fig. 5.5). Thus, the association

between his Black Square and the image of an icon was clearly intended by Malevich. The symbolism of this gesture was noticed by critics of the exhibition, in particular by Benois:

"...high in the corner, under the very ceiling, in a holy place, had been hung the 'creation' undoubtedly of the very same Malevich, who portrayed a black square on a white ground. Undoubtedly, this is the very icon which the gentlemen Futurists prefer to Madonnas and shameless Venuses..." (20)

However, this was no mockery of the Russian icon, as Benois believed, but Malevich's own contemporary icon, a sign of his evolution into a transformed state. The essence of the icon, as a manifestation of the transformation from the concrete to the spiritual, inspired Malevich's own approach in his Black Square. Just as the icon was perceived as perfect or 'absolute' form, so too Malevich viewed his Black Square as 'absolute' form, the assertion that his consciousness had been transformed, released from the laws of conventional logic in the three-dimensional world into the vast, infinite space of the fourth dimension.

A number of reasons may be posited as an explanation for Puni's own interest in three-dimensional relief constructions, which he made between c1914 and 1919. In Contemporary Painting, he acknowledged that the structural and spatial tasks set by Cubism in painting led naturally to an examination of these problems in three dimensions and that, with the introduction of collage, a new 'reality of materials' paralleled the reality of the object (21). Puni then described how Russian artists reworked this concern with the 'reality of materials' to develop completely self-referential relief constructions. In this context, Puni referred specifically

to the reliefs and counter-reliefs of Tatlin (22). Yet, for Puni, a concentration on materials alone, in isolation, was erroneous, for the work then "loses its link with art" and becomes no more than a "constructive ornament, a clue without a riddle" (23). This would suggest that he viewed the relief as more than the expression of a "culture of materials", and that he believed that form alone was insufficient without an inner logic or content.

Puni's initial interest in the relief may not only have been prompted by the example of Cubism, but also by that of the icon. As Christina Lodder indicates, the interest in the Russian icon during this period was almost certainly one of the contributory factors in the development of the relief (24). This may not only have been as a result of the icon's manipulation of faktura, but also due to the actual composition and idea of the icon. The latter consisted of a ground plane, upon which the sacred image was portrayed. Often the use of dark colours for the image against a lighter ground, or the addition of metallic embellishments, highlighted the image and brought it outwards from the plane and away from its ground, in exactly the same manner as the reliefs constructed by Tatlin and Puni, and as Malevich's Black Square stands out against its light background through the polarity of the black and white. The apex of perspective in the icon moves outwards towards the viewer rather than the traditional receding perspective of European painting, so that, through the absence of any point of reference, the ground in the icon appears as infinite space. Mikhail Alpatov has described this space as "a derivative

of the inner life of the icon... consequently [it] cannot be measured" (25). It is this suggestion of infinity, embodied within the icon, which is taken up by both Malevich and Puni in their respective two- and three-dimensional works.

In formal terms, the interplay between suggested relief and the illusion of depth was one which Puni had already explored in his collages of 1914, and the balance of tensions between surface and space remained one of his principle formal concerns throughout this period. Another of Puni's main interests was that of trompe l'oeil or "trickery" as he described his delight in visual puns and illusory devices (26). His penchant for the former has already been seen in his relief Still-life - Relief with Hammer of 1914 (Fig. 3.13). In Contemporary Painting, he recalls the trompe l'oeil effects of Cubism, drawing the image of a nail and its shadow onto the background plane so that the viewer should sense that plane and, consequently, the space between it and the foreground plane (27). Indeed, much of Puni's dialogue concerns the painterly creation of sensations of depth or of the surface plane. One of his conclusions is that, owing to the faktura of materials, genuinely flat, two-dimensional painting is impossible, because the different colours on wallpaper will create depth through their advancement and recession, the wood of a signboard has its own weight and tangibility, and paint can be applied thickly or thinly (28). Puni's reference to signboard painting in his essay is interesting, as he makes specific mention of the material sensation of the ground plane:

"...the majority [of signboards] are painted on wood or iron and both of these materials, painted over as background, impart a unique and weighty sensation of a certain tangibility. We can sense extremely well the sticky paint which lies heavily on the iron and this sensation means that we sense the object first and foremost as a plane and then as a still-life and a background." (29)

Like the signboard, the ground plane of an icon equally has its own faktura. Puni's awareness of faktura here is borne out in his reliefs and particularly in his use of a wooden ground as, for example, in White Ball (Fig. 5.6), where the real box evokes the simple wooden grounds of icons, even down to the split in the wood (Fig. 5.7). On several occasions Puni provided alternate grounds of natural, unpainted wood or painted wood for the same projecting relief elements (for example, Composition, c1915-16, Figs. 5.13 and 5.14; Sculpture, c1915-16, Figs. 5.15 and 5.16). This suggests that he was aware that the ground plane was not merely a foil for the other elements, but that it had its own material presence, its faktura, which could affect and interrelate with those elements attached to it. Hence, in his own reliefs, Puni acknowledged the material identity of the ground plane which he saw in the signboard and which is also a feature of the icon. This, in turn, allowed for the interplay between fore- and background planes, parallel to that present within the icon.

At the time of the "Last Futurist Exhibition 0,10" in December 1915, when Malevich first exhibited his Suprematist paintings, Matiushin declared that Puni did not understand the implications of Malevich's new space (30). However, an examination of Puni's reliefs suggests that he understood Malevich's Suprematist space

very well. His constant juxtaposition of light and dark tones, in particular black and white, shows his awareness of the space-defining properties of such contrasts. Puni, in fact, uses black in the same way as Malevich to evoke the sensation of infinite emptiness. This can be seen in White Ball (Fig. 5.6) and in Cubo-Sculpture of c1915-16 (Fig. 5.10). The latter is particularly interesting as it contains perspectival lines receding from the edge of the ground plane towards a small black square in the centre - the combination of these lines with the black creates a remarkable sensation of space. This is a superb example of Puni's use of illusory devices to set up an interplay between surface and depth. A similar use of drawn lines is also found in one of Puni's two-dimensional paintings, Composition (c1915; Fig. 5.12). Here, they are drawn onto a white plane to produce the twofold sensation of the three sides of a protruding solid cube or the interior of a box-shape, instead of a flat, Suprematist plane. Within the same composition, Puni 'builds up' groups of planes to make them resemble three-dimensional solids and places a black plane on top of a lighter one to create a feeling of distance between them. Hence, although this is a painting which utilizes Suprematist shapes in conceptual space, it also reflects a number of formal devices which Puni employed to explore his interest in the visual ambiguities of surface and depth.

In discussing Malevich's Suprematism and his Black Square, Larissa Zhadova refers to a set of diagrams which were used as a model for the optical perception of space by Wilhelm Wundt, one of

the founders of experimental psychology, in his book Outline of Psychology, which was published in Russian translation in 1912 (Fig. 5.11) (31). By concentrating on the smaller square, the diagram is seen as a raised pyramid with its apex at the centre of vision. Alternatively, by concentrating on the larger square, the diagram appears as a retreating hole with its apex on the horizon. Puni's relief Cubo-Sculpture has been constructed according to the same principles. However long one looks at this relief, it is very hard to conceive of the ground as being flat. Owing to the presence of relief elements attached to the ground plane, which cut off movement forwards, the impression of a raised pyramid is not as great as that of spatial recession backwards from the surface plane. This impression is enhanced by Puni's use of white paint for three of the pyramid's sides, and of the perspectival lines, which direct the viewer's gaze into the small black square of emptiness in the centre. Hence, what seems a genuine retreating pyramidal hole to the viewer, is no more than the illusion of space. In Cubo-Sculpture, Puni has also subverted the conventional notion of a relief as a projection outwards into the viewer's space, by creating the converse sensation of movement backwards.

El Lissitzky's declaration that

"Suprematism has advanced the ultimate tip of the visual pyramid of perspective into infinity... Suprematist space may be formed not only forward from the plane, but also backward in depth..." (32)

is equally applicable to Puni's Cubo-Sculpture. Puni's use of a black square in this relief suggests that it post-dates Malevich's two-dimensional Black Square, but that he clearly understood the

implications of Malevich's Suprematist forms and space and exploited them for his own purposes of illusion.

Puni used the same technique of drawn lines to create an illusion of depth and space in another relief, Sculpture (c1916; Collection Dina Vierny, Paris), where the combination of perspectival lines and gouache, applied to the ground of natural wood, create the twofold impression of a raised platform, or of a box within which the relief elements have been placed. It also implies a greater distance between the fore- and background planes than actually exists. This brightly coloured sculpture, with its allusion to a box-like frame, is a clever complement to the relief White Ball, which has as its background a real box.

Margit Rowell observes an "austere iconic structure" in Puni's Cubo-sculpture (33). This same iconic structure is noted in Archipenko's Woman with a Fan of 1914 (Fig. 5.8) (34). Indeed, within Archipenko's relief there are several features common to Puni's own three-dimensional work. Both artists combine pictorial effects (lines of perspective and colour to create illusionistic space) with real volumes, making use of real and fictitious space. What is also noticeable is Archipenko's use of lines to make the frame resemble a niche within which the figure is set, similar to Puni's 'natural' frame provided by the sides of his wooden box in White Ball above. The influence of the icon on Archipenko here is very strong, both in the depiction of a central figure portrayed on a ground, and in the suggestion of a halo which is made by setting the plane of the figure's hair at an angle and by repeating the

outline of the head as a shadow on the ground plane. The suggestion of a halo signifies that the image is sacred, non-real. As Margit Rowell indicates, the combination within this relief of commonplace, real materials (including a glass bottle and metal funnel) and the allusion to a sacred image, captures the same union of the concrete (earthly) and the abstract (spiritual) which exists in the icon (35). Sharing similar artistic sources in the uniquely Russian concerns of faktura and the icon, Archipenko aroused interest amongst the Russian avant-garde, even though he was working in France. His polychrome constructions were clearly an influence on Ivan Kliun's three-dimensional work Cubist Woman at her Dressing Table (c1914-15; whereabouts unknown), and Benedikt Livshits possessed illustrations of his Woman in front of a Mirror and Portrait of Madame Archipenko (1914; destroyed). Archipenko exhibited with Exter, Kul'bin and Rozanova in the Russian section of the "International Futurist Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture" in Rome in the spring of 1914, shortly after he had shown at the Paris "Salon des Indépendants" in March and April (36). His construction Médrano II was illustrated in Ogonek in March 1914, together with other works from the Salon (37). Puni himself was in Paris at this time and showed his works, together with those of the Burliuk brothers, Matiushin and Malevich at the same exhibition. Judging by the fact that Puni recalled seeing Archipenko's constructions in 1912 or 1913 and, in 1919, paid tribute to his use of material, it is possible that Archipenko was an early influence on his exploitation of the illusionistic potential of the relief, made possible by the combination of

pictorial effects with real volumes. Archipenko moved to Berlin in 1921. The existence of a caricature by Puni of Archipenko, which was drawn in Germany in 1921 while Puni was preparing his exhibition at Der Sturm Gallery in Berlin, suggests that the two artists met and were acquainted with each other at this time, and may well have known each other earlier (38).

A common feature of Puni's and Archipenko's reliefs is a delight in trompe l'oeil and illusion. Archipenko's use of illusion in the grounds of his constructions is particularly evident in the two reliefs, for which Livshits had reproductions, as well as in Woman with a Fan and a number of sculpto-paintings of 1915, such as Before the Mirror (In the Boudoir; Fig. 5.2), and Oval Mirror Reflecting Woman (1915; destroyed). Apart from demonstrating optical tricks and ambiguities afforded by mirror compositions, both of these sculpto-paintings incorporate a 'frame within a frame', which provides a further link with Puni's allusions to frames in his own relief constructions. Archipenko's sculpto-paintings were themselves essentially reliefs which combined real, three-dimensional materials with illusionistic pictorial effects.

The association of Archipenko's Woman with a Fan with the icon can perhaps suggest a further interpretation for Puni's extensive use of shadows in his own reliefs. In formal terms, Puni's exploitation of real and simulated shadows accentuates the sensation of depth and of the distance between fore- and background planes, as in Sculpture above (c1916; Collection Dina Vierny) and

in Composition (c1915; Musée National d'Art Moderne). However, through the link with Ouspensky and the fourth dimension, as well as with Khlebnikov's vision of transrational reality, it has been established that the shadow is also important for Puni as a device for illusion and as a 'hint' at another, universal reality in a higher dimension. Thus it represents the abstract, non-material aspect of Puni's artistic vision, in the same way as Archipenko's shadow in Woman with a Fan suggests a non-real, sacred image. In those reliefs by Puni which use real, everyday objects, such as Still-life - Relief with Hammer (Fig. 3.13), White Ball and Relief with a Plate (Fig. 4.6), the real objects lose their original identity and take on other meanings within this 'abstract' vision of reality. This is exactly the same concept of the transformation of reality as embodied within the icon, where the real, painted image becomes the sacred, non-real persona. A link can therefore be established between Khlebnikov's transrational reality, its visual interpretation in Puni's reliefs, and the spiritual content of the Russian icon. Puni's reliefs consequently assume an iconic quality, not only in their similar use of wooden grounds and in their illusion of infinite space, but in the very artistic vision which inspired them. The 'cosmic' space which White Ball and Relief with a Plate evoke, is also a 'spiritual' dimension and the shadows around the circular forms, like halos, hint at the spiritual, the metaphysical and the non-real. This, then, is the abstract vision which Puni allies to the concepts of material and construction - the "secret" which prevents his reliefs from being "constructive ornament", a "clue without a riddle" or, indeed, mere

objects.

Nowhere is the analogy with the icon clearer than in White Ball, where the box functions in exactly the same way as the icon, with its painted frame leading the viewer into the abstract reality. Puni has painted the sides of his box as an extension of the ground, thereby paralleling the raised bevel of the icon. In the latter, the halo of the Virgin or Saint extends upwards into the bevel (Fig. 5.9); likewise, the shadow from Puni's White Ball extends into the natural 'frame' of the wooden box. It is not known exactly how the relief White Ball was hung at "0,10" and there is no record of how Puni intended it to be exhibited. Consequently, although reproductions have hitherto shown the relief horizontally, it is equally possible that it was hung vertically, with the white plaster ball in the upper left hand corner (Fig. 5.6). Viewed from this standpoint, the analogy with the icon is even stronger, as the position of the plaster ball and its shadow matches the head and halo of the sacred persona in the icon and the now vertical split in the wood echoes that found on the wooden grounds of the icon (Fig. 5.7). Hence, Puni's White Ball contains all the elements of the icon, both material and 'spiritual'. Exhibited at "The Last Futurist Exhibition 0,10" together with Malevich's Black Square, it can be seen to also function as a modern icon, and as a pendant to Malevich's own Suprematist painting - a statement, equally as valid, concerning the new 'transrational' perception of reality.

During 1915 and 1916, Puni executed a large number of abstract reliefs, some incorporating real, everyday objects, others using shapes taken from Suprematist painting. This large output can perhaps be explained by the fact that these were seen primarily as experimental constructions, in which Puni pursued his formal interests in the structural potential of Suprematist forms to establish an interplay between surface and depth. In Contemporary Painting Puni states:

"...non-objective construction (in Russia) as an art form unavoidably had to and indeed did turn into an analytical art, into a series of experiments, both simple and complex. Examples are the works of Malevich, my own works from that time and those of Rodchenko, Rozanova, Bruni and others." (39)

The experimental nature of these reliefs is further suggested by the fact that Puni varied the grounds for several of them, studying the effects on the reliefs of differently textured grounds.

The two versions of Composition, (c1915-16; Figs, 5.13 and 5.14) and of Sculpture, (c1915-16; Figs. 5.15 and 5.16) are both set against alternate grounds of natural wood and wood painted white, and show the varying effects Puni was able to obtain using different grounds and colour contrasts. Indeed, the respective tones and colours of each sculpture clearly indicate that Puni worked towards an overall, harmonious combination of the forms, their materials and colours, whether natural or painted. To the painted white ground of Composition (Fig. 5.13), Puni has attached a metal plate, part of which has been painted. The upper half has been left unpainted, revealing the natural, reflective qualities of the material, which again recalls the example of Archipenko, as

well as that of Tatlin. Apart from this section of metal, in which the other forms of the relief are reflected, the sculpture contains a square piece of glass through which, owing to its innate transparency, the forms behind are visible. Thus the entire sculpture can be seen as a play on different surfaces and their qualities, exploited to maximum effect. The colours of this particular relief are restricted to black, grey and white, which harmonize with the natural features of the metal and transparent glass. A desire for overall equilibrium can be detected in the minutest details - the small piece of wood attached to a metal cylinder in the upper section of the relief and reflected in the metal background plate, is painted in white with its edges trimmed in black. To counterbalance this, the point at which the transparent plane of glass meets the black section of wood has been emphasized by a white line painted around the edges, paralleling the black line around the white form above. These clearly defined edges of each shape also heighten the forms in relation to each other and create the illusion of a greater distance between them than actually exists. This illusion of space is accentuated by the shadows cast by the forms onto each other and onto the background metal plate. As well as the 'true' shadow of those forms reflected in the metal plate, Puni has painted shading underneath the lower curved section of metal, juxtaposing real and illusory shadows. As in his other reliefs, the paint on the curved shapes is graded from dark grey at the edges to white in the centre, so that they are highlighted in a manner similar to the forms in Popova's contemporary painterly reliefs, such as Relief (Portrait, 1915;

Fig. 2.19). The rather subdued tones of Composition are not to be found in the other version of the same relief (Fig. 5.14). This is largely due to the fact that the ground plane of the latter is natural wood, in accordance with which the smaller plane, to which the forms of the relief are attached, is now also painted wood and not metal. The ground of this relief demonstrates particularly well the material quality of the wood which Puni was able to exploit, with its grain, knots and fissures, contrasting in its solidity with the smooth sheen and frailty of the transparent plate of glass.

Like Composition (Fig. 5.13), the version of Sculpture which has a ground of wood painted white (Fig. 5.15) gives an overall impression of muted tones and colours, mainly ochre/sand with silver, grey and metallic combinations, which is in harmony with the materials used and with their natural qualities. Hence, some of the sections of cardboard have been left their natural sandy colour, or painted over lightly in a similar tone, and the metal cylinder has been painted in tones of grey, silver and white. Another section of metal is left unpainted. Once again, the sense of an overall desired harmony between the forms, their colours and their ground, is very strong. The different effects, obtained simply by changing the various colours of the relief elements, or of the ground, can be seen by comparing Sculpture with the other version of the same relief (Fig. 5.16). What is immediately noticeable in the latter is the use of bright colours of blue, red and yellow, which, together with the shapes themselves, recall the

forms of Suprematist painting. This relief further demonstrates Puni's interest in the various surfaces of materials and paint, as already seen in Composition above. One of the sections of wood has been covered in a silvery paper, the reflective qualities of which contrast with the matt paint of the other forms and with the pitted surface of the wooden ground.

The fact that Puni painted and shaded virtually all the material elements in his reliefs may initially suggest less interest on his part in the intrinsic qualities of materials in comparison to that exemplified by Tatlin in his counter-reliefs. Nevertheless, there are references to the fact that Tatlin himself sometimes coloured sections of wood or metal and even used smoke to darken his surfaces, or a kerosene lamp "to blacken different surfaces for shadow..." (40). Hence, the act of painting over a piece of metal or wood with gouache, or darkening it by means of artificial methods, did not necessarily detract from the faktura of the material. Rather it created an additional interplay between the faktura of the paint and the faktura of the material itself, as Markov had already suggested with respect to the icon:

"...through the enslavement of one material by another (covering with varnish), or through the interaction of several materials, a new faktura can be obtained..." (41)

In Sculpture (c1915; Collection Ludwig Museum, Cologne), Puni partially painted over the surface of a strip of corrugated iron, in order to heighten both the sense of shadow and the contrast between the shaded areas of paint and the natural highlights of the metal. By so doing, he also established a tension, within the one

form, between the two textures (faktura) of the coarsely applied paint and the smooth, natural and untreated metal.

The significance of Sculpture (Fig. 5.16), however, lies not only in the complex arrangement of its formal elements and their relation to the wooden ground, but in its whole symbolic relation to the icon. As in White Ball, the association with the icon is suggested by the wooden ground itself, which has the same splits and fissures as found in the ground of an icon (Fig. 5.7). However, unlike the latter, the visual 'image' has been removed from Puni's relief - the material elements of cardboard and metal remain, like the oklad and riza of the icon, which surrounded and covered the painted form except for the face and hands (Fig. 5.17). In Sculpture there is no face. The projecting geometric forms of the relief are like the external 'clothing' for an image which has itself been removed. The idea behind this relief relates Puni's work to the non-objective paintings of Malevich and Kandinsky, for whom the hidden 'content' of non-objective art involved more than a "reality of materials", embracing metaphysical and spiritual considerations as well.

In his later writings, Kandinsky repeatedly stresses that non-objective art does not mean art without content, but that "the content of the work is realized exclusively by purely pictorial means" (42). In this way, the formal combination of materials is only part of the interpretation of a work of art - the formal elements are the 'clothing', behind which lies the true content of a renewed spiritual and universal perception of reality. Thus

Kandinsky writes that "one should...not attach so much importance to form", continuing that:

"thanks to the materialism of the nineteenth century, we have...become too accustomed to take the external for the internal, hence failing to experience the content within form" (43).

In a vivid analogy Kandinsky declares that "form without content is not a hand, but an empty glove filled with air" (44). In his own works, the spiritual content is veiled and 'hidden' behind abstracted patches of colour and line and, later, behind geometric shapes. In the same way, the 'content' of Malevich's Suprematism is a transformed consciousness of a cosmic, four-dimensional space. In his essay "God is not Cast Down", Malevich concluded that God exists as "nothingness", as non-objectivity. He saw his own Black Square as the modern "face of God", that is, as the perfect visual symbol for the "nothingness" that is God, for the "empty wilderness [where] transformation can take place" (45). In the same essay Malevich stated:

"...disappearance from view does not mean that everything has disappeared. Appearances are destroyed, but not the essence..." (46)

Elsewhere he observed that:

"Nature is hidden in infinity and many-sidedness and does not reveal itself in things; in its manifestations it has neither tongue nor form, it is infinite and boundless" (47).

It is for this reason that Malevich gradually reduced 'to zero' the content (in terms of a visual image) of his paintings in his Alogist works of 1914-15, to a point where it was only implied in The Black Square. In the same way, Kandinsky gradually reduced his content to abstract colour and line until the image was finally

removed and the symbol or visual 'clue' alone remained (48). In Malevich's Suprematist paintings, in Kandinsky's non-objective canvases and in Puni's Sculpture, the visual image has disappeared, but the vital content remains and is implied through the forms. Indeed, Puni seems to have left a clear space on the wooden ground of his construction where, in the icon, the face of the sacred persona would be depicted. Like Malevich's Black Square, this 'empty space' is the "face of the new art". In the same tradition as the icon, Puni incorporates within his forms a suggestion of a universal truth which exists in another dimension to the actual material elements and which is the new content of the new art. In 1935 Kandinsky wrote in his aptly titled essay, "Empty Canvases":

"...the 'action' in the picture must not take place on the surface of the physical canvas, but 'somewhere' in 'illusory' space. Through a 'lie' (abstraction), truth must speak..." (49)

This sense of an infinite space which lies 'outwith the bounds of the frame' is common to Puni, Malevich and Kandinsky. Puni was aware of the spatial dimension to Kandinsky's canvases when he stated in Contemporary Painting:

"Kandinsky's paintings are not flat paintings; he works in depth, in space. He works with fore- and background planes..." (50)

Puni recognized Kandinsky's use of advancing and receding colours to create distance and "incommensurable depths" on the canvas, and this technique relates to Puni's own use of colour in his reliefs and to the coloured planes of Malevich's Suprematist paintings (51). The concept of going 'beyond the frame' has its source in the icon, where the frame leads the viewer into the non-material,

spiritual reality. Indeed, the very symbolism of the icon is based on the idea that

"absolutely everything in the world is only a covering which obscures the true meaning, the essence, [so that] the artist... by portraying one object... can give an idea of many other things and... of the world as a whole" (52).

Like the icon, the work of art operates on two levels: on the formal level of the relationships of geometric shapes and materials to each other, of faktura and the interplay between surface and space, and on the spiritual (metaphysical) level, whereby the forms imply the true, hidden, content. In 1931 Kandinsky referred to

"that newly acquired faculty that enables man to touch under the skin of Nature its essence, its 'content'" (53).

The forms of Puni's Sculpture are but this "skin", the outer clothing for a completely transformed sensibility of reality, in the same way as the forms of the icon allow the viewer to "penetrate to the truth, to touch upon the supreme mystery of life..." (54).

Puni's formal experiments in his reliefs of 1915 and 1916 suggest that he had a precise understanding of the workings of material (faktura), and of the spatial and structural implications of Malevich's Black Square. He created an interplay between surface and space through the exploitation of spatial effects achieved from the polarity of black and white, like Malevich, and through the use of drawn lines of perspective. Moreover, through his exploration of the faktura of the ground plane, which indicates his continued awareness of and sensitivity towards material, Puni

was also able to discover its cosmic and iconic potential for his own art. In this way, he attained the same suggestion of infinity in reliefs like White Ball and Relief with a Plate as exists in the wooden ground of an icon. Despite the medium of the three-dimensional relief, Puni's space, unlike Tatlin's, is essentially an abstract, metaphysical concept which echoes that of the icon. The importance of both a cosmic and an iconic association in Puni's works is supported by features which recur consistently, not only in his three-dimensional reliefs, but also in his more figurative still-lives of 1917 and 1918. Such features include his use of a wooden ground, repeated references to frames and illusionistic space, and the constant exploitation of shadows and circular shapes to evoke planetary forms. Apart from the plate in Relief with a Plate, these circular shapes generally take the form of a billiard ball, as in White Ball (1915), Sculpture (c1916, Collection Dina Vierny, Paris) and in the painting Still-life with Pink Vase and Billiards Triangle of 1917 (Fig. 5.18).

Puni's figurative still-lives of 1917 and 1918 should, in fact, be viewed as part of the same formal exploration of the potential of Suprematist shapes to establish illusions of surface and depth as pursued in his non-objective reliefs. These figurative works were described in the preface to the catalogue for Puni's 1921 exhibition in Berlin as examples of "constructive realism", in which "Puni combines Cubo-Futurist and Suprematist constructions with the principle of the division of the painterly surface" (55). Indeed, the relief-like nature of the wallpaper and

the sharp contrast between light and dark tones on the jug in Still-life with Pink Vase and Billiards Triangle, show that Puni was still using the same compositional techniques as in the reliefs to establish relations between surface and depth on the canvas. His treatment of the jug, balancing shaded and highlighted areas and suggestions of advancing and receding planes, is essentially the same as that used in Sculpture above (Collection Ludwig Museum, Cologne), where Puni combined the shaded areas of paint and the natural highlights of metal on the one strip of corrugated iron. Elsewhere, Puni employs the same technique on a number of disk-shapes in his reliefs, which are half-shaded and half-painted in white, as, for example, in the Maquette for a Sculpture (c1916, formerly Madame Pougny, Paris) and Suprematist Sculpture (two versions, Leonard Hutton Galleries, New York, and Private Collection, Zurich). In Contemporary Painting, Puni indicates that he pursued the same formal principles in both his non-objective and figurative works (56). The combination of figurative and non-objective elements was already a feature of Puni's three-dimensional work (for example, his inclusion of a hammer in Still-life - Relief with Hammer, Fig. 3.13; or the real saw in Sculpture - Relief with Saw, c1915; Collection Herman Berninger, Zurich). It was characteristic also of his subsequent two-dimensional drawings and paintings. This can be seen in his ink drawing The Dressmaker's Dummy (1915-16; Musée National d'Art Moderne), which deals principally with the formal contrasts of black and white and which introduces elements from his non-objective works, such as the drawn shadows of the oil-lamp and

the black square and perspectival lines of his own Cubo-Sculpture. A number of studies for paintings, drawn in 1917 and 1918, also combine figurative and Suprematist shapes, and one of these relates to the Still-life with Pink Vase and Billiards Triangle above (57). Hence, these figurative drawings and paintings are related to the formal tasks pursued by Puni in his reliefs.

In 1914 Markov wrote of the icon that "it produces a combat between two worlds... the inner and outer" (58). This combat was one between the concrete world of real materials and objects and the spiritual world of the sacred image, the non-real persona. Markov's description of the struggle between the material and the abstract (spiritual) finds a parallel in Khlebnikov's writings, in which he speaks of the "double life" of the word and of

"this battle of worlds, this battle between two powers, which is forever waged in the word [and which] produces the double life of language..." (59).

Khlebnikov had in mind the battle in language between the "self-contained" word or sound and the word which obeys reason and is restricted to a specific meaning. Transrational language liberated the word from the 'concrete world' of objects and transformed it onto another, universal plane of existence. Puni's reliefs have already been examined in relation to Khlebnikov: like the poet, Puni liberates his forms from their original identity and imbues them with other, cosmic and universal meanings. Furthermore, an examination of Puni's non-objective reliefs shows that they echo the Russian icon, both in their formal composition and in their implication of a 'spiritual' (metaphysical) content.

They are thus to be viewed in the twofold context of Khlebnikov and the icon. These in turn complement each other, for the essence of both transrational language and the icon is the transformation of consciousness onto another, higher level of existence.

Puni's reliefs executed between 1914 and 1919 constitute a series of experiments which represent his examination of the consequences of faktura, Tatlin's truth to materials and Malevich's Suprematism, in the context of his own concerns with the relation of surface to space, the Russian icon and Khlebnikov's zaum. By showing both a sensitivity towards material and construction and a concern with the transformation of reality into a higher, metaphysical dimension, Puni marries the two poles of the concrete and the spiritual within his work. One without the other is insufficient. Although Puni pursues formal, structural concerns, the vital 'cosmic' and metaphysical dimension to his art cannot be ignored. In 1919, when artists began to debate the possibilities of bringing art into a closer relationship with industrial production, Puni felt unable to support such a direction for art, as it embodied the tendency to "go outwith the bounds of a self-contained work of art... to destroy art as a separate discipline" (60). In 1915, in his statement published on the occasion of the exhibition "0,10", Puni had advocated "the aesthetic thing in itself" and rejected the object in terms of its function to depict something concrete and specific (61). For Puni, the work of art, like the icon, had to remain self-contained, embodying its own meaning within itself. Puni's resolution is

distinct from both the work of Tatlin and Malevich and yet his reliefs are just as iconic in conception as Malevich's Black Square. Indeed, it is the icon which constitutes the one fundamental link between these three artists. Each echoes it's form and function in some way in his art, whether it be the visual example of the icon's use of diverse materials and faktura, or its presence as an example of the transformation of reality within the work of art from the earthly to the spiritual dimension. Thus, Puni's non-objective reliefs, with their real projecting planes and their abstract, non-real idea of an infinite space, are a modern equivalent to the material and spiritual reality of the Russian icon.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. I. Puni, Sovremennaiia zhiyopis', L.D. Frenkel', Berlin, 1923, p.10. The book is dedicated to the memory of Khlebnikov who died in 1922.
2. Boccioni, "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Sculpture", 1912, in Apollonio: Futurist Manifestos, p.65.
3. See Chapter Three, "Zaum and its Influence on the Reworking of Cubist Collage by Russian Artists, 1914-1916".
4. For an analysis of Tatlin's Bottle relief see Lodder, Russian Constructivism, p.14.
5. For a definition of zaum see Chapter Three, "Zaum and its Influence on the Reworking of Cubist Collage by Russian Artists, 1914-1916"; and for Khlebnikov's transrational language see Chapter Four, "Khlebnikov and Puni: Rediscovering the Language of the Stars".
6. A. Rostislavov, "Po povodu vystavki futuristov" ["Concerning the Futurists' Exhibition"], Vechernie izvestia, No.719, 23 March 1915, p.4.
7. Vladimir Markov, Printsipy tvorchestva y plasticheskikh iskusstvakh: Faktura, St.Petersburg, 1914, pp.1-2.
8. Nikolai Tarabukin, Opyt teorii zhiyopisi, "Vserossiiskii proletkul't", Moscow, [1916] 1923, p.32.
9. Puni, "Sovremennye gruppirovki v russkom levom iskusstve" ["Contemporary Groups in Russian Leftist Art"], Iskusstvo kommuny, No.19, 13 April 1919, pp.2-3.
10. ibid. No specific constructions by Archipenko are cited.
11. Margit Rowell, The Planar Dimension. Europe 1912-1932, The Guggenheim Museum, New York, 1979, pp.18-20.
12. Markov, Printsipy tvorchestva, pp.54, 56 and 60.
13. Margaret Betz, "The Icon and Russian Modernism", Artforum, Summer 1977, Vol.15, p.39.
14. I.S. Ostroukhov, MS, reprinted in A.A. Fedorov-Davydova and G.A. Nedoshivin (Eds.), Mastera iskusstva ob iskusstve, Vol.VII, Moscow, 1970, pp.231-2.
15. Vystavka ikonopisnykh podlinnikov i lubkov, Moscow, 24 March-7 April, 1913. Vystavka drevne russkogo iskusstva, ustroennaia y 1913 godu y oznamenovanie chestvovaniia 300-letia tsarstvovaniia doma Romanovykh, Moscow, 1913.

16. See "Matiss o Moskve", Utro Rossii, No.247, 27 October 1911, p.5; and Vladimir Tatlin, quoted from a lecture by B. Lubetkin, "The Origins of Constructivism", 1 May 1969, in Lodder, Russian Constructivism, p.12.
17. Tarabukin, Opyt teorii zhivopisi, pp.32-33.
18. ibid, p.34.
19. W. Sherwin-Simmons, "Kasimir Malevich's 'Black Square': The Transformed Self. Part Three: The Icon Unmasked", Arts Magazine, Vol.53, December 1978, pp.126-134.
20. Alexandre Benois, "Posledniaia futuristicheskaia vystavka" ["The Last Futurist Exhibition"], Rech', No.8, 9 January, 1916, p.3.
21. Puni, Sovremennaia zhivopis', p.29.
22. Puni, "Reliefs and Counter-reliefs", Sovremennaia zhivopis', pp.31-32.
23. ibid, p.32.
24. Lodder, Russian Constructivism, p.12.
25. Mikhail Alpatov, "The Icons of Russia", in The Icon, Evans Bros.Ltd., London, 1982, p.250.
26. Puni, Sovremennaia zhivopis', p.31.
27. ibid, p.9.
28. ibid, p.12.
29. ibid.
30. Matiushin stated that Puni "failed to notice the authoritative demands of the new ideas of space [and ] merely showed in his painterly works the struggle with the worn objectness of his own existence...". See Matiushin, "O vystavke 'Poslednikh futuristov'", p.17.
31. Zhadova, Malevich: Suprematism and Revolution in Russian Art, 1910-1930, Thames and Hudson, 1982, pp.45-6; from Wilhelm Wundt, Ocherki psikologii [Grundriss der Psychologie], Moscow, 1912, p.118.
32. Lissitsky discussed various plastic means for depicting space and demonstrated the different perspectival space of Western and Eastern art. He described Malevich's Suprematism as "the ultimate illusion of irrational space", the distances of which "cannot be measured by any finite measure". The problem of the

plastic treatment of space was also discussed by Viktor Shklovsky in 1919, when he made reference to Wundt's diagrams. See Lissitsky, "Kunst und Pangeometrie", 1925, translated in Zhadova, Malevich, pp.336-342; and Shklovsky, "Space in Painting and Suprematism", Iskusstvo, No.8, 3 September 1919, ibid, pp.323-6.

33. Rowell, The Planar Dimension, p.66.
34. ibid, p.59.
35. ibid.
36. Esposizione Libera Futurista Internazionale Pittori e Scultori, Rome, April-May 1914. Archipenko's works are listed as: 1."Still-life"; 2."Portrait of a Woman"; 3."Carrousel"; 4."Pierrot"; 5."Portrait of a Woman". Numbers 3 and 4 were wrongly indicated in the catalogue as two works, when they were actually one, Carrousel Pierrot. Société des Artistes Indépendants, "Salon des Indépendants", Paris, 1 March-30 April, 1914. Archipenko's works are listed as: 83."Carrousel Pierrot"; 84."Gondolier"; 85."Boxers". Médrano II was exhibited outwith the catalogue.
37. Ogonek, No.15, 1914, p.15.
38. The caricature is reproduced in Berninger and Cartier, Pougny, p.121.
39. Puni, Sovremennaja zhivopis', p.32.
40. V. Khodasevich, "Bylo...", Dekorativnoe iskusstvo, No.3, 1980, p.41; cited in Lodder, Russian Constructivism, p.14.
41. Markov, Printsipy tvorchestva, pp.10-11.
42. Kandinsky, "Abstract Art", Der Cicerone, Leipzig, 1925; translated in K.C. Lindsay and Peter Vergo (Eds.), Kandinsky: Complete Writings on Art, Volume Two, 1922-1943, Faber and Faber, London, 1982, p.515.
43. Kandinsky, "Empty Canvases etc.", Cahiers d'Art, Paris, 1935, in Complete Writings, p.789. Author's emphases.
44. Kandinsky, "Art Today", Cahiers d'Art, Paris, 1935, in Complete Writings, p.770.
45. Malevich, Letter to Benois, May 1916; translated in Andersen, K.S. Malevich: Essays on Art, Vol.I, pp.44-5.
46. Malevich, "God is not Cast Down", in Andersen, K.S. Malevich: Essays on Art, Vol.I, p.223.

47. ibid, p.192-3.
48. This can be seen in Kandinsky's depiction of the prophet Elijah and his chariot of fire, the final symbol for which is the red spot in Red Oval (1920; The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York). Kandinsky's image in turn has its source in Russian art, for example, The Prophet Elijah and the Fiery Chariot, with scenes from His Life (sixteenth century icon; Ostroukhov Collection, Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow). Kandinsky had a similar icon, depicting Elijah in his Chariot, in his own collection. See Christian Derouet and Jessica Boissel (Eds.), Kandinsky. Oeuvres de Vassily Kandinsky (1866-1944), Collections du Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris, 1985, p.451 (ill.).
49. Kandinsky, "Empty Canvases", in Complete Writings, p.783.
50. Puni, Sovremennaja zhivopis', p.8.
51. In his paintings of the early 1920s which used a white background, Kandinsky depicted a space which could not be defined and which defied the usual laws of spatial organization. This can be seen to correspond to the 'cosmic' space of Malevich's Suprematist paintings. It was in 1916 that Kandinsky himself began exploring a new kind of pictorial space. Puni's own references in Contemporary Painting to the "unconditional nature of space" [neobuslovlennost' prostranstva] in Kandinsky's paintings and to their "incommensurable depths", as an illustration of which he reproduced Multicoloured Circle (1921; Yale University Art Gallery), suggest that he saw Kandinsky's space in non-material, cosmic terms. Indeed, in Contemporary Painting he drew a direct analogy between Kandinsky and Malevich, stating that "virtually everything that I said about Kandinsky at the beginning of my article can equally be applied to Malevich...". See Puni, Sovremennaja zhivopis', pp.7-10; 23; and Hans K. Roethel, Kandinsky, Phaidon, Oxford, 1979, pp.120-1.
52. Alpatov, "The Icons of Russia", in The Icon, pp.242-3.
53. Kandinsky, "Reflections on Abstract Art", 1931, in Complete Writings, p.760. Emphases as in the original.
54. Alpatov, in The Icon, p.242.
55. Jwan Puni: Petersburg: Gemälde, Aquarelle, Zeichnungen, Der Sturm gallery, Berlin, February 1921. Foreword by W.E. Groeger.

56. Puni, Sovremennaiia zhiyopis', p.23.
57. Berninger and Cartier, Pougny, p.97.
58. Markov, Printsipy tvorchestva, p60.
59. Khlebnikov, "O sovremennoi poezii", 1919-20; reprinted in Sobranie sochinenii, Vol.III, p.222.
60. Puni, "Sovremennye gruppirovki v russkom levom iskusstve", pp.2-3.
61. Untitled statement by Puni and Boguslavskaya, translated in Bowlt, Russian Art of the Avant-Garde, p.112.

## Chapter Six

### THE CUBO-FUTURISTS IN 1916: NON-OBJECTIVE CREATION AND THE LIBERATION OF COLOUR.

At the beginning of 1916, the "Last Futurist Exhibition of Paintings 0,10" in Petrograd caused a furore, with Malevich's first public presentation of his Suprematist painting. Critics quoted from his pamphlet "From Cubism to Suprematism. The New Realism in Painting" ("Ot kubizma k suprematizmu: Novyi zhivopisnyi realizm"), which was distributed at the exhibition (1):

"Only with the disappearance of a habit of mind which sees in pictures little corners of nature, madonnas and shameless Venuses, shall we witness a work of pure, living art. I have transformed myself in the zero of form and dragged myself out of the rubbishy slough of Academic art... Things have disappeared like smoke; to gain the new artistic culture, art approaches creation as an end in itself and domination over the forms of nature." (2)

This rejection of objects and their meaning, and the advocacy of a new artistic culture situated in another dimension, largely stemmed from Malevich's assimilation of the basic principles of zaum as advocated by Kruchenykh and Khlebnikov. After the "Last Futurist Exhibition of Paintings 0,10", Suprematist paintings were not presented to the public again until the "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition in November 1916 (3). During 1916, the "Supremus" group was formed, which included Malevich, Rozanova, Popova, Udaltsova, Exter, Kliun, Pestel', Mikhail Menkov and Natalya Davydova. These artists met regularly in Udaltsova's Moscow flat to plan a journal intended for publication at the end of 1916 or the beginning of

1917 (4). Rozanova was to be the editorial secretary and, in a letter to Matiushin of early 1917, she described the forthcoming journal's programme:

"The 'Supremus' society of artists will shortly be publishing a magazine of the same name. The magazine is a periodical... Its programme is: Suprematism in painting, sculpture, architecture, music, the new theatre etc. Articles, news items, letters, aphorisms, poems, reproductions of Suprematist works and applied art... Contributors to the magazine are the members of the 'Supremus' society: Udaltsova, Popova, Kliun, Menkov, Pestel', Archipenko, Davydova, Rozanova and others. Malevich is editor of the journal. Poets are Kruchenykh, Alyagrov and others." (5)

One of the reviews for the "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition in November 1916 mentioned the proposed "Supremus" journal:

"...the representatives of the newest tendencies evidently intend to collaborate on a monthly journal, Supremus, which will commence in Moscow in December or January, and will be dedicated to painting, decorative art, music and literature. The chief organizers and participants are Malevich, Rozanova, Puni, Exter, Kliun and Menkov." (6)

Although this journal was never published, the formation of the "Supremus" group shows that Suprematism was clearly exerting an influence on other artists of the avant-garde by 1916. However, although Malevich's Suprematism prompted a number of experiments by other artists in a similar abstract style in 1916, it can be argued that zaum and Cubism had an equally important role to play in the development of a non-objective art form by Puni, Popova, Rozanova and Udaltsova. In his essay, "Primitives of the Twentieth Century" ("Primitivy XX veka"), which appeared in the anthology Secret Vices of the Academicians, Kliun observed the parallel between the artists' liberation of form and colour from the object, and the Futurist poets' liberation of the word and letter "as such":

"Having taken the straight line as our starting point, we have arrived at the ideally simple form of straight and curved planes (the sound and the letter in the word)... Those who suppose that we are creating... within the circle of art of a given time are deeply mistaken - no, we have come out of this circle and are already standing on the threshold of a new era, of new ideas, and you will not find even one recognizable feature in our works. For you they will be mysterious pictures, but for us they are a totally real language to express our new feelings and ideas." (7)

For Popova, however, the importance of Cubism lay in its method of pictorial construction on the surface plane. This Chapter will examine the non-objective experiments of Rozanova and Popova in collage and painting in light of this new pictorial structure established by Cubism.

One of the most noticeable features of Rozanova's non-objective collages which she completed for Kruchenykh's book Universal War in 1916, is her use of colour (Figs. 3.19 and 6.1). Different colours which she incorporated into her cut-out illustrations included red, pink, purple, various shades of blue and green, black, white, orange and yellow. These colours had all now been freed from any association with objects. This liberation of colour from figurative form lay at the centre of Suprematism. In his essay "From Cubism and Futurism to Suprematism" of 1916, Malevich wrote:

"Colour and faktura are of the greatest value in painterly creation - they are the essence of painting; but this essence has always been killed by the subject... The subject will always kill colour and we shall not notice it. Then, when the faces painted green and red to a certain extent kill the subject, the colour is more noticeable. And colour is that by which a painting lives, which means that it is the most important. And here I have arrived at pure colour forms... I have

untied the knots of wisdom and set free the consciousness of colour." (8)

and, in a letter to Matiushin of 1916, he proclaimed colour as the "creator in space" (9). In Malevich's Suprematism, the sensation of an infinite, cosmic space is obtained through the intensity of the coloured planes in relation to one another. Hence, "by comparing a number of planes of varying intensity of colour, the Suprematists solve the problem of space exclusively by means of colour" (10). Although some of his Suprematist forms overlap on the surface plane, there is nevertheless a sense of distance and space between them, so that the sensation created is of forms floating freely in space. The juxtaposition of coloured planes of differing shapes and intensities gives Malevich's Suprematist paintings of 1915 and 1916 a sense of dynamism and energy. Puni later acknowledged this potential for energy in Suprematist colour when he spoke of the "self-contained energy" of Suprematist colour masses (11). However, contrary to Malevich's assertion of the importance of faktura to non-objective painting, the working of materials and the exploitation of their innate qualities played an insignificant role in his Suprematism, in comparison to Rozanova's non-objective collages and Popova's painterly architectonics.

The prominence given to colour in Suprematism was noticed in several reviews of the 1916 "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition. Indeed, the group itself was almost unrecognizable from the imitative style manifested at its earlier exhibitions, where members had been universally dubbed as "cézannists". Two artists who had formed part of the mainstay of the group, Konchalovsky and

Mashkov, had left the Knave of Diamonds for the World of Art group, which permitted the former to adopt a more progressive stance. The 1916 "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition now reflected a rejection of Cubism "in favour of non-objective art and Suprematism" (12). Kliun, Malevich, Puni, Popova, Rozanova and Udaltsova were all represented, but Puni, Rozanova and Udaltsova did show figurative Cubo-Futurist paintings as well as non-objective works. For Kliun, Puni and Rozanova it was the first time that they had exhibited with the Knave of Diamonds. The extent to which the public image of the Knave of Diamonds had changed is indicated by the reviews for the exhibition, several of which actually praised the artists' concerns with the formal tasks of painting and with colour:

"A similar preserver of fine traditions [to the World of Art] is the Knave of Diamonds. It would appear that, in their group, the future is chiefly taking on another form - the 'culture of the palette', a good painterly profession. In actual fact, although several misdemeanours can be attributed to the Knave of Diamonds, the group does have one good quality: it would be difficult to identify another group of our artists, in which the special tasks of painting were taken up with more persistence and with more success, and where so much passionate attention was paid to the culture of colour [kul'tura kraski] and to the painted surface of the canvas." (13)

In a similar vein, the reviewer in the journal Pegas described the Knave of Diamonds group as being "at the vanguard of art as the bearer of free endeavours in the field of colour, form and composition" (14). Even Tugendkol'd was forced to acknowledge that Malevich's "combinations of squares, crosses and circles do impart something to the effect of movement and a clear colour sonority [iakaiia tsvetovaia zvuchnost']" (15). Hence, the formal concerns of colour and its intensity, of the faktura of the painted

surface and the dynamics and energy of form, were clearly a prominent feature of the abstract works shown at the 1916 "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition. Almost a year earlier, on the occasion of "0,10", the critic A. Rostislavov had recognized these formal preoccupations as central to the Cubo-Futurists' art, stating, with regard to faktura, that "Cubo-Futurism has genuinely affirmed this significance as its most important principle" (16). Thus, despite the new name of "Suprematists" given to the artists Puni, Popova, Rozanova and Udaltsova exhibiting at the 1916 "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition, their abstract art can be seen to a large extent as evolving from the same basic concerns which defined their figurative Cubo-Futurist paintings.

In a review of Rozanova's posthumous exhibition in 1919, her friend and colleague Varvara Stepanova noted the importance of colour for her art:

"In her very being Olga Rozanova was a painter of colour. From her earliest period to her latest achievement in colour painting the colour with which she perceives the visible world stands out. The exhibition covers all the periods of her creativity: Impressionism, Futurism, Portraiture, Alogism of forms, Suprematism and colour painting. Throughout all these periods she emerges first and foremost as a painter of colour. Olga Rozanova's art consists entirely of the play and movement of colour. Her colour is alive... The exhibition shows Rozanova to be a talented artist, so independent and mature in her outlook that, even though she experimented with Futurism and Cubism, she used colour as her starting point, drawing not on the central tenets of these movements, but simply on their means of expression. In this way, she became neither a Cubist, nor a Futurist. Olga Rozanova's art contains that sense of decoration which will throw painting out of the rooms and museums onto the streets and squares." (17)

In the same review, Stepanova suggests that Rozanova's use of

colour differentiates her abstract art from Malevich's Suprematism, stating that:

"...whereas Malevich constructed his works on the composition of the square, Rozanova constructed hers on colour. For Malevich colour exists solely for the purpose of distinguishing one plane from another. For Rozanova, the composition serves to reveal all the possibilities of colour on the plane. Her Suprematism was the Suprematism of painting, not of the square." (18)

Stepanova has correctly interpreted Malevich's use of colour as a means to create distance and a sense of infinite space between the surface planes. This explains the lack of faktura or varying textures in Malevich's Suprematism, for he was not really interested in colour per se, as a self-referential value. This immediately distinguishes his Suprematism from Rozanova's non-objective collages in Universal War (Figs. 3.19 and 6.1), where liberated colour, faktura and the rhythms of the cut-out shapes would appear to be the main concerns, as opposed to any allusion to cosmic infinities.

One immediate difference between Rozanova and Malevich lies in the former's use, in the majority of her collages, of a blue background, as opposed to the white backgrounds of Malevich's Suprematist paintings. This white background was significant for Malevich:

"The hung plane of painterly colour on the sheet of white canvas immediately gives to our consciousness a powerful sensation of space. I am transformed into a fathomless desert, where all around you you sense the creative points of the universe." (19)

Contrary to the sense of space in Malevich's Suprematism, Rozanova's use of a bold blue background to the forms in her

collages emphasizes rather the surface dimension of the works, in a manner similar to her use of a purple background for her linocut Simultaneous Representation of the Four Aces in Transrational Book (Moscow, 1915). The blue also heightens and focuses the observer's attention on the jagged cut-out forms of the collages, which consequently stand out against their background. For example, the transparent nature of the pieces of thin tissue paper, which Rozanova incorporates into her collages (Explosion of a Trunk, Fig. 3.19), is emphasized to much greater effect against the contrasting dense and opaque blue background than it would be against white. Blue is thus seen to be the most effective colour to reflect and interact with the faktura of the various cut-out elements. Rozanova acknowledged the suitability of the surface plane for such experiments "since its reflective surface will transmit colour with greater profit and less mutability" (20). For it is the coloured cut-outs themselves and their relationship to their background, which constitute the most important element in Rozanova's collages, not the white emptiness of infinity which tends to dominate over the coloured planes in Malevich's Suprematism.

Although the colour blue can be said to recede, its dense and opaque nature has the effect of forcing the collage fragments to advance all the more dramatically into the observer's space. This relief-like quality contrasts with the sense of movement in all directions into infinity created by Malevich's use of white and the converging lines of the planes in his Suprematist paintings.

Malevich himself specifically rejected the colour blue:

"The blue of the sky has been conquered by the Suprematist system, has been breached, and has passed into the white beyond as the true, real conception of eternity and has therefore been liberated from the sky's coloured background... I have breached the blue lampshade of colour limitations and have passed into the white beyond... I have conquered the lining of the coloured sky. I have plucked the colours, put them into the bag I have made and tied it with a knot. Sail on! The white, free depths, eternity, is before you." (21)

and:

"A Suprematist canvas depicts white, not blue space. The reason for this is clear: blue does not provide a true idea of infinity." (22)

This indicates a further difference between Rozanova and Malevich in their use of colour. Whereas Malevich exploits white purely as a suggestion of the infinite, Rozanova exploits the properties of the colour blue itself, ie: its boldness and density, to complement and interact with the faktura of her collage elements. Hence, the background coloured plane fulfils an active role in the overall construction of the collage. This can also be seen in another papier collé, 'T' - Geometric Composition (c1916-17; George Costakis Collection), which was probably intended as an illustration for Kruchenykh's book The Year 1918 (Tiflis, 1917). The coarse background to this papier collé actively interrelates with the patterned turquoise paper, which has a similar coarse texture. The large letter 'T' in black, which covers both the background and part of the turquoise paper, reinforces the surface dimension of the work. This in turn establishes a tension with the turquoise paper and background plane, the properties of which actually demonstrate characteristics of relief (coarse texture,

raised pattern), as does the circle, which is painted in tones which are graded from cream to orange. Thus, a number of structural concerns may be noted in this papier collé.

Rozanova's awareness and exploitation of the faktura of the coloured background planes to create tensions between surface and depth in her abstract collages recalls Puni's sensitivity towards the material identity and presence of the wooden grounds to his non-objective sculptures. These likewise fulfilled a crucial role in the overall construction, with their own faktura actively integrating with the faktura of his other material elements (23).

Rozanova's active integration of her coloured background plane with the cut-out pieces of paper and fabric in the collages for Universal War was actually a continuation of a process which she had begun earlier in her illustrations for A Duck's Nest... of Bad Words (1913). Here, she had integrated Kruchenykh's text with her own illustrations by means of large patches of colour spread across the body of the text. From an early stage, therefore, Rozanova was conscious of the unifying properties of colour, once it had been freed from its associations with objects.

Undoubtedly, the non-objective collages for Universal War marked the culmination and finest plastic expression of Rozanova's concern with liberated colour. Some collages (Battle of the Budetlianin with the Ocean, Fig. 6.1; Explosion of a Trunk, Fig. 3.19) also incorporated pieces of patterned and plain fabric. The varying intensities and faktura of these coloured, abstract

shapes, together with their rough, jagged edges, promote a strong sense of dynamism and energy. This dynamism is related to the dissonant rhythms of Kruchenykh's zaum poetry within Universal War, making these collages an important example of transrational painting [zaumnaia zhiyopis'] (24). They may also be considered in light of Rozanova's own statements in her essay "Cubism, Futurism, Suprematism" ("Kubizm, futurizm, suprematizm", c1916-17), intended for publication in the "Supremus" journal:

"Colour properties enter into conflict with each other in duration, intensity and gravity. This entails the intrusion or displacement of one colour by another... dynamism in the world of colours is created by the properties of their values, by their weight or lightness, by their intensity or duration." (25)

In the collages for Universal War, the various faktura of the cut-out shapes - the opacity of the black fabric against the transparency of white tissue and pink crêpe paper (Explosion of a Trunk, Fig. 3.19), the smooth surfaces of the plain paper shapes against the suggested ridges on the patterned fabric (Battle of the Budetlianin with the Ocean, Fig. 6.1) - together with their diagonal placement on the blue background, do indeed evoke sensations of conflict, energy and dissonance. This is accentuated by the sharp and jagged shapes themselves, which bear little resemblance to the geometric squares, rectangles, triangles or circles of Malevich's Suprematist paintings. Rozanova's forms are deliberately asymmetrical, irregular and discordant. The works create tension and dynamism on the surface plane solely through the exploitation of the structural properties of non-objective form and liberated colour.

Rozanova's non-objective paintings of 1916 were characterized by the same elements of dynamism and dissonance as her collages. Works such as Suprematist Painting (Non-Objective Composition, 1916; The Russian Museum, Leningrad) may have been amongst those exhibited at the "Knave of Diamonds" in November and listed in the catalogue as "Non-Objective Composition - Primitive" (26). One of the reviewers of the exhibition singled these out as being "noteworthy of interest... with their joyful colours [radostnykh po tsvetu]" (27). The jagged, asymmetrical forms of Suprematist Painting (Non-Objective Composition) are reminiscent of the cut-out shapes of Universal War.

Colour had also been an important element in one of the two sculptures, Automobile and Bicyclist (The Devil's Walkway), which Rozanova showed at the "Last Futurist Exhibition of Paintings 0,10" from December 1915 to January 1916 in Petrograd (see Fig. 6.2) (28). Completed earlier than the collages for Universal War, they suggest a more immediate and superficial response to Malevich's recently exposed Suprematism. Despite the fragmented forms and abstract shapes of Automobile, the sculpture seems designed to evoke associations of a car. For example, the central block of painted cardboard suggests the body of the car, the section of glass attached to the wooden background, its window, the additional wooden board with a rubber ball attached, the door of the car and its handle; the brick hanging on a piece of string from a nail represents the road upon which the car travels. The latter identification is possible from Rozanova's own notes for the

sculpture, which specified that the brick "should be cobblestone" (29). Hence, despite the use of abstracted elements, the basic idea of the sculpture is still rooted in Cubism and Futurism, by alluding to real objects. The idea of a car is created by combining materials and textures which are related to the subject (glass for the window; brick/cobblestone for the road). In this way, the sculpture has drawn on the example of synthetic Cubism, as well as on the Futurism of Boccioni. In his "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Sculpture", Boccioni advocated the use of related materials in Futurist constructions, using "spherical fibrous forms for hair, semi-circles of glass for a vase, wire and netting for atmospheric planes etc." (30). However, Rozanova's sculpture contains none of the "plastic movement" of forms pursued by Boccioni and there is no dynamic fusion of the material elements with their spatial environment. Nevertheless, the titles for both of the sculptures carry Futurist associations of movement and mechanisms.

Bicyclist (The Devil's Walkway) is more overtly Suprematist in its use of triangular wedges, rectangular pieces of wood and disks. This sculpture also used bright colours, as Rozanova's notes indicate. The disk was green with a red ring attached, and the larger wedge shape was painted black. The combination of wedge shapes with the disk and ring (possibly mobile) also introduced an element of dynamism, which was not present in the heavy and weighty forms of Automobile. Attached to a panel of wood "painted with egg white", the forms of the black wedge and green disk would have

recalled the geometric shapes of Malevich's Suprematist paintings, so that this sculpture may have been one of those referred to in a review of "0,10" and which were associated at the time with Malevich's two-dimensional Suprematism (31).

Two additional sketches for constructions which do not seem to have been realized suggest that Rozanova was moving closer to non-objective form and liberated colour. On the same sheet as the sketch for Automobile are instructions for a white circle and blue column, set against a black square, with the words "on the black square the background is a white circle and in the circle a slit should be cut. The blue column must be glued upright" (32). The material for the white circle which was to be slit is not specified, but it could have been either paper or fabric, hence introducing collage. The slit would have allowed the black background to be visible from the 'other side' of the white circle (ie: in the viewer's space), thereby integrating it with the elements in the foreground of the construction, in the same way as the blue coloured background of the collages in Universal War interrelates with the cut-out shapes stuck on it. The process of 'cutting' involved in this construction also provides a link with collage. By the end of 1915, Rozanova had already produced cut-out collages for Transrational Book and War.

The sketch which is incorporated on the same sheet as the instructions for Bicyclist (The Devil's Walkway) is interesting, as it indicates the use of several bright colours (green, white, black, blue, orange) and the potential for movement, thus

foreshadowing the liberated colours and energetic forms of the subsequent collages in Universal War. Rozanova's instructions are for a long, rectangular section of wood painted green, upon which are mounted a white disk set in profile and a piece of wood painted black. The latter is set at an angle on the ground plane and has a blue trapezium and an orange triangle attached to it by pivots. These pivots suggest that parts of the sculpture were intended to be mobile, so that movement could become an active element in the construction. However, apart from the two sculptures shown at "0,10" and the instructions for the two others, Rozanova does not seem to have explored this medium any further, but instead concentrated her energies on collage. Nevertheless, these sculptures demonstrate Rozanova's consistent preoccupation with colour and with the dynamism of her forms, as well as her gradual development of a non-objective style. This style was rooted in Cubism and in Malevich's Suprematism, but found unique expression in the collages for Universal War.

The example which Rozanova set in non-objective collage in 1916 was to act as an important precedent for future Constructivist design and photomontage. After Rozanova's death in 1918, Varvara Stepanova became the main illustrator for Kruchenykh's books. Her illustrations contained the same combination of zaum and collage as found in Rozanova's art. For example, her illustration for Kruchenykh's book Gly-Gly (Tiflis, 1918; Fig. 6.3) incorporates cut-out fragments of paper and fabric, all set along a diagonal line, together with the letters "NNYIA", a common plural ending at

the time to many Russian adjectives and participles (33). However, by deliberately obscuring the beginning of the word which contains its meaning, Stepanova has isolated the end letters, rendering them meaning"less", and broken them up into individual "sound units" by hyphenating them, indicating thereby that they should be pronounced as separate units rather than as a continuous word (34). The collage is related to Stepanova's statement, included in the catalogue for the "Tenth State Exhibition: Non-Objective Creation and Suprematism" (Desiatataia gosudarstvennaia vystavka. Bespredmetnoe tvorchestvo i suprematizm, Moscow, 1919), in which she emphasized the link between the new art and zaum poetry. She wrote:

"I am linking the new movement of non-objective poetry - sounds and letters - with a painterly perception that instills a new and vital visual impression into the sound of poetry. I am breaking up the dead monotony of interconnected printed letters by means of painterly graphics, and I am advancing towards a new kind of artistic creation... by reproducing the non-objective poetry of the two books Zigra ar and Rtny khomle by means of painterly graphics, I am introducing sound as a new quality in graphic painting, and hence I am increasing its quantitative potentials (ie: of graphics)." (35)

This statement can be linked directly to the above illustration for Gly-Gly, as a large number of Stepanova's works at the "Tenth State Exhibition" were illustrations from this play (36).

In Stepanova's collage, sound has literally been incorporated into the dynamic composition through the row of hyphenated letters, set visually in the manner of a forceful, exclamatory outburst. The jagged shapes and piece of fabric recall Rozanova's non-objective collages and the link with Rozanova is made more

specific by the handwritten inscription beside the collage, which reads "Olga Rozanova dancing". Thus, Stepanova has created energy, movement and sound purely through non-objective form, colour and the letters of zaum. A comparison with later photomontage, such as Alexandr Rodchenko's photomontage for Mayakovsky's poem About This (Pro Eto) of 1923 (Fig. 6.4), which depicts the movement of sound and verbal exclamation in visual terms along the diagonal, shows that much of the impetus for later, Constructivist images was founded, ultimately, on the dynamic non-objective colour collages first created by Rozanova.

Popova's three-dimensional reliefs of 1915 examined the internal structure of objects in a concern with volume, as well as marking the transition in her art from figurative to non-objective form (see Relief (Portrait), Fig. 2.19). From 1916, she reverted back to the surface plane, using her abstract forms, not to indicate the volumes of objects, but to create a self-contained pictorial structure from the organization of the actual materials of painting - line, colour and faktura.

At the "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition of November 1916, Popova showed six works entitled "painterly architectonics". This term had not been used before and was noted by Tugendkhol'd in his review of the exhibition in Apollon (37). The word 'architectonic' relates to the use of architectural principles of structure and construction as part of a surface design. Popova's use of the word 'painterly' in conjunction with 'architectonic', implies that she was using the formal values of colour and faktura to build up a

pictorial structure on the flat surface plane. Colour and faktura were listed in Popova's statement in the catalogue for the "Tenth State Exhibition: Non-Objective Creation and Suprematism", which contained the following definition of painting:

"I. Architectonics.

- (a) Painterly space (Cubism)
- (b) Line
- (c) Colour (Suprematism)
- (d) Energetics (Futurism)
- (e) Faktura."

II. The need for transformation  
through the omission of parts of  
the form (beginning in Cubism)." (38)

She also stated that "surface is fixed but forms are volumetrical", spoke of the "weight" or intensity of colour and described faktura as "the content of painterly surfaces". Hence, Popova clearly felt that these formal values constituted the elements of a new pictorial structure.

A work such as Grocer's Shop (1916; Fig. 6.5) reveals the same cylindrical forms and surfaces of graded colour as in Popova's earlier paintings and reliefs of 1914-15. The heavily textured paint of some areas of the canvas, the imitation woodgrain and the simulated wallpaper, all indicate an interest in the working of the painted surface (faktura). These factors also relate Popova's painting to the post-1912 Cubist works of Braque and Picasso, where colour and texture were used to build up a pictorial image on the canvas. Comparison of Grocer's Shop with the earlier Italian Still-life of 1914 (Fig. 6.6), shows that the same Cubist-based concerns are still present in the later work, only now all unnecessary descriptive details relating to external objects have

been removed, together with all the Futurist flamboyance, allowing Popova to concentrate solely on the structural potential of her materials. As a result, Grocer's Shop has a much greater sense of a series of planes which have been integrated and locked together in a tight unit, so that the forms seem to have been 'built up' rather than lying flat on the canvas, as they do in Italian Still-life. To achieve this structure on the surface plane, Popova has still used pictorial effects of shading, colour gradation and contrasting textures. The interlocking coloured planes in Grocer's Shop subsequently became one of the principle features of Popova's painterly architectonics.

Popova's Architectonic Composition (1917-18; Fig. 6.7) shows her increased use of the abstract coloured plane. Although the impetus for this undoubtedly came from Malevich's Suprematist forms, this work actually shows a greater indebtedness to Cubism and to Tatlin's counter-reliefs. Popova worked closely with Tatlin after joining his 'Tower' group in 1912. Architectonic Composition has a central, compact composition of planes 'built up' on top of one another, which recalls the Cubists' use of overlapping collage elements. Popova has emphasized not the planarity of her forms, like Malevich, but their structural potential by means of faktura and the gradation and intensity of colour. The pictorial space also remains Cubist, compared to the 'cosmic' sensations pursued by Malevich. There is a strong sense of restraint and balance, of an overall structure locking the planes together. This again contrasts with the freely floating forms in Malevich's Suprematist

paintings. Tatlin's Corner Counter-Relief (1914-15; Fig. 6.8) incorporates curved planes locked together, with pieces of wire passing through them at an angle, to form a three-dimensional structure. In Popova's Architectonic Composition, the curved outline of the central cylindrical form and the graded tones on its surface, give a convincing suggestion of actual, three-dimensional form, so that the work still reveals a concern with volume and space. The painting shows the extent to which Popova succeeded in exploiting to maximum effect the structural properties of line, plane, colour and faktura on the flat surface. She was essentially examining the same 'constructive' potential of material as Tatlin. Her coloured planes are bound together as tightly and with as much sensitivity towards balance as Tatlin's real metal planes, and her coloured surfaces impart the same sense of volume as do the real shadows falling on Tatlin's reflective curved surfaces. Some of Tatlin's metal planes were themselves painted in graded tones and Puni had used the same pictorial effect on the real material planes of his non-objective sculptures of 1915-16, to enhance their three-dimensionality (39).

The technique of overlapping abstract coloured planes, adapted from Cubist collage and papiers collés, enabled Popova to exploit the structural potential of the materials of her painting. Moreover, this exploitation of the structural properties (architectonics) of surface plane, line, colour and texture to create an independent structure was one of the principle features of Islamic architecture, which aroused Popova's interest in 1916

and which, it can be argued, became an important source for the painterly architectonics of 1916-18.

The series of painterly architectonics, which Popova showed at the "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition in November 1916, were exhibited under the general title of "Shah-Zinda" (40). This name, which translates as "the Living King", was given to a group of Mausolea situated just outside Samarkand in Central Asia (Fig. 6.9). Popova had visited Samarkand earlier in 1916 with her husband, Boris Nikolaevich von Eding, an art historian who specialized in ancient Russian architecture (41). Her own visits to the ancient Russian towns of Kiev, Novgorod, Pskov, Rostov, Yaroslavl' and Suzdal in 1909-10, prior to going to France in 1912, had already suggested a deep interest in the ancient art forms of Russia. She had also travelled to Italy in 1910 and studied Giotto's frescoes (42). According to John Bowlt, Konstantin Yuon, in whose school Popova had enrolled in 1907, may have first suggested the term "architectonic" to her (43). However, she could equally have acquired it from her husband, with his knowledge of architecture. Popova married Boris von Eding in 1916 - the same year as the word "architectonic" first entered her artistic vocabulary (44).

After seeing the Shah-Zinda and other Islamic monuments in Samarkand, Popova wrote to her colleague and friend Alexandr Vesnin, with whom she had studied in Yuon's Moscow school:

"Fantastic architecture! Frontal and exclusively decorative. The facade does not express the plan or form of the entire building, but the dimensions, the equilibrium of proportions, the decorative use of colour, the ornamentation (all of which is faded with coloured

tiles, many of which have crumbled) create a unique impression" (45)

This provides some important insights into those aspects of Islamic architecture which Popova encountered on her visit to Samarkand and which seem to have formed the basis for much of her experimental work for the next four years.

What is immediately noticeable in any Islamic monument is the complex and highly decorative use of colour, mainly through coloured ceramic tiles inlaid into the facade, as Popova noted in her letter. The monuments of Samarkand, including the Shah-Zinda, constructed during the 'Golden Age' of Tamerlane, the Muslim Emperor who made Samarkand his capital, were amongst the finest examples of the "full development of colour on the surface of walls":

"The decoration in the complex is the most elaborate for the period,... Tile-mosaic with added gold leaf, glazed, carved terracotta,... painted tiles, woodcarvings, wall-paintings, coloured glass and stucco decoration exemplify the best production of the time." (46)

Decoration itself played an important role in Islamic art for both philosophical and mystical reasons, so that Islamic architecture of the eleventh to fifteenth centuries was characterized by a relationship of surface decoration to structure. The main feature of this relationship was the balance which was maintained between surface decoration and volume. On the one hand, Islamic monuments appear as "magnificent compositions of masses in which the most architectonic values of space and volume are fully realized" (47). Yet, on the other hand, as Popova herself noted, the buildings all appear as flat facades, which are totally independent from the

overall form and structure, and upon which the decoration "suddenly defeats the monumentality of the whole building" (48). Thus, the decorated surface in Islamic architecture exists independently from the structure of the building and displays its own integral structure in the advancing and receding colours of its tiles, its basic interlocking geometric shapes, and in its exploitation of the effects of light and shade on the forms (see Figs. 6.11 and 6.15). This balance between surface and volume, between planar forms and the structural properties of materials, was one which interested several Russian artists in 1915 and 1916, most notably Puni and Popova herself. Moreover, the independence of surface decoration in the Islamic monuments of Samarkand could have reminded Popova of the surface planes of Malevich's Suprematist paintings first shown at "0,10" in December 1915. In fact, there are a number of features of Islamic decoration which find parallels in the painted planes of Suprematism and in other aspects of Russian avant-garde art.

An examination of the coloured inlaid tiles on the walls of Shah-Zinda (Fig. 6.9.a), reveals that they have actually been placed at an angle diametrically opposed to the adjacent bricks, thereby suggesting movement in two different directions and emphasizing the independence of the surface decoration. The inlaid tiles of blue, turquoise and green are set along the diagonal in strips which progress in size as they form the abstract pattern on the wall. These individual shapes bring to mind the floating planes of Malevich's Suprematist paintings such as Eight red

rectangles (1915; see Fig. 5.5) and Flight of an Aircraft (1915; see Fig. 5.5), which were both exhibited at "0,10", and in which coloured planes of varying size are set along the diagonal against a plain white background. In other paintings, Malevich has his planes moving in opposing directions, like the two lines of movement on the walls of the Shah-Zinda (see, for example, Suprematist Painting, 1915, also visible in the installation photograph of "0,10", Fig. 5.5). Hence, aspects of the surface decoration of Shah-Zinda may have struck Popova as highly appropriate to recent Russian experiments in the surface plane, line, colour and the dynamic arrangement of forms. This may have been enhanced by the fact that the basic structure of Islamic decoration takes the form of simple geometric shapes which can be repeated indefinitely to form a continually expanding and symmetrical pattern. Figurative forms, such as vegetation, vine leaves, or classical scrolls, are likewise stylized and schematized until they become completely abstracted through their multiplication and simplification in pattern. The idea of a continuous, expanding organic form is crucial to Islamic decoration, as it negates the reality of the weight and solidity of the building underneath, creating instead a feeling of weightlessness and of unlimited space (49). It also imbues the surface decoration with a strong sense of dynamism. This indicates another possible parallel with Russian avant-garde experiments. Organic form was fundamental to the work of Vladimir Tatlin and Mikhail Matiushin (for example, the ever expanding form of the crystal) and, in his essay "From Cubism and Futurism to

Suprematism: The New Realism in Painting", Malevich spoke of the organic, living nature of his Suprematist planes:

"A painted surface is a real, living form... In the art of Suprematism forms will live, like all living forms of nature." (50)

Malevich's Suprematism also sought to evoke a sensation of unlimited space and of weightlessness similar to that found in Islamic surface decoration. It can therefore be conjectured that Popova observed certain similarities between the two art forms when she visited Samarkand in 1916 (51).

In her own art, Popova had demonstrated how the arabesques of abstract forms could set up an independent dynamic rhythm on the painted surface (Relief (Portrait), 1915; Fig. 2.19), which can be compared with the self-contained and self-perpetuating abstract decorations of Islamic architecture. From 1915 onwards, the concept of the innate dynamism or 'energy' of her forms played a prominent role in Popova's artistic experiments and theories. In her statement for the 1919 "Tenth State Exhibition: Non-Objective Creation and Suprematism", she declared that "Construction in painting = the sum of the energy of its parts" (52). The fact that the abstracted surface elements of Islamic decoration have their own structural integrity, may be seen to parallel the concern of Russian avant-garde artists with the formal properties of line, plane, colour and faktura, and with their organization to establish independent structures of abstract form on the surface plane.

Islamic architecture demonstrates a particular sensitivity to the varying properties of the diverse materials used. These include wooden carvings, stucco decoration, ceramic tiles and brickwork. For example, the potential for advancement and recession of coloured tiles is exploited to give effects of relief, and the potential of niches and pinnacles to reflect and refract light is accentuated by the use of shining ceramic tiles or even mirrors (53). Light is considered a very important part of Islamic architecture, symbolizing divine unity, so the wooden and stucco sections are carved with a view to maximum exploitation of the play of light and shade at different times of the day, creating ambiguities of surface, space and volume and accentuating the contrasts of differently textured surfaces. In this way, each individual element contributes to the overall equilibrium of the building:

"The genius of Islamic architecture arises out of a sensitive handling of materials - the perfect realization of their decorative and tonal qualities... chiselled stucco and carved timber... combine different designs in subtle relief. Not only do the different surfaces of the building, the spaces beneath the arches and the projecting bands, permit a play of light and shade, but the patterns themselves are conceived in overlapping planes. Here techniques, material and design are perfectly unified." (54)

This description points to basic affinities between Islamic decoration and Popova's painterly architectonics, although the visual qualities of each are very different. All the paintings in this major series in Popova's oeuvre (see Figs. 6.10, 6.13 and 8.13) reveal a tight network of interlocking planes, bound together in a surface pattern that suggests energy and a

three-dimensional structure. This interweaving of geometric shapes, or "meandering" as it was called (55), in a continuous abstract pattern, is a fundamental feature of Islamic architecture as part of its underlying geometric structure, and can be seen on a detail of the wall decoration of Shah-Zinda (Fig. 6.9.b; see also Fig. 6.11). The weave effect is not limited to wall or window decorations, but is also exploited on the much grander scale of vaulted archways (Fig. 6.12). Here, the effect of interlacing planes is enhanced by the play of light and shade, which brings some planes into relief, while others recede. In Popova's painterly architectonics, a similar effect is achieved by colour intensity, faktura and the tonal gradation of certain planes, with white paint paralleling the fall of light on a surface (Fig. 6.13). Likewise, the fact that, in Islamic architecture, ceramic inlay decoration on the flat surface of the Mosque wall, "through contrasts of colour and complexity of design, has three-dimensional implications" (56), parallels Popova's exploitation of the structural potential of colour and faktura to suggest three-dimensional form on the painted surface. Hence, the internal, independent structure characteristic of Islamic decoration, such as on the walls of the Shah-Zinda of Samarkand, can be compared to the structural principles of Popova's painterly architectonics.

The impression which Popova's painterly architectonics create is of a vital energy and force temporarily held in check on the surface plane of the canvas. As with the symmetrical patterns

created by the interlacing archways and the meandering forms on the walls of Shah-Zinda, so the abstract patterning of the forms of Popova's painterly architectonics can be repeated indefinitely. These painterly architectonics can therefore be seen as an equivalent, in the new language of the self-referential properties of painting, to the structural principles inherent in the surface decoration of Shah-Zinda. In this way, the painterly architectonics of 1916-18 represent a synthesis of various sources acting on Popova in this period: Cubism, Suprematism, Tatlin's sensitivity towards materials in his counter-reliefs and, finally, the geometric forms of Islamic decoration. Given the fact that Popova's husband was a specialist in architecture, that they visited Samarkand together in 1916 and that Popova subsequently entitled her painterly architectonics "Shah-Zinda", it is difficult to ignore the influence of Islamic architecture on her formulation of a non-objective style of painting. Moreover, the fact that this was an example of Asian architecture, rooted in the East and not the West, would have appealed to Popova. Within the debate between East and West in Russian avant-garde art, artists and poets often sought to align themselves with Eastern traditions and art forms (57). Both the material techniques and spiritual significance of the Russian icon played a vital role in the artistic development of Malevich, Tatlin and Puni. In a similar way, the structure implied in the interlocking geometric shapes of Islamic surface decoration, together with the equilibrium which existed between surface and volume, may have helped Popova in the development of her painterly architectonics, which established a new structure within the

painting deriving entirely from its material elements.

In 1920-21, Popova completed a series of Spatial Force Constructions and Linear Constructions (Fig. 6.14). Painted with oil on plywood, the interlacing linear elements in these works project themselves forwards into the viewer's space, imparting a powerful sensation of relief which can be compared to the meandering surface decoration and tilework in Islamic architecture (see Figs. 6.11 and 6.15). The use of shading and the grading of colour on the plywood enhances the sense of spatial recession and depth. In Islamic architecture, coloured tiles were set in similar patterns and produced sensations of advancement and recession. Popova described these paintings as indicative of the fact that she had moved away from

"the analysis of the volume and space of objects (Cubism) towards the organization of these elements, not as the means of representation, but as integral constructions (either colour-planar, volumetric-spatial or other material constructions)." (58)

Hence, Popova's painterly architectonics, Spatial Force Constructions and Linear Constructions no longer refer to extraneous objects, but function as integral constructions in themselves. They are evidence of the fact that Popova has applied the consequences of Cubism and Futurism to the establishment of a completely new structure on the plane which has nothing to do with representing and identifying objects (59).

Apart from Popova and Rozanova, Exter and Udaltsova experimented with abstract forms in 1916. Indeed, many of Exter's canvases of 1916-18 are very close to Popova's painterly architectonics. The two artists shared a common interest in structure, the working of the painterly surface (faktura) and a love for colour. Having both been in France in 1912 and 1913, they had formed a close friendship (60). Works by Exter such as Composition (Construction of Planes according to the movement of colour, c1918; Fig. 6.16) show similar concerns with the dynamism and energy of coloured planes, locked together like Popova's painterly architectonics. Tugendkhol'd, who recognized the rhythm of Exter's forms and the "sound of colour itself" [zvuchanie samoi kraski] in her abstract compositions, wrote:

"[Exter] has the ability to make the surface of the canvas either smooth or grainy and rough; the texture of lime or brilliant like enamel. For the relative lightness or weight of a given colour and, consequently, the weight of a given form, depends on the manner of covering the canvas. In this way, line... colour and the techniques of painting [tekhnika] are all elements which are inextricably connected for Exter. The sum total of these elements forms the composition, to which the artist aspires in her painterly experiments... This is no portrait, landscape or still-life, but some kind of 'celestial world' inhabited only by the pure ideas of painting: ideas of space and depth, of balance and movement." (61)

Like Rozanova's collages for Universal War, the content of Popova's painterly architectonics and of Exter's abstract compositions is derived from the "sum total" of the dynamic integration of colour, line and the faktura of the painted surface. The experimental nature of Popova's painterly architectonics, as part of her investigation of colour saturation, its weight, faktura and energy,

has been pointed out by several scholars (62). Likewise, Tugendkhol'd described Exter's abstract compositions as a "working studio, a laboratory" (63). This corresponds to the experimental nature of many of Puni's non-objective relief constructions of 1916. Much that was gained from these formal investigations was subsequently incorporated into more concrete projects involving the theatre and textile designs. Ultimately, these can only be understood against the background of the more 'abstract' investigations which have been the subject of this Chapter.

Udaltsova's non-objective paintings, three of which were shown at the 1916 "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition (64), can be traced from her previous involvement with Cubism and particularly with post-1912 synthetic Cubism. Despite using Suprematist geometric shapes on a white background, her gouaches, such as Composition (1916; Fig. 6.17), contain a strong sense of structure and restraint, so that the forms are never allowed to float loosely in space as in Malevich's Suprematist paintings. Within Composition, the combination of one black plane in the background and another in the foreground, holds the remaining overlapping coloured planes in between within a limited space. This gouache provides clear evidence of the strong Cubist influence which continued throughout Udaltsova's pre-revolutionary art. Her system of overlapping, abstract planes recalls the papiers collés of Georges Braque, such as The Clarinet (1913; Fig. 3.10), in which spatial complexities and ambiguities are created by the combination of overlapping paper planes with charcoal drawings. Even at its most non-objective,

Udaltsova's art remained rooted in the structural principles of French Cubism.

An examination of the 'Non-Objective Creation' of the Russian avant-garde artists in 1916 reveals a general Suprematist style in the use of abstract geometric forms on the surface plane, but very different interpretations, in particular by Rozanova and Popova. Neither artist shared Malevich's concern with the fourth dimension and cosmic 'infinities' of space, but concentrated exclusively on the development of a new language for painting which would impart sensations of energy, dissonance and dynamism by exploiting the structural properties of liberated colour and form. The content and structure of a work of art now derived from its material elements. 'Construction' resulted from the interaction of these formal properties within the painting itself, engendering a living, organic form and a dynamic vision of material. In the words of Rozanova:

"Non-Objective art has been born of a love for colour. This is painting above all. We propose to liberate painting from its subservience to the ready-made forms of reality and to make it first and foremost a creative, not a reproductive art... The aesthetic value of the non-objective painting lies completely in its painterly content." (65)

In this way, Rozanova's collages for Universal War, which contain their own structural potential within the cut-out shapes and colours, are as "architectonic" in nature as Popova's painterly architectonics. Both artists succeeded in creating a new internal structure to painting which derived solely from its own formal properties.

The non-objective art of Rozanova and Popova essentially represented a synthesis of Western and Eastern painterly traditions. A concern with the construction of form on the two-dimensional canvas was Cubist in origin, as was the use of sections of objects and the collage surface plane. However, other Cubist and Futurist features, such as texture and the dynamic sensation, although assimilated by Russian artists, were valued as integral elements in themselves and corresponded to the Russian concept of the working of material (faktura) and to the dissonant rhythms inherent in zaum poetry. Zaum itself was a purely Russian phenomenon, which, allied to Cubist collage, created a powerful means of expression, forming part of the impetus for later Constructivist photomontage. Popova's series of painterly architectonics vividly demonstrate the synthesis of West and East in Russian art. Despite the importance of Cubism and Futurism to her development, she was able to find a parallel for her search for a new structure to painting in Islamic architecture and in the structural integrity of its dynamic, geometric surface decoration. In their synthesis of Western and Eastern painterly traditions, Rozanova and Popova paralleled Puni's synthesis of Cubism, Suprematism, and the Russian icon tradition in his own non-objective relief constructions. Although many works from this period were largely experimental in nature, their principles were applied to more concrete projects of design and the theatre. The profound interest in construction, evident in Exter's and Popova's paintings, was exploited in a number of theatrical projects after 1916. Indeed, from 1916, the Russian avant-garde transferred its

energies from painting to design and the theatre, where the principles and new language of non-objective creation were put into practice.

## FOOTNOTES

1. In his review, Alexandre Benois mentioned that several artists' leaflets were distributed at the exhibition "0,10". This was supported by another review which wrote that Malevich's brochure "From Cubism and Suprematism" was on sale. Elsewhere, the press reported that the statement by Puni and Boguslavskaya was distributed free of charge at the exhibition. See A. Benois, "Posledniaia futuristicheskaia vystavka", Rech', No.8, 9 January 1916, p.3; "Po vystavkam. U futuristov", Petrogradskie vedomosti, No.287, 22 December 1915, p.2; and B. Lopatin, "Futurizm - suprematizm", Den', No.351, 21 December 1915, p.2.
2. Malevich, "Ot kubizma k suprematizmu: Novyi zhivopisnyi realizm", 1915; quoted in A. Benois, "Posledniaia futuristicheskaia vystavka", p.3.
3. Tatlin organized the exhibition "The Store" (Magazin) in March 1916 in Moscow, but did not allow Malevich to exhibit any of his Suprematist paintings. The exhibition largely showed Cubo-Futurist and Alogist works, together with Tatlin's counter-reliefs and corner counter-reliefs, and reliefs by Lev Bruni and Sofiya Tolstaya, two followers of Tatlin. See the catalogue for "Futurist Exhibition 'The Store'" (Futuristicheskaia vystavka 'Magazin'), Moscow, 20 March-20 April 1916.
4. Andrei Nakov, Malévitch. Écrits. Paris, Éditions Champ Libre, 1975, p.141; Hubertus Gassner, "Olga Rozanova", in Women Artists of the Russian Avant-Garde, p.231.
5. Zhadova, Malevich, p.122. It is interesting to note the inclusion in the list of members of "Supremus" of Archipenko, who was influential for both Puni and Kliun and who may have become acquainted with Udaltsova, Popova and Exter while they were in Paris.
6. Ya. Tepin, "Moskovskie vystavki" ["Exhibitions in Moscow"], Apollon, Nos.9-10, November-December 1916, p.84. There seems to be some confusion as to whether Puni was a member of "Supremus" or not. The review in Apollon does not make it clear whether he was one of the principle organizers and participants only in the "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition, or also in the forthcoming "Supremus" journal. No other sources indicate that he belonged to "Supremus" and Rozanova does not include him in her list of contributors to the journal in her letter to Matiushin of 1917.

7. I. Kliun, "Primitivy XX veka", in Tainye poroki akademikov, p.30.
8. Malevich, "Ot kubizma i futurizma k suprematizmu: Novyi zhivopisnyi realizm", Moscow 1916; translated in Bowlt, Russian Art of the Avant-Garde, pp.123; 135.
9. Malevich, Letter to Matiushin, [June] 1916, in E. Kovtun, "K.S. Malevich. Pis'ma k M.V. Matiushinu", Ezhegodnik, p.192.
10. Tarabukin, Opyt teorii zhivopisi, p.27.
11. Puni, "Sovremennye gruppirovki v russkom levom iskusstve", p.3.
12. Women Artists of the Russian Avant-Garde, p.296.
13. Rosstsi, "Khudozhestvennye vesti. Bubnovyi valet" ["Art News. The Knave of Diamonds"], Russkie yedomosti, No.258, 8 November 1916, p.5.
14. N.I. Sh., "Obzor vystavok. 'Bubnovyi valet'" ["Exhibition Reviews. The 'Knave of Diamonds'"], Pegas: Zhurnal iskusstv, No.11, November 1916, pp.100-101.
15. Ya. Tugendkhol'd, "Pis'mo iz Moskvy" ["Letter from Moscow"], Apollon, No.1, 1917, p.71.
16. A. Rostislavov, "Plevatel'nitsa novatorov. Po povodu lektsii" ["The spittoon of the Innovators. With regard to a Lecture"], Rech', 15 January 1916; reprinted in Berninger and Cartier, Pougnny, p.77.
17. Varst [Varvara Stepanova], "Vystavka Olgi Rozanovoi", p.2.
18. ibid.
19. Malevich, Letter to Matiushin, [June] 1916, in Kovtun, "K.S. Malevich. Pis'ma k M.V. Matiushinu", Ezhegodnik, p.192.
20. Rozanova, "Kubizm, futurizm, suprematizm" ["Cubism, Futurism, Suprematism"], c1916-17. Translation in Von der Malerei zum Design. Russische Konstruktivistische Kunst der Zwanziger Jahre: From Painting to Design. Russian Constructivist Art of the Twenties, Galerie Gmurzynska, Cologne, 1981, p.111.
21. Malevich, "Suprematizm", in Desiataia gosudarstvennaia vystavka. Bespredmetnoe tvorchestvo i suprematizm ["Tenth State Exhibition. Non-Objective Creation and Suprematism"] (Ex. Cat.), Moscow, 1919, pp.18-20.

22. Malevich, "Suprematizm. 34 risunka" ["Suprematism: 34 Drawings"], facsimile edition, Gordon Fraser Gallery Ltd., London, 1974, p.2.
23. For Puni's non-objective relief constructions see Chapter Five, "The Non-Objective Reliefs of Ivan Puni and their Relation to the Russian Icon".
24. For relations between Rozanova's collages and zaum see Chapter Three, "Zaum and its Influence on the Reworking of Cubist Collage by Russian Artists, 1914-1916".
25. Rozanova, "Kubizm, futurizm, suprematizm", in From Painting to Design, pp.111-112.
26. Vystavka kartin i skul'ptury obshchestva khudozhnikov 'Bubnovyi valet', Moscow, November 1916. Rozanova's works are listed as Nos.267-274: "Bespredmetnoe tvorchestvo - primitiv". The description of these non-objective works as 'primitive' recalls Ivan Kliun's essay in Secret Vices of the Academicians (1915), in which he defined the new artists "creating form from nothing" as the "primitives in the twentieth century". The term 'primitive' signified the new artistic beginnings heralded by Suprematism.
27. V. Ivanov, "Vystavka 'Bubnovogo valeta'" ["The Knave of Diamonds Exhibition"], Rampa i zhizn', No.46, 13 November 1916, p.12.
28. Posledniaia futuristicheskaiia vystavka 0,10. Rozanova's sculptures are listed as No.121: "Avtomobil'"; and No.122: "Velosipedist (Chertova panel')".
29. The sketches for Rozanova's sculptures are reproduced in Rudenstine, The George Costakis Collection, Plates 1036 and 1038.
30. Boccioni, "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Sculpture", 1912, in Apollonio, Futurist Manifestos, p.65.
31. "Po vystavkam. U futuristov", p.2.
32. These two sketches are reproduced and their instructions translated in Rudenstine, The George Costakis Collection, Plates 1037 and 1039.
33. This ending was replaced by the ending "YE" after changes to Russian Orthography in 1917. The Resolutions of the Orthographic Subcommittee of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 11 May 1917, are reproduced and translated in Gerald Janeczek, The Look of Russian Literature: Avant-garde Visual Experiments, 1900-1930, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1984, pp.249-50, Appendix I. See especially note 8.

34. It is interesting to note that, in 1913, Kruchenykh asked the performers in his zaum-opera, Victory Over the Sun to pronounce all the words with pauses between each syllable, thus separating them aurally as Stepanova does visually in her collage. In his own discussion of Victory Over the Sun in 1914, Matiushin also mentioned the student-performers who paused "for long intervals between each word. In that way, a word, alienated from its meaning, gave the impression of great strength". See K. Tomashevsky, "Vladimir Mayakovsky", Teatr, No.4, 1938; translated and reprinted in Ewa Bartos and Victoria Nes Kirby, "Victory Over the Sun", The Drama Review, 1971, Vol.XV, Part 4, p.96; and M. Matiushin, "Futurizm v Peterburge" ["Futurism in Petersburg"], in Futuristy: pervyi zhurnal russkikh futuristov, p.156.
35. Stepanova, "O vystavlennykh grafikakh" ["Concerning my graphics at the Exhibition"], Desiataia gosudarstvennaia vystavka. Translation in Bowlt, Russian Art of the Avant-Garde, p.139.
36. Desiataia gosudarstvennaia vystavka. Stepanova's collages are listed as Nos.29-64: "Illiustratsii k p'ese A. Kruchenykh 'Gly-Gly'. 1918 god".
37. Tugendkhol'd, "Pis'mo iz Moskvy", p.71.
38. Popova, untitled statement, in Desiataia gosudarstvennaia vystavka, pp.22-3. Some of Popova's theories of art were initially written as part of preparation for the "Supremus" journal of 1916/17, so that this statement may well date from this time, although it was not published until 1919.
39. See Milner, Vladimir Tatlin, p.112, and Lodder, Russian Constructivism, p.14, for references to Tatlin's use of colour and shading on his reliefs; also Puni's Sculpture, c1915-16 (Fig. 5.15) and Suprematist Sculpture, c1915-16 (Private Collection, Zurich).
40. Vystavka kartin i skul'ptury obshchestva khudozchnikov 'Bubnovyi valet', Moscow, November 1916. Popova's paintings are listed as Nos.202-207: "Shakh-Zinda".
41. Vasilii Rakitin, "Liubov Popova", in Women Artists of the Russian Avant-Garde, p.200.
42. See George Peck and Lily Wei, "Liubov Popova", p.95.
43. John Bowlt, "Liubov Popova, Painter", Transactions of the Association of Russian-American Scholars in the USA, 1982, p.235. Yuon declared that "the 'root' of all my artistic and painterly researches and sympathies is... predominantly of an architectonic nature".

44. The Costakis collection has a wedding photograph of Liubov Popova and Boris Nikolaevich von Eding taken in the city of Rostov Veliki, which Rudenstine dates c1916. See The George Costakis Collection, p.420.
45. George Peck and Lily Wei, "Liubov Popova", p.100.
46. George Michell (Ed.), Architecture of the Islamic World. Its History and Social Meaning, Thames and Hudson, London, 1978, p.262; Derek Hill and Oleg Grabar, Islamic Architecture and its Decoration, AD 800-1500, Faber, London, 1964, pp.52 and 75.
47. Islamic Architecture, p.82.
48. ibid
49. Architecture of the Islamic World, pp.13-14.
50. Malevich, "Ot kubizma i futurizma k suprematizmu", in Andersen, K.S. Malevich. Essays on Art, pp.33; 38.
51. The twofold use, in Islamic architecture, of calligraphy as both a decorative element and a conveyor of meaning, provides another interesting parallel with Rozanova's Futurist book designs, where she integrated text and visual imagery through the use of coloured ink, patches of colour superimposed on the text, or calligraphic lines juxtaposed with the handwritten zaum poems (Fig. 3.16). In this way, the letters of the text became part of the overall visual image. The use of handwriting in many Futurist books indicates a sensitivity to the potential of calligraphy to act as a visual image, as well as a conveyor of meaning, thus corresponding to its use in Islamic decoration.
52. Popova, untitled statement, Desiataja gosudarstvennaia vystavka, p.22.
53. Architecture of the Islamic World, p.152.
54. ibid, p.129.
55. Islamic Architecture, p.80.
56. Dalu Jones, "The Elements of Decoration: Surface, Pattern and Light", in Architecture of the Islamic World, p.144.
57. One could compare, for example, Goncharova's interest in Persian miniatures and Tatlin's own interest in Islamic Architecture. In 1920-21, a number of Khlebnikov's poems also dealt with Persian themes. See Milner, Vladimir Tatlin, p.183.

58. Popova, "Raboty 20-21g.", signed Moscow, December 1922, MS; cited in Lodder, Russian Constructivism, p.45.
59. The skeletal nature of Popova's linear elements in her Spatial Force Constructions and Linear Constructions, brings to mind Alexandr Rodchenko's experiments of 1920-21 in skeletal structures and Hanging Constructions. These showed the use of the flat plane in the construction of a three-dimensional form and stressed the importance of the introduction of "Line into plane as a new element of construction". The openness and spatiality of Rodchenko's non-objective constructions can be compared to the increased spatiality in Popova's own Spatial Force Constructions.
60. See O.I. Voronova, Vera Ignat'evna Mukhina, "Iskusstvo", Moscow, 1976, p.42.
61. Ya. Tugendkhol'd, Alexandra Exter kak zhivopisets i khudozhnik tseny [Alexandra Exter as Painter and Artist of the Theatre], "Zaria", Berlin, 1922, pp.14-15.
62. See Lodder, Russian Constructivism, p.45; and D. Sarab'yanov, cited in Bowlt, "Liubov Popova, Painter", p.235.
63. Tugendkhol'd, Alexandra Exter, p.16.
64. Vystavka kartin i skul'ptury obshchestva khudozhnikov 'Bubnovyi yalet', Moscow, 1916. Udaltsova's paintings are listed as Nos.283a, 284b, 285c: "Zhivopisnoe postroenie" ["Painterly Construction"].
65. Rozanova, "Kubizm, futurizm, suprematizm", in From Painting to Design, p.100. Parts of this extract were printed in the catalogue Desiataia gosudarstvennaia vystavka, p.24.

## Chapter Seven

### BEYOND THE PAINTERLY PLANE:

#### THE MOVE INTO DESIGN AND THE THEATRE.

In his Notes of a Director (Zapiski rezhissera), first published in 1921, Alexandr Yakovlevich Tairov, director of the Kamerny Theatre in Moscow, spoke of the need for "artist-constructors" in the Russian theatre instead of "artist-painters":

"...the theatre needs not 'artist-painters', but 'artist-constructors'... In saying that the artist of the new theatre must be a constructor, I do not mean to suggest that he must without exception be an architect. No, the artist of the new theatre might be an architect, or a painter, or a sculptor; he need only feel the dynamic element of the theatre and be drawn to its harmonious solution in a rhythmical and colourful construction" (1)

Tairov's call for "artist-constructors" was part of his desire to develop a new, three-dimensional scenic atmosphere, in order to escape the two-dimensional arrangement of both *décor* and costumes in the Symbolist theatre. His reference to the "dynamic element of the theatre" and its "harmonious solution in a rhythmical and colourful construction" provides the key to much of his philosophy of scenic art and to the experiments in scenic design of Alexandra Exter and Alexandr Vesnin for the Kamerny Theatre between 1916 and 1922. The avant-garde's experiments in non-objective painting of 1916-18, particularly Rozanova's collages and the painterly architectonics and colour compositions of Popova and Exter respectively, had established colour, faktura, line and plane as

elements of a new, independent, dynamic pictorial structure. Popova's Spatial Force Constructions and Linear Constructions of 1920-21 moved further towards the articulation of space through colour and line. However, already in 1916, artists began to explore other media for the dynamic expression of the new system of painting, including the theatre and designs for household items and clothing. Exter and Vesnin in particular responded to Tairov's call for "artist-constructors", but Popova was also involved with designs for the theatre, and Exter, Rozanova, Udaltsova, Puni and Boguslavskaya all executed designs for fashion and household items in 1916 and 1917. This Chapter traces the application of the principles of construction, established by the Cubo-Futurist artists in painting, to design and the real micro-environment of the theatre. The subsequent Chapter deals specifically with productions in the Kamerny Theatre which involved scenic decorations by Alexandra Exter and Alexandr Vesnin.

In his book, Alexandra Exter as Painter and Artist of the Theatre (Alexandra Exter kak zhivopisets i khudozhnik tseny), Tugendkhol'd noted that Exter "was always attracted by decorative tasks", declaring that:

"This desire for a complete Cubist 'style' was one of the principle factors in Exter's decorative and applied work, exhibited in 1913 [sic]. Here she managed, quite simply and naturally, to apply the principles of her 'painterly dynamism' to the decoration of embroidered screens, pillowcases, parasols, headscarves and dresses. These objects of fashion, so often sacrificed to female diletantism, blossomed under Exter's hand through the sonorous and full movement of arabesques, the rhythms of which embodied all the acuity of the twentieth century..." (2)

Judging by this description, Exter's designs were clearly motivated by the same desire for dynamism and rhythm as found in her canvases of 1916-18, such as Composition (Construction of Planes according to the movement of colour, c1918; Fig. 6.16) or the series of paintings constructed according to the dynamic laws of Explosion, Weight, Movement, the titles of which recall Rozanova's non-objective collages for Universal War. These paintings incorporated large areas of colour set in a dynamic arrangement on the picture surface (Coloured Rhythm, c1916-18; Fig. 7.4). Tugendkhol'd's date of 1913 for an exhibition including Exter's decorative and applied works must be erroneous, as the majority of designs by Exter, Rozanova and Udaltsova for fashion items reflected the non-objective experiments of 1916; indeed, the first exhibitions which included applied works date from 1916. One of Rozanova's designs from this period is her Project for a Fabric Design (c1916; Fig. 7.1), which may have been shown at the first exhibition of abstract design in the Fabergé exhibition rooms in Moscow in 1916 (3). As both Malevich and Exter took part in this exhibition (4), it is possible that the designs by Exter cited by Tugendkhol'd may have been included. She did not exhibit any designs for household or fashion items at any of the major exhibitions of 1915, although some may have been included in her exhibits for Tatlin's "The Store" exhibition in Moscow in March 1916 (her entries were untitled in the exhibition catalogue) (5).

Rozanova, Exter and Udaltsova were all members of the "Supremus" group, founded in 1916, one of the aims of which was clearly the expansion of the principles of non-objective painting into other branches of the arts. This was indicated in correspondence between Rozanova and Matiushin and in reviews of the 1916 "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition, in which most of the "Supremus" members participated (6). For the decorative section of the "Supremus" journal, Rozanova worked on "motifs for three-colour embroidery", one of which was possibly the Project for a fabric design above (7), as well as on illustrations of dresses and designs for handbag embroidery. In a letter to Udaltsova, Rozanova listed her contributions to the journal:

"All the material is ready for press: 1. My article ["Cubism, Futurism, Suprematism"]; 2. A play by Kruchenykh; 3. The Declaration of the Word [as Such]; 4. The poetic collection Balos; 5. Blue Eggs. Kruchenykh has suggested publishing whatever is feasible from the two collections. They include two of my poems... Enclosed herewith is a design for an embroidery in three colours - for the Decorative Art section of the magazine." (8)

Rozanova's list suggests a desire on the part of "Supremus" members to present an entire synthetic system of non-objective art which incorporated painting, literature, music, sculpture, applied art and "the new theatre" (9).

The jagged forms of Rozanova's Project for a fabric design are clearly derived from her collages for War and Universal War. The design is also similar to one of Udaltsova's textile designs of 1916-17 (Fig. 7.2, bottom drawing). While the basic geometric shapes are derived from Suprematism, their sharp, jagged contours

create a strong sense of dissonance and energy, resulting in a visual tension between the forms. Udaltsova's design can be compared to two other drawings for textiles, the forms and composition of which are more overtly Suprematist (Fig. 7.2, top two drawings). As both Rozanova and Udaltsova worked on the "Supremus" journal, it is reasonable to expect a degree of similarity in their work at this time.

The jagged forms of contrasting colours in one of Udaltsova's fabric designs are also reminiscent of Giacomo Balla's textile designs and studies for Futurist Clothing from 1913-18. In 1913 Balla wrote his "Futurist Manifesto of Men's Clothing", in which he advocated the "abolition of static lines" in design and the invention of "daring clothes with brilliant colours and dynamic lines" (10). New designs were to be expressed in dynamic shapes of triangles, cones, spirals, ellipses and circles, and the cut of the cloth was to incorporate dynamic and asymmetrical lines. The intended impact of the new Futurist clothing was to be one of dynamism, aggression and energy, features also common to the fabric designs of Udaltsova and Rozanova in 1916. Apart from clothing, Balla made designs for household items and furniture, including a number of screens which date from 1916-17. It is possible that knowledge of Balla's designs influenced Exter, whose own designs for embroidered screens, described by Tugendkhol'd, embodied rhythmical and dynamic, curvilinear arabesques. In particular, Balla's examination of the rhythms and dynamic movement of colour and line in his Screen (with Speed Lines) of 1917 (Fig. 7.3) can be

compared with Exter's painterly investigations in her non-objective composition Coloured Rhythm above (Fig. 7.4). Both artists contrast line and shape on the surface plane. Balla's main concern, however, is with the evocation of speed and movement through his coloured lines, whereas Exter's is more to do with the creation of tensions and relations between the coloured planes themselves, out of which a dynamic construction then evolves. Tugendkhol'd's book on Exter included an illustration of a "Motif for a mural painting", which he dated to 1918. The spiralling, multicoloured arabesques of this composition are, perhaps, even closer to Balla's sweeping "speed lines" on his screen (11).

Of household and fashion items, the main drawings and embroidery designs by Russian artists in 1916-17 seem to have been for pillowcases, handbags and belts. In particular, Ksanya Boguslavskaya exhibited numerous designs at the "World of Art" (Mir iskusstva) exhibitions of 1916, 1917 and 1918, the "Fifth exhibition of the Society of Independent Artists" (Piataia vystavka tovarishchestva nezavisimykh), Petrograd, in 1916, and at the exhibitions of "Contemporary Russian Painting" (Sovremennaiia russkaia zhivopis') in the Dobychina Gallery, Petrograd, in May and November/December 1916, and in 1918. These included designs for bags with flower motifs or with beads, for coloured pillowcases, a tea-cosy, brooches and a sash (12). It has previously been thought that her husband, Ivan Puni, did not himself design any decorative fashion items. However, in May of 1916, either simultaneously with or shortly after the "Exhibition of Contemporary Russian Painting"

in the Dobychna Gallery, a Fashion Evening was held in Petrograd, at which Boguslavskaya modeled a dress made from an original drawing by Puni. A photograph of Boguslavskaya wearing the dress, together with a handbag with an abstract design, was reproduced in the Petrograd journal Solntse Rossii, with the caption: "Madame Boguslavskaya at the Fashion Evening. Dress from a drawing by the artist I.A. Puni (Fig. 7.5) (13). From the photograph it is possible to identify the abstract patterning on the pockets and possibly on the collar of the dress and the decorative motif on Boguslavskaya's hat. The abstract shapes on the black drawstring bag, presumably made from a soft fabric such as silk or satin, are clearly visible, as is the contrast between light and dark colours, where some of the shapes, and particularly the central triangle, show tonal gradation or shading similar to that in Puni's own non-objective relief constructions. It is possible that these deliberate areas of shading were intended to complement the areas of light and dark created by the natural folds of the soft material of the bag itself, creating a harmonious exchange between the abstract motif and its background. The caption in Solntse Rossii does not specify whether the bag was from a design by Puni or Boguslavskaya. Although Boguslavskaya evidently made her own designs, the similarity between the patterning on the bag and on the pockets of the dress suggests that both were from original drawings by Puni. That Puni was involved in decorative design is further suggested by the catalogue for the "State Exhibition of the Applied Art Workshops" (Gosudarstvennaia vystavka khudozhestvenno-promyshlennykh masterskikh), held in the Moscow

Museum of Fine Arts in 1919. An entry in the catalogue reads: "The workshop of the Verbovka village in Kiev Province. Peasant embroideries after designs by Rozanova, Udaltsova, Puni and Malevich". Listed in the catalogue are "handbags, blotting pads, wall pockets for letters and papers, embroideries for pillows, a fabric design, a skirt, a scarf, a trimming" (14).

The extent to which Rozanova was concerned with the applied arts is suggested by the large number of entries dedicated to decorative design in the catalogue of her posthumous exhibition of 1918-19. These included handbags, dress-belts and napkins, designs for embroideries, and fashion drawings (15). In his essay on Rozanova in the same catalogue, Kliun wrote that she "also worked in the field of applied art: the whole of Moscow admired the embroideries designed by Rozanova exhibited at N.M. Davydova's decorative exhibitions" (16). Similarly, one of the obituary articles to Rozanova in Iskusstvo described her Moscow period after 1915 as "characterized by an enthusiasm for applied art. She showed a number of embroideries at exhibitions, which displayed a wealth of composition and colour" (17).

Some of Rozanova's designs have survived, including her Project for a fabric design above, a couple of dress designs and a number of designs for handbags from 1916-17. Her designs for Women's Dresses (Fig. 7.6) are similar to that modeled by Boguslavskaya at the Petrograd Fashion Evening, in that there is no alteration to the basic shape of the dress and the abstract patterns have been applied decoratively, either to edge the pockets

or as motifs on the dress top or skirt. They maintain the traditional peasant style of dress, while applying new, abstract decorations. Although Rozanova's love for the dynamic, dissonant line is still evident in the patterned pocket edges which run counter to the natural folds of the skirt, these sketches seem less innovative than the geometric and asymmetrical patterns on her fabric designs. One of her designs for a handbag (Fig. 7.7.a) shows the same profusion of bright colours set against a dark background as found in the non-objective collages for Universal War; as in the latter, the coloured strips stand out in relief against their black background. Once again, Rozanova's forms are characterized by sharp contours, including the top of the bag itself. Another embroidered handbag design (Fig. 7.7.b) reflects the angular and diagonal shapes of Rozanova's non-objective paintings (compare Suprematism, 1916) (18). Her handwritten instructions on the drawing suggest that the bag was to be embroidered in brightly coloured strips of blue, crimson and green, set diagonally on a black background, engendering similar relief qualities to her other handbag design.

One of Udaltsova's designs for a handbag (Fig. 7.8) shows an emphasis on the dynamic line and on asymmetry similar to that observed in Rozanova's drawings. The central, abstract pattern of overlaid coloured shapes is placed on a Suprematist plane with converging lines, which suggests movement in the opposite direction to the main shape of the bag underneath. This design is similar to those projects for textiles by Udaltsova which are closer

stylistically to Malevich's Suprematist forms.

In their designs for household and fashion items, the Russian avant-garde artists asserted the supremacy of colour and of the dynamic, dissonant line - features which had evolved both out of their Cubo-Futurist figurative works and from a knowledge of Malevich's Suprematism. With the use of embroidery set against a soft fabric such as silk or satin, the possibility of contrasts of faktura was also retained.

However, apart from Rozanova's Project for a fabric design, which genuinely paralleled contemporary non-objective experiments in painting in the innate dynamism and rhythms of its shapes, which carry infinite extensions, the majority of designs by the avant-garde in 1916-17 tended towards the superficially decorative. Rozanova maintained her interest in design and applied art after the revolution, when she was appointed in charge of the Applied Arts subsection [Podotdel khudozhestvennoi promyshlennosti] of the Moscow IZO Narkompros [Otdel izobrazitel'nykh iskussty, Department of Fine Arts in the Commissariat of Enlightenment], and organized Free State Applied Art and Craft Workshops. Before her death in 1918, Rozanova travelled widely, attempting to set up similar workshops in the provinces (19).

The designs of the Russian avant-garde artists for textiles and household items are important as an indication of their desire to apply the new principles from painting to more practical and relevant tasks in a real environment. However, artists were more

successful in integrating their experience from painting into the medium of the theatre. Aspects of the theatre and of theatricality had always figured prominently in the Russian avant-garde's activities, largely as part of their policy to épater le bourgeoisie. Burliuk, Mayakovsky and Larionov regularly dressed in outlandish costumes of bright colours or in the dandified suits and top hats of the bourgeoisie, and painted their faces, in a deliberate provocation of the public at their Futurist evenings or when parading the streets of Moscow and St. Petersburg. Cloning, pantomime, hyperbole and street theatre were an integral part of the public image of Russian Futurism. One example of this "cabaret culture" was the Stray Dog cabaret in St. Petersburg, founded by Evreinov, Kul'bin and Boris Pronin in late 1911 and which existed until the spring of 1915. Although it was essentially a Symbolist phenomenon, members of the Russian avant-garde were frequent visitors to the Stray Dog and special evenings were organized there on the occasion of Marinetti's visit to St. Petersburg in February 1914 (20). Programmes which survive from the Stray Dog show that regular features included 'extraordinary' Saturdays and Wednesdays, which involved dressing-up, a "Carnival 'Night of Masks'", an evening of Tango dancing, and lectures and debates on the contemporary Russian theatre. Alexandr Tairov is listed on a number of occasions as a participant in these debates and, in December 1912, the New Dramatic Theatre of A.K. Reineke performed Benavente's The Seamy Side of Life in the Stray Dog, directed by Tairov with decorations by Sudeikin (21). Hence, the Petersburg Stray Dog cabaret provided an important environment, not only for

lively debate and regular riotous activities, but also for more serious theatrical performances.

In December 1913 the Union of Youth performed Vladimir Mayakovsky: A Tragedy and Victory Over the Sun in the Luna Park, St. Petersburg. The performance of Vladimir Mayakovsky: A Tragedy involved elements of clowning, hyperbole and distortion characteristic of Russian Futurism. Mayakovsky "recited" the play himself, dressed as a bizarre dandy in an orange and black striped blouse, an overcoat and top hat. Students, specially drafted in for the performance, acted the various "cripples", who remained behind cardboard shields, keeping their faces hidden except when speaking, when they were revealed to be painted like masks (22). Some of the stage props, such as the tears which the cripples brought to the poet and a huge fifteen foot papier mâché doll, were exaggerated out of all proportion to the level of the grotesque.

Victory Over the Sun was conceived and performed within the context of zauw and the fourth dimension. Its most innovative feature was Malevich's use of lighting to break up the forms of the actors and the decor into isolated and 'displaced' planes (23). This idea of the 'partial view' of an object became one of the central aspects of Malevich's Alogist paintings of 1914-15. Livshits' reference, in his account of Malevich's lighting, to the "dissolution" of the forms in "painterly space" (24), suggests that Malevich's intention was to flatten the real three-dimensional space and present an illusion of a two- or four-dimensional space by means of the displaced surface plane. Malevich's final solution

seems not to have been worked out in the context of the theatre, but in painting, with the aid of Cubist collage and collage techniques. It was the two-dimensional surface plane which could best express his ideas of a fourth dimension of space. Malevich's experience with lighting in the performance of Victory Over the Sun highlighted the potential of the flat, unmodulated plane, which he also saw in Cubist collage and subsequently exploited in his Alogist canvases (25). Thus, in Victory Over the Sun, Malevich essentially ignored the real, three-dimensional space of the theatre, by creating the illusion of another, two- or four-dimensional space. The later experiments in scenic design by Exter and Vesnin, however, consciously sought to 'expand' the real space of the theatre, deliberately rejecting any illusions of flat, two-dimensional space.

Alexandr Tairov founded the Kamerny Theatre in 1914 in the midst of a crisis in the Russian theatre. The debate was largely conducted between the realistic or naturalistic theatre, exemplified by Stanislavsky at the Moscow Art Theatre, and the conventional theatre, championed by Vsevolod Meierkhol'd and the Symbolists. Tairov was fundamentally opposed to the static quality of scenery and the lifelessness of actors in the Symbolist theatre, and had begun to explore the use of platforms, ramps and steps as functional units on the stage as early as 1908 (26). In order to solve the basic conflict which existed between the plasticity and three-dimensionality of the actor's body and the flat, two-dimensional nature of scenic décor, Tairov intended to develop

an entirely new, three-dimensional "scenic atmosphere" in the Kamerny Theatre (27). This involved recreating the scenic volume within which the actor functioned, in order to establish the correct spatial environment for the free expressions of the innate rhythms and plasticity of the actor's own body. It was the concept of the inherent dynamic rhythms, both of the actor and of the play being performed, which constituted the basis of all Tairov's experiments in the theatre. The three-dimensional constructions which he proposed as scenic decoration were to be the source for the dynamic expression of these rhythms. In his Notes of A Director, he declared:

"These constructions... do not create any kind of life-like illusion; they are instead truly free and creative constructions not recognizing any laws other than the laws of internal harmony born of the rhythmically dynamic structure of the production... these constructions are truly real, real from the point of view of the theatre, since they provide a real basis for the actor's movements and harmonize with the reality of his material." (28)

Tairov's belief in the internal, dynamic structure of his proposed scenic constructions, independent from allusions to objects, can be compared with the non-objective experiments of artists such as Popova and Exter in 1916-18, which established a new, independent structure to painting from the organization of materials (line, colour, plane, faktura). This helps to explain the extremely successful union attained, initially, between Tairov and Exter, and then between Tairov and Vesnin, in the creation of a dynamic scenic atmosphere for the productions of Famira Kifared, Salomé, Romeo and Juliet, The Tidings Brought to Mary and Phaedra in the Kamerny Theatre between 1916 and 1922.

By 1916, Tairov was already well acquainted with the Russian Futurists, principally with Larionov and Goncharova: Goncharova had devised the sets and costumes for the production of The Fan in the Kamerny Theatre in January-February 1915. According to Alisa Koonen, Larionov and Goncharova became close friends with Tairov thereafter (29). In her memoirs, Koonen narrates how Tairov visited Larionov and Goncharova on one occasion and met Exter for the first time. Subsequently, Koonen and Tairov became frequent guests at Exter's house in Moscow, where they met other "leftist artists", including David Burluk, and participated in animated discussions on art:

"I was very interested in the discussions and arguments that went on around Exter's table. Although I had a poor understanding of most artistic trends, not knowing the difference between Cubism, Futurism, Rayism, or the Knave of Diamonds and The Donkey's Tail etc.,... it was nevertheless interesting to hear them talk about the 'decomposition of the body on the plane', about Khlebnikov and the revival of sense which had slumbered in the word. And as Alexandr Yakovlevich [Tairov] had an excellent understanding of all these things, I would ask him all manner of questions on the way home from Exter's. And he would tell me in detail about Futurism, which he considered to be a significant historical phenomenon."  
(30)

A fundamental part of Tairov's scenic philosophy was his theory of a "synthetic theatre":

"A synthetic theatre is one which organically merges all the various forms of theatrical art so that, in one and the same performance, all the elements now artistically separated - dialogue, song, pantomime, dance, and even the circus - would be harmoniously interwoven to present a single, monolithic theatrical production." (31)

As far as scenic decoration was concerned, Tairov's "synthetic theatre" involved the fusion of all the scenic elements - scenery,

lighting, costume, make-up and the actor's body - in a unified, dynamic expression of the rhythmic intent of the production (32). He described his new theatre as the "Theatre of Emotionally-Saturated Forms...":

"...you dream about a beautiful new presentation in which the dynamic elements of the theatre send whirling in their intoxicating dance not only the actors, but everything around them - when in the moment of the greatest accumulation of creative emotions, together with their expressive release, the entire scenic atmosphere bursts, vibrates, and changes in harmonious, dynamic emotion as it strengthens and saturates the beautiful mastery of the actor, ablaze in its maximum revelation."  
(33)

The hyperbole of Tairov's statement, his references to intoxication and to the explosive force of the emotion created by the rhythms of the scenic atmosphere, recall Italian Futurist rhetoric. Given Tairov's association with Larionov, Goncharova and Exter, it is likely that he was aware of Italian Futurism in general and of Italian Futurist Manifestos concerning the theatre. Marinetti's manifesto "The Variety Theatre" was translated and reproduced in Shershenevich's collection of Italian Futurist Manifestos and in N.N. Mikhailova's anthology, Marinetti: Futurizm (34). In it, he advocated caricature, pantomime and the "simultaneous movement of jugglers, ballerinas, gymnasts, colourful riding masters, spiral cyclones of dancers" in an overall "dynamism of form and colour" (35). This advocacy of the techniques of pantomime and circus, involving a wide variety of skills on the part of the performer, paralleled Tairov's own insistence on a system of acrobatic acting. In his school, pupils had to learn fencing, acrobatics, juggling and clowning; physical education included voice, mimics, gesture

and the suppleness and general strength of the body (36). Tairov's use of methods of clowning and pantomime in the training of his actors parallels, in turn, the general 'exhibitionist' antics of the Russian Futurists, the cultivated clowning and buffoonery of Mayakovsky and Burliuk. This may explain the affinity which Tairov felt with the Russian Futurists and the fact that he took their 'antics' very seriously.

Perhaps of more significance than the similarity in theatrical techniques, is the resemblance between Tairov's synthesis of the "emotionally-saturated forms" of his scenic decoration and the Italian Futurists' "dynamic sensation", their concern with the "emotional ambience of a picture, the synthesis of the various abstract rhythms of every object..." (37). In Futurist painting, the emotional content lies in the communication of the rhythms of the forms, in visual terms by means of force-lines. In his new theatre, Tairov was concerned with a similar communication of emotional content through the rhythmical construction of his scenic platforms. Hence his call for "artist-constructors" who "feel the dynamic element of the theatre". In Italian Futurist theory, this "dynamic element of the theatre" was given fullest expression by Enrico Prampolini in "The Futurist Stage (Manifesto)" of 1915:

"...What will be completely new in the theatre as a result of our innovations is the banning of painted scenery. The stage will no longer have a coloured backdrop, but a colourless electromechanical architectural structure, enlivened by chromatic emanations from a source of light, produced by electric reflectors with coloured filters arranged and coordinated in accordance with the spirit of the action on stage. The luminous radiation of these sheaves and walls of coloured lights and the dynamic combinations will give

beautiful effects of interpenetration and intersection of light and shade... Additions, unreal clashes, an exuberance of sensations, as well as the dynamic architectural structures on the stage... will heighten the intensity and vitality of the stage action. On a stage lit in such a way, actors will produce unforeseen dynamic effects... We have defended the idea of a dynamic stage as opposed to the static stage of the past... Instead of the illuminated stage, let us create the stage that illuminates: expressive light radiating with great emotional intensity the colours appropriate to the action on stage." (38)

Although Tairov never went so far as to use "electro-mechanical" structures on stage, his productions which involved Exter and Vesnin as scenic designers certainly exploited to a maximum degree the potential of coloured lighting, the sounds, gestures and movements of his actors, to communicate the required emotional content and dynamic rhythms. The association of colour with mood and with sound was not new to Russian artists. In Concerning the Spiritual in Art, Kandinsky had written in detail on the emotional power of individual colours, of certain colour combinations, and of particular colours in conjunction with particular forms, where "shades of colour, like those of sound... awake in the soul emotions too fine to be expressed in words" (39). The title of his play, The Yellow Sound, likewise associated sound and colour. Within Russia, Scriabin had attempted to create a gesamtkunstwerk by associating sounds and colours in the production of Prometheus: The Fire Poem (1910), in which the music was accompanied by a 'clavier à lumières', which projected coloured lights around the auditorium. These coloured rays of light corresponded to particular chords in the music. Kul'bin had written on the relation of colour to music in his essay "Free Music" ("Svobodnaia

muzika") in The Studio of Impressionists in 1910 (40). One of the fundamental features of Khlebnikov's transrational language, the subject of so much animated discussion in Exter's household, was the perception of sound visually as graphic images. In his "sound-painting" [zyukopis'], "Bobebob", published in 1912, Khlebnikov had attempted to represent the colours of certain parts of the human face in terms of sounds; he also compiled an extensive glossary in which initial consonants were associated with specific colours (41). Larionov discussed the musical sonority of colours in Orphism in his manifesto Rayism (Moscow, 1913); similarly, the relationship between colour and music was an important part of the Italian Futurist aesthetic, as depicted in the paintings of Russolo (42). Throughout his association with the theatre, Tairov conducted experiments with music as a rhythmical basis for staging (43). The rhythms of music and dance, in conjunction with colour and lighting, figured prominently in Famira Kifared (1916) and Salomé (1917), the scenic decoration for both of which was completed by Exter. In selecting Exter as an "artist, close to his own creative searches" (44), Tairov also chose the Russian artist closest of all to the Italian Futurists.

Before examining the scenic decorations of Exter and Vesnin for Tairov's productions in the Kamerny Theatre between 1916 and 1922, it is worth considering briefly two other projects undertaken by Russian artists in this period, which demonstrated a similar concern to apply the principles from non-objective painting to a real spatial environment. These were the project for the

decoration of the Moscow basement theatre-café, the "Café Pittoresque", in 1917, and the decorations for the first anniversary of the October Revolution in November 1918.

The principle designer for the decoration of the Café Pittoresque was Georgii Yakulov, but Tatlin, Udaltsova and Lev Bruni were also involved in the project (45). The revamped café was to represent a synthesis of the fine arts, literature and the theatre, and it was hoped that the Futurist poets Mayakovsky, Kamensky and Khlebnikov, together with theatrical directors, would help create the Moscow equivalent of the, now closed, Stray Dog cabaret in Petrograd. The dominant theme of the interior of the café was to be the street carnival, creating both a decorative and a theatrical milieu. Yakulov's designs were intended to reflect light filtering through the roof windows, mixing with the artificial coloured light from the numerous suspended lamps and mobiles, to produce an overall dynamic, "prismatic and kinetic effect within the vault of the once stark hall" (46). This preoccupation with lighting determined many of the interior decorations of the café, which included hanging metallic mobiles, a chandelier from suspended tin-plate cones and lamps designed by Rodchenko (47). In addition, there were decorative figures either painted or attached as reliefs to the walls and above the proscenium arch of the stage (Fig. 7.9). One of the relief figures, visible in a photograph of the café, is similar to the constructed assemblages of Archipenko and, in particular, to his Médrano I. The colours of the lamps and mobiles ranged from red

and orange to contrasting cold colours; Rodchenko's drawings also clearly indicate that the surfaces of his lamps were painted in graded tones. An account of the interior of the café by one of its patrons, N. Lakov, describes the overall dynamic effect achieved from the combination of the constructions of coloured planes with the artificial light:

"The interior decoration of the Café Pittoresque astonished young artists by its dynamism. Fancifully shaped objects of cardboard, plywood and cloth - lyre-shapes, circles, funnels, spiral constructions - were fitted with electric lights. Everything was flooded with light, everything revolved and vibrated. It seemed that the entire decoration was in motion... These strange objects hung from the ceiling and sprang from the walls, their boldness astounding whoever saw them" (48)

The decorations for the Café Pittoresque clearly applied the principles of construction from non-objective painting, using colour, faktura, interlocking flat planes and the dynamism and dissonant rhythms of differently shaped forms, developed by Tatlin in his counter-reliefs and corner counter-reliefs, and by Exter and Popova in their experiments into construction on the flat painterly plane. The overall effect of these reliefs and mobiles, in conjunction with the lighting, was to "expand the space with their angular interpenetrating planes without violating the café's architectonic unity..." (49). This, then, was an attempt to articulate real space, and to create an open, expanding and dynamic spatial environment (albeit in a decorative manner), utilizing the principles of construction developed in painting. It was no coincidence that Yakulov also became one of the principle scenic designers in Alexandr Tairov's Kamerny Theatre after 1918.

After the October Revolution of 1917, many artists of the Russian avant-garde, including Tatlin, Malevich, Puni, Boguslavskaya, Rozanova, Popova, Vesnin and Natan Al'tman, became involved in the decoration of Petrograd and Moscow for revolutionary festivals. For the first anniversary of the Revolution in 1918, Natan Al'tman designed a decoration for the Alexander Column in Palace Square in Petrograd, the sources for which clearly lay in Cubo-Futurist painting and in Suprematism (Fig. 7.10) (50). The base of the column was surrounded by a multi-level, stepped tribune, with box-like volumes staggered on top of one another at each of the four corners, supporting hollow cubes. Projectors for lighting the column at night were placed inside these cubes and revolutionary slogans were hung on the staggered corner volumes (51). The actual column was surrounded by a dynamic arrangement of linen panels in the shape of Suprematist rhomboids, ellipsoids and semi-spheres. A colour study for the decoration shows that these linen panels were to be bright red, orange and yellow, literally symbolizing the flames of the Revolution destroying the Tsarist autocracy (52). As such, the whole emotional and symbolic content of Al'tman's decoration was contained in these dynamic, colourful linen panels. Although conceived within the context of revolutionary fervour, the decoration for the Alexander Column remained firmly linked to non-objective experiments in painting, where the content lay in the dynamically constructed material elements. The direct association between colour, dynamic form and emotion was essentially the same as that which characterized the "emotionally-saturated forms" of

Tairov's new theatre. Although many of the decorations designed by artists for revolutionary festivals were unsuccessful and impractical, it was actually the "Suprematists" and "Leftist Artists" who made the greatest impact in this area of design in the immediate period after the revolution (53).

The Russian avant-garde's experiments in fashion design and in the decoration of the interior of the Café Pittoresque in Moscow and of revolutionary monuments, demonstrated a desire to take the dynamism and dissonant rhythms of their paintings, collages and reliefs beyond the 'painterly' dimension, to articulate an entire, dynamic and synthetic spatial environment. This reflected both the Italian Futurists' "sum of sensations" and the basic, Cubist concern with the internal structure of form and its integration with pictorial space. The means for the transition to real space were the same as employed in the artists' non-objective experiments - colour, faktura and the dynamic line - together with the use of mobile coloured lighting, in order to attain effects of maximum expressiveness and plasticity. Tairov's exploitation of the internal, dynamic structure of his scenic constructions in the Moscow Kamerny Theatre had its sources in Cubism and in Futurism, in a manner similar to that in which the examination of the principles of Cubism and Futurism by Popova and Exter evolved into a dynamic organization of materials on the surface plane in their works of 1916-18. The coloured plane, which was so important to Popova's and Exter's researches, figured prominently in the scenic designs of Exter and Vesnin between 1916 and 1922 - designs which

demonstrated the successful application, within a real spatial environment, of those principles of non-objective construction, first tentatively applied to the decorative projects described in this Chapter.

## FOOTNOTES

1. A.Ya. Tairov, Zapiski rezhissera, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo Kamernogo teatra, 1921; reprinted as Zapiski rezhissera: Stat'i, besedy, rechi, pis'ma, edited P. Markov, compiled Yu. Golovashenko, Moscow, "Vserossiiskoe teatral'noe obshchestvo", 1970, p.172 (all quotes are taken from this edition). Tairov's real name was Alexandr Yakovlevich Kornblit. He founded the Kamerny Theatre in 1914 with his wife, Alisa Koonen, who became the principle actress in the new company.
2. Tugendkhol'd, Alexandra Exter, p.17.
3. Andrei B. Nakov (Ed.), Liberated Colour and Form: Russian Non-Objective Art, 1915-1922, The Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh, 1978, p.31.
4. ibid.
5. 1916god: Futuristicheskaja vystavka 'Magazin'. Exter's contributions to the exhibition are listed as Nos.82-88.
6. See Chapter Six, "The Cubo-Futurists in 1916: Non-Objective Creation and the Liberation of Colour".
7. Gassner, "Olga Rozanova", in Women Artists of the Russian Avant-Garde, p.231.
8. Rakitin, in Women Artists of the Russian Avant-Garde, p.256, n.12.
9. Reference to the new theatre is made in Rozanova's letter to Matiushin, cited in Chapter Six. The list of proposed contents for the "Supremus" journal clearly indicates that the zaum of Kruchenykh and Khlebnikov still occupied a central role in the group's theories.
10. Giacomo Balla, "Futurist Manifesto of Men's Clothing", in Apollonio, Futurist Manifestos, p.132.
11. Tugendkhol'd, Alexandra Exter, Plate No. XI: "Motiv stennoi zhivopisi (1918)".
12. Boguslavskaya's works are listed in the following catalogues:  
Plataia vystavka tovarishchestva nezavisimykh, Petrograd, 1916, Nos. 17-20: "Podushka belaia"; "sumochka s tsvetami"; "podushka kruglaia"; "podushka blanc et noir";  
Mir iskusstva, Petrograd, 1916: Nos. 12-14: "podushka belaia"; "sumochka blanc-noir"; "sumochka chernaia s rozovym";  
Mir iskusstva, Petrograd, 1917: Nos. 31-33: "podushka

chernaia"; "sumki";  
Vystavka sovremennoi russkoi zhiyopisi, Dobychina Gallery,  
 Petrograd, 3-19 May, 1916. Nos. 202-208: "podushka  
 zelenaia"; "podushka na chainik"; "sumochka belaia";  
 "podushka"; "sumochka feuille morte"; "sumochka";  
Vystavka sovremennoi russkoi zhiyopisi, Dobychina Gallery,  
 Petrograd, 27 Nov. 1916 - 1 Jan. 1917. Nos.19a,b,c,d,e.:  
 "(vyshivki)", "brosh'", "podushka"; "sumka";  
Vystavka sovremennoi zhiyopisi i risunka, Dobychina Gallery,  
 Petrograd, 1918. Nos. 21-23: "podushka"; "pokryshka na  
 chainik"; "sumki";  
Mir iskusstva, Petrograd, 1918. Nos. 2-5: "podushka  
 korichnevaia"; "sumochka siniaia s busami"; "sumochka  
 lilovaia"; "kushak".

13. Solntse Rossi, No.329-23, 28 May, 1916, p.12. Apart from the dress designed by Puni, there was a photograph of O.A. Glebova-Sudeikina modeling a dress from original drawings by Sudeikin.
14. For a reference to the "State Exhibition of the Applied Art Workshops", Moscow, 1919, see Larissa Zhadova, "Some Notes on the History of Clothes Design and Other Everyday Items", in Women Artists of the Russian Avant-Garde, p.67.
15. Katalog posmertnoi vystavki kartin, etjudov, eskizov i risunkov O.V. Rozanovoi, Moscow, 1918-19. Rozanova's applied works are listed as Nos. 130-132: "Risunki dlia vyshivok"; 139-153: "Risunki sumochek"; 154-165: "Risunki dlia vyshivok"; 166-188: "Risunki mod"; 189-197: "Risunki dlia vyshivok"; 228-233: "Sumochki"; 234-35: "Poiasa k plat'iu"; 236-37: "Salfetki".
16. Kliun, in Katalog posmertnoi vystavki, p.3. N. Davydova was a member of "Supremus" and was responsible for liaising between the avant-garde artists and the peasant women in Verbovka, Kiev Province, who embroidered their designs. She also organized a number of exhibitions in Kiev and Moscow between 1915-17, featuring the decorative designs of Russian artists, and it is presumably these to which Kliun is referring in his essay.
17. "Pamiati O.V.Rozanovoi" ["In Memory of O.V. Rozanova"], Iskusstvo, No.1, 5 January 1919, p.3.
18. The painting Suprematism is illustrated in Women Artists of the Russian Avant-Garde, p.256. Its location is not indicated.
19. Rozanova's work within the Applied Arts subsection of IZO is detailed in the obituary article, "Pamiati O.V. Rozanovoi", p.3. See also Lodder, Russian Constructivism, p.259.
20. A.E. Parnis and R.D. Timenchik, "Programmy 'Brodiachei sobaki'", Pamiatniki kul'tury: Novye otkrytiia: Pis'mennost'. Iskusstvo. Arkheologiya. Ezhegodnik 1983, "Nauka", Leningrad,

1985, pp.225-6.

21. On 23 January 1913, Sergei Ausländer gave a lecture on "Theatrical Dilettantism", followed by a discussion on the state of contemporary theatre, in which Tairov, Evreinov, and Kuzmin took part. On 13 February 1913, Yevgeni Znosko-Borovsky spoke on "Mutiny or Revolution? (Concerning Contemporary Russian Theatre)" and on 31 March 1914 V. Pyast lectured on "Theatre of the Word and Theatre of Movement". See A.E. Parnis and R.D. Timenchik, "Programmy 'Brodiachei sobaki'", pp.199; 206-208; and 219-220.
22. L. Stahlberger, The Symbolic System of Mayakovsky, Mouton, The Hague, 1964, p.24.
23. For zaum and Victory Over the Sun see Chapter Three, "Zaum and its Influence on the Reworking of Cubist Collage by Russian Artists, 1914-1916".
24. Livshits, The One and a Half-Eyed Archer, p.164.
25. Larionov also developed ideas for a Futurist theatre involving a mobile stage and décor, lighting and music, and a language "beyond the limits of the language of ideas", in the Pink Lantern cabaret in Moscow in September-October 1913. Owing to the closure of The Pink Lantern, these ideas were never realized. See Teatr y karikaturakh, Moscow 1913, No.1, 8 September, p.14; and "Teatr 'futu'", Moskovskaia gazeta, No.272, 9 September 1913, p.5.
26. Thomas Joseph Torda, Alexander Tairov and the Scenic Artists of the Moscow Kamerny Theatre 1914-1935, PhD Dissertation, University of Denver, 1977, p.36.
27. ibid, p.52. Tairov's theories were not entirely new. In his production of Tristan and Isolde in 1909, Meierkhol'd had broken up the floor of the stage into a series of functional levels and ramps, which worked in conjunction with the rhythms of the actors. A similar concern had motivated Gordon Craig's set designs for Hamlet at the Moscow Art Theatre in 1911, which incorporated mobile canvas screens and cubes to increase the plasticity of the stage space. See Torda, Alexander Tairov, p.57; and Compton, The World Backwards, pp.51-2.
28. Tairov, Zapiski rezhissera, p.165. Emphases as in the original.
29. Alisa Koonen, Stranitsy zhizni, "Iskusstvo", Moscow, 1975, p.212.
30. ibid, pp.225-6. Koonen also notes the mixture of European and Ukrainian culture in Exter's house. The walls were covered alternately with drawings by Picasso, Léger and Braque, and

- with Ukrainian embroideries; Ukrainian rugs decorated the floor and the table was laden with Ukrainian earthenware pots. Elsewhere, pp.155-6, Koonen narrates how she attended and greatly enjoyed one of the Futurist "Evenings of the Speech-Creators" in Moscow, at which Mayakovsky and Nikolai Burliuk appeared.
31. Tairov, Zapiski, p.93. Emphases as in the original.
  32. Torda, Alexander Tairov, p.66.
  33. Tairov, Zapiski, pp.106; 169.
  34. "Musik-kholl. Futuristicheskii manifest", in Shershenevich, Manifesty ital'ianskago futurizma, pp.72-77; and "Musik-kholl: Futuristskii manifest: Proslavlenie teatra var'ete", in Mikhailova, Marinetti: Futurizm, pp.231-38.
  35. Marinetti, "The Variety Theatre", 1913, in Apollonio, Futurist Manifestos, pp.126-7.
  36. Marc Slonim, Russian Theatre. From the Empire to the Soviets, Methuen and Co., London, 1963, p.219.
  37. Boccioni, Carra, Russolo, Balla, Severini, "Exhibitors to the Public", 1912, in Apollonio, Futurist Manifestos, p.50.
  38. E. Prampolini, "The Futurist Stage (Manifesto)", 1915, in Apollonio, Futurist Manifestos, pp.200-202. Emphases as in the original. As this manifesto was not published until 1922, in Der Futurismus (Berlin), it is not certain whether Tairov would have known of its exact contents. However, they may have been communicated to him through Exter, especially as she herself became increasingly involved with the theatre from 1916 and maintained close links with the Italian Futurists (in 1914 she had shared Soffici's studio in the Rue Boissonade in Paris). Larionov and Goncharova were also closely associated with Prampolini, Marinetti and Gordon Craig in Rome in the spring of 1917. See Waldemar George, Larionov, La Bibliothèque des Arts, Paris, 1966, p.120. Tairov would certainly have been aware of the Futurists' advocacy of a dynamic stage.
  39. Wassily Kandinsky, Concerning the Spiritual in Art, translated M.T.H. Sadler, Dover Publications, New York, 1977, p.41.
  40. Kul'bin, "Svobodnaia muzika", Studia impressionistov, pp.15-26. One of the sections in Kul'bin's essay is entitled "Colour Music".
  41. For Khlebnikov's transrational language see Chapter Four, "Khlebnikov and Puni: Rediscovering the Language of the Stars".

42. For a more detailed exposition of this relationship see Parton, Larionov, p.217.
43. Torda, Alexander Tairov, p.36.
44. Koonen, Stranitsy zhizni, p.225.
45. There is no documentary evidence that Rodchenko was involved in decorating the Café Pittoresque. Yakulov's account of the decoration of the café omits Rodchenko's name altogether, but Rodchenko's memoirs state that Yakulov invited him to work on the project. For a more detailed exposition of the problem see Lodder, Russian Constructivism, pp.59 and 276, n.87.
46. Milner, Vladimir Tatlin, p.127.
47. Rodchenko labelled some drawings of lamps as for the Café Pittoresque. See German Karginov, Rodchenko, Thames and Hudson, London, 1979, pp.93-4; and Selim O. Khan-Magomedov, Rodchenko: The Complete Work, Thames and Hudson, 1986, pp.34-5, for reproductions of these drawings. However, it is difficult to establish whether they were ever used on the project. See note 45.
48. N. Lakov, cited in Milner, Vladimir Tatlin, p.130.
49. Konstantin Umansky, Neue Kunst in Russland 1914-1919, Munich 1920, cited in K.P. Zygas, The Sources of Constructivist Architecture: Designs and Images 1917-1925, PhD Dissertation, Cornell University, 1978, p.13.
50. Natan Al'tman first exhibited with the Russian avant-garde at the exhibition "Contemporary Art" (Sovremennoe iskusstvo) in St. Petersburg in 1913. He subsequently contributed to the "Union of Youth" exhibition of 1913-14, "Year 1915", the "Exhibition of Leftist Tendencies" (1915), "The Last Futurist Exhibition 0,10" (1915-16), the two exhibitions of "Contemporary Russian Painting" in the Dobychina Gallery, Petrograd, in May and November 1916, the "Knave of Diamonds" of November 1916, and the "First State Free Exhibition of Works of Art" (Pervaya gosudarstvennaya svobodnaya vystavka proizvedeniiskusstva), Petrograd, in 1919.
51. Zygas, The Sources of Constructivist Architecture, p.16.
52. ibid, p.17.
53. Lodder, Russian Constructivism, pp.50-52 and 275, n.42.

## Chapter Eight

### BEYOND THE PAINTERLY PLANE:

SCENIC DESIGNS BY ALEXANDRA EXTER AND ALEXANDER VESNIN

FOR THE MOSCOW KAMERNY THEATRE, 1916-1922.

The theatrical designs of Alexandra Exter and Alexandr Vesnin for the Moscow Kamerny Theatre between 1916 and 1922 constitute some of the most exciting attempts by the Russian avant-garde to articulate a total, dynamic, spatial environment, utilizing the principles from non-objective painting. The relevance and appropriateness of the theatre for such a task was acknowledged by Tugendkhol'd:

"The theatre was a great testing ground for new architectural and technical experimentation... There lies the secret of its attraction for young Russian painters. The theatre gives them the illusion of architectural and technical possibilities that were not available in real life. On the stage they can play with volumes, masses and surfaces, even if they are made of papier mâché... They do not bother to paint at the theatre, they actually construct compositions in space... And they go to the theatre completely conscious of the seriousness of their task." (1)

It was the possibility afforded by the theatre for genuine construction in a real spatial environment which initially attracted Exter to Tairov's new company:

"[Exter] sought not only to decorate, but to construct... In essence, Exter's costume designs for screens and parasols had already demonstrated her desire to go beyond the confines of painting and the two-dimensional surface, in order to create genuine products of her labour and production... To the theatre she brought her desire for synthesis - the synthesis of line, form and colour which she had attained in her experimental abstract canvases. She transferred onto the stage her desire not only to

cover the smooth canvas with painted colours, but also to create, to produce, construct... for Exter, [the theatre] was the very basis, upon which it was possible to raise, albeit out of cardboard and plywood, a construction from new forms, where it was possible to satisfy... that same thirst for construction, composition and a balancing of masses, which could not be wholly satisfied in two-dimensional painting..." (2)

The first scenic decorations and costumes which Exter designed for the Kamerny Theatre were for the production of Innokenty Annensky's Famira Kifared, which opened on November 2 1916. The theme of the play is a Greek legend concerning the love of a mother (Ariope) for her son (Famira), a player of the lyre who lives in isolation in the mountains. The tragedy essentially depicts the two opposing Apollonian and Dionysian forces in the figures of Famira and the wild bacchantes and satyrs respectively. It was the clash of these two opposing 'rhythms' which Tairov sought to present on stage. One of Tairov's fundamental requirements in all of his productions was that space should be considered from a dynamic and not a static point of view (3). To this end, he evolved a new way of dealing with the stage floor which involved breaking it up into a series of platforms, steps and inclined levels:

"First and foremost the floor of the stage must be broken up. It must not represent a single whole plane, but, depending on the tasks of the particular play, must be broken up into a number of horizontal or inclined planes of varying heights. A flat, even floor is clearly inexpressive: it does not allow the play to be clarified in terms of relief, nor the actor to reveal his movements to the required degree or to utilize his material to maximum effect... The principle which determines the construction of the scenic platform is the principle of rhythm." (4)

Exter solved the problem of the need to represent two opposing

rhythms simultaneously by constructing the central area of the stage from a series of raised platforms, upon which Famira played his lyre, while placing all around volumetrical shapes piled on top of each other or set at an angle (Fig. 8.1). These represented the agitated rhythms and "Dionysian dynamics" (5) of the satyrs and bacchantes, who emerged from them to torment Famira. By incorporating the desired rhythms within the actual scenic constructions, "those fatal clashes between the two cults, which permeated the tragedy of Famira Kifared, were hidden, as it were, in the very structure of the model" (6). In this way, the emotional and rhythmical content of the drama was found within the structure itself. These dynamic rhythms were as much the 'content' of Tairov's production as the narrative. Indeed, it was through these abstract rhythms that the essence of the Greek tragedy was transmitted. The clash of rhythms was to be accentuated by the contrasting movements of Famira and of the satyrs and bacchantes over the scenic constructions:

"...the construction provided excellent opportunities for the play of the actors. The dances of the satyrs and bacchantes, arranged according to a syncopated rhythm, produced a great impression on the audience by the daring and beauty of their movements. A similarly powerful and profound impression was made by the slow, measured step of the blind Famira, his regal movements emphasized by the serene, broad steps." (7)

Although the desire for a truly dynamic space could not be fully realized in practice, owing to the solidity and weight of the volumetrical shapes, so that the overall impression remained static, Exter's constructions paved the way for more successful rhythmical scenic decorations in Salomé and Phaedra.

A general account of the scenery in Famira Kifared is provided by Tugendkhol'd:

"Here the principle of the 'plastic depiction' of landscape was tried out on the European stage for the first time. This 'plastic scenery' was reduced to a number of simple forms: blue steps of differing width, black conical cypresses and gold and black cube-shaped rocks and stones. Instead of a painted background, a simple canvas served as a transparent backdrop. Thanks to the special system of [Alexander von] Salzmann, this backdrop was saturated with a great variety of colour shades from a moonlight-blue and opaline orange to a reddish-purple." (8)

Tugendkhol'd's account provides some insight into the lighting for the production, which was designed by Alexander von Salzmann, a Russian artist who had served as the lighting designer for the director Adolphe Appia in 1912 and 1913, and was "...reputed the greatest authority on lighting in the European theatre" (9). Tugendkhol'd's description, together with Abram Efros' statement that "a score of mobile and finely tinted lights played over the stage's interior" (10), suggests that a system of mobile, coloured lighting was used, in order to heighten the emotional content and the fluctuating rhythms of the drama, and to increase the impression of a dynamic spatial environment. This system was similar both to Prampolini's advocacy, in "The Futurist Stage (Manifesto)" (1915), of "expressive light" radiating on a "dynamic stage", and to the principles subsequently employed in the lighting of the Café Pittoresque in Moscow.

A desire to emphasize the dynamic plasticity of the human form in conjunction with the plastically realized scenery and the dynamic play of lights, determined Exter's costume designs for

Famira Kifared. To this end, Exter emphasized the bodies of the bacchantes and satyrs with strokes of make-up, which set the main muscles and lines of the figures in relief (Fig. 8.2), an idea already used by Archipenko as a more decorative effect in his three-dimensional constructions, Médrano I and Médrano II. The deliberate artificiality and exaggeration, which was characteristic of Tairov's productions, particularly with respect to make-up and the actors' gestures, was in accordance with his advocacy of methods of pantomime and clowning as a basis for acting - methods which he felt best created the desired impression of maximum expressiveness and plasticity of movement on stage when viewed from the auditorium. Alisa Koonen makes this point with reference to the exaggerated make-up in Famira Kifared:

"From the hall these lines [emphasizing the contours of the muscles] were, of course, invisible, but the bodies looked larger, stronger, more powerful." (11)

Once again, however, as with the scenery, the total, dynamic effect of the costumes was of limited success in practice, since the plasticity of the costumes was not emphasized to the same degree as the body musculature. Greater plasticity in costume design was attained by Exter in Salomé, which was the culmination of her first attempts at "dynamic costume" in Famira Kifared.

Although Famira Kifared was considered "one of the most significant productions in the history of the modern Russian theatre" (12), it was in the production of Oscar Wilde's Salomé, which opened on 9 October 1917, that the new theories for a plastic, dynamic theatrical space were most successfully realized

by Exter. As one of the reviews of the performance stated:

"To write about the première of Oscar Wilde's Salomé at the Kamerny Theatre is to write about the artist Madame Exter, for she is at the forefront of the production. All the remaining features of the production - the director, the actors and musicians - are hidden behind the artist." (13)

Exter's colour model for the stage set shows that the main stage was divided diagonally into two levels of differing heights (Fig. 8.3). The area on the left, painted in black, was reserved for action involving Salomé and Jokanaan (John the Baptist), while that on the right was for Herod, Herodias and the King's court (14). René Fulop-Miller provides an interesting description of the stage:

"The stage is irregular; it goes up stairwise, then stretches level on the left to the well that is Jokanaan's dungeon, on the right to the Tetrarch's seat. It is closed in on one side by red columns, on the other by black hangings... and the background is blue, shot across by jagged white streaks, like flashes of lightning. The significant arrangement of the scenery and the skilful varying of the stage levels add greatly to the impression of space." (15)

The blue background "shot across by jagged white streaks" is clearly visible in surviving photographs of the production and in Exter's model, as is a bright yellow curtain or cloth which stretches down to the stage floor, creating a medley of vivid, bold colours. In another photograph of the production (Fig. 8.5), curtains of a shimmering, silvery fabric hang down at different heights from the ceiling. These coloured curtains or drapery of different fabrics constituted one of the central features of Exter's designs for Salomé, as part of her vision of a dynamic theatrical space. They were described by Koonen in her memoirs:

"The scenic decoration was based on flat pieces of material of differing size and form, differently painted and differently lit. They would appear and disappear, either reducing or expanding the scenic space. Their movements determined the emotional tone of the play's action. When the Syrian, who has fallen in love with Salomé, plunges a sword into his breast, the bright silver hanging, against the background of which the scene unfolded, suddenly flies upwards; the sole bright spot on the stage has disappeared and the figure of the dead youth is plunged in darkness..." (16)

Tugendkhol'd also noted the significance of the coloured curtains:

"It was in Salomé that Exter first applied her second innovation drawn from her 'abstract' experiments, namely the principle of mobile scenery. Sections of material of varying colour and shape moved in all directions in connection with the development of the action of the play. This innovation encompassed a whole range of possibilities: the forms of the material were diagonal, wedge-shaped and rectangular; they were thrown through the air or cast to the ground; piled on top of each other or torn apart; they moved back-stage, upwards or to the side... through their different shapes, colours and very movement, the pieces of fabric symbolized each psychological moment in the drama. These moving coloured surfaces had a purely emotional effect on the audience, like a musical chord or colour in its purest form... Before us is a whole keyboard of colours which accompanies the action of Salomé like an orchestra. From moonlight silver to black, they are set against a general backdrop of a red curtain - the leitmotif of this drama of love and death, which concludes with the swift descent onto the murdered Salomé of five strips of black, wedge-shaped velvet cloth, sharp as the knife edge of a guillotine..." (17)

Tugendkhol'd's account is interesting for a number of reasons. Firstly, it directly relates Exter's use of brightly-coloured moving cloths to her experiments with colour and rhythm in non-objective painting. Secondly, whereas in Famira Kifared the rhythms of the drama were transmitted through the volumetrical constructions and platforms on the stage, in Salomé it is these coloured cloths which transmit emotional content and mood, similar, in fact, to the linen panels of Al'tman's decoration for the

Alexander Column in Petrograd in November 1918. Through the contrasts in colour, shape and fabric, the mobile coloured cloths embody within themselves the dynamic and dissonant rhythms of the human confrontations in Salomé and create that sense of a dynamic space which was lacking in Famira Kifared. Significantly, one reviewer of the production specifically described the feeling of dissonance which they created:

"What are these strips of silver brocade, creeping down the back curtain, or these falling bits of black rag?... Why does the disharmonious chord of bright red and bright blue run throughout the performance? Why not bright yellow with lilac or brown and green?" (18)

Tugendkhol'd's references to a "whole keyboard of colours" and to their emotional impact "like a musical chord" are not coincidental. The emotional force of Exter's mobile coloured cloths literally strikes the onlooker like an emission of sound, in an entire "synthetic" solution comparable to Scriabin's 'clavier à lumières', or to Kandinsky's Yellow Sound and his description of the colour vermilion, which "rings like a great trumpet, or thunders like a drum" (19). The coloured cloths clearly did make a strong impact on the audiences for Salomé, as mention was made of them in virtually every review. The reviewer in Teatral'naiá gazeta noted their significance in terms of emotional tension and dramatic effect:

"The scenery consists solely of coloured planes, a monochrome backdrop for the characters and the moods of the play, which turns to blue for the azure of the waning Eastern night, to purple for the scenes of conflict, silver for Salomé's dance and black when 'the soldiers throw themselves on Herodias' daughter and crush her with their shields'. The effect is very theatrical as the plasticity of the figures is heightened and the tension of the dramatic action intensified. It is a talented,

witty and, at times, beautiful solution." (20)

Commentators and reviewers of Salomé clearly noted the similarity between the scenic decoration and contemporary experiments in abstract painting. Abram Efros wrote of the "dynamics of abstract forms" and declared:

"...Salomé was produced as the main suite in a series of 'flowing' coloured surfaces. The course of the action was reflected in the fluctuations of the scenic elements. They were not there to depict anything, but existed simply for themselves. Their displacements [sdvigil] formed a painterly atmosphere, in which the development of the play breathed. Exter wished to speak in the language of 'correspondences'..." (21)

The editor of the Moscow Teatral'naiia gazeta, E. Beskin, similarly commented on the source for Tairov's scenery:

"The Kamerny Theatre was quite right in its unreal, strongly Cubist setting for Salomé, bathed in the bright colours of brocade and velvet... [However] I am not in full agreement with Tairov's role in the Kamerny Theatre, subjecting the actor to other theatrical elements of painting and pantomime, by joining the old mask of the commedia del arte to the refined paintbrush of the very latest surface painting..." (22)

Efros declared the whole experiment of Salomé to be "extremely courageous", and that "the theatre had never reached such heights before. Tairov and Exter were pioneers" (23).

Concurrent with the dynamic use of colour in Salomé was the importance of lighting, once again designed by Salzmann. In his description of the performance, Oliver Sayler noted that the predominant lighting was red, changing to a "portentious yellow" with the entrance of Herod and then back to a "blood-red" for Salomé's 'dance of the seven veils' (24). Thus the lighting, like the coloured cloths, was one aspect of the "emotionally-saturated

forms" of Tairov's new theatre. Colour, lighting and the abstract material fragments aroused emotion in the audience as themselves, independent of the narrative content of the play. The true content is seen to lie in these material elements, used both as psychological intensifiers of the emotion and to increase the plasticity of the scenic atmosphere. This can be compared with the Russian avant-garde's experiments in non-objective painting, where the dynamic content lies in the organization of the structural properties of colour, line and faktura on the flat plane. That Exter was exploiting the faktura and intensity of her colours and materials is suggested both by the fact that, with the appearance of the red curtain signifying the impending tragedy of Salomé's murder

"...the stage space becomes filled with uneasy lines of thin coloured strips, imparting to it a special denseness and special weightiness of colour, in which the players acquired an emphatically plastic materiality" (25)

and by the example of Exter's costume designs for the play (Fig. 8.4).

The innovative nature of Exter's costumes, in her desire for maximum plasticity, was noted by Tugendkhol'd:

"...each costume is seen by the artist as a three-dimensional, plastic and solid entity, as a living, mobile relief, a living, colourful sculpture... everything, including the general contours of the costume, its volume and its folds, is anticipated in advance by Exter herself. This plasticity is attained by actually painting the costume as the folds are made to look deeper with added colour. The basic lines of the form are obtained with the help of wire or the use of stiff lining." (26)

The painting and gradation of colour on the folds of the costumes

is clearly visible in the photographs of the production (see Figs. 8.5 and 8.6). In her search for three-dimensional plasticity in costume design, Exter applied the principles she had acquired from her experiments in painting, exaggerating line and utilizing the texture of different materials:

"In Exter's costumes, form, colour and even the material used, all of which complement each other, serve one and the same purpose of maximum expressiveness. In complete accordance with the conclusions reached in her experimental works on faktura, Exter not only paints her costumes in different colours, but also incorporates materials which differ in texture, varying them depending on the end impression desired, whether it be heaviness or lightness, brilliance or a matt effect. Thus canvas, silk and velvet may all be incorporated within one costume... [Exter's] costumes are virtually always intended to be dynamic... [they] are thus human rhythms set within lines and colours..." (27)

Exter's use of line, colour, faktura, contrasts and dissonances in the pursuit of the dynamic expressiveness of form in theatrical costume, is similar to the methods employed in paintings such as Composition (Construction of Planes according to the movement of colour, Fig. 6.16), which sought to establish an independent construction on the flat plane from the materials of painting. As Tugendkhol'd indicated, Exter's costumes were not "sewn", but "constructed - constructed from different surfaces in the same way as her scenery" (28). Although the severity of line in Exter's costume designs for Salomé (Fig. 8.4) was not always noticeable in the actual production, they show her concern to transfer the principles of non-objective painting and collage of 1916-18 to the "human rhythms" of the actors in the real space of the theatre, maintaining a degree of continuity in the basic principles of construction between experiments in painting and genuine,

three-dimensional tasks in a real environment.

Exter's last work for Tairov's Kamerny Theatre, for Romeo and Juliet, which opened on 17 May 1921, was perhaps her least successful, owing to the extreme opulence and decorativeness of the scenery. However, the features already examined in Famira Kifared and Salomé for the creation of a dynamic scenic atmosphere are also found in this production. This can be seen in the system of breaking up the stage floor into a series of seven platforms and bridges at various levels, creating dynamic intersecting structures and allowing for maximum activity vertically as well as horizontally. This was used to greatest effect in the scenes for the Masked Ball and the fight between the Capulet and Montague households (Fig. 8.7):

"...the scene of the fight between the two rival families has a magnificent overall effect, witnessed for the first time in the theatre - not only the floor of the stage, but its full height as well, radiates with rhythmically flashing swords and brightly sparkling costumes." (29)

The dynamic and dissonant rhythms engendered by the rivalry between the two families in the play found perfect reflection in the dynamic rhythms of the stage scenery. Coloured curtains were also used in Romeo and Juliet to indicate changes in the emotional tension of the drama:

"A lemon-coloured curtain with a diagonal green stripe across it is stretched between the two houses. The movements of this curtain and its differing colour depending on the lighting, together with the rising and falling of other curtains, indicate the changes of act. Thus a violet curtain separates Juliet's room from the bridges; a rich orange curtain symbolizes the luxury of the ball and the last scene, the tragic finale, develops against a solemn, crimson background. It should be added that Exter used a new material in this scenery, not

formerly associated with the theatre - reflective tin (a motif for the canal), which, under white light, created the mirror-like effect of a gleaming pool of water..." (30)

Exter's exploitation of the reflective qualities of sheets of pounded and creased tin recalls Tatlin's use of metal in his counter-reliefs and corner counter-reliefs, but is, perhaps, closer in intention to Archipenko's use of reflective materials to suggest the surface of a mirror in his sculpto-paintings, for example, Woman in front of a Mirror (1914) and Before the Mirror (In the Boudoir, 1915; Fig. 5.2). Exter would have been well acquainted with Archipenko's work from her years spent in Paris (31). In her own collages exhibited at the 1914 "Knave of Diamonds" exhibition, Exter had stuck on glittering pieces of gold-coloured paper (32). Hence, her use of sheet metal in the stage scenery of Romeo and Juliet was a continuation of her experiments in painting.

Abram Efros described the dynamic effect attained from the 'displaced' volumes of the scenery and the combination of various materials in Romeo and Juliet:

"The coloured masses of materials, the lustre of their surfaces and faktura, now smooth, now rough, now transparent, now reflecting light; the play of volumes, cascading down in steps or dissolving in folds, like those of a fan; the fractures of the bridges, one on top of another, in the centre of the stage, repeated in the fractures of balconies and platforms - all these were increased tenfold by the movements of the figures in similar costumes of complex faktura and multiple folds, their rounded pieces, tongues and spirals rising on flames into the air." (33)

Unlike the angular, severe costumes of Salomé, Exter's costumes for Romeo and Juliet are more curvilinear, with sweeping folds, and less rigidly constructed. In Romeo and Juliet, Exter relied

principally on the textures and colours of different fabrics, with their flowing movements in space, to provide a sense of dynamism, as opposed to the deliberate attempts to establish the plasticity of human form in the designs for Famira Kifared and Salomé. Much of the action in Romeo and Juliet involved swift, free and flowing movements, and the whole scenic decoration and costumes, including the use of feathers, exaggerated headgears and swirling capes, were designed to this end (see, for example, the costume design for the Fourth Female Mask, Bakrushin Theatrical Museum, Moscow). As well as incorporating different fabrics, Exter's costumes for Romeo and Juliet utilized Suprematist-type shapes. These were attached to the surface of the costume in the manner of a decorative appliqué, similar to Rozanova's dress designs of 1916-17. It is just possible to identify one of these Suprematist 'designs' on the costume in the foreground of the photograph of the battle scene (Fig. 8.7). Tugendkhol'd noted the significance of these details:

"...Of no less importance as an element of movement are the decorative details on the costumes themselves. These take the form of large, exaggerated fragments which contrast with the general rhythm of the costume, thereby consolidating it." (34).

Thus these abstract patterns operated in the same way as in Rozanova's clothes designs, setting up a rhythm which was dissonant to the main rhythm of the cloth underneath and thereby enhancing the overall dynamic impact. More than her costumes for the other two productions, the details on Exter's designs for Romeo and Juliet reflected the Suprematist shapes applied by her colleagues to the decoration of fashion drawings and handbag designs. Like the latter, Exter's costumes are decorative and exploit to a

maximum degree the expressiveness of colour, line and faktura. As such, they are also very close to her own non-objective compositions, such as Coloured Rhythm (1916-18; Fig. 7.4).

Another of Exter's costume designs for Romeo and Juliet (Fig. 8.8) shows the clear influence of Suprematism in the abstract shapes which decorate the head-dress or mask. The intended arabesques and rhythms of the costumes are clearly expressed in this drawing, which depicts those "tongues and spirals rising on flames into the air", which Efros described. This costume design was probably for one of the characters in the harlequinade. Tugendkhol'd wrote of "the contemporary masks of the harlequinade, bursting into this ancient tale with sharp tongues of colour, like flames" (35). Furthermore, the fiery colours of Exter's costume designs would have stood out sharply against the set, which was executed entirely in white.

Alexandr Vesnin first became an "artist-constructor" in Tairov's Kamerny Theatre with the production of Claudel's play The Tidings Brought to Mary [Blagoveshchenie] in 1920. Trained as an architect, Vesnin did not participate in any of the major avant-garde exhibitions of 1914-16, but he had worked in Tatlin's studio from 1912-14, at the same time as Udaltsova and Popova, and this marked the beginning of a long and close association with Popova. In the pre-war period, Vesnin experimented with avant-garde painting while strictly limiting his architecture to a neo-classical style. Between 1917 and 1922, with building at a virtual standstill in Russia, Vesnin was very active producing

non-objective painting, designs for revolutionary monuments and festivals, and designs for the theatre.

In his painting, Vesnin was influenced by those avant-garde artists who were experimenting with volume and space on the surface plane. This naturally led him to the formal experiments of Exter and Popova of 1916-20, and, in particular, to Popova's painterly architectonics, which lent structure to the painted surface through the organization of its materials. Vesnin's Chromatic compositions of 1917 demonstrate the divergent influences of Popova and Malevich, in the overlaying of coloured planes, their lines apparently receding in infinite space, with their coloured surfaces graded to suggest curvature and volume. In 1921 Vesnin participated in the Moscow exhibition "5 x 5 = 25", showing a number of compositions entitled "Structures of Coloured Space by means of Lines of Force". These have a clear affinity with Popova's Spatial Force Constructions and Linear Constructions of 1920-21. One of Vesnin's covers for the 5 x 5 = 25 catalogue shows thin diagonal lines cutting across the composition and placed, almost like a transparent grid, over intersecting planes of graded colour in the manner of Popova's painterly architectonics (Fig. 8.9). Vesnin is clearly trying to achieve that spatial dimension on the flat plane by means of dynamic line, colour and faktura as attained by Popova in her Spatial Force Constructions. To this end, he has placed the title for the catalogue, "5 x 5 = 25", above the grid of lines, in order to enhance the sensation of depth. The combination of dynamic, diagonal lines and intersecting

coloured planes found on this cover became one of the principle features of Vesnin's 'dynamic scenery' for Phaedra in 1922. The participants in "5 x 5 = 25" were all members of the Moscow INKhUK [Institut khudozhestvennoi kul'tury, The Institute of Artistic Culture], and three of them, Vesnin, Exter and Popova, were currently also working in the theatre (36). Statements by the artists in the catalogue for the exhibition indicated their concern with construction. Stepanova's declaration stressed her acceptance of "CONSTRUCTION as positive activity" and Popova stated that her drawings should be viewed "as a number of preparatory experiments for concrete, material constructions" (37). The works exhibited clearly indicated that their experiments were still of a painterly nature. Rodchenko's drawings explored the line "as a factor of construction"; he also exhibited examples of his purely painterly investigations of colour - three canvases covered with the three primary colours and titled Pure Red Colour, Pure Yellow Colour and Pure Blue Colour. Exter's statement likewise confirmed her painterly researches:

"The works exhibited are part of a series of experiments on colour, which partially solve the problems of the interaction of colour, its tension and reciprocal rhythms, and those of the progression towards coloured construction based on the laws of colour itself." (38)

Claudel's play The Tidings Brought to Mary, translated into Russian by Shershenevich, opened on 16 November 1920 in the Kamerny Theatre. It was directed by Alexandr Tairov with music by Henri Forterre. A medieval mystery of love and sacrifice, the play's central theme is one of joyous rebirth brought about by the power

of love through grief, pain, suffering and death, when the heroine, Violaine, dying from leprosy, performs a 'miracle' and restores her sister's child to life (39). Vesnin's stage and costume designs were influenced by the verticality, monumentality and structural clarity of Gothic architecture. This essentially vertical structure can be seen in Vesnin's model for the stage, which comprised massive columns, cubes, steps and two huge wooden statues similar to those found in a Gothic cathedral (Fig. 8.10). However, the model also includes sections of cloth hanging down diagonally from the top of the stage. The colours used are bright red, blue, yellow and black, which contrast with the sobriety of the two wooden statues. The various levels and platforms of the stage were all used at different points in the drama depending on the emotional tension, culminating in the scene of Violaine's miracle, conducted from the highest platform.

The severity and angularity of the stage set also characterized the actors' costumes, as seen in the surviving photographs of the production (Fig. 8.11). This was achieved by applying stiff understructures so that the costumes fell in heavy, solid folds, "imparting a sculptural plasticity and monumentality to the figures of the actors" (40). The flat surfaces of the garments were also painted in graded tones of colour to increase their plasticity, using the same techniques from non-objective painting as employed by Exter in Salomé. The stiff understructures, however, proved burdensome in practice. Vesnin's stage set for The Tidings Brought to Mary, and his use of stiff

understructures (for example, in the drapery around Violaine's head, see Fig. 8.11), are comparable with the stage designs and costumes by Larionov for the production of Chout by Diaghilev's Ballets Russes in Paris in 1921. Larionov's curtain design (Griffith Collection, New York) depicts two wooden statues flanking the central stage - a stone saint from Notre Dame on the left and a kamennaia baba on the right. The arrangement of several curtains at the top of the stage, beneath the proscenium arch, accentuates the emphasis on the diagonal line in Larionov's design. Like the costume designs by Exter and Vesnin, Larionov's costumes were "constructed" and incorporated caning to emphasize the contours of the forms. The similarity in set and costume designs by Larionov and Vesnin suggests that the two artists were working towards essentially the same plasticity in the delineation of the human form on the stage.

One of the most significant aspects of the production of The Tidings Brought to Mary was the combination of colour and lighting to make the architectural forms of the stage set and the costumes more dynamic. Their combination was also important with regard to the emotional content of the play:

"Characterized by an unusual...rhythmic and emotional saturation, [the lighting] had an active impact on colour and determined the level of its participation in the scenic atmosphere created. Colour would either die, dissolving in the powerful stream of light, or come to life, revealing all its beauty. Depending on the colour and intensity of the lighting, the range of colours changed, subject to the desired emotional effect in the auditorium." (41).

The most successful synthesis of colour, lighting and sound was in

the final scene of the miracle, where Tairov's theory of "emotionally-saturated forms" was fully realized. The appearance of Koonen as Violaine on the highest platform, set against a background of gold and red, was described by one of the reviewers:

"Waves of dazzling light - in many colours, one after another, like the continuous bands of a rainbow - swept over her from below, running up and down her rhythmically and growing ever brighter and brighter. Simultaneously with these waves of light,...waves of radiant music wafted upwards, becoming louder and louder, all the more strident. The almost unbearable impression of a swelling radiance was created, and the curtain fell on the very culmination. The audience was shaken in the full sense of the word." (42)

The visual and aural synthesis in The Tidings Brought to Mary matches that achieved in Salomé, creating a similar total, dynamic and rhythmic scenic atmosphere.

The final production in the Kamerny Theatre, for which the scenic designs were based on the principles of non-objective painting, was Racine's Phaedra. The première took place on 8 February 1922 and it was, conceivably, the greatest of all Tairov's productions from this period, the culmination of all his researches:

"Vesnin's Phaedra is the quintessence of all the earlier experiments by artists in the Kamerny Theatre and especially those by A. Exter and G. Yakulov, with whose names are associated the departure from illusory painted stage scenery and the exploitation of the principles of painterly Cubism within the three-dimensional environment of the stage." (43)

An examination of Vesnin's sketch for the stage scenery (Fig. 8.12) immediately shows the links with non-objective painting. His system of fine lines criss-crossing in front of large, intersecting coloured planes is essentially the same as on his cover for the 5 x

5 = 25 exhibition catalogue, only now transposed into a real environment. More significant than this, perhaps, is the similarity between the forms of Vesnin's scenery and Liubov Popova's painterly architectonics, such as Pictorial Architectonic of 1918 (Fig. 8.13). Both artists articulate volume and space by means of the dynamic line, the faktura, the intensity and the gradation of interlocking coloured planes. Vesnin and Popova worked very closely in 1920 and 1921. In May 1921 they collaborated on a project for a theatricised military parade for the Congress of the Third International, "The End of Capital" (a 'theatrical spectacle' in the open air), which, in its proposed system of cantilevers and diagonal pulleys, also foreshadowed the linear elements in Vesnin's designs for Phaedra (44). Vesnin and Popova were both members of the Moscow INKhUK and, from 1921, they taught the discipline on Colour Construction as part of the Basic Course at the Moscow VKhUTEMAS [The Higher State Artistic and Technical Workshops]. The aim of this discipline was to teach "colour as an independent organizational element...; to take it as an element to its utmost concreteness" (45). This involved analysing the qualities of colour (tone, weight, the relation of one colour to another) and its interrelationship to line, plane, construction and faktura (46). Thus, the teaching relied heavily on the artists' own experiences of non-objective painting. In turn, the influence of Popova can be observed in Vesnin's non-objective painterly compositions and in his designs for Phaedra.

Vesnín's sketch and model (Fig. 8.14) show that the stage floor was broken up into a series of inclined planes ascending at irregular intervals from right to left. These varying inclines were intended to correspond to the movements of the actors, slow and sombre on the shallow inclines, swifter and more agitated on the deeper steps. The stepped inclines were painted in tones of a "dust colour shading to orange" (47). In the actual production, the coloured planes at the sides and back of the stage in Vesnín's sketch became coloured cloths, which were let down at certain junctures in the performance "to contribute different colour-notes for different scenes" (48). Vesnín's use of mobile coloured cloths for Phaedra was clearly a continuation of Exter's successful experiments in Salomé. Their colours included orange, ochre, yellow, black, blue, red, white and green; their forms were triangular and rectangular and they were arranged with a deliberate view to asymmetry (49). According to Efros' account, they were "intersected by two thick ropes" (visible in the model), and "formed the outlines of the sails, ropes and bows of a Greek ship" (50). It is not certain whether the ropes were used to actually lower and raise the coloured cloths, but the clear nautical association and the use of rope to intersect flat planes recalls the experiments of Tatlin, with whom Vesnín had worked in 1912-14, such as Corner Counter-Relief, (1914-15; whereabouts unknown) (51). The combination of curved sheets of metal with thin wire in Tatlin's relief not only creates a contrast in the faktura, weight and density of the materials, but also allows the structure to be 'suspended' dynamically in real space, fusing with it. In a

similar way, Vesnin's ropes and coloured cloths establish the dynamic line as one of the central features of Phaedra and, through the intensity and weight of the relative colours, actively articulate and define the scenic space:

"It is surprising, especially with the help of the lighting, to notice how much the scenery gains in spatial effect by this treatment of coloured planes - between several blue patches one of bright yellow is suddenly introduced..." (52)

As in Salomé, the plastic sensation of space is increased. Colour is established as an organizer of spatial relations in a real environment, as colour and line articulate volume and space on the flat plane in Popova's painterly architectonics and Spatial Force Constructions. The similarity with Popova's painterly architectonics becomes even more evident, when one considers that

"...Vesnin's scenic structure for Phaedra was worked out on the basis of a compact interlacing of painterly and architectural principles of composition, allowing for the solution of a number of problems associated with the plastic organization of space..." (53)

This makes Vesnin's scenic designs for Phaedra the most exciting and structurally dynamic of all the avant-garde designs for the theatre - a view confirmed by the large number of reviews which praised the production. The successful creation of a dynamic scenic space was noted by the literary critic Berkovsky:

"The Kamerny Theatre strove to change the impression of the very flatness of the stage picture, to make this picture one of many tiers, many levels, many surfaces - a restless picture, endlessly varying the external circumstances under which the different portions of the text evolve." (54)

Elsewhere, it was acknowledged that the emotional content of the drama derived, not from any recourse to narrative, but solely from

the organization of the material elements.

"The authentic spirit of Hellas was achieved rather by the fracturing of lines, by the harmony of the coloured forms, by an amazingly simple choice of techniques such as the alteration of the sails..." (55)

In Phaedra, the emotional force of the dynamic line is realized to its full potential in the system of ropes and coloured cloths which cut across the stage, echoed in the dynamic progression of the stage floor itself. The ropes and dynamic lines of the scenic decoration can be seen in a number of photographs which survive from the production, as can the use of colour gradation on the flat and curved surfaces (Figs. 8.15 and 8.16). Apart from its association with contemporary experiments into line by artists such as Rodchenko and Popova, Vesnin's exploitation of the dynamic potential of line in Phaedra was a continuation of that achieved by Exter in Salomé. In the latter, the diagonal stripes of the background cloth combined with the exaggerated gestures of the actors and the crossed lines of the soldiers' spears, as they covered the body of the murdered Salomé, to create an overall dynamic and rhythmic impact (Fig. 8.6).

The desire for plasticity and for the dynamic impact of colour and line, present in the stage scenery, also characterized Vesnin's designs for the costumes in Phaedra. The folds were hard and sculpturally articulated, like those in Salomé and The Tidings Brought to Mary, but, unlike the latter, allowed for the free movements of the actors and gave no discomfort. Photographs of the production show that a glittering, reflective material was used to

represent the tin-plate of Phaedra's gold-coloured garment and of the actors' head-dresses. The costumes themselves were designed as areas of bright red, blue-green and yellow, set off against black and white, creating the same contrasts as in the coloured planes of Vesnin's scenery. In addition, Phaedra and Theseus wore red cloaks (Fig. 8.17). The tragedy and dramatic tension of Phaedra was communicated through these colours and the cut of the costumes:

"Phaedra might be any savage divinity of the constellations. About her head is an aureole of gold, and the upper part of her body is weighted with golden scales. She wears a robe of black and white surmounted by a red mantle whose flamelike folds drag behind her erect figure, swirl in wild agitation with her movements, or wind themselves about her prostrate form." (56)

Phaedra's gold-coloured head-dress represented Vesnin's reinterpretation of Hellenic dress as simple "surfaces, volumes, curves and colours" (57), in order to focus the dynamic and emotional impact more clearly. The combination, within the costumes, of curvilinear and angular forms, reflects the same juxtaposition of angular and curved elements in the stage scenery. For all the actors, the exaggerated shapes and sizes of the head-dresses constituted one of the most significant aspects of Vesnin's costume designs. In the production, these vast, curvilinear, 'abstract' shapes would have been highlighted against the dynamically articulated structure of the scenery, their dark forms standing out against Vesnin's coloured planes (see the head-dresses for Theseus, Hippolytus and Oenone, Fig. 8.16). Their design shows the same formal, painterly approach by Vesnin to costume in Phaedra as to the scenic background.

The dramatic tension of the final scene, which depicts the confrontation between Phaedra and Theseus, was communicated through the "powerful sound of red" in the visual and aural confrontation, on stage, of the two different shades of the colour in their cloaks (Fig. 8.17) (58). The dense, deep reddish-purple of Phaedra's cloak contrasted with the bright, blood-red of Theseus's mantle, culminating in an 'explosion' of red, symbolizing the release of the dynamic energy and ever-growing tension of the play's action. The evocation of the 'sound' of colour once again recalls Exter's moving coloured surfaces in Salomé, which struck like a "musical chord". Moreover, the expression of the 'explosion' of colour by Vesnin within a real spatial environment is comparable to Rozanova's dynamic expression of the explosive force of colour in her non-objective collages for Universal War (Figs. 3.19 and 6.1), as well as to Exter's two-dimensional colour compositions based on the dynamic laws of Explosion, Weight and Movement. Ultimately, this combination of aural and visual sensations as part of a dynamic image, where colour 'sounds' and sound is 'colourful', goes back to the "dynamic sensation" of Italian Futurism, in which colour, sound and smell are all part of the "emotional ambience" of a picture, and to the "synaesthetic" correspondences of Scriabin and Kandinsky. Vesnin's designs for Phaedra and Exter's experiments in Salomé both show that this desire for a complete "dynamic sensation" of form was carried over into the Russian theatre. In the final scene of Phaedra, Vesnin was able to communicate the emotional content of the play by synthesizing sound, colour and line. The entire scenic decoration, including

the stage structure, the costumes, lighting and the gestures and movements of the actors, represented a unified rhythmic and dynamic construction in the articulation of volume and space:

"And when the solitary figures of the tragedy - led by the stern and mournful Phaedra-Koonen - met one another as they moved in their cothurni with remarkable certainty along the inclined steps and platforms against a light changing from lilac to azure, with an effusive rhythm in their gestures and movements and a melodiousness in their measured speech, the Racine of our schooldays began to live a renewed life. The première of the play showed that the problem had been solved: a new form of expression had been found for the Classics." (59)

Phaedra marked the culmination of experiments in the Kamerny Theatre by Exter and Vesnin, utilizing the formal principles from non-objective painting to articulate a dynamic spatial environment. Tairov's productions from Famira Kifared in 1916 to Phaedra in 1922 did not create the impression of a dematerialized space, as in Malevich's Suprematist paintings. Instead they provided the plastic sensation of a tangible, dynamic and complex space, one which broke with the conventional conception of the stage as a closed box. This articulation of real space derived from the avant-garde's examination of volume and space in painting, collage and relief constructions, an examination which first began with the exploration of the principles of Cubism and Futurism in the figurative works of 1912-15. In their scenic designs, Exter and Vesnin approached the forms of theatrical art from a structural viewpoint - actively organizing colour, line, plane and faktura to provide a dynamic plastic sensation of space:

"What Exter offered was a new vision of the stage as a constructively dynamic spatial arena, pulsating with linear, colouristic and planar relationships laden with

dramatic intent." (60)

The concern, in these theatrical productions, with "dynamic sensation", "emotionally-saturated forms" and the inner rhythms of forms, combines an investigation of internal structure and its interaction with space, which evolved from Cubism, with Futurist principles of dynamism and a total "emotional ambience". The overriding importance given to colour, both as organizer of spatial relations and as conveyor of emotional content, relates the productions of Famira Kifared, Salomé, Romeo and Juliet, The Tidings Brought to Mary and Phaedra to the painterly experiments, both figurative and abstract, of the Russian Cubo-Futurist artists. The formal values of colour, the dynamic line and dissonant rhythms, all central to non-objective researches in painting, also characterized many of the designs for fashion and household items in 1916-17, and some of the features of these designs reappeared in the theatrical costumes of Exter and Vesnin. In the immediate pre- and post-revolutionary period in Russian art, the scenic and costume designs for the theatre emerged as the most successful attempt by the avant-garde to articulate the new principles of non-objective painting within a real spatial environment.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Ya. Tugendkhol'd, "Sovremennaiia zhivopis' i teatr" ["Contemporary Painting and the Theatre"], Kul'tura teatra, No.1-2, 1922, p.31; cited in Selim O. Khan-Magomedov, Alexandr Vesnin and Russian Constructivism, Lund Humphries, London, 1986, p.40.
2. Tugendkhol'd, Alexandra Exter, pp.18-19.
3. René Fülöp-Miller and Joseph Gregor, The Russian Theatre. Its Character and History. With Especial Reference to the Revolutionary Period, translated Paul England, George G. Harrap and Co., London, 1930, p.57.
4. Tairov, Zapiski rezhissera, pp.161-2.
5. Abram Efros, Kamernyi teatr i ego khudozhniki 1914-XX-1934, Izdanie vserossiiskogo teatral'nogo obshchestva, Moscow, 1934, p.XXIV.
6. Tairov, Zapiski, p.163.
7. Koonen, Stranitsy zhizni, p.229.
8. Tugendkhol'd, Alexandra Exter, p.20.
9. Torda, Alexander Tairov, p191.
10. Efros, Kamernyi teatr, p.XXIV.
11. Koonen, Stranitsy zhizni, p.231.
12. Konstantin Derzhavin, Kniga o kamernom teatre 1914-1934, Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo "Khudozhestvennaia literatura", Leningrad, 1934, p.67.
13. P.P.P., "Kamernyi teatr" ["The Kamerny Theatre"], Russkoe slovo, No.231, 10 (23) October, 1917, p.4.
14. Torda, Alexander Tairov, p.229.
15. Fülöp-Miller, The Russian Theatre, p.115.
16. Koonen, Stranitsy zhizni, p.239.
17. Tugendkhol'd, Alexandra Exter, p.21.

18. Sergei Glagol', "V besplodnikh poiskakh (Salomé Wilde'a na tsene Kamernogo teatra)" ["A fruitless search (Oscar Wilde's Salomé at the Kamerny Theatre)"], Rampa i zhizn', No.41-42, 15 October 1917, p.8.
19. Kandinsky, Concerning the Spiritual in Art, p.40.
20. Nat[an] Inber, "Kamernyi teatr. Salomé" ["The Kamerny Theatre. Salomé"], Teatral'naiia gazeta, No.42, 18 October 1917, p.5.
21. Efros, Kamernyi teatr, p.XXXVI.
22. Em. Beskin (editor), "Listki" ["Sheets"], Teatral'naiia gazeta, No.42, 18 October 1917, p.8. Author's emphases.
23. Efros, Kamernyi teatr, p.XXVI.
24. Oliver M. Saylor, "Salomé in Cubist Vesture", The Russian Theatre, Brentano's Ltd, London, 1923, pp.152-162.
25. Derzhavin, Kniga o kamernom teatre, p.82.
26. Tugendkhol'd, Alexandra Exter, p.24.
27. ibid, p.25-6.
28. ibid.
29. ibid, p.22.
30. ibid.
31. Archipenko also influenced the use of material by Puni and Kliun. Kliun employed similar techniques, using reflective paper to depict the surface of a mirror, in his relief-sculpture, Cubist Woman at her Dressing Table, exhibited at the "Last Futurist Exhibition 0,10" in December 1915. For relations between Archipenko and Puni see Chapter Five, "The Non-Objective Reliefs of Ivan Puni and their Relation to the Russian Icon".
32. See A. Grishchenko, "'Bubnovyi valet'. Vpechatlenia ot vystavki", Nov', No.2, 8 February 1914, p.9.
33. Efros, Kamernyi teatr, p.XXXIII
34. Tugendkhol'd, Alexandra Exter, p.26.
35. ibid, p.27.
36. The two other participants in the exhibition "5 x 5 = 25" were Varvara Stepanova and Alexandr Rodchenko. In 1921 Popova designed set and costumes for a production of Anatoli

Lunacharsky's The Locksmith and the Chancellor at the Korsh theatre, Moscow. One of her sketches for the stage set (reproduced in Rudenstine, The George Costakis Collection, Plate 877) shows the use of intersecting planes of graded colour characteristic of her painterly architectonics. In 1921 Popova also produced set designs for Romeo and Juliet at the Kamerny theatre, but these were not used. There is some confusion as regards this production, as Vesnin also submitted set and costume designs, which were likewise rejected and the work was finally given to Exter. However, no mention is made of these changes in designer by either Koonen or Tairov. Popova's sketch for the stage (Private Collection, Moscow) is fairly decorative through the use of clusters of inverted cones around the proscenium arch. These cones and semi-cylindrical forms are similar to those found in her paintings and painterly reliefs of 1914-15, such as Portrait (cubo-futurismo; Collection George Costakis) and Relief (Portrait; Fig. 2.19), to produce similar sensations of plasticity. Popova also designed costumes for A High Priest of Tarquinia by V. Polivanov, at the Theatre of the Actor in Moscow, 1922, but her most innovative designs were undoubtedly the 'Constructivist' settings which she provided for Crommelynck's The Magnanimous Cuckold in 1922 and for Tret'yakov's The Earth in Turmoil [Zemlia dybom] in 1923, both directed by Meierkhol'd. For a discussion of the latter two productions see Lodder, Russian Constructivism, pp.172-3 and 175-8.

37. Lodder, Russian Constructivism, pp.45; 90 and 281, n.93.
38. Exter, cited in Jean-Claude and Valentine Marcadé, L'Avant-garde au féminin: Moscou - Saint-Petersbourg - Paris, 1907-1930, Artcurial, Paris, 1983, p.28.
39. Torda, Alexander Tairov, pp.331-3.
40. Koonen, Stranitsy zhizni, p.267.
41. M.V. Petrova, "Teatral'nyi khudozhnik Alexandr Vesnin. Iz sobrania GNIMA imeni A.V. Shchuseva", ["Scenic Designs by Alexandr Vesnin from the Collection of the State Shchusev Museum of Architecture"], Muzei 7: Khudozhestvennye sobrania SSSR, Moscow, 1987, p.105.
42. Marietta Shaginian, "Teatr v Moskve" ["The Theatre in Moscow"], Izvestia, No.281, 14 December 1920, p.2.
43. Petrova, "Teatral'nyi khudozhnik Alexandr Vesnin", p.108.
44. For details of Popova's and Vesnin's project for "The End of Capital" see Lodder, Russian Constructivism, pp.50-1.

45. ibid, pp.124-5.
46. ibid.
47. Torda, Alexander Tairov, p.375.
48. Florence Gilliam, "The Kamerny Theatre of Moscow", The Freeman, New York, No.VII, May 23, 1923, p.256.
49. ibid.
50. Efros, Kamernyi teatr, p.XXXIV.
51. Tatlin's Corner Counter-Relief is illustrated in Lodder, Russian Constructivism, p.16, Fig. 1.13.
52. Fulop-Miller, The Russian Theatre, p.115.
53. Petrova, "Teatral'nyi khudozhnik Alexandr Vesnin", p.108.
54. N. Berkovsky, Literatura i teatri: Stat'i raznykh let, Moscow, 1969; cited in Torda, Alexander Tairov, p.389.
55. N.V. Giliarovskaia, Teatral'no-dekoratsionnoe iskusstvo za 5 let (1918-1924), Kombinata izdatel'stva i pechat' "Vostok", Kazan', 1924, p.22.
56. Gilliam, "The Kamerny Theatre of Moscow", p.256.
57. Efros, Kamernyi teatr, p.XXXIV.
58. Petrova, "Teatral'nyi khudozhnik Alexandr Vesnin", p.108.
59. Efros, Kamernyi teatr, p.XXXIV
60. Ronny H. Cohen, "Alexandra Exter's Designs for the Theatre", Artforum, Summer 1981, p.46.

## CONCLUSION

This thesis represents the first attempt to analyse the achievements of the Russian Cubo-Futurist artists between 1912 and 1922 as part of a broad, complex movement involving the transition from figurative painting to a completely non-objective style. By discussing the works of Popova, Udaltsova, Puni and Rozanova, the research undertaken has shown the diversity of their achievements, both from each other and from their two major peers, Tatlin and Malevich.

Beginning with an investigation of the reception of Cubism and Futurism in Russia, this thesis demonstrates that the impact of the two movements was decisive for many Russian artists in their stylistic development. Popova, Udaltsova and Puni all examined analytical and synthetic Cubism in their own art. Their works from 1912-15 show an interest in the internal structure of figurative form, as well as in the examination of pictorial space and its integration with the subject. The influence of synthetic Cubism can be seen in their use of papiers collés, collage and different textures to identify and locate their objects, and to define the pictorial space and create spatial ambiguities on the canvas. Popova's examination of objects in her painterly reliefs can be seen as an extension of her concern with structure in her two-dimensional paintings. Apart from Braque and Picasso, the influence of Gris, Léger and Metzinger can also be observed in the

paintings of Udaltsova and Popova from this period. A number of works by Udaltsova and Popova of 1914 and 1915, such as Udaltsova's At the Piano (1914) and Popova's Woman Traveller (1915), reveal Futurist as well as Cubist concerns. Rozanova's initial response to art movements from the West, in 1912 and 1913, was more to Futurism and to the works and theories of Léger and Le Fauconnier, than to the Cubism of Braque and Picasso. Her paintings and collages of 1914-16, however, reflect the influence of Cubist collage and its reworking by Malevich within the Russian context of zaum.

The formal development of Malevich's Suprematism has been related directly to his interpretation of Cubist collage, which differed radically from the original understanding of the technique by Braque and Picasso. For Malevich, the Cubist collage element or papier collé surface plane represented an 'abstracted' section of an object analogous to the individual letters and 'sound units' of zaum poetry, which had been removed from their context of accepted meaning as defined by the laws of three-dimensional receptivity. The Cubist collage plane was therefore adapted by Malevich to the process of depicting on the two-dimensional canvas the transformation of man's consciousness from a three- to a four-dimensional space. Thus, the Cubist collage element was used, not to build up and identify objects on the surface plane, but as part of Malevich's rejection of meaning as related to the object and his move away from figurative painting altogether. This removal of objects and parts of objects from their conventional

context can be seen in the Alogist canvases of Malevich, Puni and Rozanova, such as Malevich's Woman at a Poster Column (1914) or Puni's Window Washing (1915). This thesis has shown that Puni continued this process in his three-dimensional reliefs which incorporated real objects (for example, Still-life - Relief with Hammer, 1914; Relief with a Plate, c1919). In the same way as zaum freed letters and words from the old system of logic relating them to a specific function and meaning, so the accepted functions of Puni's hammer and plate were subverted and the forms freed to express a new logic which was "broader than sense". When understood in the unique Russian context of zaum, Puni's non-objective reliefs take on a greater significance and act as a much more positive force than previous Dadaist interpretations have allowed. Through their association with the Russian concept of zaum, collage elements were removed from the conventional environment which gave them their identity, and were given new identities by being placed in a new context, which could not be understood from the viewpoint of conventional logic. This constituted by far the most radical departure from Cubism effected by the Russian avant-garde, as the whole understanding of objects in terms of a specific meaning and content was literally turned upside down.

In light of the above, Puni's non-objective relief constructions are important for highlighting the fact that the history of Russian Cubo-Futurism involved not only the development of a new formal style of painting, but also an entirely new way of

perceiving reality by rejecting the accepted functions and meanings of objects and liberating them to take on a new identity. Puni's friendship with Khlebnikov and the similarity of paintings like Flight of Forms (1919) to Khlebnikov's liberation of letters and sounds in his transrational language, suggest that the desire to find a visual equivalent to the new content of zaum poetry formed an important part of Puni's art. In addition, this thesis has argued that Puni's non-objective reliefs may also be seen as a modern equivalent to the Russian icon. The icon represented an important source for avant-garde artists, as it not only demonstrated the use of diverse materials and textures (faktura), but it also symbolized the transformation of the pictorial image from a material to a spiritual dimension. The thesis argues that such a transformation onto a metaphysical plane also occurs in the zaum language of Khlebnikov, the Suprematist paintings of Malevich, and the non-objective relief constructions of Puni such as White Ball (1915) and Sculpture (c1915-16). The metaphysical or 'spiritual' dimension, present also in the paintings of Wassily Kandinsky, is seen as part of the Russian avant-garde's search for a hidden content in their works, which is distinct from their formal development. In this way, the search for a new content was an integral part of Cubo-Futurism, as significant to an understanding of the movement as was the formal development of a new structure for painting.

The concern with hidden content or meaning in the non-objective relief constructions of Puni and in Malevich's and Kandinsky's paintings, suggests that there is a strong Symbolist undercurrent within the Russian avant-garde. The Symbolist leanings of Khlebnikov's writings and theories for a universal transrational "language of the stars", which were so influential for many of his fellow artists, would seem to support this view.

As stated in the Introduction, one of the principle aims of this thesis has been to relate the work of Puni and Rozanova to the theories of zaum propounded by Khlebnikov and Kruchenykh. Rozanova's non-objective collages for Universal War can be seen as the culmination of her artistic achievements. Evolving from Malevich's use of the collage surface plane in conjunction with zaum, the sections of paper and fabric function in the same way as the individual letters and sounds in Kruchenykh's zaum poems for Universal War: they can be re-built into new structures of zaum language and non-objective, "transrational painting" [zaumnaia zhivopis']. It was from the sectioned parts of forms, originally taken from Cubism, that a new, dynamic structure to painting evolved. Above all, Puni's and Rozanova's abstract works reflect the Russian contemporary context, which provided them with the means to transform Cubism, as well as establishing a new content to their art.

A new, non-objective structure is also seen to evolve in Popova's art in 1916, as a result of her concentration on the materials of painting and their interrelationships. Her series of painterly architectonics of 1916-18 represent the point at which Popova began to build up a new structure on the picture plane from the material elements which she extrapolated from the break down of objects, that is, colour, line and faktura. They show the successful articulation of structure and of pictorial space on the canvas without reference to figurative form. The sources for this new structure are seen to lie in Cubism (the delineation of the internal volumes of form and of pictorial space) and in Futurism (the energy of pictorial forms and their dynamic interaction with the environment), but the material elements themselves are no longer dependent on external objects for their integrity. This thesis has also argued that the structural principles of Islamic Architecture acted as an important visual source for Popova's painterly architectonics. By drawing on the principles of construction embodied within Islamic decoration, Popova's painterly architectonics are seen to synthesize Western and Eastern art forms, similar to the way in which Puni's non-objective reliefs indicate a source both in Western Cubism and in the national Russian tradition of the icon. This synthesis of East and West is central to Russian Cubo-Futurism: formal techniques stem in principle from French Cubism and Italian Futurism, but analogies are also sought and found in Russian national art forms.

The new principles of pictorial construction, which evolved from an examination of Cubism and Futurism by Russian artists, were successfully applied by Exter and Vesnin to the articulation of the real space of the theatre. The scenic designs were integral, self-contained units, communicating the emotional content of the various productions through their own material properties, and providing a dynamic, plastic sensation of space. The Russian avant-garde's designs for the theatre, as well as for household items, are seen to be significant, as they indicate an ability and willingness on the part of the artists to meet new social needs. Indeed, it was the very adaptability of the new style of painting which enabled it to remain at the forefront of avant-garde activity into the early Twenties.

This thesis has established that the impact of Cubism and Futurism provided the basis for an entirely new, non-objective style of painting in Russia; that individual responses to the two movements were different for each artist, with the so-called "minor artists", such as Puni and Rozanova, producing exciting and original works which reflected the contemporary Russian context of zaum; and that the principles developed in figurative and non-objective painting found expression in a wide range of avant-garde activities, including design and the theatre. Moreover, the thesis has shown that the emergence of a unique, non-objective style in Russia in the work of Popova and Puni was stimulated as much by Russian national art forms such as the icon and Asian architecture, as by Cubism and Futurism. Of the two

Western art movements, Cubism is seen to have exerted a more sustained and long-lasting influence on the formal development of a Russian non-objective painterly style.

One of the most important aspects to emerge from an examination of Russian Cubo-Futurism is the dual concern with form and content. The investigation, undertaken in this thesis, of possible meaning and content in the non-objective works of a number of avant-garde artists, indicates that Cubo-Futurism in Russia was much more diverse and far-reaching in its achievements than the term might initially suggest. On the one hand, the principles of Cubism and Futurism were examined by avant-garde artists, either in terms of a concern with volume and pictorial construction on the canvas, or as part of a desire to evoke a dynamic, simultaneous sensation. Out of these formal concerns evolved an investigation of the actual materials of painting - colour, line and faktura - which subsequently formed the basis for a new, non-objective pictorial structure. On the other hand, Cubism and Futurism were transformed in the Russian context of Ouspensky and the fourth dimension, zaum, and the icon, into an abstract style of painting which signified not only a re-evaluation of form, but also of content and meaning. Thus, during the years 1912 to 1922, it is possible to observe not only the development of a painterly style, but its continual reworking and transformation.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES AND REVIEWS

Katalog vystavki kartin 'Zolotoe runo', Moscow, January-February 1909.

Katalog vystavki kartin 'Zolotoe runo', Moscow, December 1909 - January 1910:

GLAGOL', Sergei:

"Moi dnevnik. Po kartinnym vystavkam", Stolichnaia molva, No.98, 2 January, 1910, p.1.

Izdebsky salon: Katalog internatsional'noi vystavki kartin, skul'ptury, graviury i risunkov, Kiev, 1909-10.

Izdebsky salon: Katalog internatsional'noi vystavki kartin, skul'ptury, graviury i grafiki, St. Petersburg, 1910.

Vystavka kartin obshchestva khudozhdnikov 'Soiuz molodezhi', St. Petersburg, 1910.

Katalog vystavki 'Bubnovyi valet', Moscow, December 1910 - January 1911.

Katalog ytoroi vystavki kartin obshchestva khudozhdnikov 'Soiuz molodezhi', St. Petersburg, 1911.

Katalog vystavki kartin obshchestva khudozhdnikov 'Bubnovyi valet', Moscow, 1912:

ROSSTSII:

"Vystavka 'Bubnovogo valeta'", Russkie vedomosti, No.22, 27 January 1912, pp.4-5.

Katalog vystavki kartin obshchestva khudozhdnikov 'Soiuz molodezhi', St. Petersburg, 26 December 1911 - January 1912 [with the Donkey's Tail].

Les Peintres Futuristes Italiens, Paris, Galerie Bernheim-Jeune, 5 - 24 February 1912.

Katalog vystavki kartin gruppy khudozhdnikov 'Oslinyi khvost', Moscow, 11 March - April 1912 [with the Union of Youth].

Salon des Independants, 28e Exposition, Paris, Quai d'Orsay, 20 March - 16 May 1912.

Salon d'Automne, 10e Exposition, Paris, Grand Palais, 1 October - 8

November, 1912.

Salon de 'La Section d'Or', Paris, Galerie La Boétie, 10-30 October 1912.

Soiuz molodezhi: Katalog vystavki kartin, St. Petersburg, 4 December 1912 - 10 January 1913.

Katalog frantsuzskoi vystavki kartin 'Sovremennoe iskusstvo', Moscow, December 1912 - January 1913:

B., Yu. [sic]:

"Po vystavkam. Vystavka frantsuzskikh khudozhnikov", Ranee utro, No.4, 5 January 1913, p.4.

KOIRANSKY, Alexandr:

"Vystavka frantsuzskikh khudozhnikov 'Sovremennoe iskusstvo'", Utro Rossii, No.2, 3 January 1913, p.4.

YUREV, M.:

"Po vystavkam", Rampa i zhizn', No.2, 13 January 1913, pp.4-5.

Katalog vystavki 'Bubnovyi valet', Moscow, March - April 1913:

GRISHCHENKO, A.:

"O gruppe khudozhnikov 'Bubnovyi valet'", Apollon, IV, No.6, June 1913, pp.31-8.

Salon des Indépendants, 29e Exposition, Paris, Quai d'Orsay, 19 March - 18 May 1913.

Vystavka ikonopisnykh podlinnikov i lubkov organizovannaia M.F. Larionovym, Moscow, 24 March - 7 April 1913.

Katalog vystavki kartin gruppy khudozhnikov 'Mishen', Moscow, 24 March - 7 April 1913.

Galerie La Boétie, 1er Exposition de Sculpture Futuriste du peintre et sculpteur futuriste Boccioni, Paris, 20 June - 16 July 1913.

Soiuz molodezhi: Katalog vystavki kartin, St. Petersburg, 10 December 1913 - 10 January 1914.

Vystavka kartin obshchestva khudozhnikov 'Bubnovyi valet', Moscow, January - February 1914:

GLAGOL', Sergei:

"'Bubnovyi valet'", Stolichnaia molva, No.353, 10 February 1914, p.4.

GRISHCHENKO, A.:

"'Bubnovyi valet'. Vpechatleniia ot vystavki", Nov', No.2, 8 February 1914, p.9.

TUGENDKHOL'D, Ya.:

"Vystavka 'Bubnovogo valeta'", Rech', No.43, 13 (26) February 1914, p.2.

TUGENDKHOL'D, Ya.:

"Pis'mo iz Moskvyy", Apollon, No.3, March 1914, p.69.

Salon des Indépendants. 30e Exposition, Paris, Champ de Mars, 1<sup>er</sup> March - 30 April 1914.

Vystavka kartin: Futuristy. luchisty. primitiv. 1914, Moscow, March - April 1914.

Esposizione Libera Futurista Internazionale Pittori e Scultori: Italiani. Russi. Inglesi. Belgi. Nordamericani, Galleria Futurista, Direttore G. Sprovieri, Rome, 13 April - 25 May 1914.

Vystavka kartin i skul'ptury: Khudozhniki = Moskvyy = zhertvam voyny, Moscow, December 1914 - January 1915.

Pervaya futuristicheskaya vystavka kartin. Tramvai V, St. Petersburg, 3 March - April 1915:

METSEMAT:

"Vystavka futuristov", Petrogradskaya gazeta, No.61, 4 March 1915, p.2.

ONEGIN:

"Vystavka kartin tovarishchestva konduktorov i smazchikov (Tramvai V)", Birzhevye vedomosti (utrenniy vypusk), No.14708, 5 March 1915, p.3.

ROSTISLAVOV, A.:

"Po povodu vystavki futuristov", Rech', No.78, 21 March 1915, p.3; and Vechernie izvestia, Moscow, No.719, 23 March 1915, p.4.

Vystavka zhivopisi '1915 god', Moscow, 23 March - April 1915:

ADAMOV, E.:

"Zhivopis' '1915-ogo goda' (pis'mo iz Moskvyy)", Kievskaya mysl', No.125, 6 May 1915, p.2.

YABLONOVSKIY, Sergei: "Oskar Meshchaninov", Russkoe slovo, No.68, 25 March (7 April) 1915, p.6.

ROSSTSI:

"Khudozhestvennyye vesti. Vystavka '1915 god'", Russkie vedomosti, No.70, 28 March 1915, p.5.

TUGENDKHOL'D, Ya.:

"V zheleznom tupike (po povodu odnoi moskovskoi vystavki)", Severnye zapiski: Literaturno-politicheskiy ezheмесяchnik,

July-August 1915, pp.102-111.

Khudozhestvennoe biuro N.E. Dobychinoi: Vystavka kartin levykh techenii, Petrograd, 12 April - 9 May 1915.

Posledniaia futuristicheskaja vystavka 0,10 (nol' = desiat'), Petrograd, 17 December 1915 - 17 January 1916:

[anon]:

"Po vystavkam. U futuristov", Petrogradskie vedomosti, No.287, 22 December 1915, p.2.

[anon]:

"'0,10'. Posledniaia vystavka futuristov v Petrograde", Ogonek, No.1, 3 (16) January 1916, p.16.

BENOIS, Alexandre:

"Posledniaia futuristicheskaja vystavka", Rech', No.8, 9 January 1916, p.3.

LOPATIN, B.:

"Futurizm - suprematizm", Den', Petrograd, No.351, 21 December 1915, p.2.

MATIUSHIN, Mikhail:

"O vystavke 'Poslednikh futuristov'", Ocharovannyi strannik: Al'manakh vesennii, Petrograd, 1916, pp.16-18.

Katalog pervoi letnei vystavki kartin organizovannoi tovarishchestva nezavisimykh, Petrograd, May-July 1916:

[anon]:

"Na pervoi letnei vystavke kartin v Petrograde", Ogonek, No.25, 19 June (2 July) 1916 (unpaginated).

Piataia vystavka tovarishchestva nezavisimykh, Petrograd, 1916.

Mir iskusstva: Katalog vystavki kartin, Petrograd, 1916.

Mir iskusstva: Katalog vystavki etiudov, eskizov i risunkov, Petrograd, 1916.

1916god: Futuristicheskaja vystavka 'Magazin', Moscow, 20 March - 20 April 1916.

Khudozhestvennoe biuro N.E. Dobychinoi: Vystavka sovremennoi russkoi zhiyopisi, Petrograd, 3 - 19 May 1916.

Katalog vystavki kartin i skul'ptury obshchestva khudozhnikov 'Bubnovyi valet', Moscow, November 1916:

IVANOV, V.:

"Vystavka 'Bubnovogo valeta'", Rampa i zhizn', No.46, 13 November

1916, p.12.

ROSSTSII:

"Khudozhestvennye vesti. 'Bubnovyi valet'", Russkie vedomosti, No.258, 8 November 1916, p.5.

SH., N.I.[sic]:

"Obzor vystavok. 'Bubnovyi valet'", Pegas: Zhurnal iskusstv, No.11, November 1916, pp.100-101.

TEPIN, Ya.:

"Khudozhestvennaia letopis'. Moskovskie vystavki", Apollon, Nos.9-10, November - December 1916, pp.84-9.

TUGENDKHOL'D, Ya.:

"Pis'mo iz Moskvy", Apollon, No.1, 1917, pp.70-4.

Khudozhestvennoe biuro N.E. Dobychinoi: Vystavka sovremennoi russkoi zhiyopisi, Petrograd, 27 November 1916 - 1 January 1917.

Mir iskusstva: Katalog vystavki kartin, Petrograd, 1917.

Katalog vystavki kartin obshchestva khudozchnikov 'Bubnovyi valet', Moscow, 1917.

Mir iskusstva: Katalog vystavki kartin, Petrograd, 1918.

Khudozhestvennoe biuro N.E. Dobychinoi: Vystavka sovremennoi zhiyopisi i risunka, Petrograd, 1918.

Katalog posmertnoi vystavki kartin, etjudov, eskizov i risunkov O.V. Rozanovoi, Moscow, 1918-1919:

VARST [Varvara Stepanova]:

"Vystavka Olgi Rozanovoi", Iskusstvo, No.4, 22 February 1919, pp.2-3.

Katalog pervoi gosudarstvennoi svobodnoi vystavki proizvedenii iskusstva, Petrograd, April - June 1919.

Katalog desiatoi gosudarstvennoi vystavki: Bespredmetnoe tvorchestvo i suprematizm, Moscow, 1919.

Katalog posmertnoi vystavki khudozhnika konstruktora L.S. Popovoi, Moscow, 1924.

GENERAL

Alexandr Alexandrovich Vesnin (1883-1959): Risunok, zhivopis', teatr: Vystavka rabot y Tsentral'nom Dome Arkhitekatora, (Ex. Cat.), Moscow, 1961.

ALPATOV, Mikhail:

"The Icons of Russia", in The Icon, Evans Bros. Ltd., London, 1982, pp.237-305.

ANDERSEN, Troels (Ed.):

Malevich: Catalogue Raisonné of the Berlin Exhibition, 1927. The Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 1970.

ANDERSEN, Troels (Ed.):

K.S. Malevich: Essays on Art, 1915-1933, 2 Vols., Borgens Vorlag, Copenhagen, 1971.

APOLLONIO, Umbro (Ed.):

Futurist Manifestos, Thames and Hudson, London, 1973.

Art and Revolution: Iskusstvo i revoliutsia, The Seibu Museum of Art, Tokyo, 1982.

BAROOSHIAN, V.D.:

Russian Cubo-futurism 1910-1930. A Study in Avant-Gardism, Mouton, The Hague/Paris, 1974.

BARTOS, Ewa and Victoria Nes Kirby:

"Victory Over the Sun", The Drama Review, 1971, Vol.XV, Part 4, pp.92-124.

BENOIS, Alexandre:

"Eshche o novykh putiakh zhivopisi", Rech', No.356, 29 December 1912 (11 January 1913), p.4.

BERDIAEV, Nikolai:

"Pikasso", Sofia: Zhurnal iskusstva i literatury, No.3, March 1914, pp.57-62.

BESKIN, Em.:

"Listki", Teatral'naya gazeta, Moscow, No.42, 18 October 1917, p.8.

BETZ, Margaret:

"The Icon and Russian Modernism", Artforum, Summer 1977, Vol.15, pp.38-45.

BETZ, Margaret:

"From Cézanne to Picasso to Suprematism: The Russian Criticism", Artforum, April 1978, Vol.16, pp.34-39.

BOWLT, John E.:  
"The Construction of Space", in Von der Fläche zum Raum: From Surface to Space. Russia 1916-1924, Galerie Gmurzynska, Cologne, 1974, pp.4-15.

BOWLT, John E. (Ed. and Trans.):  
Russian Art of the Avant-Garde. Theory and Criticism 1902-1934. The Documents of Twentieth Century Art, Viking Press, New York, 1976.

BOWLT, John E.:  
"From Pictures to Textile Prints", The Print Collector's Newsletter, New York, March/April 1976, pp.16-20.

BOWLT, John and Rose-Carol Washton Long (Eds.):  
The Life of Vasilii Kandinsky in Russian Art. A Study of 'On the Spiritual in Art', Russian Biography Series, No.4, Oriental Research Partners, Newtonville, Massachusetts, 1984.

Cahiers du Musée National d'Art Moderne, 1979/2, pp.278-328:  
"Dossier: Le Cubisme en Russie".

CALVESI, Maurizio:  
"Il futurismo Russo", L'Arte Moderna, Fratelli Fabbri Editori, Milan, 1967, Vol.V, No.44, pp.281-320.

CARTER, Huntly:  
The New Spirit in the Russian Theatre, 1917-1928, Arno Press and The New York Times, New York, 1970.

CHAMOT, Mary:  
Gontcharova, La Bibliothèque des Arts, Paris, 1972.

CHAMOT, Mary:  
Goncharova: Stage Designs and Paintings, Oresko Books, London, 1979.

CHINIAKOV, A.G.:  
Bratia Vesniny. Izdatel'stvo literatury po stroitel'stvu, Moscow, 1970.

CHULKOV, Georgii:  
"Demony i sovremennost' (mysly o frantsuzskoi zhivopisi)", Apollon, No.1, January - February 1914, pp.64-74.

COHEN, Arthur A.:  
"Futurism and Constructivism: Russian and Other", The Print Collector's Newsletter (New York), Vol.VII, No.1, March-April 1976, pp.2-4.

COHEN, Ronny H.:  
"Italian Futurist Typography", The Print Collector's Newsletter, Vol.VIII, No.6, January-February 1978, pp.166-170.

COMPTON, Susan P.:  
The World Backwards. Russian Futurist Books 1912-1916, British Museum Publications, London, 1978.

COMPTON, Susan P.:  
Kazimir Malevich: A Study of the Paintings, 1910-1935, PhD. thesis, The Courthauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1982.

Contrasts of Form. Geometric Abstract Art 1910-1980, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1985.

COOKE, Raymond:  
Velimir Khlebnikov: A Critical Study, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987.

CRONE, Rainer:  
"Malevich and Khlebnikov: Suprematism Reinterpreted", Artforum, XVII, December 1978, pp.38-45.

D'HARNONCOURT, Anne:  
Futurism and the International Avant-garde, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1980.

DAIX, Pierre and Joan Rosselet:  
Picasso. The Cubist Years, 1907-1916. A Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings and Related Works, Thames and Hudson, London, 1979.

DEROUET, Christian and Jessica Boissel:  
Kandinsky. Oeuvres de Vassily Kandinsky (1866-1944), Collections du Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris, 1985.

DERZHAVIN, Konstantin:  
Kniga o Kamernom teatre, 1914-1934, Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo "Khudozhestvennaia literatura", Leningrad, 1934.

Die Kunstismen in Russland: The Isms of Art in Russia, 1907-1930, Galerie Gmurzynska, Cologne, 1977.

DOUGLAS, Charlotte:  
"The New Russian Art and Italian Futurism", Art Journal, Spring 1975, Vol. 34, No.3, pp.224-239.

DOUGLAS, Charlotte:  
"Views from the New World. A. Kruchenykh and K. Malevich: Theory and Painting", Russian Literature Triquarterly, Vol.12, Spring 1975, pp.353-70.

DOUGLAS, Charlotte:  
"Cubisme Francais/Cubo-Futurisme Russe", Cahiers du Musée National d'Art Moderne, 1979/2, pp.184-93.

DOUGLAS, Charlotte:

Swans of Other Worlds. Kazimir Malevich and the Origins of Abstraction in Russia, U.M.I. Research Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1980.

DOUGLAS, Charlotte:

"Victory Over the Sun", Russian History: Histoire Russe, No.8, Parts 1-2, 1981, pp.69-89.

DOUGLAS, Charlotte:

"Beyond Reason: Malevich, Matiushin and their Circles", in The Spiritual in Art: Abstract Painting 1890-1985, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Abbeville, New York, 1986.

EFROS, Abram:

Kamernyi teatr i ego khudozhniki 1914-XX-1934, Izdanie vserossiiskogo teatral'nogo obshchestva, Moscow, 1934.

FEDOROV-DAVYDOVA, A.A. and G.A. Nedoshivin (Eds.):

Mastera iskusstva ob iskusstve, Vol.VII, Moscow, 1970.

FRY, Edward:

Cubism, Thames and Hudson, 1978.

FÜLOP-MILLER, René and Joseph Gregor:

The Russian Theatre: Its Character and History with Especial Reference to the Revolutionary Period, translated P. England, Harrap and Co., London, 1930.

Futurismo i Futurismi: Futurism and Futurisms, Pontus Hulten (Ed.), Gruppo Editoriale Fabbri Bompiani, Milan, 1986.

Futuristy: Rykaiushchii parnas, "Zhuravl'", St. Petersburg, 1914.

GAMBILLO, Maria Drudi, and Teresa Fiori:

Archivi del Futurismo, 2 Vols. De Luca Editore, Rome, 1958 and 1962.

GEORGE, Waldemar:

Larionov, La Bibliothèque des Arts, Paris, 1966.

Georges Braque: Les Papiers Collés, Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou, Paris, 1982.

GILIAROVSKAIA, N.V.:

Teatral'no-dekoratsionnoe iskusstvo za 5 let (1918-1924). Izdanie kombinata izdatel'stva i pechaty "Vostok", Kazan', 1924.

GILLIAM, Florence:

"The Kamerny Theatre of Moscow", The Freeman, New York, No.VII, May 23, 1923, pp.255-8.

- GINZBURG, Michael:  
"Art Collectors of Old Russia: The Morosovs and the Shchukins",  
Apollo, Vol.XCVIII, December 1973, pp.470-85.
- GLAGOL', Sergei:  
 "V besplodnikh poiskakh (Salomé Wilde'a na tsene Kamernogo  
 teatra)", Rampa i zhizn', No.41-42, 15 October 1917, p.8.
- GLEIZES, Albert and Jean Metzinger:  
Du Cubisme, Eugène Figuière, Paris, 1912.
- GOLDING, John:  
Cubism. A History and an Analysis. 1907-1914, Faber and Faber,  
 London, 1968.
- GOLOVASHENKO, Yu.:  
Rezhisserskoe iskusstvo Tairova, "Iskusstvo", Moscow, 1970.
- GORDON, Donald E.:  
Modern Art Exhibitions, 1900-1916. Vols. I and II. Selected  
 Catalogue Documentation, Prestel-Verlag, Munich, 1974.
- Gosudarstvennaia Tret'iakovskaia Galereia: Katalog zhivopisi  
 XVIII-nachala XXveka (do 1917goda), "Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo",  
 Moscow, 1984.
- Gosudarstvennyi Russkii Muzei: Zhivopis' XVIII-nachala XXveka:  
 Katalog, "Aurora/Iskusstvo", Leningrad, 1980.
- GRAY, Camilla:  
The Russian Experiment in Art. 1863-1922. Revised and enlarged  
 edition, Marion Burleigh-Motley (Ed.), Thames and Hudson, London,  
 1986.
- GREEN, Christopher:  
Léger and the Avant-Garde, Yale University Press, New Haven and  
 London, 1976.
- HARRISON, Gail:  
Constructivism and Futurism: Russian and Other, Ex Libris 6, J.  
 Art Inc., New York, 1977.
- HENDERSON, Linda Dalrymple:  
The Artist. 'The Fourth Dimension' and Non-Euclidean Geometry.  
 1900-1930: A Romance of Many Dimensions, PhD. Dissertation, Yale  
 University, 1975.
- HENDERSON, Linda Dalrymple:  
The Fourth Dimension and Non-Euclidean Geometry in Modern Art,  
 Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1983.
- HERBERT, R. (Ed.):  
The Société Anonyme and the Dreier Bequest at Yale University: A

Catalogue Raisonné, New Haven, 1984.

HILL, Derek and Oleg Grabar:

Islamic Architecture and its Decoration, AD800-1500, Faber, London, 1964.

INBER, Nat[an]:

"Kamernyi teatr. Salomé", Teatral'naia gazeta, Moscow, No.42, 18 October 1917, p.5.

JANECEK, Gerald:

The Look of Russian Literature. Avant-Garde Visual Experiments, 1900-1930, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1984.

Jean Metzinger in Retrospect, Daniel Robbins (Ed.), The University of Iowa Museum of Art, 1986.

KAHNWEILER, D-H. and Hélène Parmelin:

Oeuvres des Musées de Leningrad et de Moscou et de quelques collections Parisiennes, Editions Cercle d'Art, Paris, 1955.

KANDINSKY, Wassily:

Concerning the Spiritual in Art, translated M.T.H. Sadler, Dover Publications, New York, 1977.

KARGINOV, German:

Rodchenko, Thames and Hudson, London, 1979.

KARSHAN, Donald:

Malevich. The Graphic Work: 1913-1930. A Print Catalogue Raisonné, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, 1975.

Katalog kartin sobrania S.I. Shchukina: Catalogue des tableaux de la Collection de M-r Serge Stschoukine, Moscow, 1913.

KHAN-MAGOMEDOV, Selim O.:

"Ranni konstruktivizm Alexandra Vesnina i 'proizvodstvennoe iskusstvo'", Tekhnicheskaja estetika, No.9, VNIITE, Moscow, 1983.

KHAN-MAGOMEDOV, Selim O.:

Alexandr Vesnin and Russian Constructivism, Lund Humphries, London, 1986.

KHAN-MAGOMEDOV, Selim O.:

RODCHENKO: The Complete Work, Vieri Quilici (Ed.), Thames and Hudson, London, 1986.

KHARDZHIEV, N.:

Mayakovskiy: Materialy i issledovannia, "Nauka", Moscow, 1940.

KHARDZHIEV, N., Malevich, K., and Matiushin, M.:

K istorii russkogo avangarda: The Russian Avant-Garde, Hylaea Prints, Distributed by Almqvist and Wiksell International,

Stockholm, 1976.

KHLEBNIKOV, Velimir:

Sobranie proizvedenii, 5 Vols., Yu. Tynianov and N. Stepanov (Eds.), Izdatel'stvo pisatelei v Leningrade, Leningrad, 1928-33.

KHLEBNIKOV, Velimir:

Sobranie sochinenii, 4 Vols., Wilhelm Fink Verlag, Munich, 1968-72.

KHLEBNIKOV, Velimir:

Snake Train: Poetry and Prose, Gary Kern (Ed.), Ardis, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1976.

KNIGHT, C.D.:

Past, Future and the Problem of Communication in the Work of V.V. Khlebnikov, M.Phil. thesis, University of Sussex, 1975.

Knizhnaia letopis' glavnogo upravleniia po delam pechati, (St.Petersburg) July 1907 (pub. 1908) - 1920; (Moscow) 1920-1964.

KOONEN, Alisa:

"Kamernyi teatr v pervye gody revoliutsii" (1959), in Sovetskii teatr. Dokumenty i materialy: Russkii sovetskii teatr 1917-1921, "Iskusstvo", Leningrad, 1968, pp.163-7.

KOONEN, Alisa:

Stranitsy zhizni, "Iskusstvo", Moscow, 1975.

KOSTIN, V.I.:

"Risunki Tatlina", in Sredy khudozhnikov: Khudozhniki i proizvedeniia: Stat'i ob iskusstve 20-kh i 30-kh godov: Stat'i po voprosam sovremennogo iskusstva, "Sovetskii khudozhnik", Moscow, 1986.

KOVTUN, E.F.:

"K.S. Malevich. Pis'ma k M.V. Matiushinu", Ezhegodnik rukopisnogo otdela Pushkinskogo Doma na 1974 god, "Nauka", Leningrad, 1976, pp.177-195.

KRUCHENYKH, A.:

Utinoe gnezdyshko...durnykh slov, EUY, St. Petersburg, 1913.

KRUCHENYKH, A.:

Te Li Le, St. Petersburg, 1914.

KRUCHENYKH, A.:

Zaumnaia gniga, Moscow, 1915.

KRUCHENYKH, A.:

Vselenskaia voina, Petrograd, 1916.

KRUCHENYKH, A.E.:

Izbrannoe, V. Markov (Ed.), Wilhelm Fink Verlag, Munich, 1973.

Kunst des 20 Jahrhunderts: Malerei - Grafik - Plastik, Sammlung Wilhelm-Hack, Ludwigshafen-am-Rhein, 1979.

Künstlerinnen der Russischen Avantgarde: Women Artists of the Russian Avant-Garde, 1910-1930, Galerie Gmurzynska, Cologne, 1979.

LARIONOV, Mikhail:  
Luchizm, Moscow, April 1913.

LARIONOV, Mikhail and Natalya Goncharova:  
"Luchisty i budushchniki: Manifest", in Oslinyi khvost i mishen, Moscow, July 1913.

Liberated Colour and Form: Russian Non-Objective Art, 1915-1922, Andrei B. Nakov (Ed.), The Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh, 1978.

LINDSAY, K.C. and Peter Vergo (Eds.):  
Kandinsky: Complete Writings on Art, 2 Vols. (1901-1921; 1922-1943), Faber and Faber, London, 1982.

LIVSHITS, Benedikt:  
Polutoraglaziyi strelets, Pisateli v Leningrade, Leningrad, 1933.

LIVSHITS, Benedikt:  
The One and a Half-Eyed Archer, translated and edited John E. Bowl, Oriental Research Partners, Newtonville, Massachusetts, 1977.

LODDER, Christina:  
Russian Constructivism, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1983.

Malévitch (Ex. Cat.), Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris, 1978.

MARCADÉ, Jean-Claude and Valentine:  
L'Avant-garde au féminin: Moscou - Saint-Petersbourg - Paris (1907-1930), Artcurial, Paris, 1983.

MARCADÉ, Valentine:  
Le Renouveau de l'Art Pictural Russe 1863-1914, Éditions L'Âge d'Homme, Lausanne, 1971.

MARINETTI, F.T.:  
Le Futurisme, Sansot, Paris, 1911.

MARKOV, Vladimir [Waldemar Matvejs]:  
Printsipy tvorchestva y plasticheskikh iskusstvakh: Faktura, Izdanie obshchestva khudozhnikov "Soiuz molodezhi", St. Petersburg, 1914.

- MARKOV, Vladimir:  
The Longer Poems of Velimir Khlebnikov, University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol.62, California, 1962.
- MARKOV, Vladimir (Ed):  
Manifesty i programmy russkikh futuristov, Slavische Propylaen, Band 27, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, Munich, 1967.
- MARKOV, Vladimir:  
Russian Futurism. A History, Macgibbon and Kee, London, 1969.
- MARTIN, Marianne W.:  
Futurist Art and Theory. 1909-1915, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1968.
- MATIUSHIN, M.:  
 "O knige Metzinger-Gleiza, 'Du Cubisme'", Soiuz molodezhi, No.3, St. Petersburg, March 1913, pp.25-34.
- MATIUSHIN, M.:  
 "Futurizm v Peterburge", Futuristy: Pervyi zhurnal russkikh futuristov, No.1-2, V. Kamensky (Ed.), Moscow, 1914, pp.153-7.
- MAYAKOVSKY, Vladimir:  
Polnoe sobranie sochinenii v trinadtsati tomakh, Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, Moscow, 1955-61.
- MICHAELSEN, Katherine Janszky:  
Archipenko: A Study of the Early Works 1908-1920, Garland Publishing Inc., New York and London, 1977.
- MICHAELSEN, Katherine Janszky and Nehama Guralnik (Eds.):  
Alexander Archipenko: A Centennial Tribute, The National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1986.
- MICHELL, George (Ed):  
Architecture of the Islamic World. Its History and Social Meaning, Thames and Hudson, London, 1978.
- MIKHAILOVA, N.N.:  
Marinetti: Futurizm, "Prometei", St. Petersburg, 1914.
- MILNER, John:  
Vladimir Tatlin and the Russian Avant-Garde, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1983.
- Modern Masters from the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, The Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1984.
- MURRAY, Ann H.:  
 "Henri Le Fauconnier's 'Das Kunstwerk': An Early Statement of Cubist Aesthetic Theory and its Understanding in Germany", Arts Magazine, Vol.56, December 1981, pp.125-133.

NAKOV, Andrei B.:  
"Notes from an Unpublished Catalogue", Studio International, 1973,  
Vol.12, pp.223-5.

NAKOV, Andrei (Ed.):  
Malévitch: Écrits, Éditions Champ Libre, Paris, 1975.

OUSPENSKY, P.D.:  
Tertium Organum: Kliuch k zagadkam mira, St. Petersburg, 1911.

OUSPENSKY, P.D.:  
Tertium Organum. The Third Canon of Thought. A Key to the Enigmas of the World, translated N. Bessaraboff and C. Bragdon, Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner and Co., London, 1934.

OUSPENSKY, P.D.:  
A New Model of the Universe. Principles of the Psychological Method in its Application to Problems of Science, Religion and Art, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1960.

P.P.P.:  
"Kamernyi teatr", Russkoe slovo, No.231, 10 (23) October 1917, p.4.

Paris - Moscou: Parizh - Moskva, 1900-1930, Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou, Paris, 1979.

PARNIS, A.E. and R.D. Timenchik:  
"Programmy 'Brodiachei sobaki'", Pamiatniki kul'tury: Novye otkrytiia: Pis'mennost'. Iskusstvo. Arkheologiya. Ezhegodnik 1983, "Nauka", Leningrad, 1985, pp.160-257.

PARTON, Anthony:  
Larionov (1881-1964): A Study of the Chronology and Sources of his Art, Ph.D. thesis, University of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, 1985.

PETROVA, M.V.:  
"Teatral'nyi khudozhnik Alexandr Vesnin. Iz sobrania GNIMA imeni A.V. Shchuseva", Muzei 7: Khudozhestvennye sobrania SSSR, "Sovetskii khudozhnik", Moscow, 1987, pp.101-111.

PIKARD:  
"On i oni: K priezdu Marinetti", Vechernie izvestia, Moscow, No.381, 24 January 1914, p.2.

Poshchchina obshchestvennomu vkusu, published G.L. Kuzmin, Moscow, 1912-13.

PROFFER, Ellendea and Carl R. (Eds):  
The Ardis Anthology of Russian Futurism: Guro. Brik. Mayakovsky. Burluk. Zamyatin. Pasternak. Meyerhold. Khlebnikov. Kruchenykh, Ardis, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1980.

- ROBBINS, Daniel:  
"From Symbolism to Cubism: The Abbaye of Cr eteil", Art Journal,  
XX111, 2, Winter 1963-64, pp.111-116.
- ROETHEL, Hans K., with Jean K. Benjamin:  
Kandinsky, Phaidon, Oxford, 1979.
- ROWELL, Margit:  
"Vladimir Tatlin: Form/Faktura", October, Fall/Winter 1978,  
pp.83-108.
- ROWELL, Margit:  
"The Planar Dimension 1912-1932: From Surface to Space", in The  
Planar Dimension. Europe 1912-1932, The Solomon R. Guggenheim  
Museum, New York, 1979, pp.9-31.
- ROWELL, Margit and A. Rudenstine (Eds.):  
Art of the Avant-Garde in Russia. Selections from the George  
Costakis Collection, The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York,  
1981.
- RUDENSTINE, Angelica Z. (Ed):  
Russian Avant-Garde Art. The George Costakis Collection, Thames  
and Hudson, London, 1981.
- RUSAKOV, Yu:  
"Matisse in Russia in the Autumn of 1911", Burlington Magazine, May  
1975, Vol. CXV11, No.866, pp.284-291.
- Russian Avant-Garde. 1908-1922, Leonard Hutton Galleries, New York,  
1971.
- Russian Futurism 1910-1916. Poetry and Manifestos: 54 Titles on  
Colour and Monochrome Microfiche, Susan Compton (Ed.),  
Chadwyck-Healey, Cambridge, and Somerset House, New Jersey.
- Russian Stage Design. Scenic Innovation 1900-1930, From the  
Collection of Mr and Mrs Nikita D. Lobanov-Rostovsky, John Bowl  
(Ed.), Mississippi Museum of Art, Jackson, 1982.
- Russische Avantgarde 1910-1930, Sammlung Ludwig, Prestel-Verlag,  
Munich, 1986.
- Russkoe teatral'no-dekoratsionnoe iskusstvo 1880-1930: Iz  
kolleksii Nikity i Niny Lobanovykh-Rostovskikh, Gosudarstvennyi  
Muzei Izobrazitel'nykh Iskusstv imeni A.S. Pushkina, Moscow, 1988.
- SAYLER, Oliver M.:  
The Russian Theatre, Brentano's Ltd., London, 1923.
- Sbornik statei po iskusstvu: Obshchestvo khudozhnikov 'Bubnovyi  
valet', Moscow, 1913.

SHAGINIAN, Marietta:

"Teatr v Moskve", Izvestia, No.281, 14 December 1920, p.2.

SHERSHENEVICH, Vadim:

Futurizm bez maski: Kompiliativnaia introduktsiia, Moskovskoe izdatel'stvo, Moscow, 1913.

SHERSHENEVICH, Vadim:

Manifesty ital'ianskago futurizma: Sobranie manifestov Marinetti. Bocc'oni. Karra. Russolo. Balla. Severini. Pratella. Sen-Puan, Tipografiia russkago tovarishchestva, Moscow, 1914.

SHKLOVSKY, V.:

Mayakovsky and his Circle, translated and edited Lily Feiler, Pluto Press, London, 1974.

Sieben Moskauer Künstler: Seven Moscow Artists. 1910-1930, Galerie Gmurzynska, Cologne, 1984.

SIMMONS, W. Sherwin:

"Kasimir Malevich's 'Black Square': The Transformed Self. Part One: Cubism and the Illusionistic Portrait", Arts Magazine, October 1978, Vol.53, No.2, pp.116-125; "Part Two: The New Laws of Transrationalism", Arts Magazine, November 1978, Vol.53, No.3, pp.130-141; "Part Three: The Icon Unmasked", Arts Magazine, December 1978, Vol.53, No.4, pp.126-134.

SIMMONS, W. Sherwin:

Kasimir Malevich's 'Black Square' and the Genesis of Suprematism, PhD. Dissertation, The John Hopkins University, 1979.

SLONIM, Marc:

Russian Theatre. From the Empire to the Soviets, Methuen and Co., London, 1963.

Soiuz molodezhi, St. Petersburg, No.2, June 1912.

Soiuz molodezhi, St. Petersburg, No.3, March 1913.

SOTHEBY and Co.:

Russian Avant-Garde and Soviet Contemporary Art, Sales Catalogue, Moscow, 7 July 1988.

STAHLBERGER, L.:

The Symbolic System of Mayakovsky, Mouton, The Hague, 1964.

Studia impressionistov, N. Kul'bin (Ed.), published N.I. Butkovskoi, St. Petersburg, 1910.

Tainye poroki akademikov, Moscow, 1915.

TAIROV, A. Ya.:

Zapiski rezhissera: Stat'i, besedy, rechi, pis'ma, edited P. Markov, compiled Yu. Golovashenko, "Vserossiiskoe teatral'noe obshchestvo", Moscow, 1970.

TARABUKIN, Nikolai:

Opyt teorii zhivopisi, "Vserossiiskii proletkul't", Moscow, 1923.

TASTEVEN, G.:

Futurizm (na puti k novomu simvolizmu), Izdatel'stvo "Iris", Moscow, 1914.

Tatlin's Dream: Russian Suprematist and Constructivist Art, 1910-1930, Andrei Nakov (Ed.), Fischer Fine Art, London, 1973.

The Planar Dimension. Europe 1912-1932, The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 1979.

TORDA, Thomas Joseph:

Alexander Tairov and the Scenic Artists of the Moscow Kamerny Theatre 1914-1935, PhD. Dissertation, University of Denver, 1977.

TUGENDKHOL'D, Ya.:

"Frantsuzskoe sobranie S.I. Shchukina", Apollon, Nos.1-2, January 1914, pp.25-37.

TUGENDKHOL'D, Ya.:

Novoe zapadnoe iskusstvo y russkikh gosudarstvennykh muzeiakh: Vypusk I: b. sobranie S.I. Shchukina, Moscow/Petrograd, 1923.

USACHEVA, K.:

"Teatral'nye raboty A.A. Vesnina", Voprosy sovetskogo izobrazitel'nogo iskusstva i arkhitektury: Vypusk 2, "Sovetskii khudozhnik", Moscow, 1975.

VOLOSHIN, M.:

Al'bert Gleiz i Zhan Metzinger: O kubizme, Illustrirovannoe izdanie, Knigoizdatel'stvo "Sovremennyya problemy", Moscow, 1913.

Von der Fläche zum Raum. Russland 1916-1924: From Surface to Space. Russia 1916-1924, Galerie Gmurzynska, Cologne, 1974.

Von der Malerei zum Design. Russische Konstruktivistische Kunst der Zwanziger Jahre: From Painting to Design. Russian Constructivist Art of the Twenties, Galerie Gmurzynska, Cologne, 1981.

VORONOVA, O.I.:

Vera Ignat'evna Mukhina, "Iskusstvo", Moscow, 1976.

WESCHER, Herta:

Collage, translated Robert E. Wolf, Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1968.

WOLFRAM, Eddie:

History of Collage. An Anthology of Collage, Assemblage and Event Structures, MacMillan, London, 1975.

ZHADOVA, Larissa:

Malevich. Suprematism and Revolution in Russian Art 1910-1930, Thames and Hudson, London, 1982.

ZSADOVA, Larisza Alekszejevna [Larissa Zhadova]:

Vlagyimir Jevgrafovics Tatlin, "Corvina Kiado", Budapest, 1985.

ZYGAS, Kestutis Paul:

The Sources of Constructivist Architecture: Designs and Images 1917-1925, PhD. Dissertation, Cornell University, 1978.

#### ALEXANDRA EXTER

COHEN, Ronny H.:

"Alexandra Exter's Designs for the Theatre", Artforum, Summer 1981, pp.46-9.

NAKOV, Andrei B.:

Alexandra Exter, Galerie Jean Chauvelin, Paris, 1972.

NAKOV, Andrei B.:

"Painting and Stage Design: A Creative Dialogue", in Artist of the Theatre. Alexandra Exter. Four Essays with an Illustrated Check List of Scenic and Costume Designs exhibited at the Vincent Astor Gallery, The New York Public Library at Lincoln Center, spring-summer 1974, pp.9-15.

TUGENDKHOL'D, Ya.:

Alexandra Exter kak zhivopisets i khudozhnik tseny, "Zaria", Berlin, 1922.

#### LIUBOV POPOVA

ADASKINA, N.L.:

"Problemy proizvodstvennogo iskusstva v tvorchestve L.S. Popovoi", VNIITE: Tezisy konferentsii, seminarov, soveshchani. Khudozhestvennye problemy predmetno-prostranstvennoi sredy, Moscow, 1978, pp.57-62.

ADASKINA, N.L.:

"Liubov Popova: Put' stanovleniia khudozhnika-konstruktora", Tekhnicheskaja estetika, No.11, VNIITE, Moscow, 1978, pp.17-23.

BOWLT, John E.:  
"From Surface to Space: The Art of Liubov Popova", The Structurist, No. 15/16, 1975/76, pp.80-8.

BOWLT, John E.:  
"Liubov Popova, Painter", Transactions of the Association of Russian-American Scholars in the USA, 1982, pp.227-252.

PECK, George and Lilly Wei:  
"Liubov Popova: Interpretations of Space", Art in America, 1982, Vol.10, pp.95-104.

RAKITINA, E.:  
"Liubov Popova. Iskusstvo i manifesty", in Khudozhnik. tsena. ekran: Sbornik statei, "Sovetskii khudozhnik", Moscow, 1975, pp.152-163.

RAKITIN, Vasilii:  
"Liubov Popova", in Künstlerinnen der russischen Avantgarde: Women Artists of the Russian Avant-Garde. 1910-1930, Galerie Gmurzynska, Cologne, 1979, pp.195-207.

SARAB'YANOV, D.V.:  
"Space in Painting and Design", translated John E. Bowlit, in Von der Malerei zum Design. Russische Konstruktivistische Kunst der Zwanziger Jahre: From Painting to Design. Russian Constructivist Art of the Twenties, Galerie Gmurzynska, Cologne, 1981, pp.48-69.

TUGENDKHOL'D, Ya.:  
"Pamiati L. Popovoi", Khudozhnik i zritel', No.6-7, Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, Moscow, 1924, pp.76-7.

ZHADOVA, Larissa:  
"Liubov Popova", Tekhnicheskaja estetika, No.11, 1967, pp.26-8.

#### IVAN PUNI

BERNINGER, Herman, and Jean-Albert Cartier:  
Pougny (1892-1956). Catalogue de l'Oeuvre. Tome I: Les Années d'Avant-garde. Russie-Berlin. 1910-1923, Éditions Ernst Wasmuth, Tübingen, 1972.

Donation Pougny (Ex. Cat.), Orangerie des Tuileries, Paris, 1966.

GINDERTAEL, R.V.:  
"Madame Pougny évoque: Les Futuristes de Petrograd et la Révolution d'Octobre", Cimaise, February-May 1968, pp.30-7.

Iwan Puni (Jean Pougny) 1892-1956: Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Reliefs: Russland 1910-1919, Berlin 1920-1923, Paris 1924-1956 (Ex. Cat.), Haus am Waldsee, Berlin, 1975.

Jwan Puni: Petersburg: Gemälde, Aquarelle, Zeichnungen, Der Sturm Gallery, Berlin, February 1921 (foreword by W.E. Groeger).

LUFFT, Peter:

"Der Gestaltwandel im Werk von Jean Pougny", in E. Hüttinger and H.A. Lüthy (Eds.), Gotthard Jedlicka. Eine Gedenkschrift, Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, Orell Füssli Verlag, Zurich, 1974, pp.181-198.

PUNI, I.:

"Sovremennye gruppirovki v russkom levom iskusstve", Iskusstvo kommuny, No.19, 13 April 1919, pp.2-3.

PUNI, I.:

Sovremennaja zhivopis', Izdatel'stvo L.D. Frenkel', Berlin, 1923.

#### OLGA ROZANOVA

[anon]:

"Pamiati O.V. Rozanovoi", Iskusstvo, No.1, 5 January 1919, p.3.

EFROS, A.:

"Vo sled ukhodiashchim", Moskva: Zhurnal literatury i iskusstva, 1919, No.3, pp.4-6.

GASSNER, Hubertus:

"Olga Rozanova", in Künstlerinnen der russischen Avant-garde: Women Artists of the Russian Avant-Garde, 1910-1930, Galerie Gmurzynska, Cologne, 1979, pp.230-235.

ROZANOVA, Olga:

"Osnovy novogo tvorchestva i prichiny ego neponimania", Soiuz molodezhi, No.3, March 1913, pp.14-22.

ROZANOVA, Olga:

"Kubizm, futurizm, suprematizm", translated John E. Bowlt, in Von der Malerei zum Design. Russische Konstruktivistische Kunst der Zwanziger Jahre: From Painting to Design. Russian Constructivist Art of the Twenties, Galerie Gmurzynska, Cologne, 1981, pp.100-113.

#### NADEZHDA UDALTSOVA

DREVINA, Ekaterina:

"Nadezhda Andreevna Udaltsova", in Sieben Moskauer Künstler: Seven Moscow Artists, 1910-1930, Galerie Gmurzynska, Cologne, 1984, pp.308-12.

UDALTSOVA, Nadezhda:

"Avtobiografiia" (1933), in Sieben Moskauer Künstler: Seven Moscow Artists, 1910-1930, Galerie Gmurzynska, Cologne, 1984, pp.297-9.

ZHADOVA, Larissa:

"Some Notes on the History of Clothes Design and other Everyday Items", in Künstlerinnen der russischen Avantgarde: Women Artists of the Russian Avant-Garde, 1910-1930, Galerie Gmurzynska, Cologne, 1979, pp.67-76.

CUBO-FUTURISM IN RUSSIA, 1912-1922:  
THE TRANSFORMATION OF A PAINTERLY STYLE

Ph.D Thesis  
St. Andrews University

Charlotte M. Humphreys

Volume II: Illustrations

#### NOTE

Under each illustration I have included only the artist's name and the title and date of the work. Locations, media, dimensions and any other information appear in the list of illustrations at the beginning of this volume.

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Fig. 1.1 Georges Braque: Le Grand Nu, Paris, 1908,  
oil on canvas, 140 x 99cm.  
Collection Madame Cuttoli, Paris.
- Fig. 1.2 The Italian Futurists' "Futurist Painting:  
Technical Manifesto", 1910, translated as  
"Manifest futuristskikh zhivopistsev", in  
N.N. Mikhailova, Marinetti: Futurizm,  
St. Petersburg, 1914.
- Fig. 1.3 Kazimir Malevich: The Knifegrinder  
(Principle of Flashing), 1912,  
oil on canvas, 79.5 x 79.5cm.  
Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven.
- Fig. 1.4 Kazimir Malevich: Woman Reaping, 1913,  
letterpress. Published in Troe, St. Petersburg,  
1st edition, 1913, p.51.
- Fig. 1.5 Pablo Picasso: Peasant Woman, 1908,  
oil on canvas, 81.2 x 65.3cm.  
The Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.
- Fig. 1.6 Natalya Goncharova: Peasants Picking Apples, 1911,  
oil on canvas, 104 x 97,5cm.  
The Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.
- Fig. 1.7 Aristarkh Lentulov: Bathing, 1911-12,  
oil on canvas, 167 x 174.5cm.  
Artist's Estate.
- Fig. 1.8 Fernand Léger: Nudes in a Landscape, 1909-11,  
oil on canvas, 120.9 x 172.7cm.  
Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, Otterlo.
- Fig. 1.9 Umberto Boccioni: The City Rises, 1910-11,  
oil on canvas, 199.3 x 301cm.  
The Museum of Modern Art, New York.
- Fig. 1.10 Kazimir Malevich: Universal Landscape, 1913,  
lithograph, 86 x 118mm.  
Not published. Reproduced in Donald Karshan,  
Malevich. The Graphic Work: 1913-1930, 1975.
- Fig. 2.1 Nadezhda Udaltsova: Female Nude, 1912-13,  
oil on canvas, 90 x 63,5cm.  
Private Collection, Germany.
- Fig. 2.2 Vladimir Tatlin: Drawing of a Nude, c1911-14,

- pencil on paper, 43 x 26cm,  
Leaf 73 from an album of drawings in the  
Central State Archive of Literature and Art  
(TsGALI), Moscow.
- Fig. 2.3 Jean Metzinger: Le Gôûter, 1911,  
oil on cardboard, 75.9 x 70.2cm.  
Louise and Walter Arensberg collection,  
Philadelphia Museum of Art.
- Fig. 2.4 Jean Metzinger: The Blue Bird, 1913  
oil on canvas, 230 x 196cm,  
Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, Paris.
- Fig. 2.5 Nadezhda Udaltsova: Composition, c1914,  
watercolour and pencil on paper, 26 x 35cm.  
Private Collection, Moscow.
- Fig. 2.6 Jean Metzinger: Study for The Blue Bird, 1913,  
Pen drawing with watercolour on cream paper,  
37 x 29.5cm.  
Musée National d'Art Moderne,  
Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.
- Fig. 2.7 Liubov Popova: Female Model. Standing Figure,  
c1913-14, oil on canvas, 105 x 69,5cm.  
The Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.
- Fig. 2.8 Fernand Léger: The Stair, 1913,  
oil on canvas, 146 x 118cm.  
Kunsthau, Zurich.
- Fig. 2.9 Liubov Popova: Two Figures, c1913-14,  
oil on canvas, 157 x 123cm.  
The Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.
- Fig. 2.10 Jean Metzinger: Woman with Fan, c1913,  
oil on canvas, 92.8 x 65.2cm.  
Art Institute of Chicago,  
Gift of Mr and Mrs Sigmund W. Kunstadter.
- Fig. 2.11 Liubov Popova: Seated Nude, c1914,  
oil on canvas, 106 x 87cm.  
Collection Ludwig Museum, Cologne.
- Fig. 2.12 Nadezhda Udaltsova: The Seamstress, 1912-13,  
oil on canvas, 70.5 x 70cm.  
The Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.
- Fig. 2.13 Pablo Picasso: Girl with a Mandolin  
(Portrait of Fanny Tellier), Paris, 1910,  
oil on canvas, 100.3 x 73.6cm.  
The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

- Fig. 2.14 Nadezhda Udaltsova: At the Piano, c1914-15,  
oil on canvas, 107 x 89cm.  
Yale University Art Gallery. Katherine Dreier Bequest,  
Société Anonyme.
- Fig. 2.15 Nadezhda Udaltsova: The Restaurant, 1915,  
oil on canvas, 135 x 116cm.  
The Russian Museum, Leningrad.
- Fig. 2.16 Liubov Popova: Woman Traveller, 1915,  
oil on canvas, 142 x 105.5cm.  
Norton Simon Art Foundation, Pasadena.
- Fig. 2.17 Ivan Kliun: Rapidly Passing Landscape, 1914,  
oil on wood, wire, metal and porcelain,  
74 x 58cm.  
The Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.
- Fig. 2.18 Liubov Popova: Jug on a Table (Plastic Painting),  
1915, oil on cardboard and objet trouvé,  
mounted on wood, 58.5 x 45.5cm.  
The Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.
- Fig. 2.19 Liubov Popova: Relief (Portrait), 1915,  
oil on paper and cardboard, mounted on wood,  
66.3 x 48.5cm.  
Collection Ludwig Museum, Cologne.
- Fig. 2.20 Picasso: Table in a Café (Bottle of Pernod), 1912,  
oil on canvas, 46 x 33cm.  
The Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.
- Fig. 2.21 Nadezhda Udaltsova: Bottle and Glass, 1915,  
oil on canvas, 40 x 31cm.  
The Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.
- Fig. 2.22 Nadezhda Udaltsova: Self-Portrait with Palette, 1915,  
oil on canvas, 72 x 53cm.  
The Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.
- Fig. 2.23 Juan Gris: Glass of Beer and Playing Cards, 1913,  
oil and collage on canvas, 52.5 x 36.5cm.  
Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, Columbus, Ohio.
- Fig. 2.24 Olga Rozanova: Metronome, c1914-15,  
oil on canvas, 46 x 33cm.  
The Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.
- Fig. 2.25 Liubov Popova: The Clock, 1915,  
oil and papiers collés on canvas  
(dimensions not known).  
Private Collection, Moscow.

- Fig. 2.26 Olga Rozanova: Man in the Street  
(Analysis of Volumes), 1913,  
oil on canvas, 83 x 61.5cm.  
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Lugano, Switzerland.  
(formerly Collection Marinetti, Rome).
- Fig. 2.27 Umberto Boccioni: Simultaneous Visions, 1911,  
oil on canvas, 60.5 x 60.6cm.  
Von der Heydt-Museum, Wuppertal.
- Fig. 2.28 Olga Rozanova: The Factory and the Bridge, c1913,  
oil on canvas, 83 x 61.5cm.  
Leonard Hutton Galleries, New York  
(formerly Collection Marinetti, Rome).
- Fig. 2.29 Olga Rozanova: Illustration for Explodity,  
1st edition, St. Petersburg, 1913,  
lithograph, 17.7 x 12.2cm.  
Collection The British Library, London.
- Fig. 2.30 Olga Rozanova: Dresser with Dishes, c1915,  
oil on canvas, 64 x 45cm.  
The Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.
- Fig. 2.31 Juan Gris: The Washbasin, 1912,  
oil and papiers collés on canvas, 125 x 90cm,  
Collection Vicontesse de Noailles, Paris.
- Fig. 3.1 Kazimir Malevich: Violin and Glass, 1913-14,  
oil on canvas, 70.3 x 53.4cm.  
Collection George Costakis.
- Fig. 3.2 Picasso: Musical Instruments, 1913,  
oil, gesso and sawdust on oval canvas, 100 x 81cm.  
The Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.
- Fig. 3.3 Georges Braque: Harlequin, 1912,  
papier collé, charcoal, imitation woodgrain  
and coloured paper, 62 x 48cm.  
Whereabouts unknown.
- Fig. 3.4 Kazimir Malevich: Composition with Mona Lisa, 1914,  
oil and collage on canvas, 62 x 49.5cm.  
Private Collection, Leningrad.
- Fig. 3.5 Kazimir Malevich: Woman at a Poster Column, 1914,  
oil and collage on canvas, 71 x 64cm.  
The Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam.
- Fig. 3.6 Kazimir Malevich: Man, Violin and Spoon,  
Alogical drawing, 1914-15,  
pencil on paper, 16.4 x 11.2cm.  
Private Collection.

- Fig. 3.7 Mikhail Larionov: Portrait of N. Goncharova, 1914-15, papier collé, (whereabouts and dimensions unknown),  
Reproduction courtesy of T. Loguine and A. Parton.
- Fig. 3.8 Ivan Puni: Portrait of the Artist's Wife, 1914, oil on canvas, 89 x 62.5cm.  
The Russian Museum, Leningrad.
- Fig. 3.9 Ivan Puni: Boots and Chair, 1914 papier collé, charcoal, newspaper and wallpaper on canvas, (dimensions unknown).  
Whereabouts unknown, probably destroyed.
- Fig. 3.10 Georges Braque: The Clarinet, 1913, papier collé, newspaper, imitation woodgrain, black paper and charcoal, 95 x 120cm.  
The Museum of Modern Art, New York.
- Fig. 3.11 Ivan Puni: Still-life with Cup and Spoon, 1914, papier collé, charcoal, oil, newspaper and wallpaper on canvas, (dimensions unknown).  
Private Collection, USSR.
- Fig. 3.12 Juan Gris: Breakfast, 1914, papier collé, pencil, oil and paper on canvas, 80,8 x 59.5cm.  
The Museum of Modern Art, New York.
- Fig. 3.13 Ivan Puni: Still-life - Relief with Hammer, 1914 (1920s reconstruction of 1914 original), relief, gouache on cardboard with hammer, 80.5 x 65.5 x 9cm.  
Collection Herman Berninger, Zurich.
- Fig. 3.14 Olga Rozanova: Barbershop, c1915, oil on canvas, 71 x 53cm.  
The Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.
- Fig. 3.15 Ivan Puni: The Hairdresser, 1915, oil on canvas, 83.5 x 65cm.  
Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris (Gift of Madame Pougny).
- Fig. 3.16 Olga Rozanova: Illustrations for Te Li Le, 1914 (for Kruchenykh's zaum poem, "Dyr bul shchyl"), reproduced by hectography, 22 x 15.5cm and 22.2 x 14.5cm.  
Collection The British Library, London.

- Fig. 3.17 Olga Rozanova: Cover illustration for Transrational Book, Moscow, 1915, collage of coloured paper and real button, Collection Ex Libris, New York.
- Fig. 3.18 Olga Rozanova: Untitled illustration for War, Petrograd, 1915, papier collé of linocut and coloured paper, 31 x 40cm. Galerie Gmurzynska, Cologne.
- Fig. 3.19 Olga Rozanova: Explosion of A Trunk, collage illustration for Universal War, Petrograd, 1916, paper and fabric collage on paper, each page: 21 x 29cm; book: 22 x 33cm. Published in an edition of 100 handmade copies. Collection George Costakis.
- Fig. 3.20 Olga Rozanova: Project for a Composition, 1916, pencil and crayon on paper, 22 x 17cm. Whereabouts unknown.
- Fig. 3.21 Olga Rozanova: Non-Objective Composition, 1916, papier collé with photograph, 30.5 x 22cm. Galerie Gmurzynska, Cologne.
- Fig. 4.1 Ivan Puni: Cover and illustration for Futurists: Roaring Parnassus, St. Petersburg, 1914, Collection Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- Fig. 4.2 Ivan Puni: Khlebnikov reading his poems to Ksanya, 1917, lithograph, Indian Ink, 20 x 17cm. Collection Herman Berninger, Zurich.
- Fig. 4.3 Ivan Puni: Window Washing, 1915, oil on canvas, 85 x 67cm. Collection Herman Berninger, Zurich.
- Fig. 4.4 Kazimir Malevich: The Aviator, 1914-15, oil on canvas, 124 x 74cm. The Russian Museum, Leningrad.
- Fig. 4.5 Ivan Puni: White Ball, 1915, plaster ball and painted wood, 34 x 50.5 x 11cm. Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris (Gift of Madame Pougny).
- Fig. 4.6 Ivan Puni: Relief with a Plate, c1919, bas-relief of real plate and wood, 33 x 61.1 x 4.8cm. Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart.

- Fig. 4.7 Ivan Puni: The Flight of Forms, 1919,  
oil on canvas, 132 x 130cm,  
The Russian Museum, Leningrad.
- Fig. 4.8 A. Kruchenykh, Milliork, Tiflis, 1919.  
Cover Design by Ilya Zdanevich,  
22 x 17cm,  
Collection Madame Zdanevich, France.
- Fig. 4.9 Documentary photograph of the exhibition  
of works by Ivan Puni at Der Sturm Gallery,  
Berlin, February 1921.
- Fig. 5.1 Ivan Puni: The Accordion, c1914,  
collage of oil, paper and wood on canvas, 62 x 68cm.  
The Russian Museum, Leningrad.
- Fig. 5.2 Archipenko: Before the Mirror (In the Boudoir),  
1915, oil and pencil on wood, paper and metal,  
with a photograph of the artist,  
45.7 x 30.5cm.  
Philadelphia Museum of Art.
- Fig. 5.3 Hodigitria - The Mother of God depicted with  
Saints and the Trinity, icon,  
mid-15th Century,  
The Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.
- Fig. 5.4 Vladimir Tatlin: Painterly Relief, 1914  
(selection of materials: iron, stucco,  
glass, asphalt).  
Whereabouts unknown.
- Fig. 5.5 Documentary photograph of  
"The Last Futurist Exhibition 0,10", Petrograd,  
December 1915 - January 1916,  
with view of Malevich's Black Square.
- Fig. 5.6 Ivan Puni: White Ball, 1915  
(set in vertical position),  
plaster and painted wood, 34 x 50.5 x 11cm.  
Musée National d'Art Moderne,  
Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.
- Fig. 5.7 The Virgin Mary, icon, c1405,  
tempera on wood, 211 x 121cm.  
From the deesis tier, iconostasis, Cathedral  
of the Annunciation, The Kremlin, Moscow.
- Fig. 5.8 Archipenko: Woman with a Fan, 1914  
painted wood, painted sheet metal, glass bottle and  
metal funnel; support: oil on burlap,  
and oil on oilcloth, mounted on wood panels,

108 x 61.5 x 13.5cm.  
The Tel Aviv Museum, Tel Aviv.

- Fig. 5.9 The Virgin Eleusa of Byelozersk, icon,  
First half of the 13th Century,  
The Russian Museum, Leningrad.
- Fig. 5.10 Ivan Puni: Cubo-Sculpture, c1915-16  
(reconstruction of original),  
partially painted wood, sheet metal,  
cardboard and plaster,  
70 x 54.4 x 12cm.  
Collection Herman Berninger, Zurich.
- Fig. 5.11 Illustrations from Outline of Psychology,  
Wilhelm Wundt, Moscow, 1912.
- Fig. 5.12 Ivan Puni: Composition, c1915,  
oil on canvas, 94 x 65cm.  
The Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam.
- Fig. 5.13 Ivan Puni: Composition, c1915-16,  
relief from wood, metal, cardboard and glass,  
partially painted with gouache;  
set on a wooden ground painted white,  
71 x 46 x 6cm.  
Musée National d'Art Moderne,  
Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris  
(Gift of Madame Pougny).
- Fig. 5.14 Ivan Puni: Composition, c1915-16  
(reconstruction from original drawing in the  
collection of Guido Rossi, Milan),  
relief from wood, metal, cardboard and glass,  
partially painted with gouache;  
set on a ground of natural wood,  
36.5 x 23.5cm.  
Private Collection, Italy  
(Sold at the Fischer Fine Art Gallery,  
London, 1973).
- Fig. 5.15 Ivan Puni: Sculpture, c1915-16,  
relief from wood, tin and cardboard;  
partially painted with gouache;  
set on a wooden ground painted white,  
55 x 39 x 10cm.  
Musée National d'Art Moderne,  
Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris  
(Gift of Madame Pougny).
- Fig. 5.16 Ivan Puni: Sculpture, c1915-16  
(montage from maquette and drawing),  
relief from wood, tin and cardboard,

- partially painted with gouache;  
set on a ground of natural wood,  
52.5 x 38 x 10cm.  
Collection Madame Dina Vierny, Paris.
- Fig. 5.17 Golden Oklad for the Vladimir Virgin,  
icon, c1410-1431,  
State Armoury, Moscow.
- Fig. 5.18 Ivan Puni: Still-life with Pink Vase  
and Billiards Triangle, 1917,  
oil on canvas, 73 x 54cm.  
The Russian Museum, Leningrad.
- Fig. 6.1 Olga Rozanova: Battle of the Budetlianin  
with the Ocean,  
collage illustration for Universal War,  
Petrograd, 1916.  
paper and fabric collage on paper,  
each page: 21 x 29cm; book: 22 x 33cm.  
Collection George Costakis.
- Fig. 6.2 Photograph of "The Last Futurist Exhibition 0,10"  
in Ogonek, January 1916. Exhibits illustrated include  
Ivan Kliun, Cubist Woman at her Dressing Table,  
Ivan Puni, The Hairdresser and Window Washing,  
and Olga Rozanova, Automobile and  
The Bicyclist (The Devil's Panel).
- Fig. 6.3 Varvara Stepanova: Collage illustration for  
Gly-Gly, 1918, by A. Kruchenykh.  
Collage and Indian ink, 15.5 x 11cm.  
Rodchenko Archives, Moscow.
- Fig. 6.4 Alexandr Rodchenko: Photomontage for Mayakovsky's  
poem About This (Pro eto), 1923,  
collage, 24.3 x 35cm.  
State Mayakovsky Museum, Moscow.
- Fig. 6.5 Liubov Popova: Grocer's Shop, 1916,  
oil on canvas, 54 x 43cm.  
The Russian Museum, Leningrad.
- Fig. 6.6 Liubov Popova: Italian Still-life, 1914,  
collage of oil, plaster of Paris  
and newspaper on canvas,  
62.2 x 48.6cm.  
The Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.
- Fig. 6.7 Liubov Popova: Architectonic Composition, 1917-18,  
oil on canvas, 105.5 x 90cm.  
Private Collection, Moscow.

- Fig. 6.8 Vladimir Tatlin: Corner Counter-Relief, 1914-15, Detail of central section, Russian Museum, Leningrad. Illustrated in Tatlin's pamphlet published to accompany the "Last Futurist Exhibition 0,10", Petrograd, 1915-16.
- Fig. 6.9 (a) The Shah-Zinda Mausolea, Samarkand, Central Asia, c12th century, rebuilt 14th century.  
(b) Detail of tilework on Shah-Zinda, Samarkand, c1400.
- Fig. 6.10 Liubov Popova: Painterly Architectonics, c1918-19, oil on canvas, 73.1 x 48.1cm. Collection George Costakis.
- Fig. 6.11 Detail of decoration from the Gök Madrasah (theological school), Sivas, Turkey, 13th Century.
- Fig. 6.12 Interlacing Archways in the main (congregational) mosque, Herat, Afghanistan, c1200.
- Fig. 6.13 Liubov Popova: Painterly Architectonics, c1918; oil on board, 59.7 x 39.4cm. Carus and Donald Morris Galleries, Birmingham, Michigan.
- Fig. 6.14 Liubov Popova: Spatial Force Construction, 1920-21, oil on plywood, 83.5 x 64.5cm. The Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.
- Fig. 6.15 Detail of tilework on entrance arch to the Gur-i-Amir (Mausoleum of Tamerlane), Samarkand, Central Asia, First half of 15th Century.
- Fig. 6.16 Alexandra Exter: Composition (Construction of Planes according to the movement of colour), c1918, oil on canvas, 64 x 46cm. Collection Wilhelm Hack, Cologne.
- Fig. 6.17 Nadezhda Udaltsova: Composition, 1916, gouache on paper, 30 x 24cm. The Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.
- Fig. 7.1 Olga Rozanova: Project for a Fabric Design, c1916, gouache on paper, 46 x 37.5cm. Private Collection.
- Fig. 7.2 Nadezhda Udaltsova: Textile designs, 1916-17, gouache on paper: 15.5 x 34cm; 15.5 x 36cm, and 19.5 x 24cm. Private Collection, Moscow.
- Fig. 7.3 Giacomina Balla: Screen (with Speed Lines), 1917,

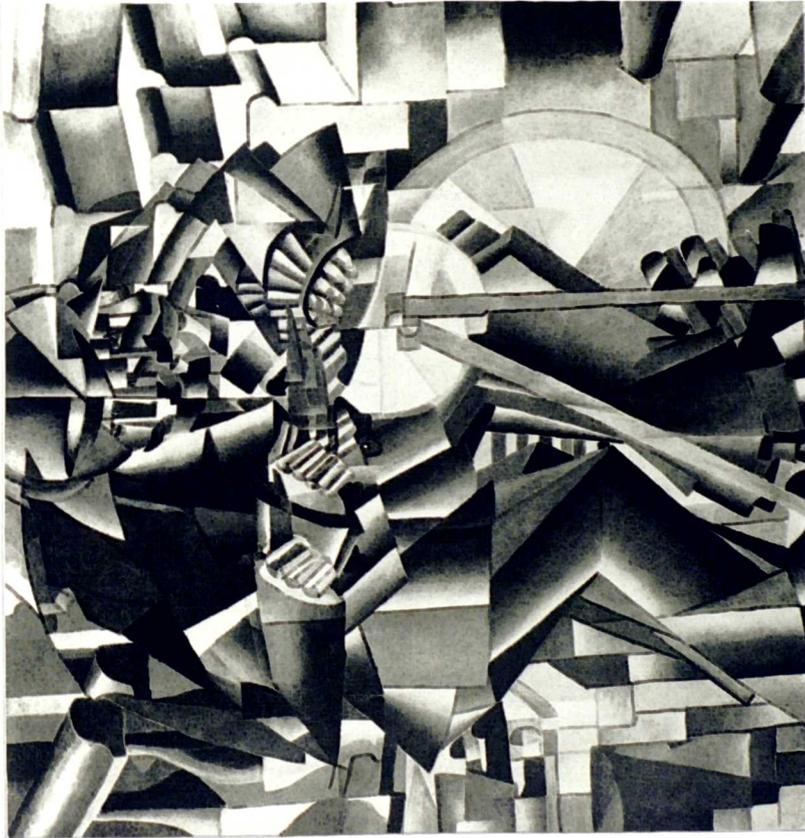
- oil on canvas, 151 x 126cm.  
Kansas City, Beatrice B. Davis Collection.
- Fig. 7.4 Alexandra Exter: Coloured Rhythm, c1916-18,  
gouache on paper, 65 x 50cm.  
Collection Carla Pellegrini, Milan.
- Fig. 7.5 Photograph of Ksanya Boguslavskaya  
at a Fashion Evening in Petrograd, 1916  
(dress and bag from drawings by Ivan Puni),  
in Solntse Rossii, No.329-23, 28 May 1916.
- Fig. 7.6 Olga Rozanova: Sketches for Women's Dresses, 1916-17,  
pencil on paper, 44 x 16cm and 29 x 13.2cm.  
The Russian Museum, Leningrad.
- Fig. 7.7 Olga Rozanova: Handbag designs, 1916-17:  
(a) Design for a Handbag,  
Ink and watercolour on paper, 35 x 23.2cm.  
The Russian Museum, Leningrad.  
(b) Embroidered Handbag design,  
pencil on paper, 28.5 x 25.5cm.  
The Russian Museum, Leningrad.
- Fig. 7.8 Nadezhda Udaltsova: Design for a Handbag, 1916-17,  
pencil and gouache on paper, 30.5 x 25.5cm.  
Private Collection, Moscow.
- Fig. 7.9 Detail of the Café Pittoresque,  
Moscow, with designs by Yakulov, Tatlin,  
Udaltsova, Bruni and others, 1917.
- Fig. 7.10 Natan Al'tman: Tribune for the Alexander Column,  
Petrograd, November 1918.
- Fig. 8.1 Documentary Photograph of Famira Kifared  
at the Moscow Kamerny Theatre, 1916,  
with set and costume designs by Alexandra Exter.
- Fig. 8.2 Alexandra Exter: Costume Design for Famira Kifared,  
Moscow Kamerny Theatre, 1916.  
Bakrushin Theatrical Museum, Moscow.
- Fig. 8.3 Alexandra Exter: Model for stage set for Salomé  
at the Moscow Kamerny Theatre, 1917.  
The National Library, Vienna.
- Fig. 8.4 Alexandra Exter: Costume Design for Salomé, 1917,  
pencil, gouache, silver paint,  
Bakrushin Theatrical Museum, Moscow.
- Fig. 8.5 Documentary Photograph of Salomé at the  
Moscow Kamerny Theatre, 1917,

- with set and costume designs by Alexandra Exter.
- Fig. 8.6 Documentary Photograph of Salomé at the Moscow Kamerny Theatre, 1917. The Death of Salomé.
- Fig. 8.7 Documentary Photograph of Romeo and Juliet at the Moscow Kamerny Theatre, 1921, with set and costume designs by Alexandra Exter. The Battle Scene.
- Fig. 8.8 Alexandra Exter: Costume Design for Romeo and Juliet, 1921, gouache on cardboard, 52 x 38cm. Private Collection, Paris.
- Fig. 8.9 Alexandr Vesnin: Cover design for the catalogue 5 x 5 = 25, Moscow, 1921, oil on cardboard, 22 x 12.5cm. The Shchusev Museum of Architecture, Moscow.
- Fig. 8.10 Alexandr Vesnin: Model for the stage set for The Tidings Brought to Mary at the Moscow Kamerny Theatre, 1920. The Shchusev Museum of Architecture, Moscow.
- Fig. 8.11 Documentary Photograph of The Tidings Brought to Mary, Moscow Kamerny Theatre, 1920, with set and costume designs by Alexandr Vesnin.
- Fig. 8.12 Alexandr Vesnin: Sketch for the stage set for Phaedra at the Moscow Kamerny Theatre, 1922, oil and gouache on cardboard, 53 x 76cm. The Shchusev Museum of Architecture, Moscow.
- Fig. 8.13 Liubov Popova: Pictorial Architectonic, 1918, oil on canvas, 45 x 53cm. Collection Thyssen-Bornemisza, Lugano, Switzerland.
- Fig. 8.14 Alexandr Vesnin: Model for the stage set for Phaedra at the Moscow Kamerny Theatre, 1922. The Shchusev Museum of Architecture, Moscow.
- Fig. 8.15 Documentary Photograph of Phaedra at the Moscow Kamerny Theatre, 1922, with set and costume designs by Alexandr Vesnin.
- Fig. 8.16 Documentary Photograph of Phaedra at the Moscow Kamerny Theatre, 1922.
- Fig. 8.17 Alexandr Vesnin: Costume Designs for Phaedra, 1922:  
(a) Design for Phaedra,

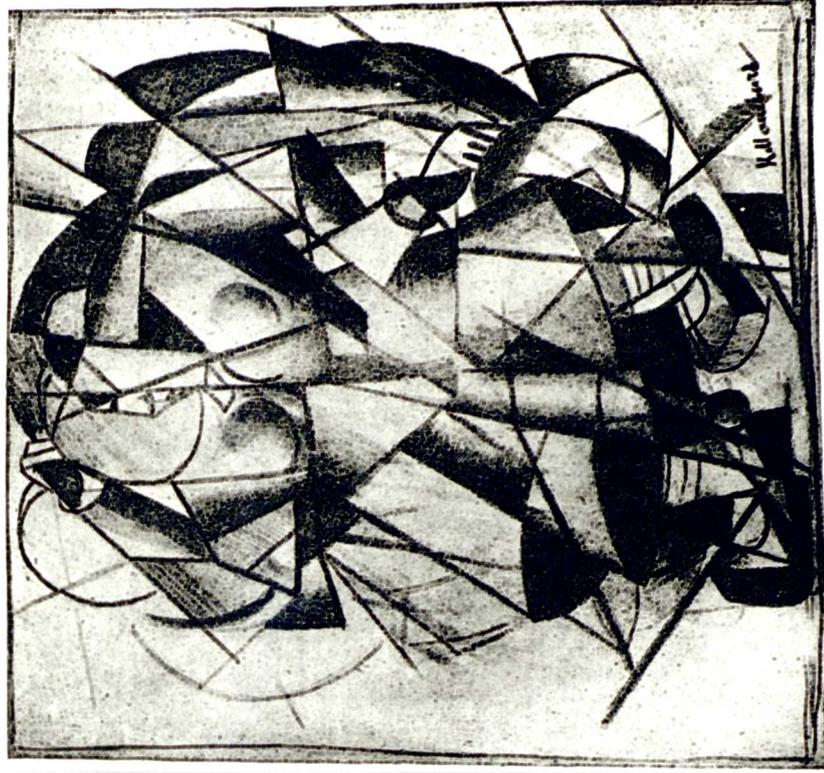
gouache on paper, 51 x 32.5cm.  
The Shchusev Museum of Architecture, Moscow.

- (b) Design for Theseus,  
gouache and bronze powder on paper, 55.7 x 36cm.  
The Shchusev Museum of Architecture, Moscow.

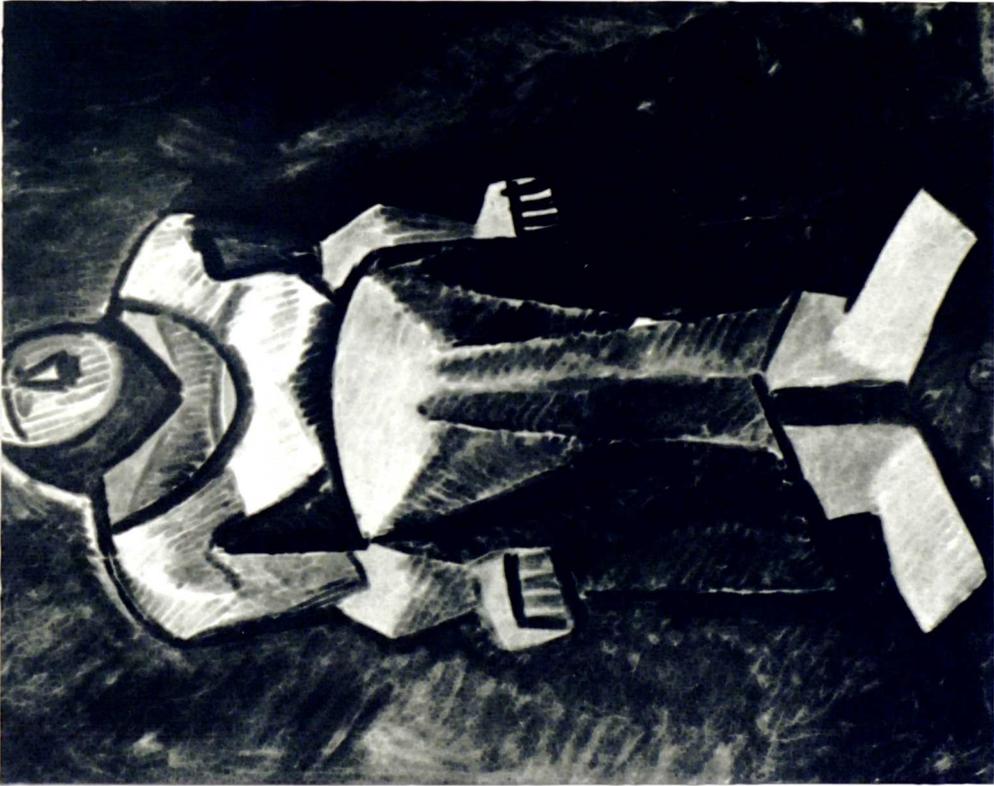




1.3 Malevich: The Knifegrinder  
(Principle of Flashing),  
1912.



1.4 Malevich: Woman Reaping, 1913.



1.5 Picasso: Peasant Woman, 1908.



1.6 Goncharova: Peasants Picking Apples, 1911.



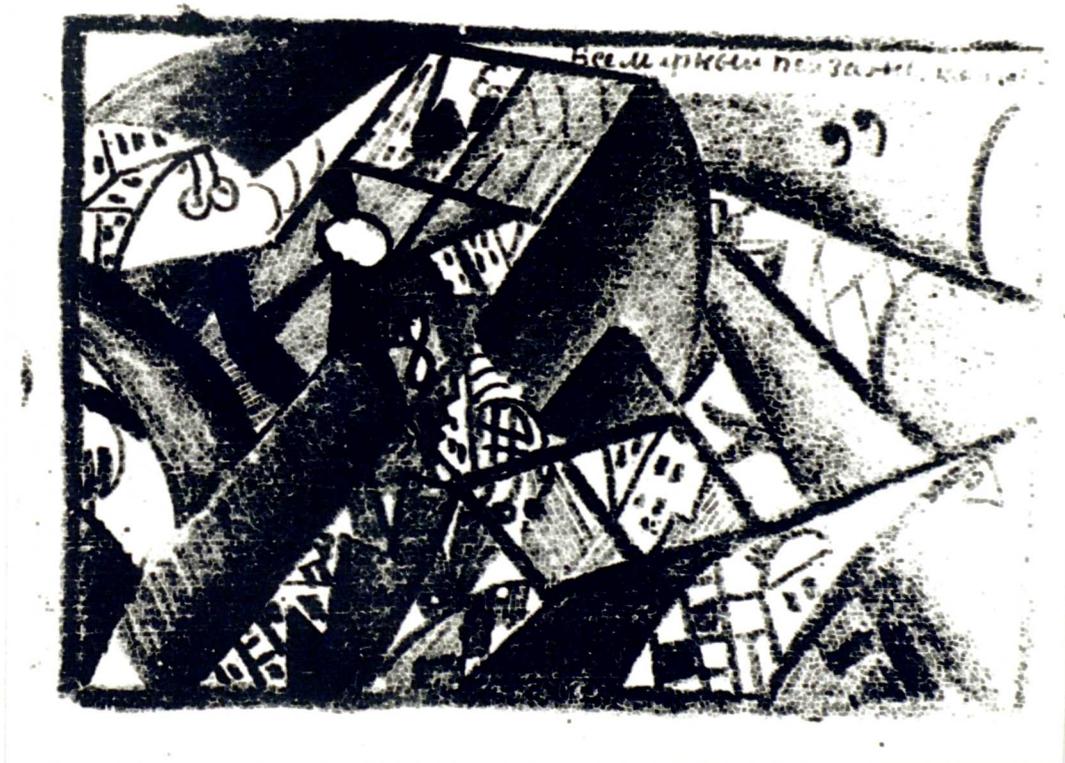
1.7 Lentulov: Bathing, 1911-12.



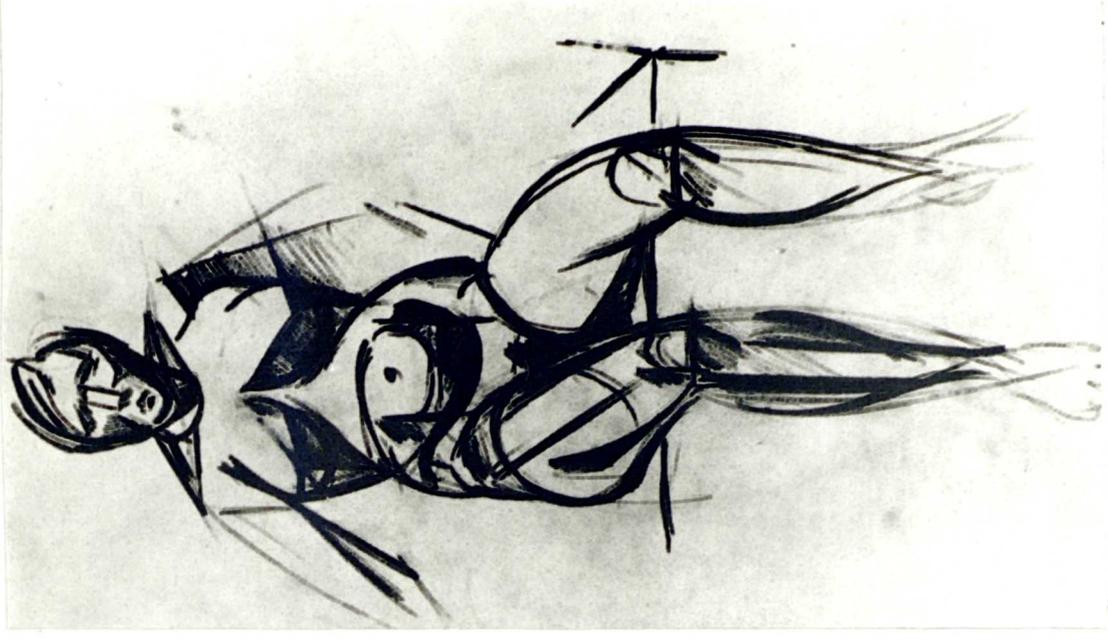
1.8 Léger: Nudes in a Landscape, 1909-11.



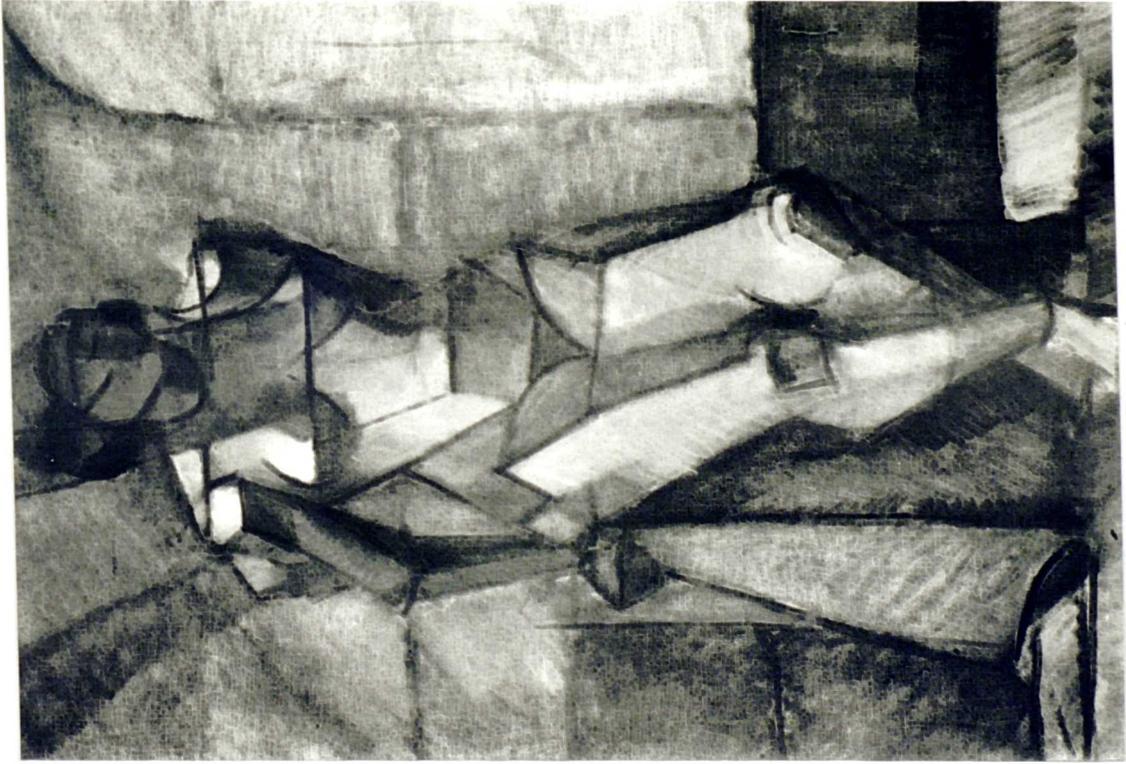
1.9 Boccioni: The City Rises, 1910-11.



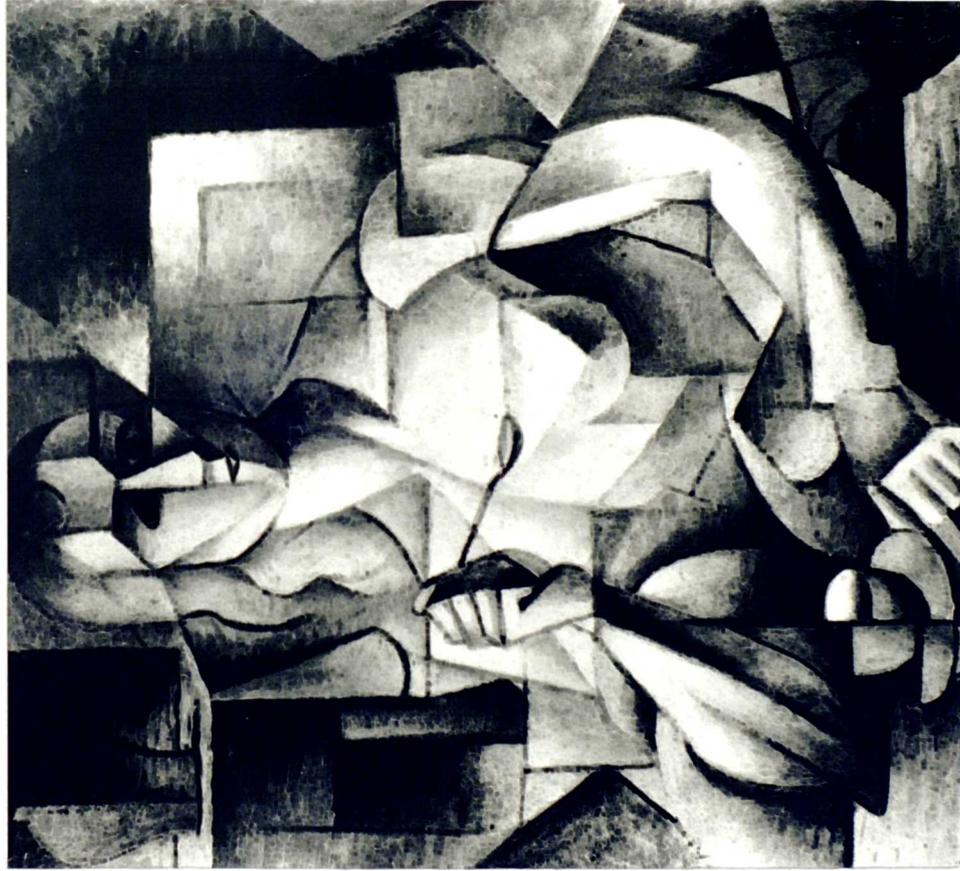
1.10 Malevich: Universal Landscape, 1913.



2.2 Tatlin: Drawing of a Nude, c1911-14.



2.1 Udaltsova: Female Nude, 1912-13.



2.3 Metzinger: Le Gouter, 1911.



2.4 Metzinger: The Blue Bird, 1913.



2.5 Udaltsova: Composition, c1914.



2.6 Metzinger: Study for The Blue Bird, 1913.



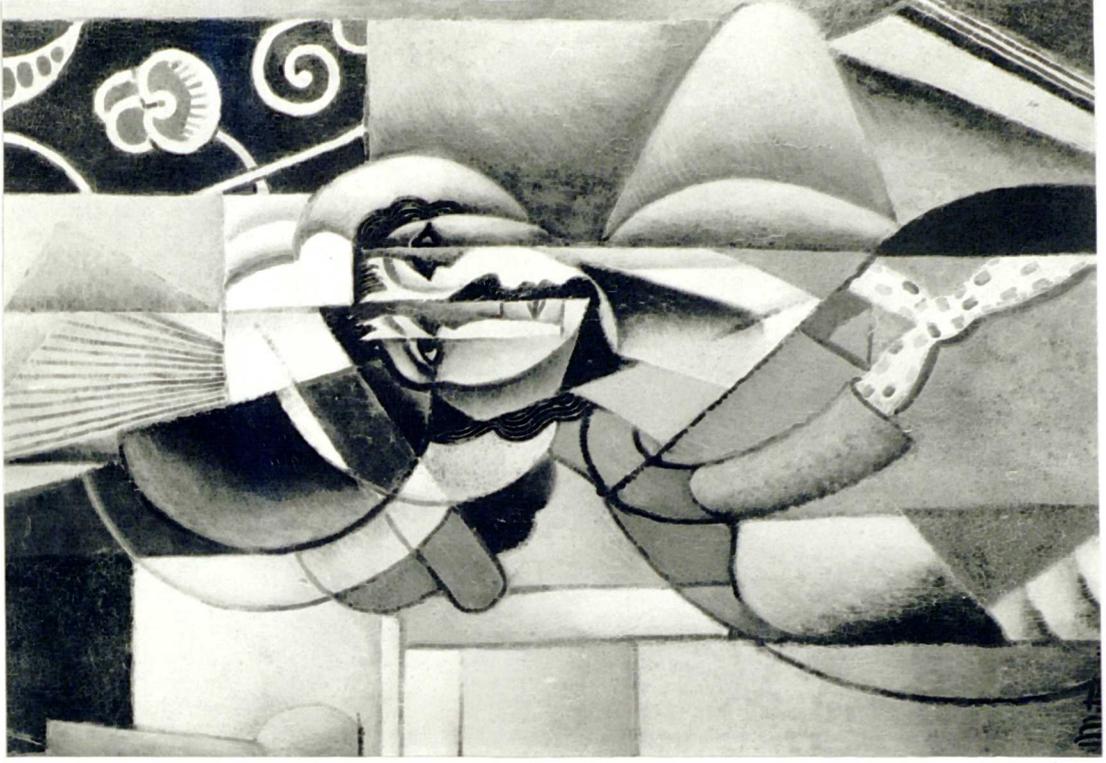
2.7 Popova: Female Model. Standing Figure,  
c1913-14.



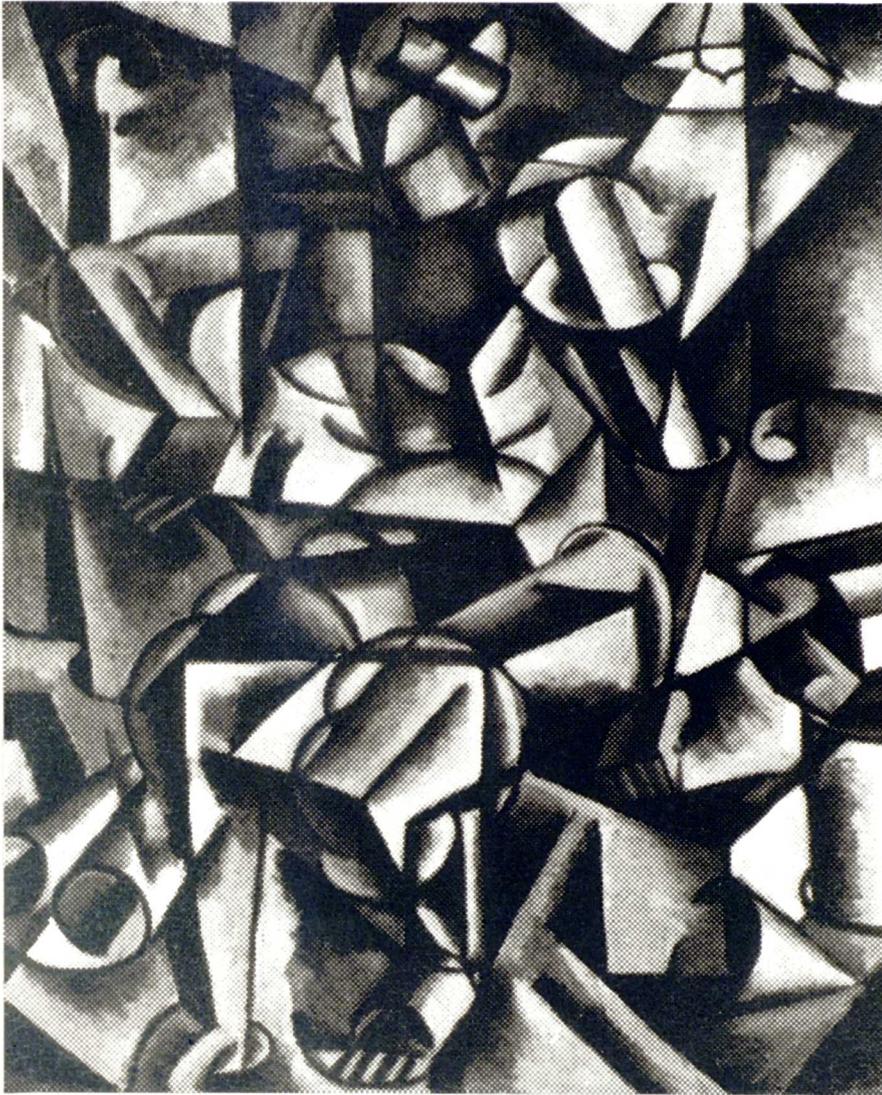
2.8 Léger: The Stair, 1913.



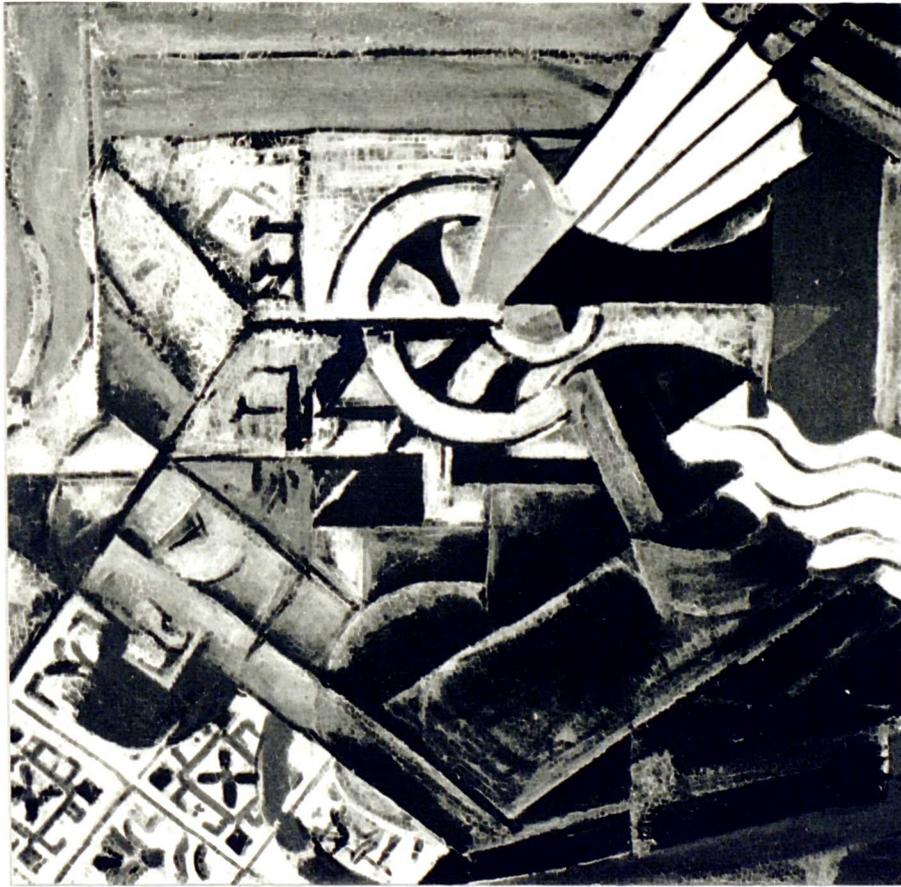
2.9 Popova: Two Figures, c1913-14.



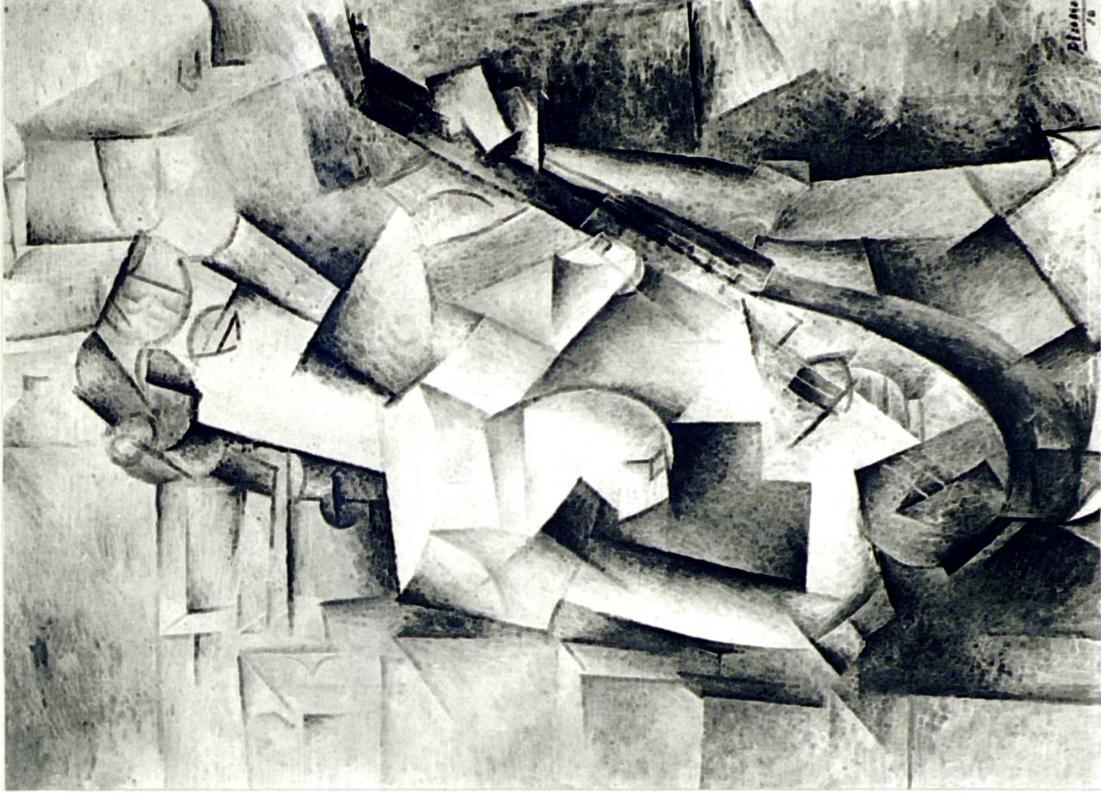
2.10 Metzinger: Woman with Fan, c1913.



2.11 Popova: Seated Nude, c1914.



2.12 Udaltsova: The Seamstress, 1912-13.



2.13 Picasso: Girl with a Mandolin  
(Portrait of Fanny Tellier),  
1910.



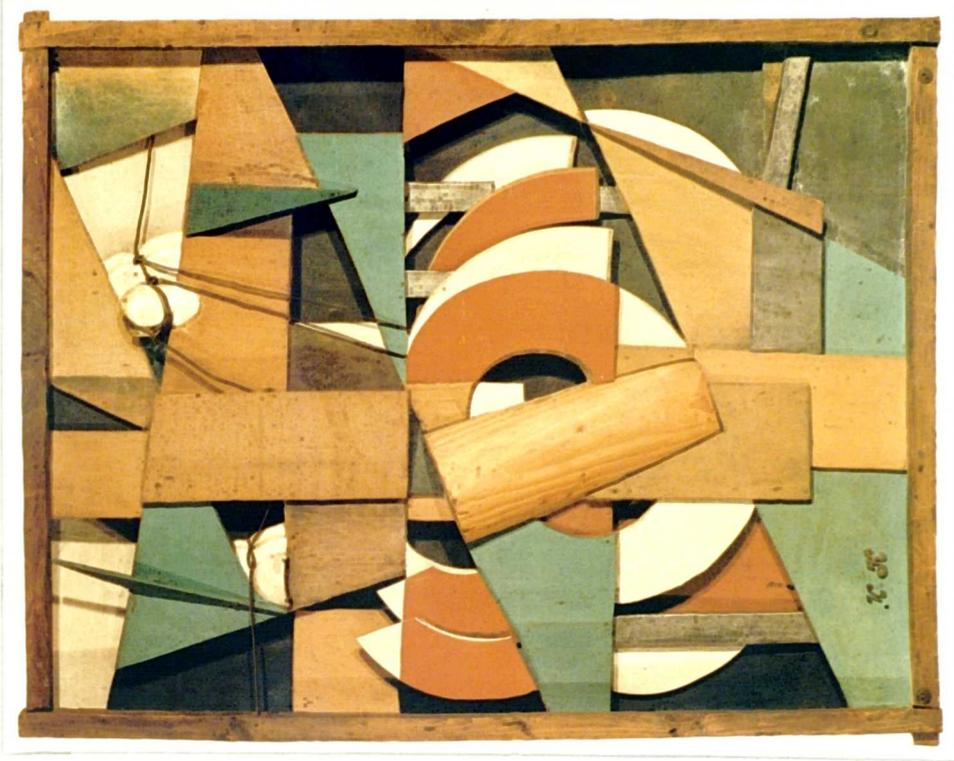
2.14 Udaltsova: At the Piano, c1914-15.



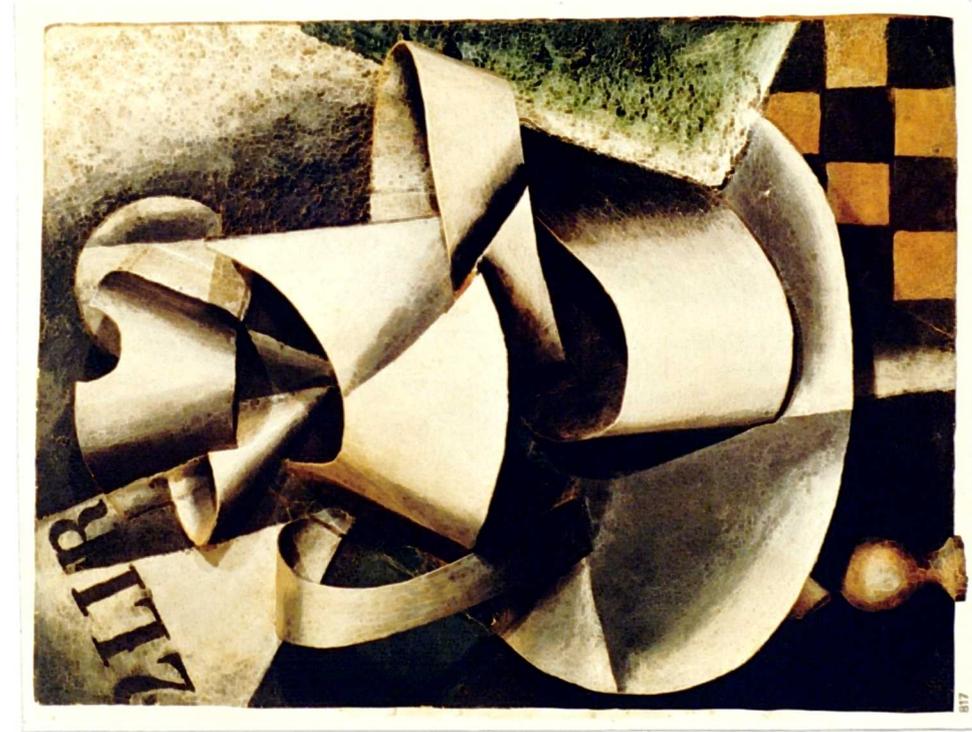
2.15 Udaltsova: The Restaurant, 1915.



2.16 Popova: Woman Traveller, 1915.



2.17 Kliun: Rapidly Passing Landscape, 1914.



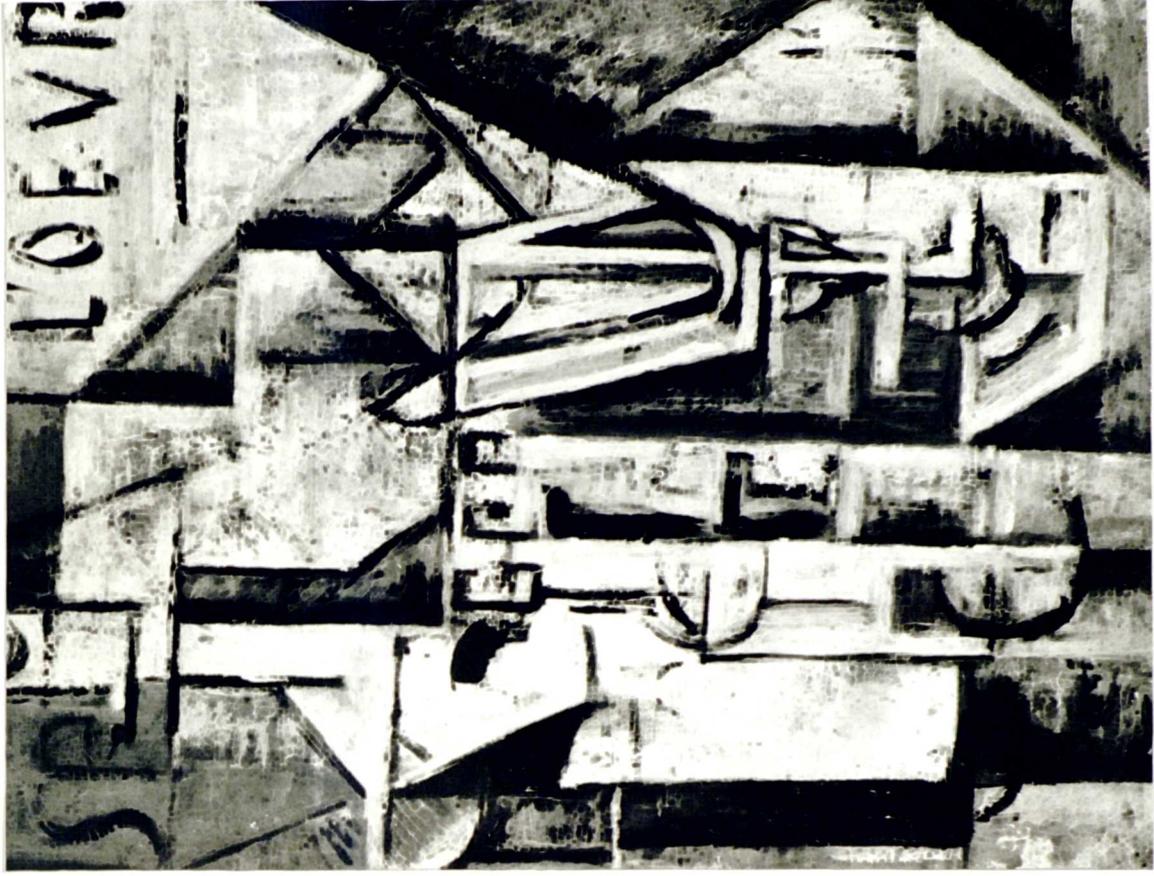
2.18 Popova: Jug on a Table  
(Plastic Painting), 1915.



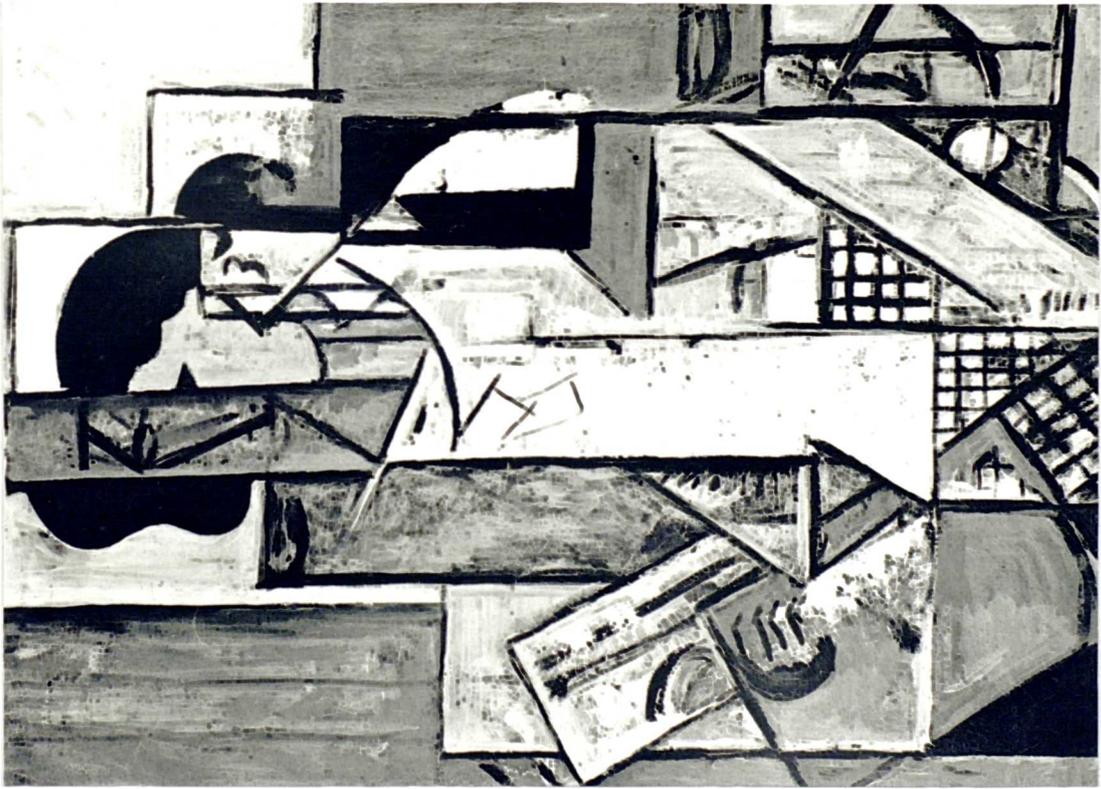
2.19 Popova: Relief (Portrait), 1915.



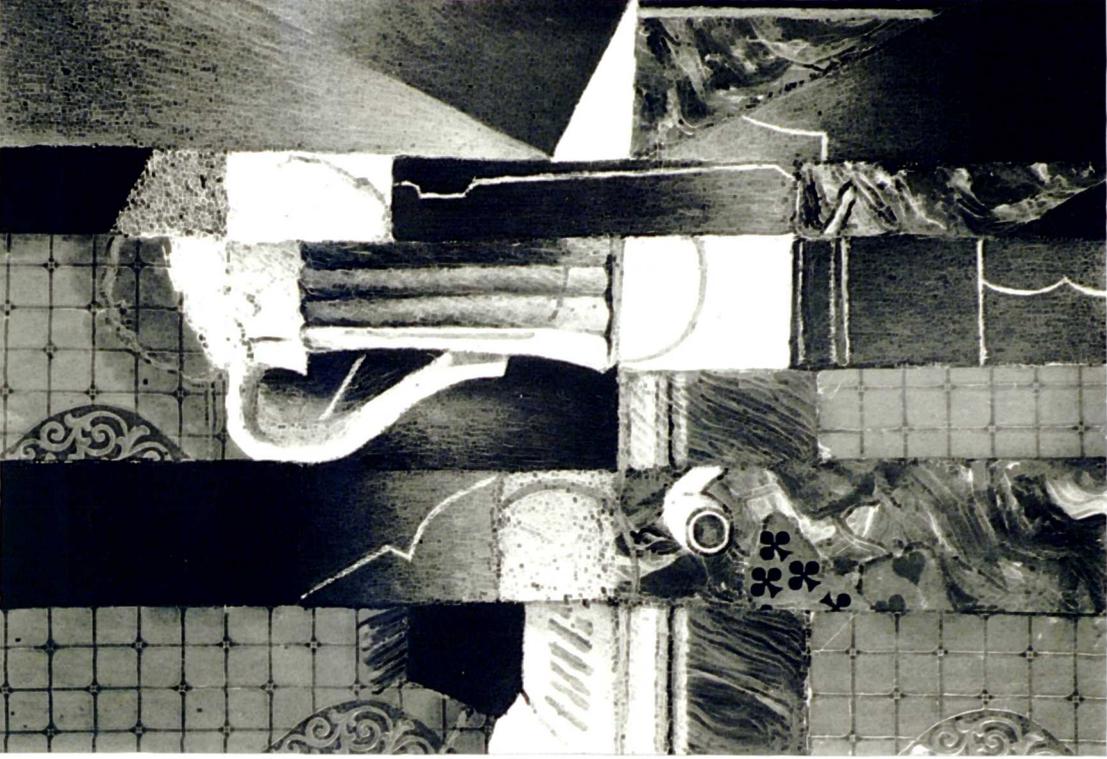
2.20 Picasso: Table in a Café (Bottle of Pernod), 1912.



2.21 Udaltsova: Bottle and Glass, 1915.



2.22 Udaltsova: Self-Portrait with Palette,  
1915.

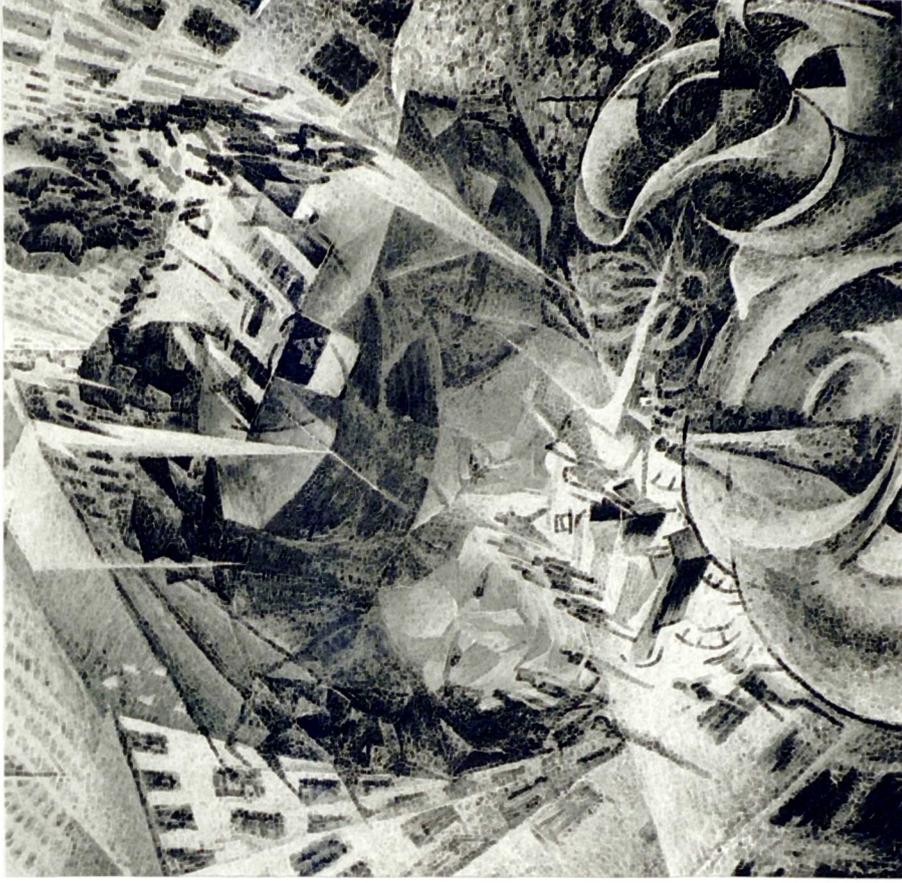


2.23 Gris: Glass of Beer and Playing Cards,  
1913.

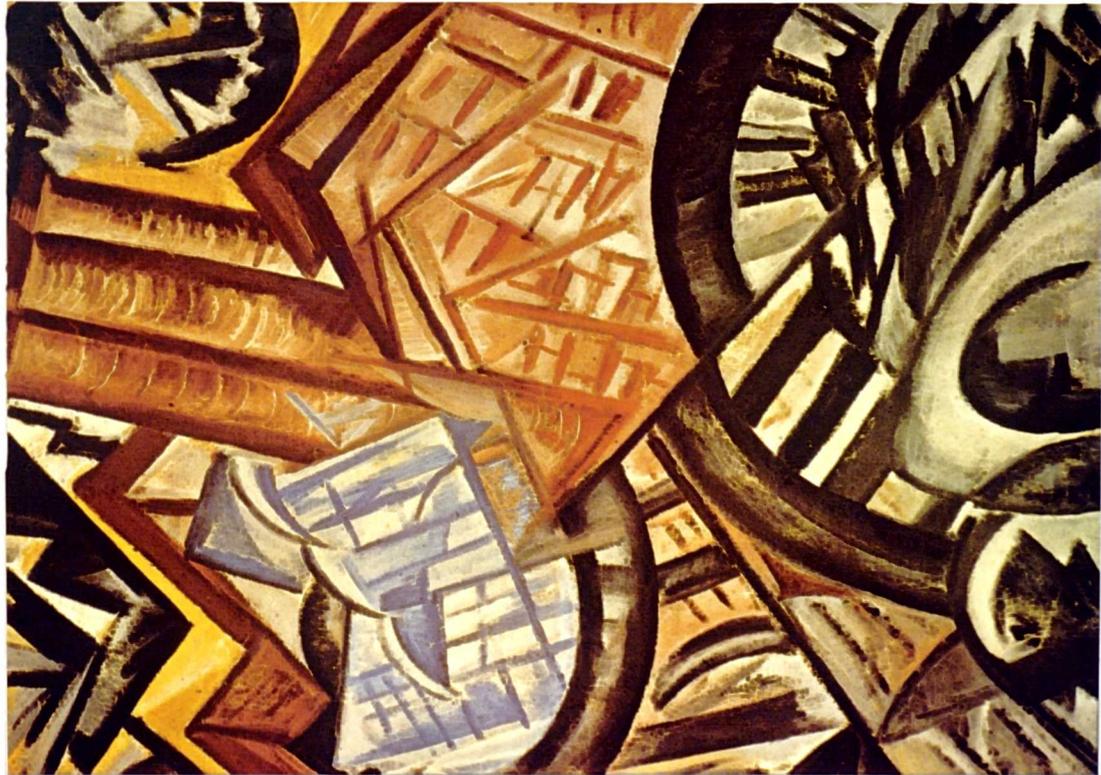




2.26 Rozanova: Man in the Street (Analysis of Volumes), 1913.



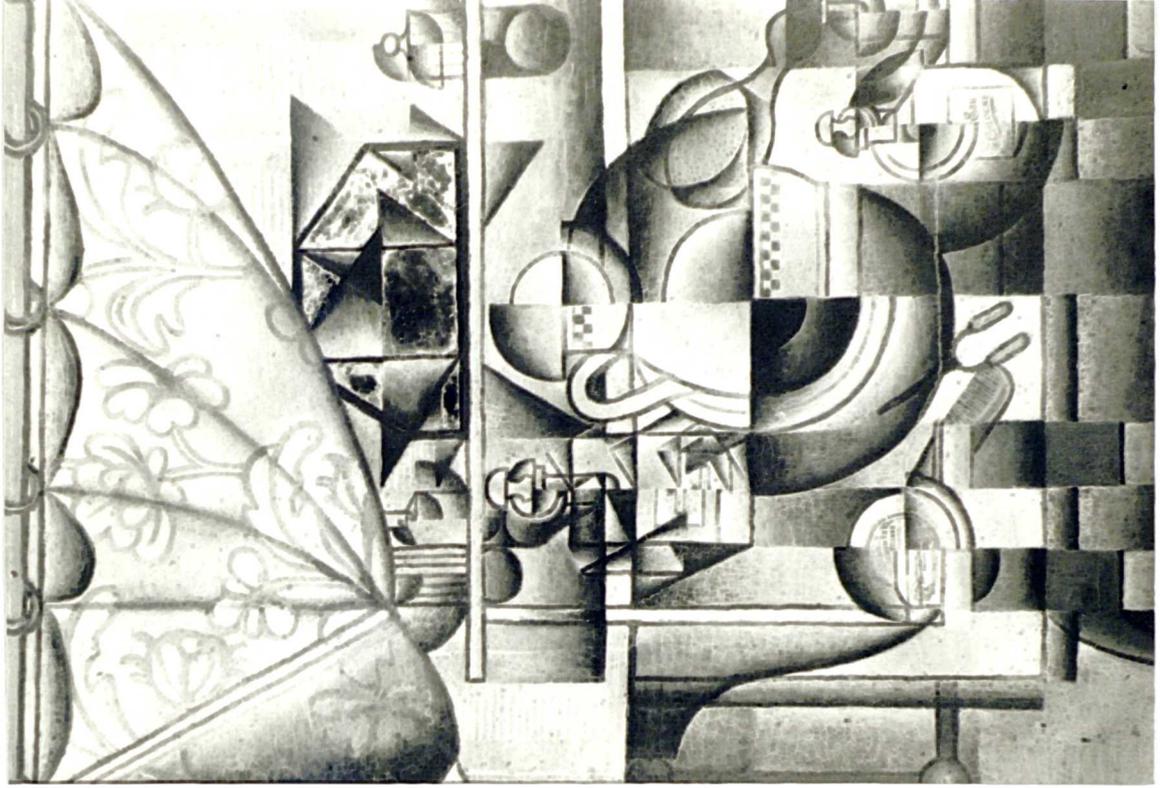
2.27 Boccioni: Simultaneous Visions, 1911.



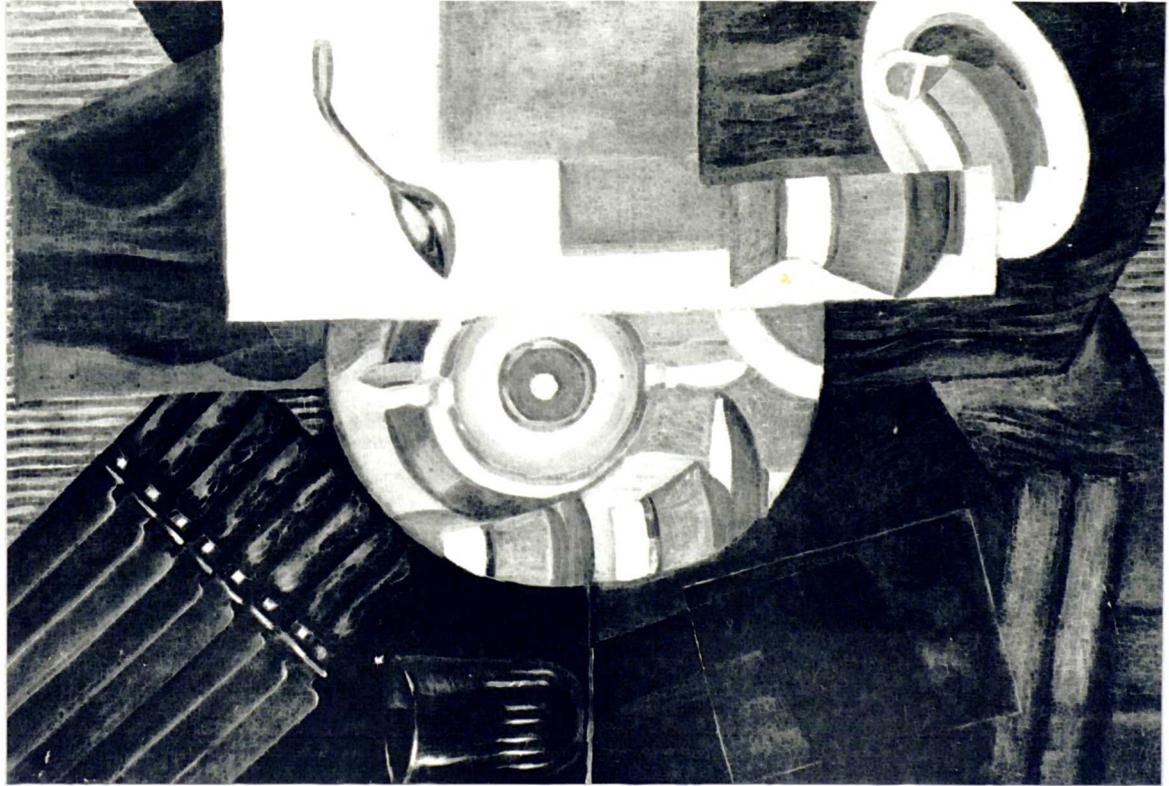
2.28 Rozanova: The Factory and the Bridge,  
1913.



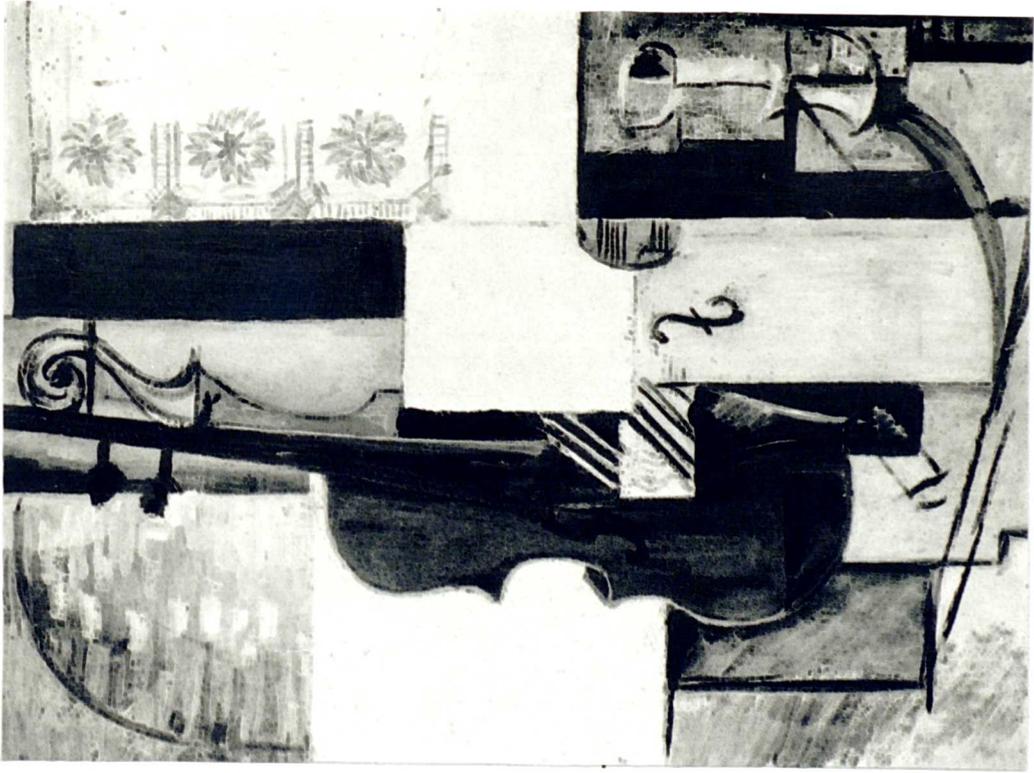
2.29 Rozanova: Illustration for Exploidy,  
1913.



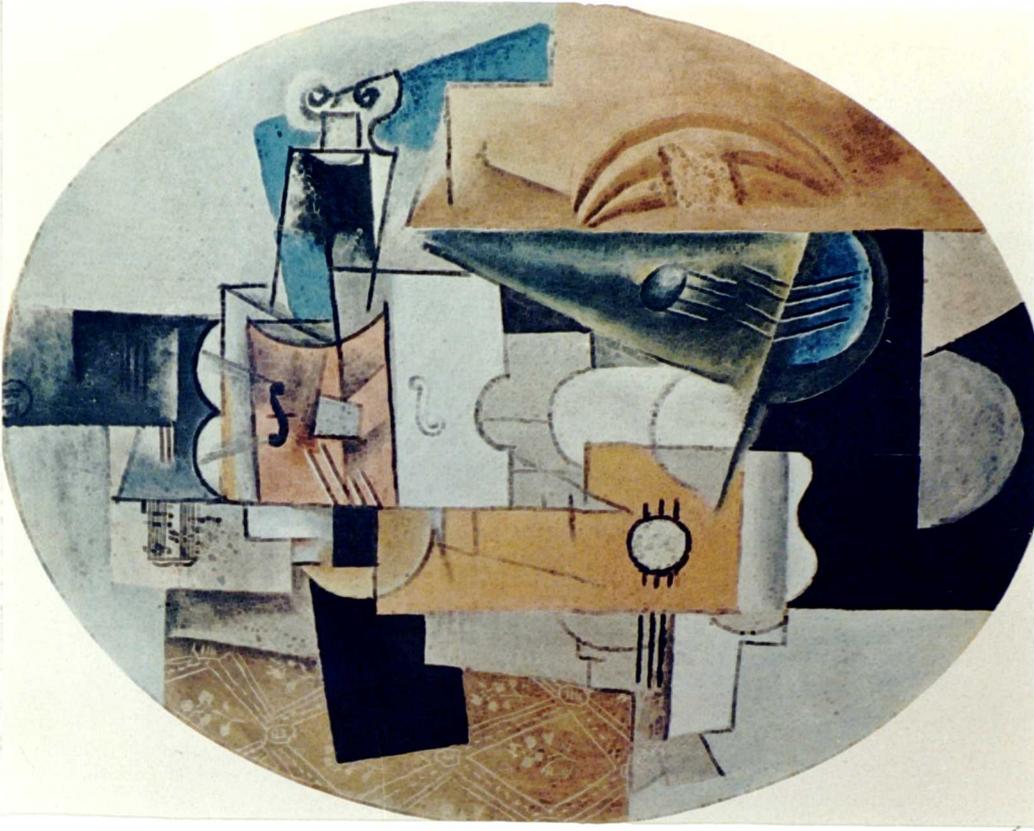
2.31 Gris: The Washbasin, 1912.



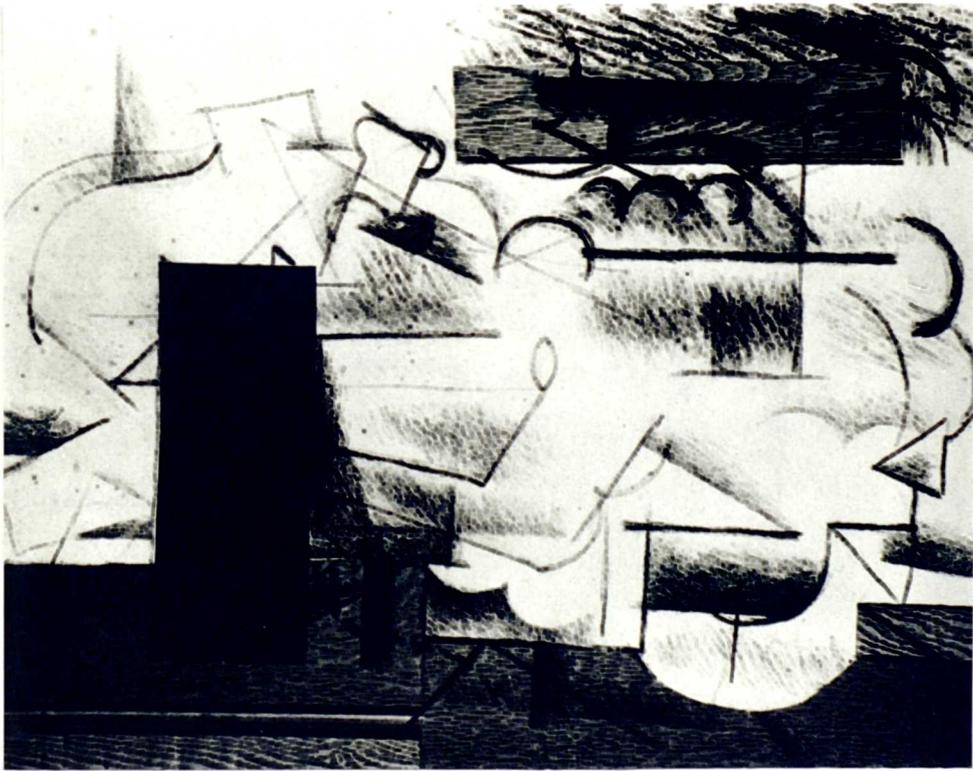
2.30 Rozanova: Dresser with Dishes, 1915.



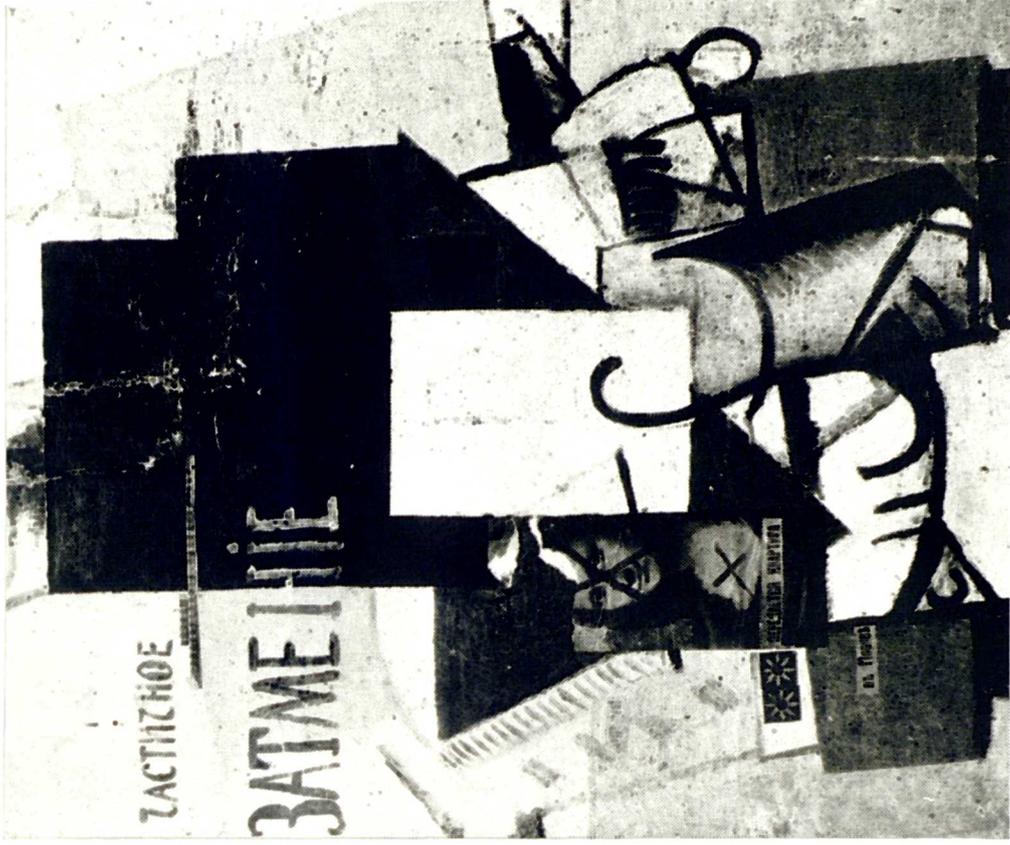
3.1 Violin and Glass, 1913-14, Malevich.



3.2 Picasso: Musical Instruments, 1913.



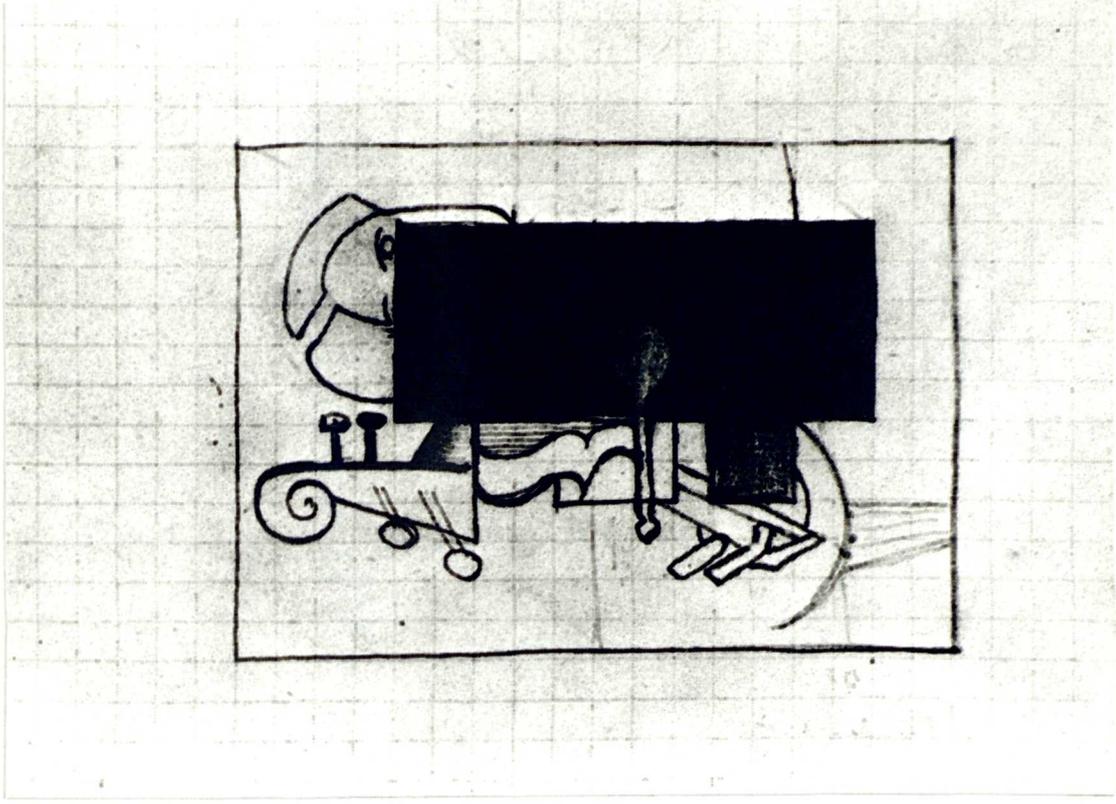
3.3 Braque: Harlequin, 1912.



3.4 Malevich: Composition with Mona Lisa, 1914.



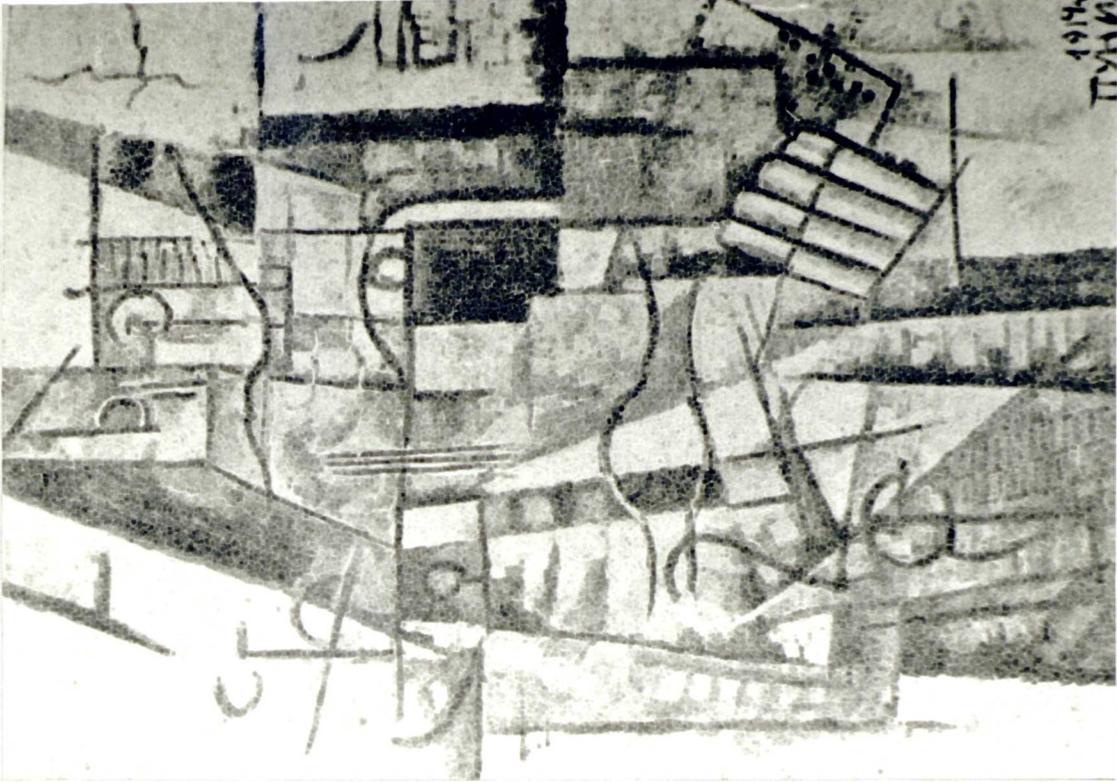
3.5 Malevich: Woman at a Poster  
Column, 1914.



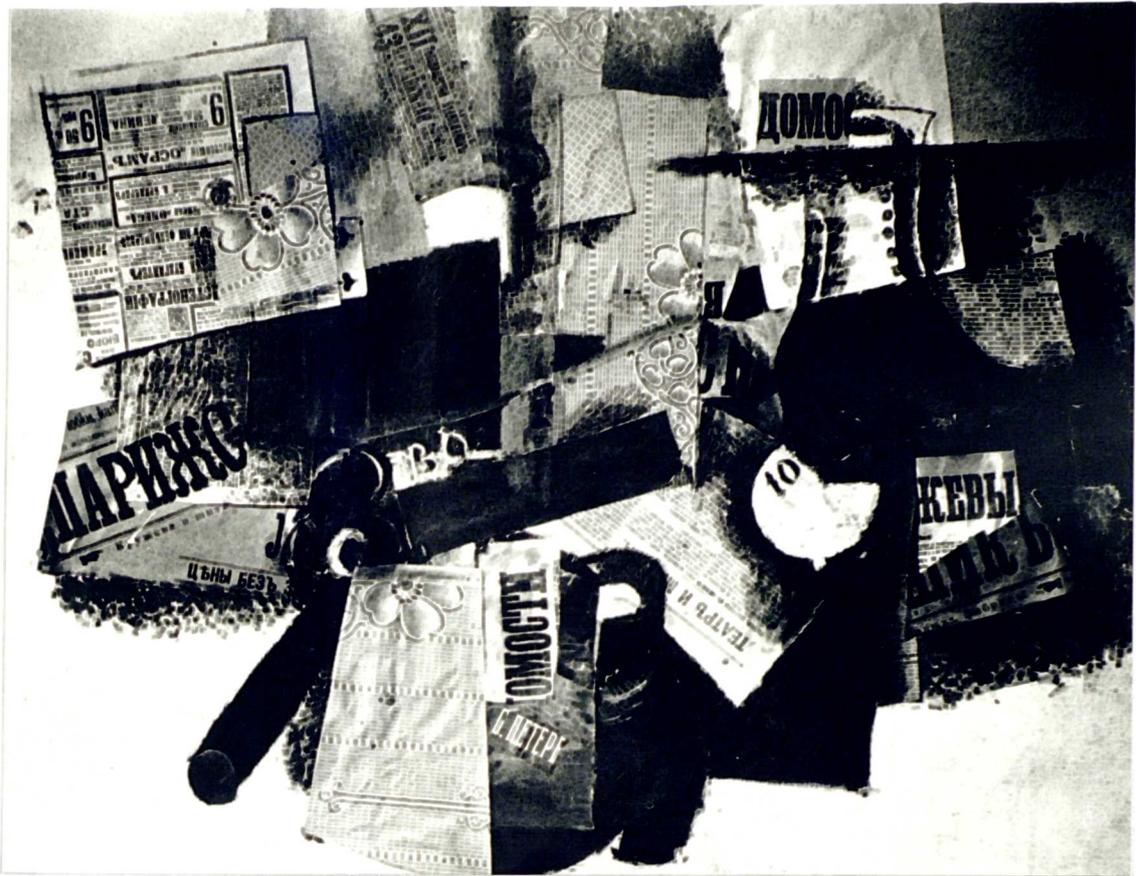
3.6 Malevich: Man, Violin and Spoon, 1914-15.



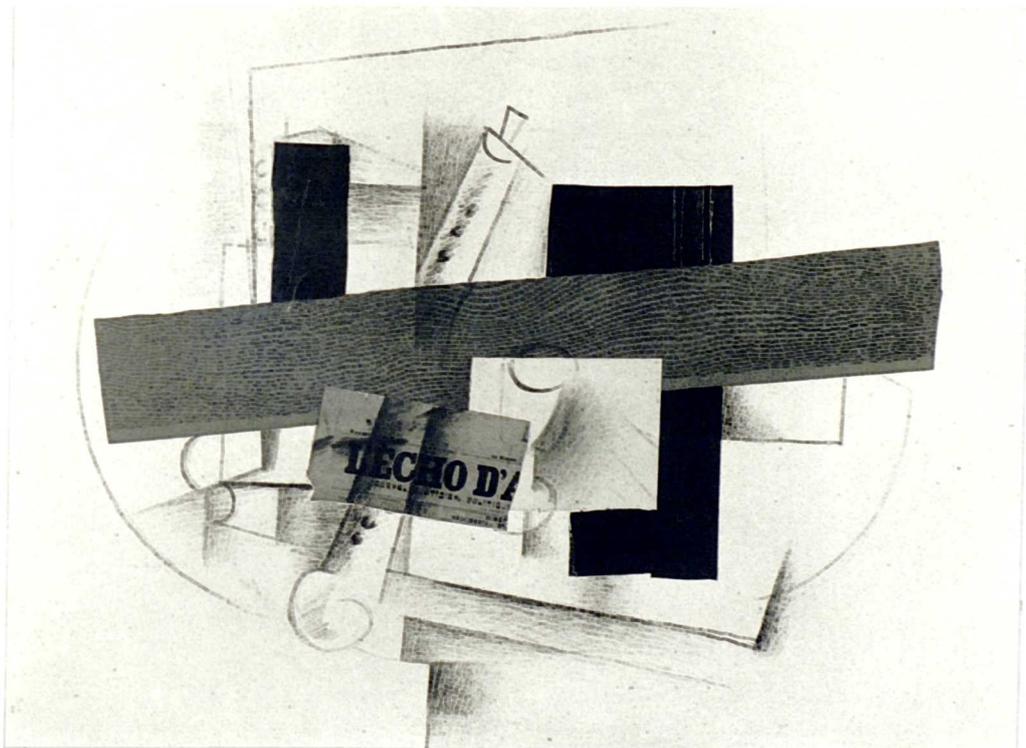
3.7 Larionov: Portrait of N. Goncharova,  
1914-15.



3.8 Puni: Portrait of the Artist's Wife, 1914.



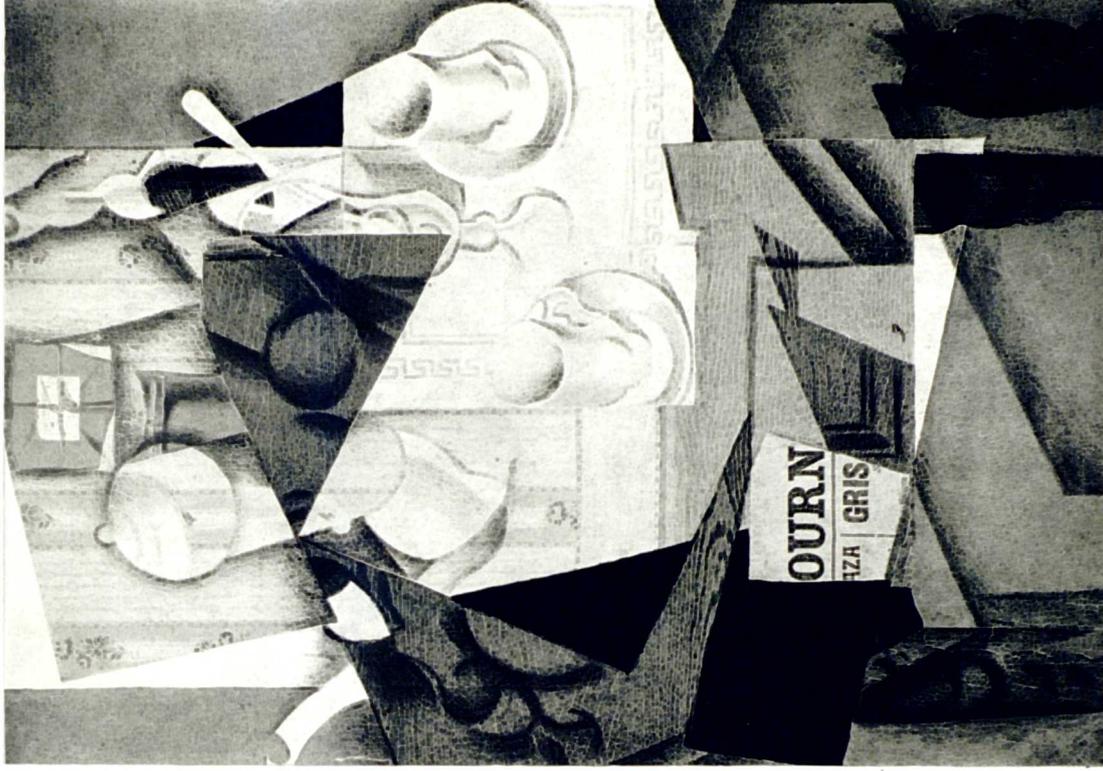
3.9 Puni: Boots and Chair, 1914.



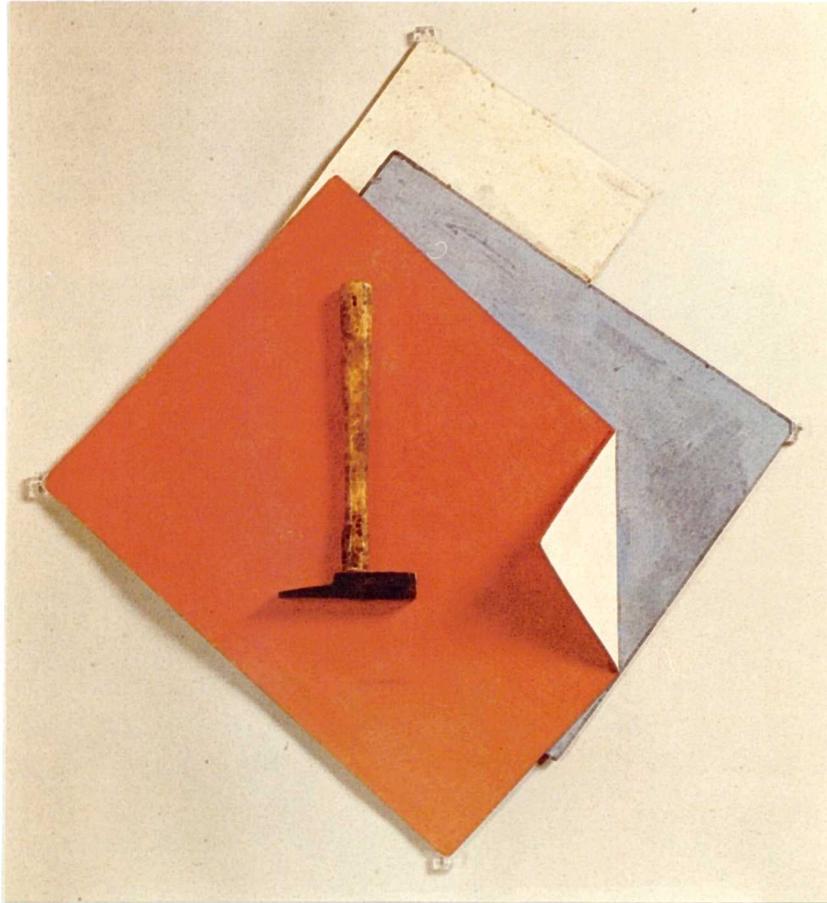
3.10 Braque: The Clarinet, 1913.



3.11 Puni: Still-life with Cup and Spoon, 1914.



3.12 Gris: Breakfast, 1914.



3.13 Puni: Still-life - Relief with Hammer,  
1914.



3.14 Rozanova: Barbershop, c1915.



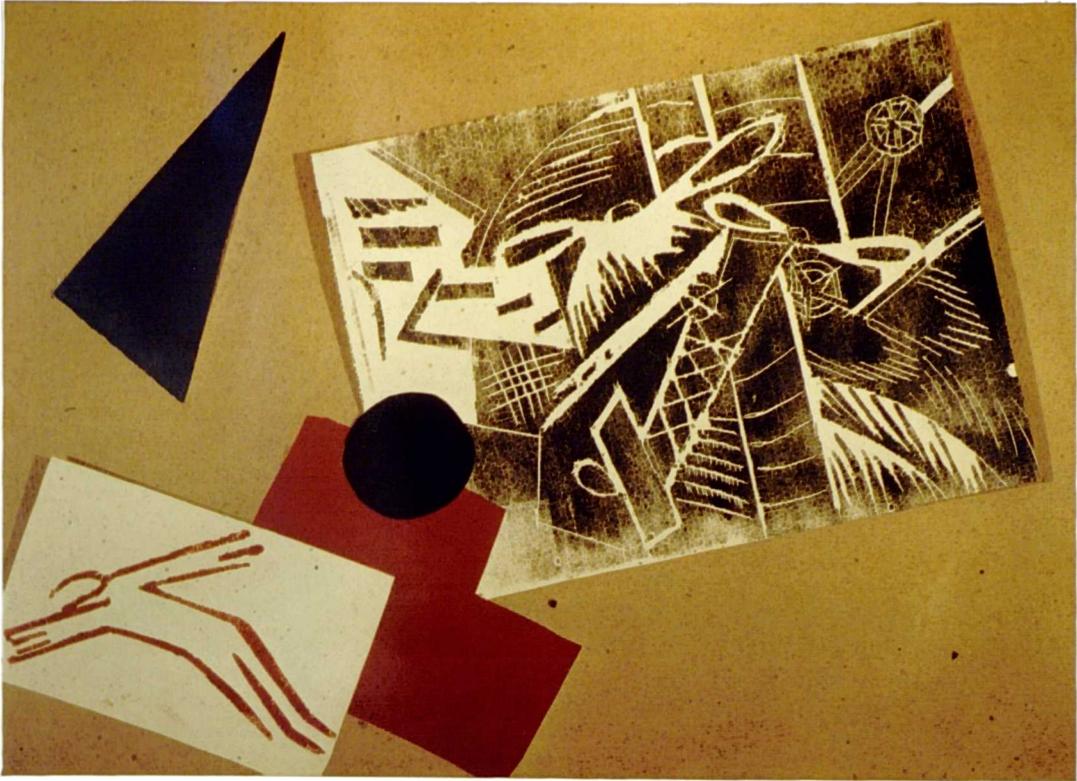
3.15 Puni: The Hairdresser, 1915.



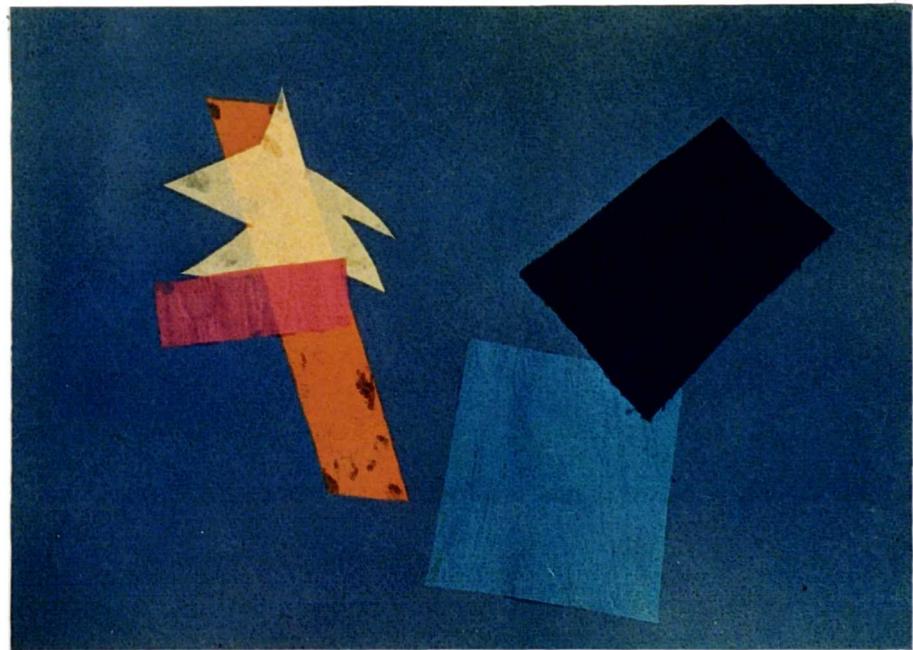
3.16 Rozanova: Illustrations for Te Li Le, 1914.



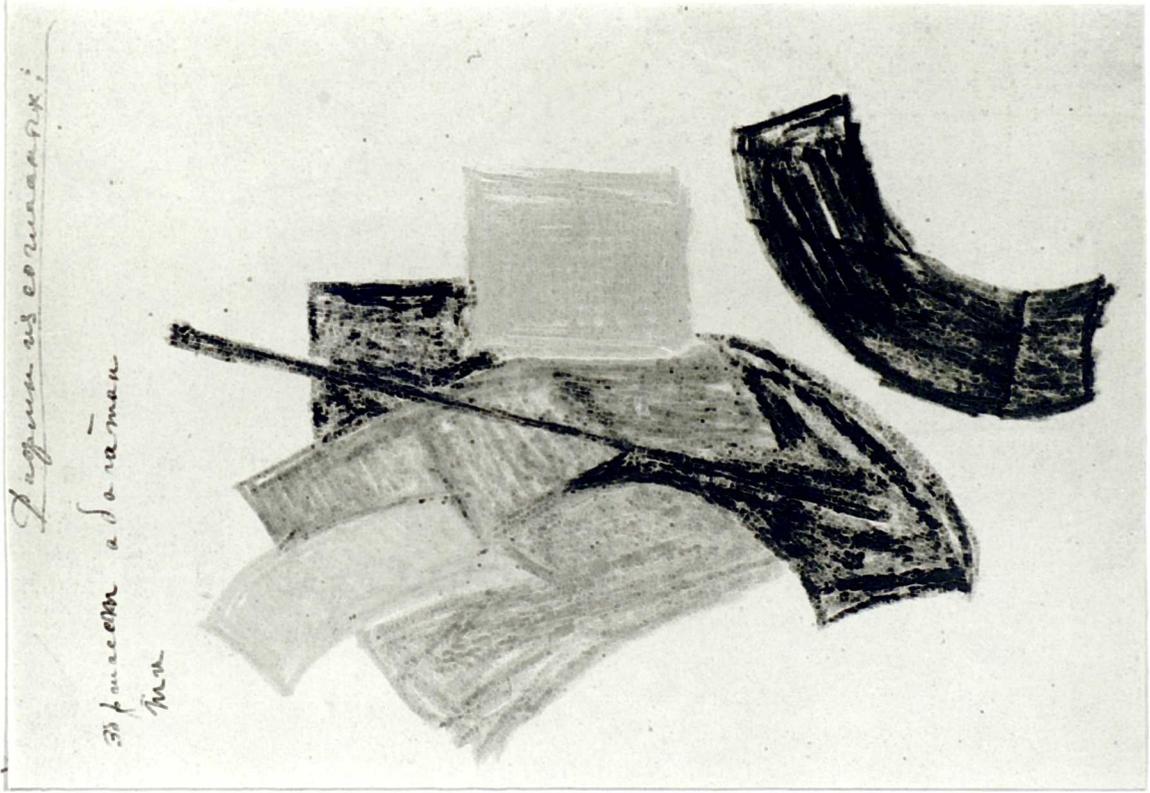
3.17 Rozanova: Cover illustration for Transrational Book, 1915.



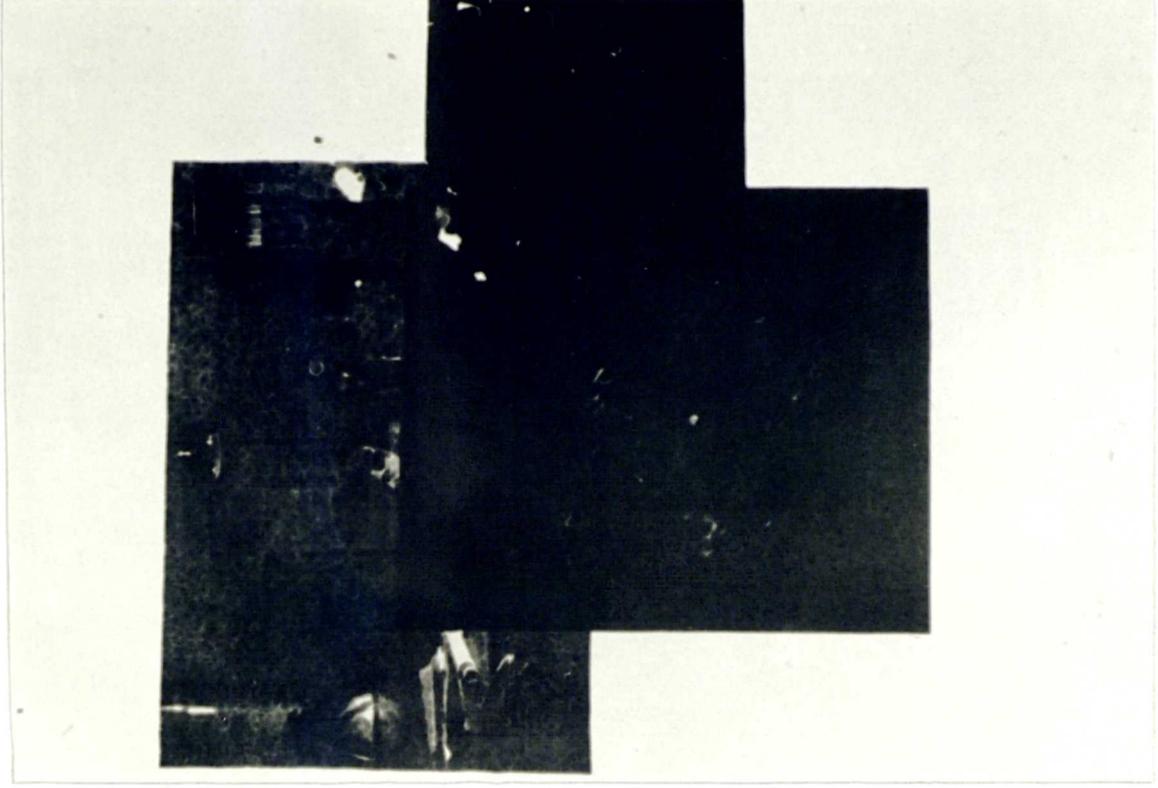
3.18 Rozanova: Untitled illustration for War, 1915.



3.19 Rozanova: Explosion of a Trunk,  
Collage illustration for  
Universal War, 1916.



3.20 Rozanova: Project for a Composition, 1916.



3.21 Rozanova: Non-Objective Composition, 1916.



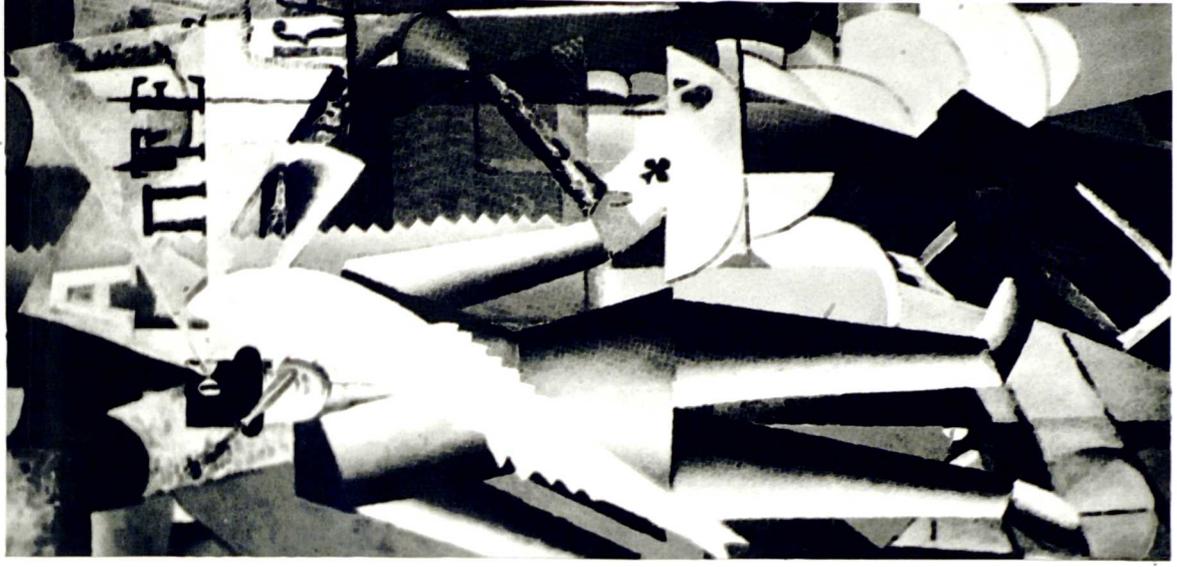
4.1 Puni: Illustrations for Futurists: Roaring Parnassus, 1914.



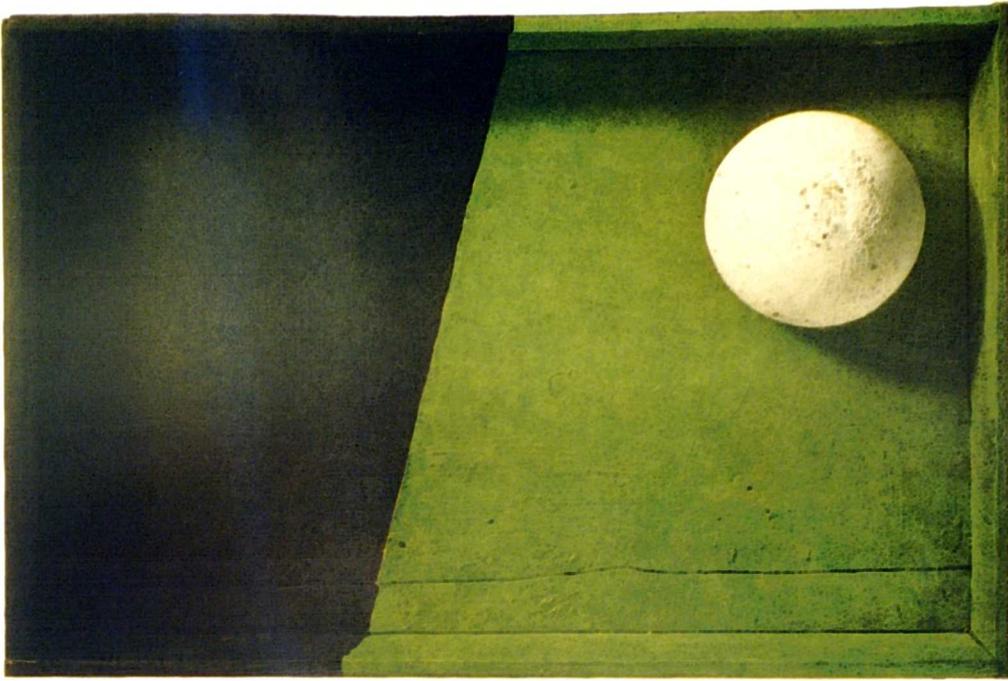
4.2 Puni: Khlebnikov reading his poems to Ksanya, 1917.



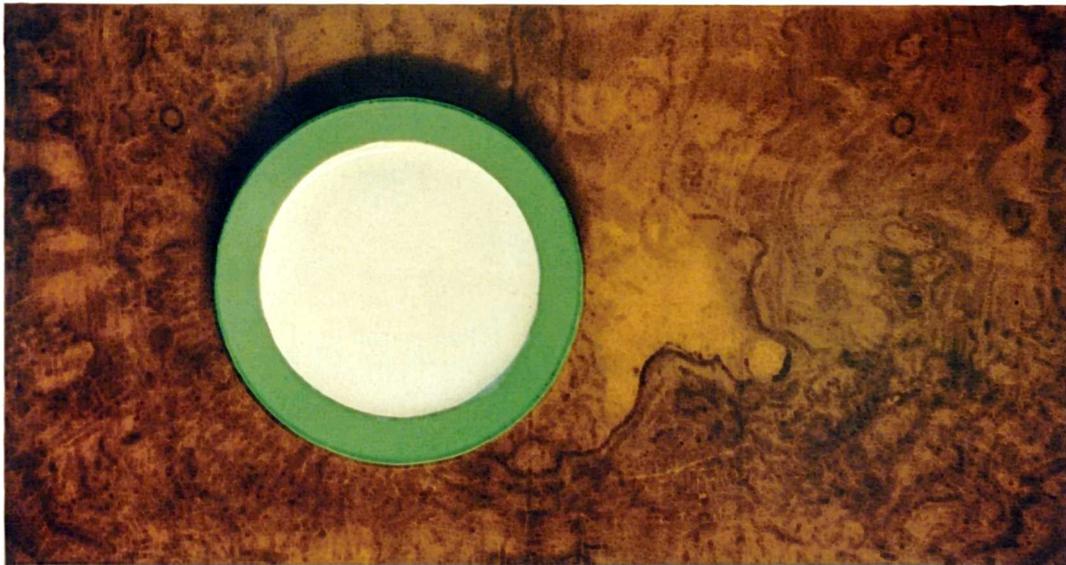
4.3 Puni: Window Washing, 1915.



4.4 Malevich: The Aviator, 1914-15.



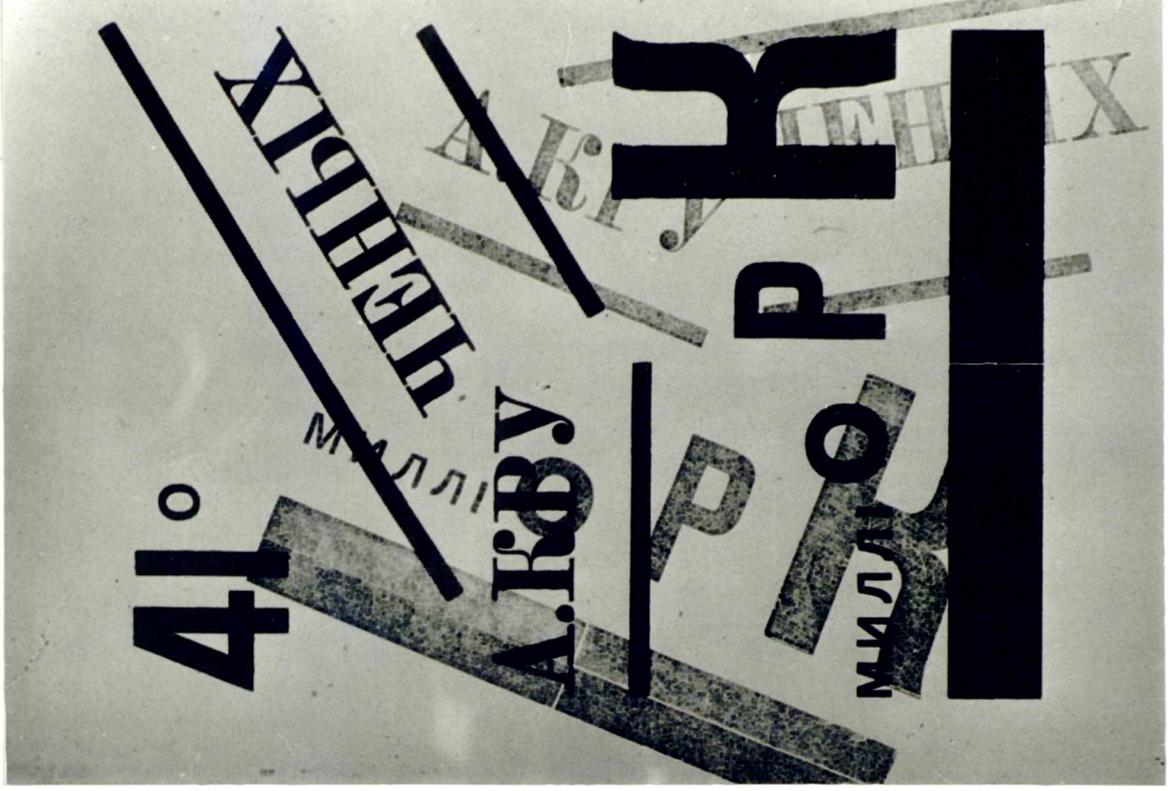
4.5 Puni: White Ball, 1915.



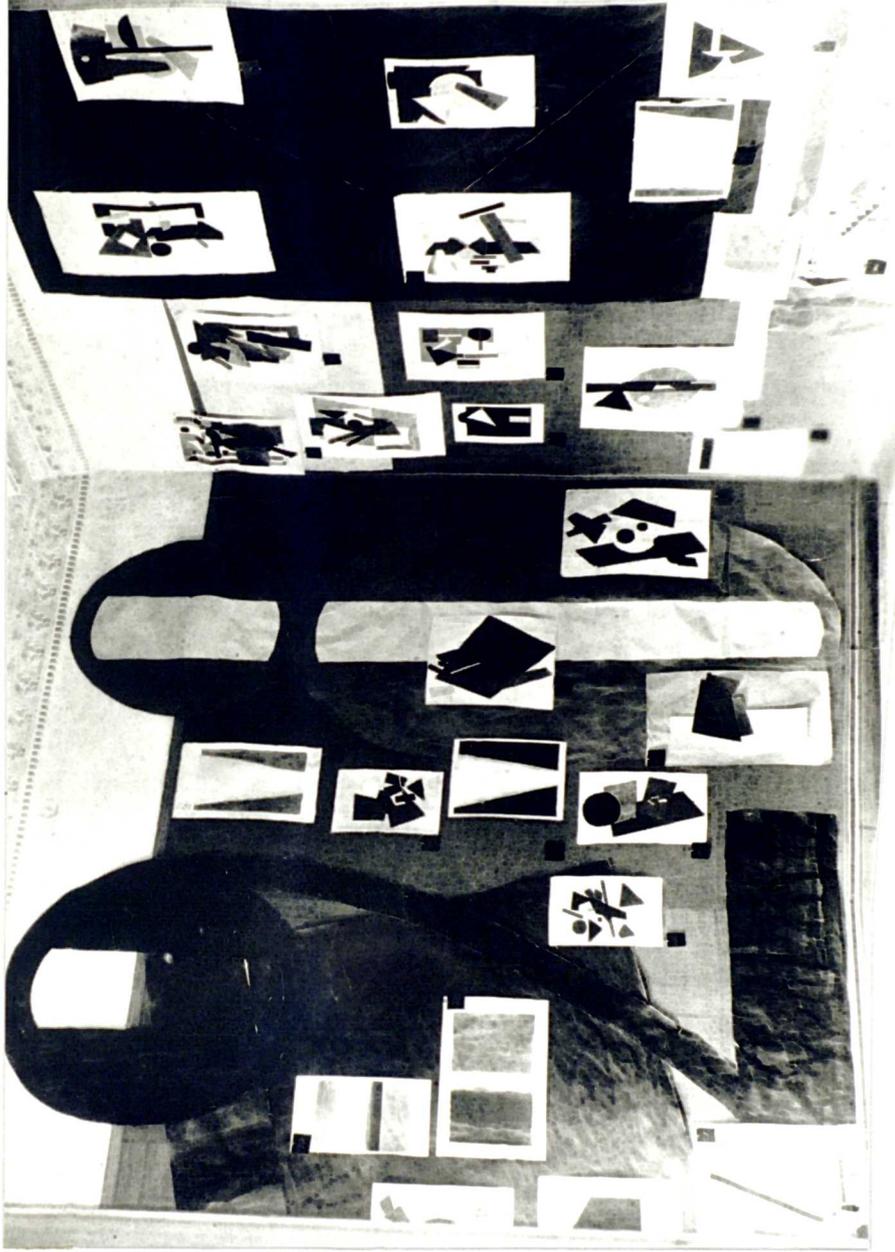
4.6 Puni: Relief with a Plate, c1919.



4.7 Puni: The Flight of Forms, 1919.



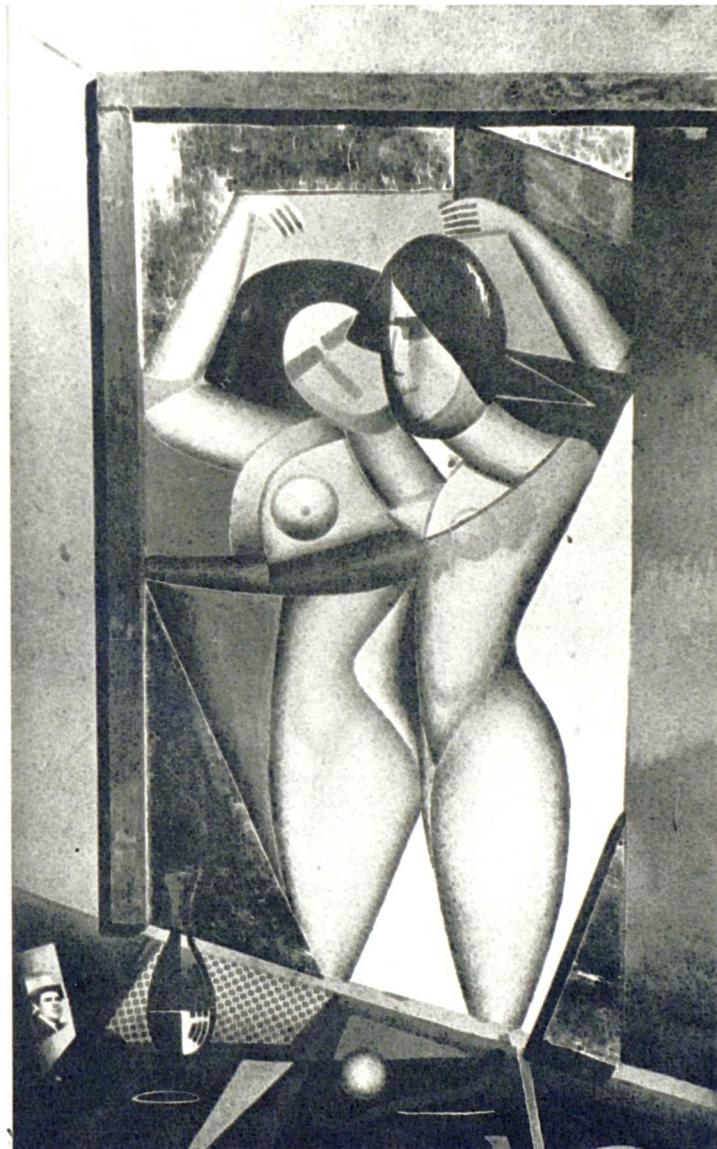
4.8 Zdanevich: Cover for Milliork, 1919.



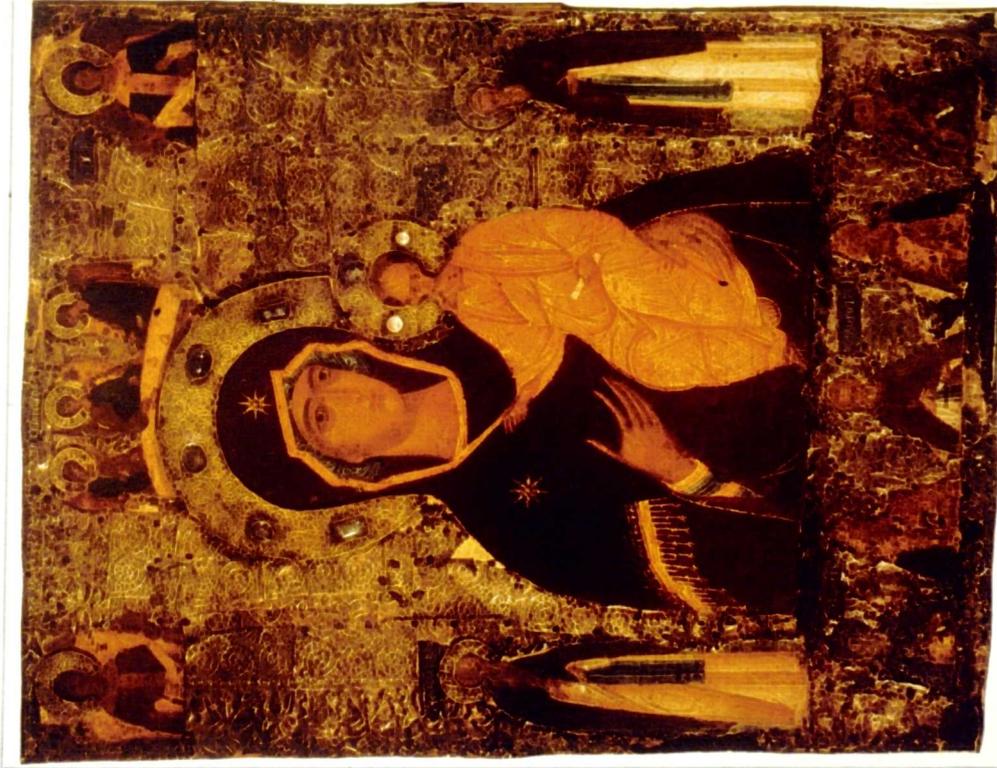
4.9 Exhibition of Works by Puni at Der Sturm Gallery, Berlin, 1921.



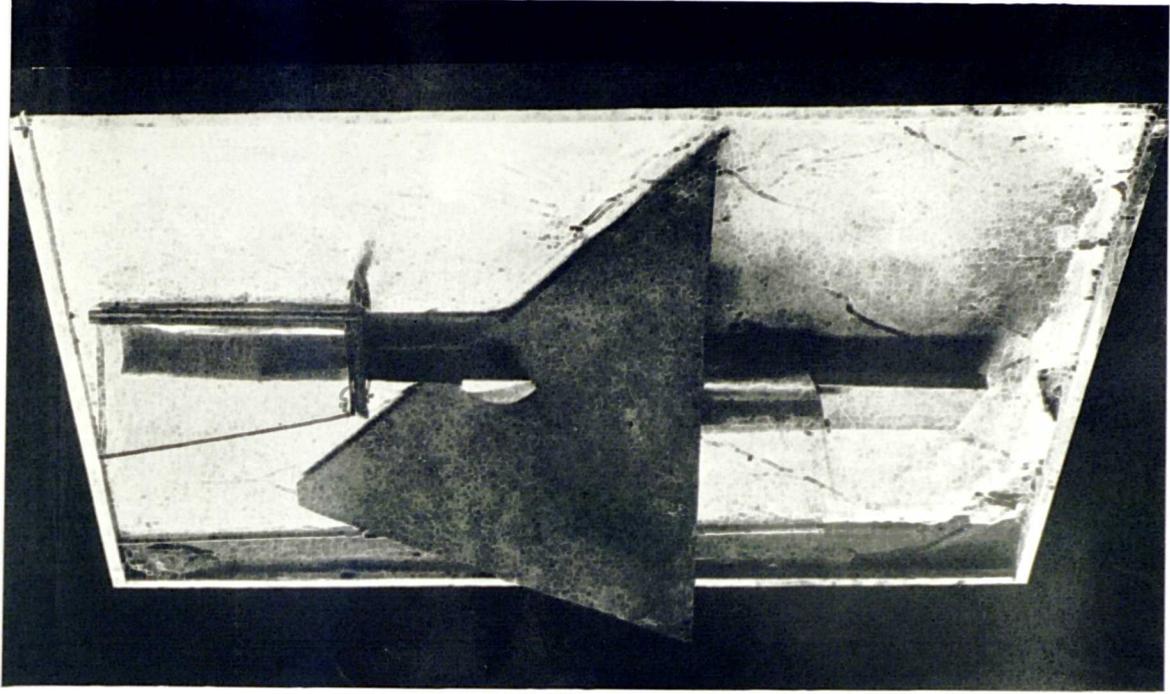
5.1 Puni: The Accordion, c1914.



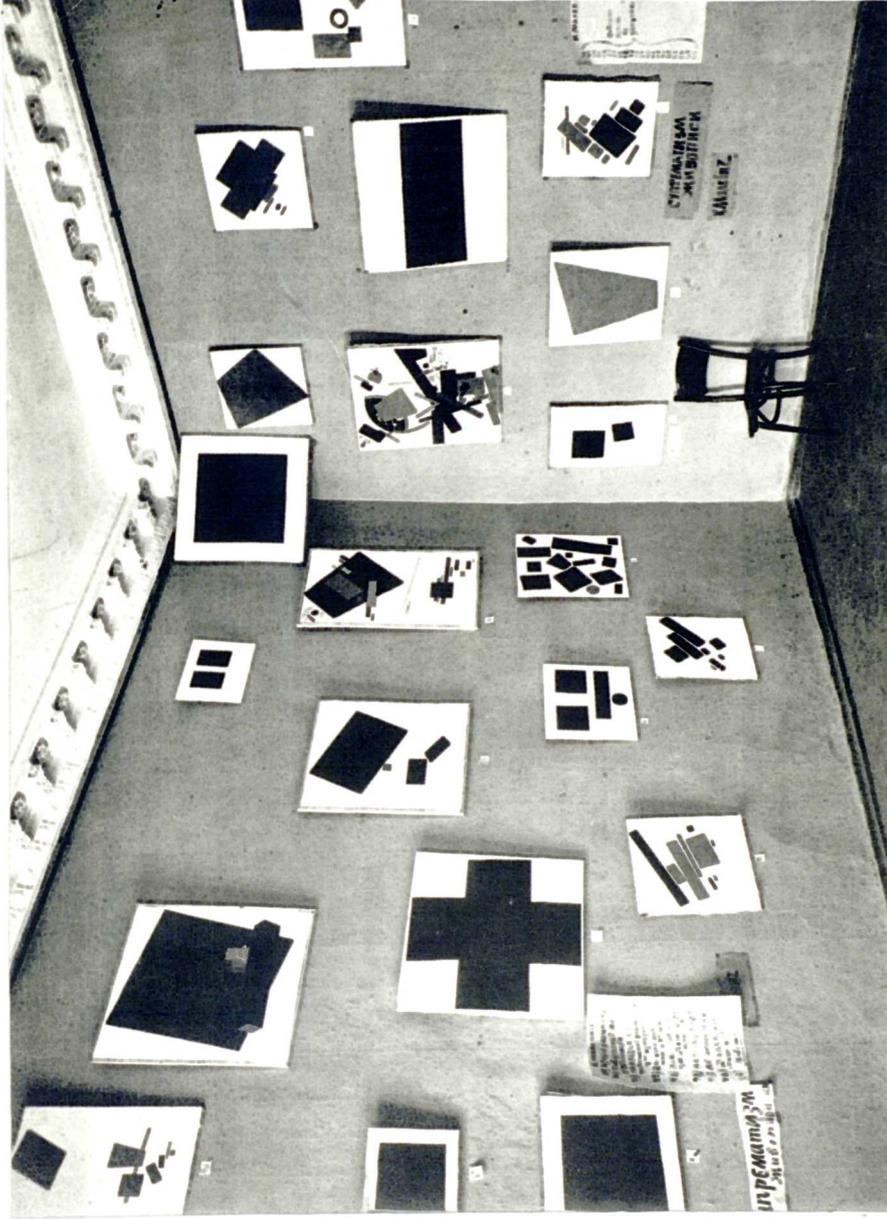
5.2 Archipenko: Before the Mirror  
(In the Boudoir), 1915.



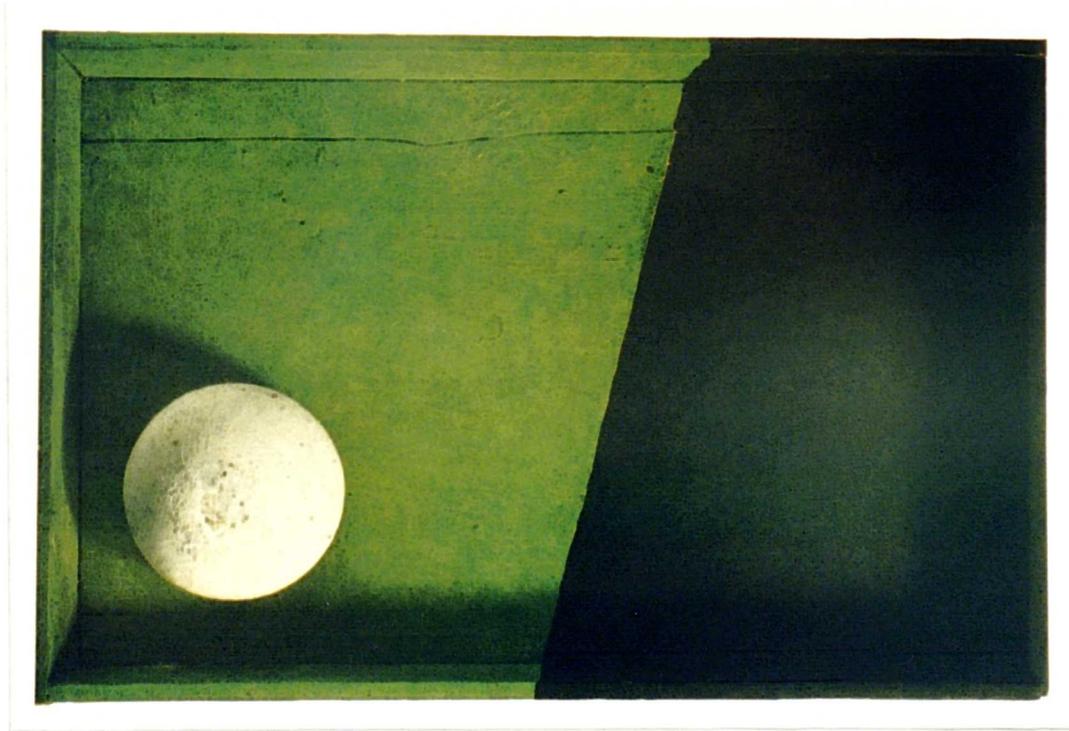
5.3 Hodigitria - The Mother of God, icon.  
mid-15th Century.



5.4 Tatlin: Painterly Relief, 1914.



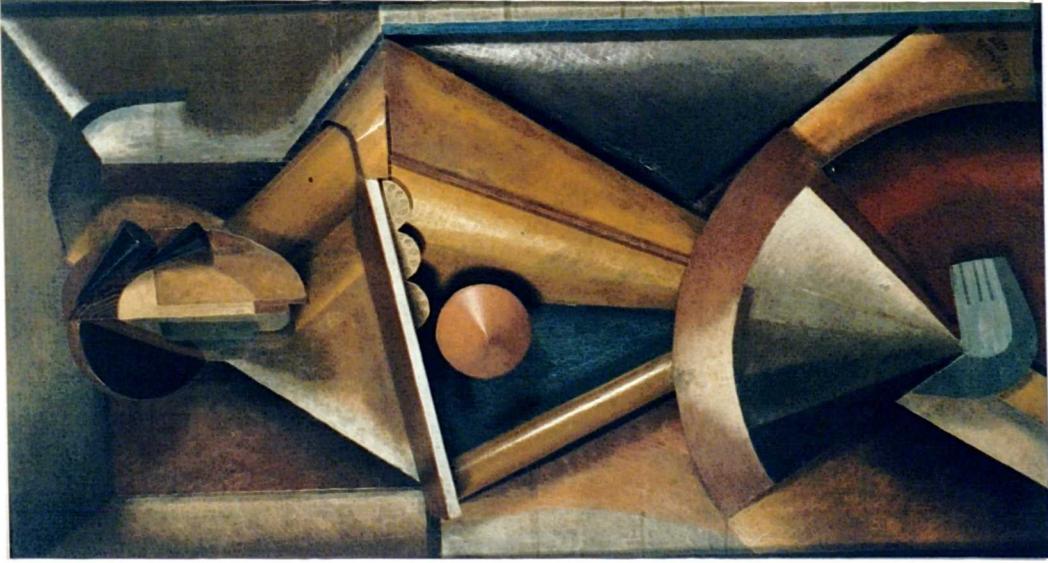
5.5 "The Last Futurist Exhibition 0,10", Petrograd, 1915,  
including The Black Square by Malevich.



5.6 Puni: White Ball, 1915  
(set in vertical position).



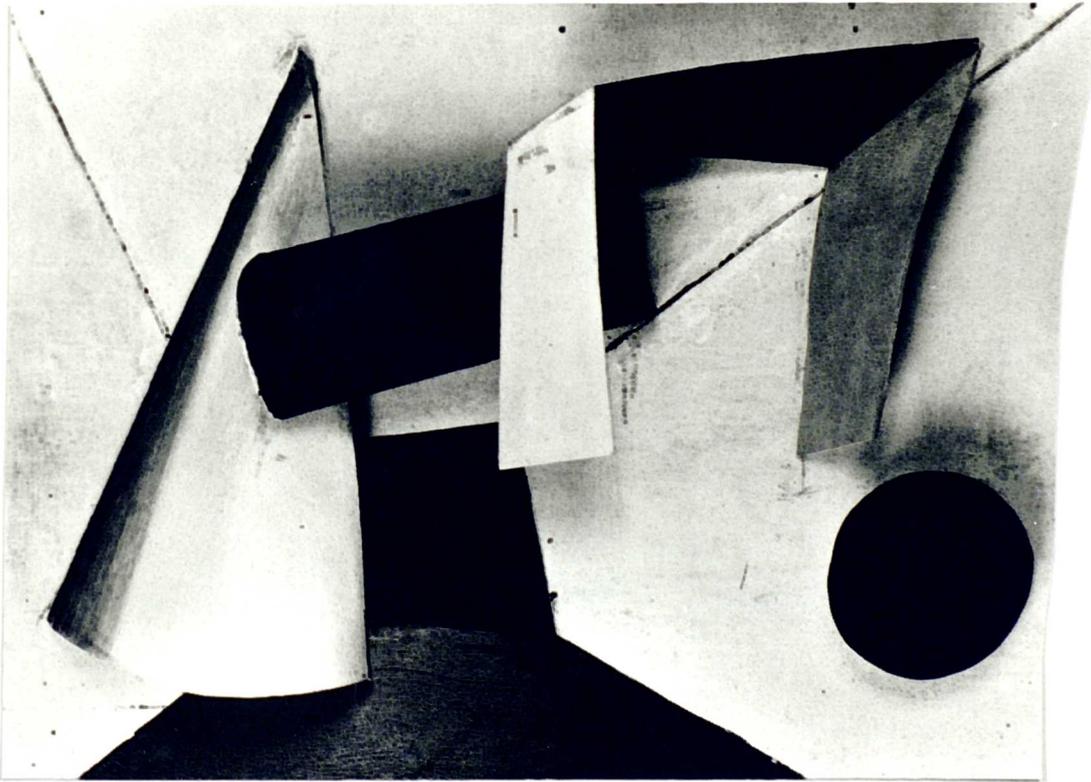
5.7 The Virgin Mary, icon, c1405.



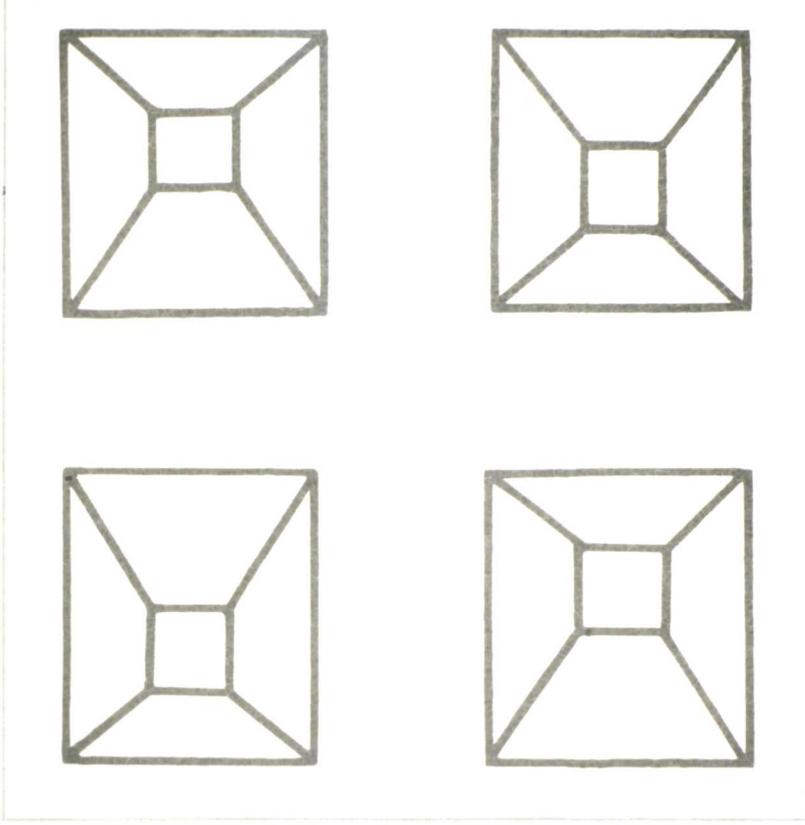
5.8 Archipenko: Woman with a Fan, 1914.



5.9 The Virgin Eleuza of Byelozersk, icon, First half of 13th Century.



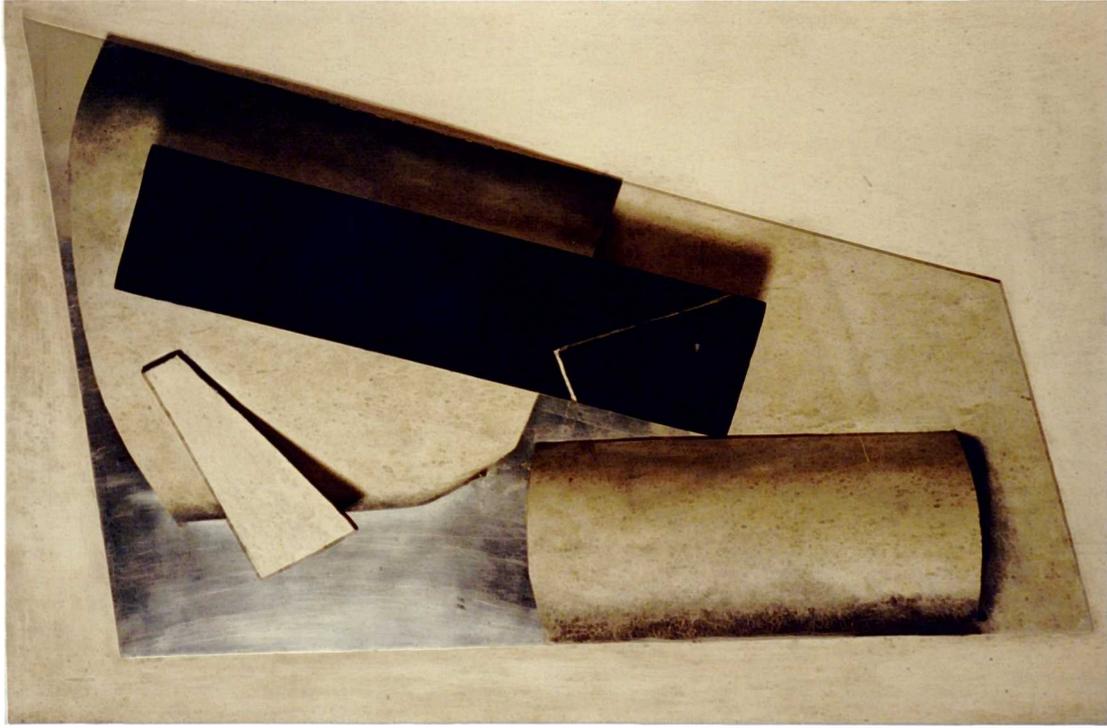
5.10 Puni: Cubo-Sculpture, c1915-16.



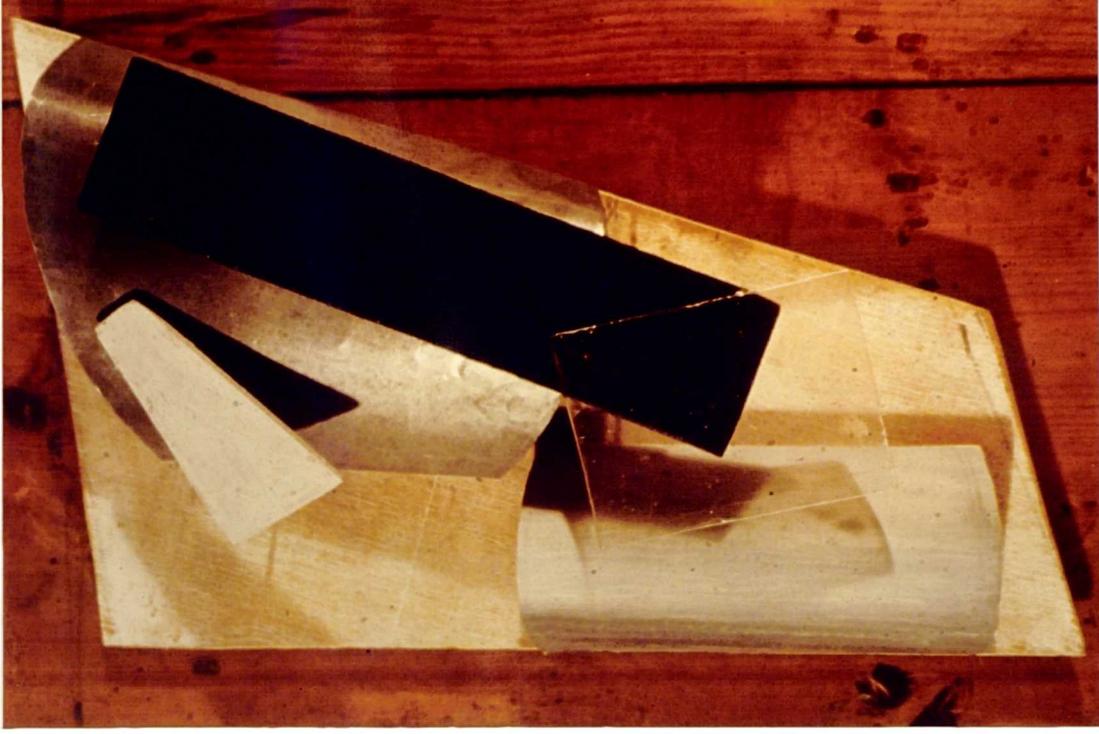
5.11 Illustrations from Outline of Psychology,  
1912.



5.12 Puni: Composition, c1915.



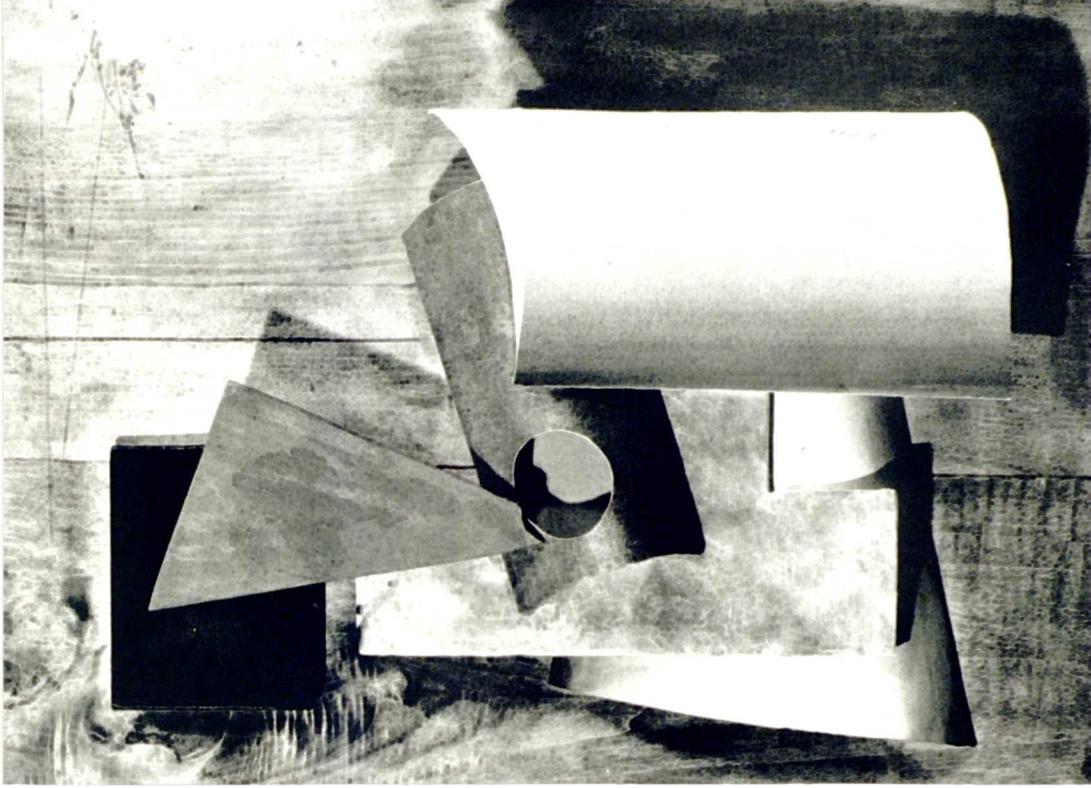
5.13 Puni: Composition, c1915-16.



5.14 Puni: Composition, c1915-16.



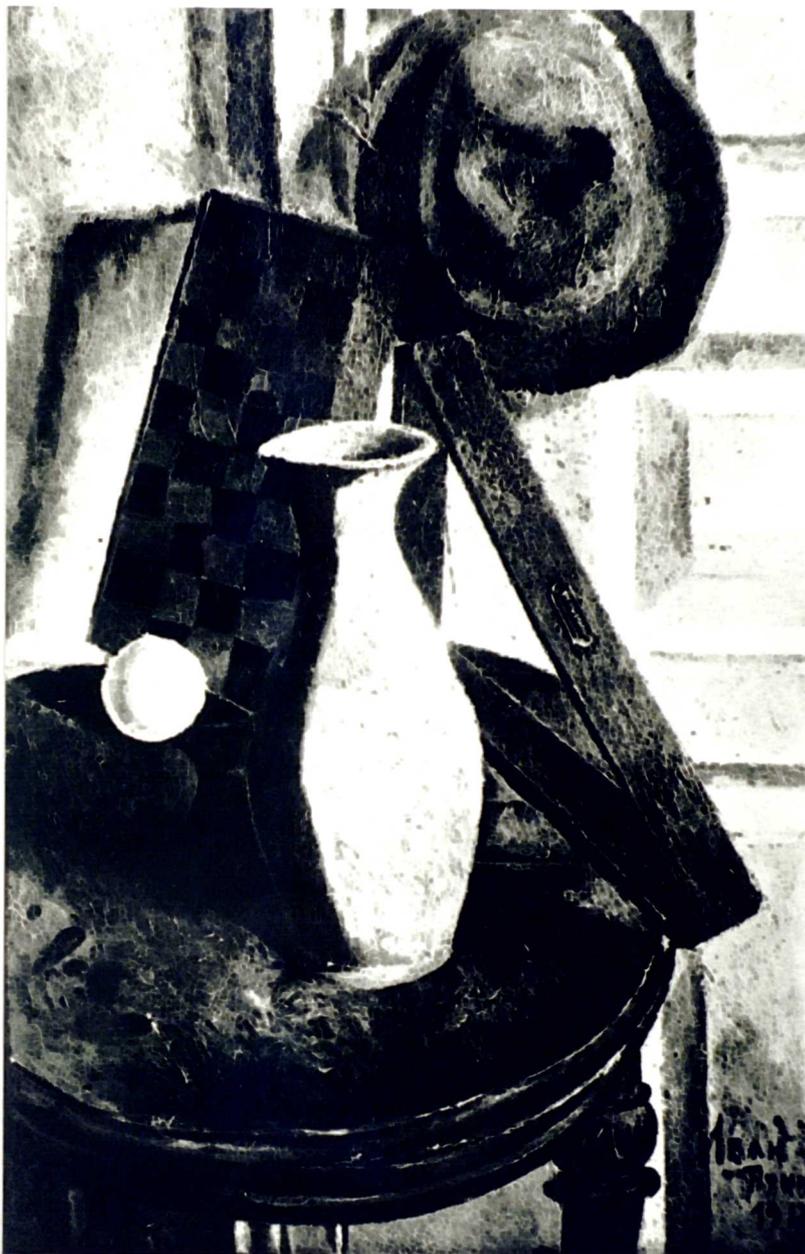
5.15 Puni: Sculpture, c1915-16.



5.16 Puni: Sculpture, c1915-16.

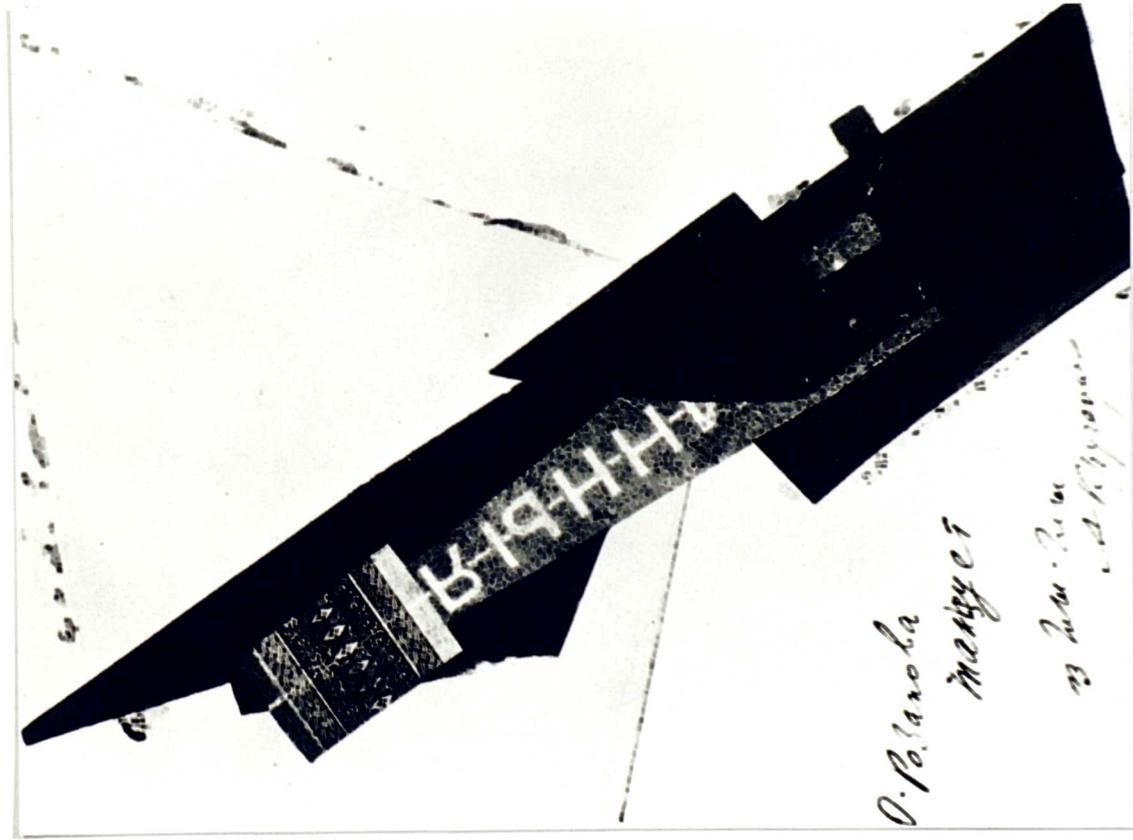


5.17 The Vladimir Virgin, icon. c1410-1431.  
Golden Oklad.

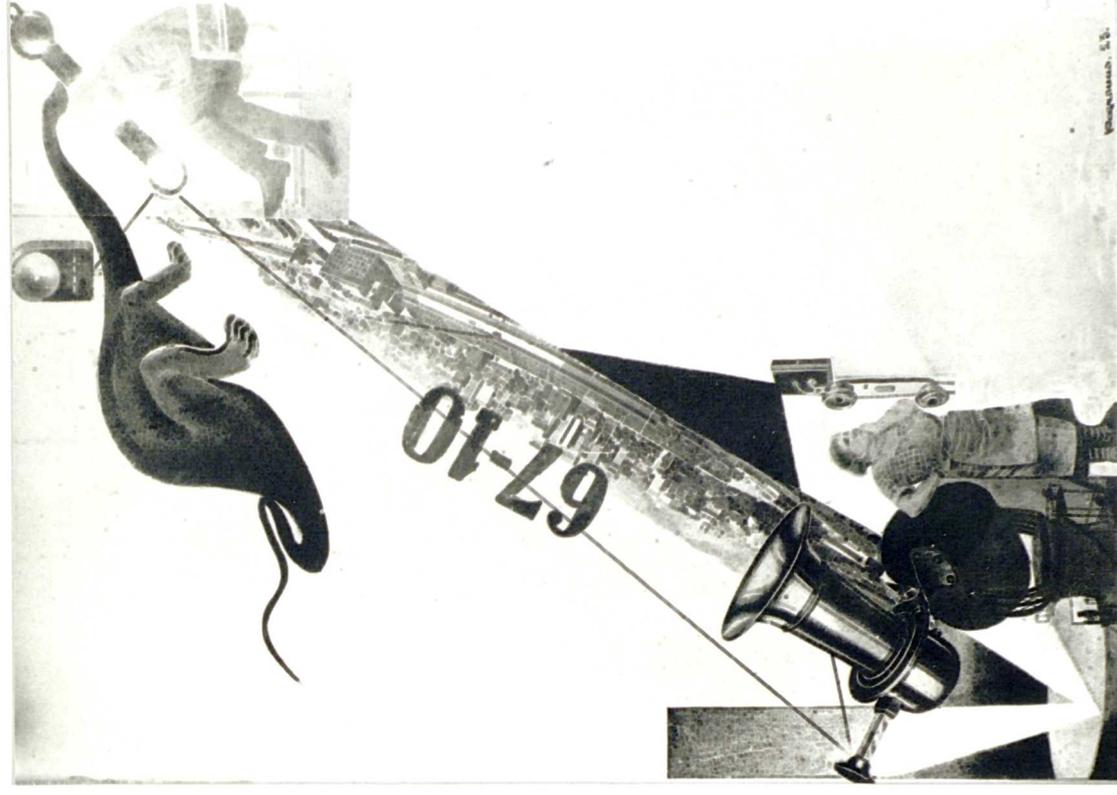


5.18 Puni: Still-life with Pink Vase  
and Billiards Triangle, 1917.





6.3 Stepanova: Collage illustration for Gly-Gly,  
1918.



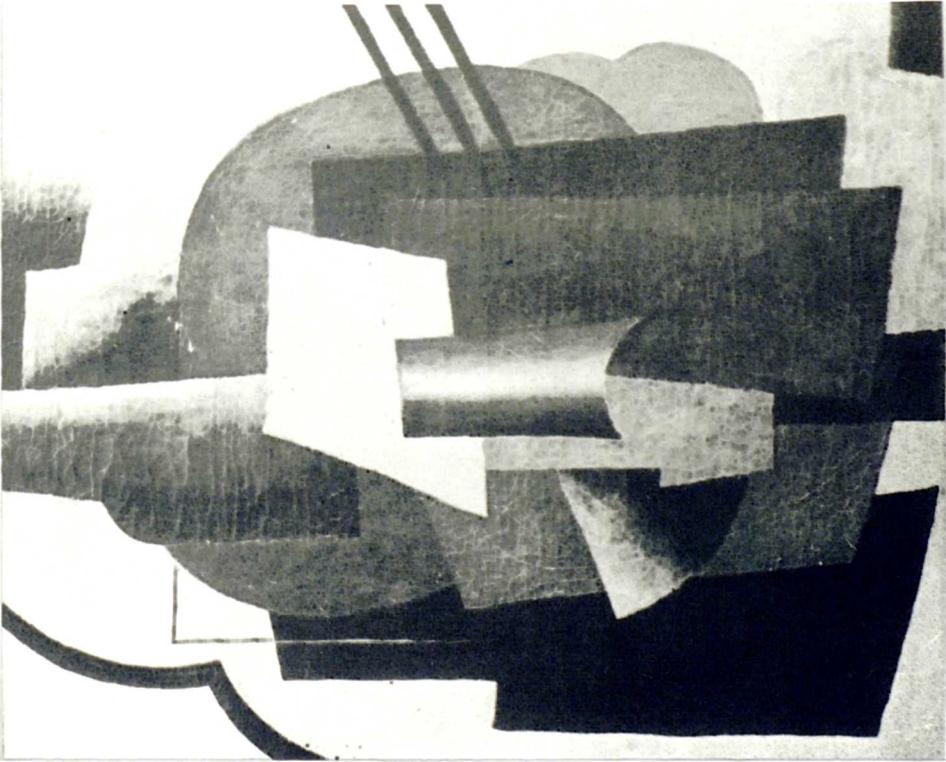
6.4 Rodchenko: Photomontage for About This,  
1923.



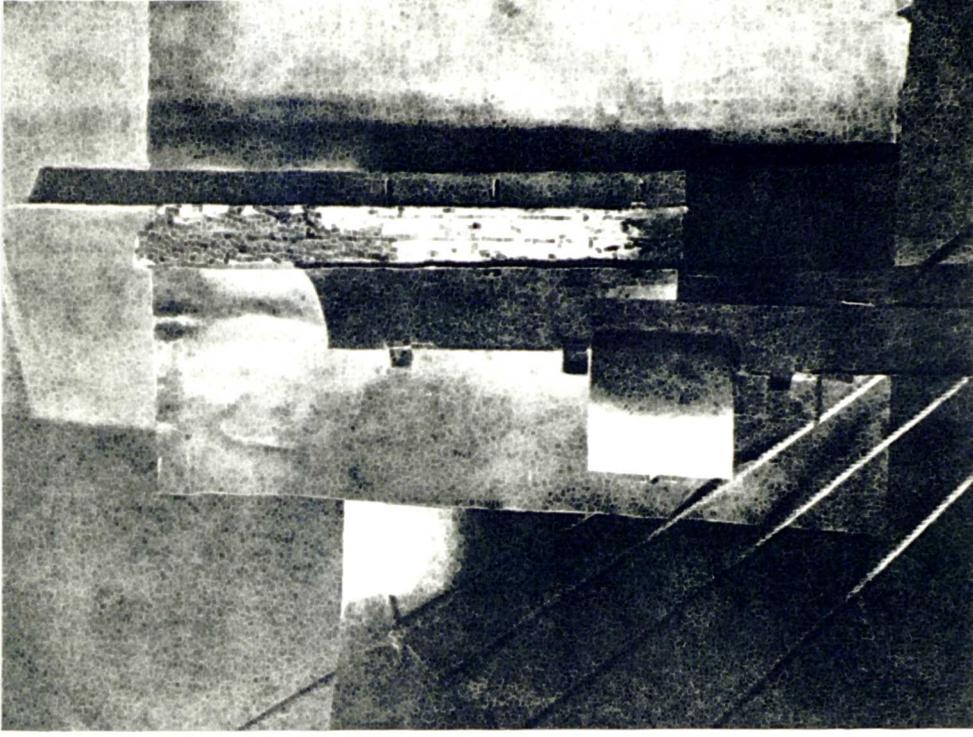
6.5 Popova: Grocer's Shop, 1916.



6.6 Popova: Italian Still-life, 1914.



6.7 Popova: Architectonic Composition,  
1917-18.



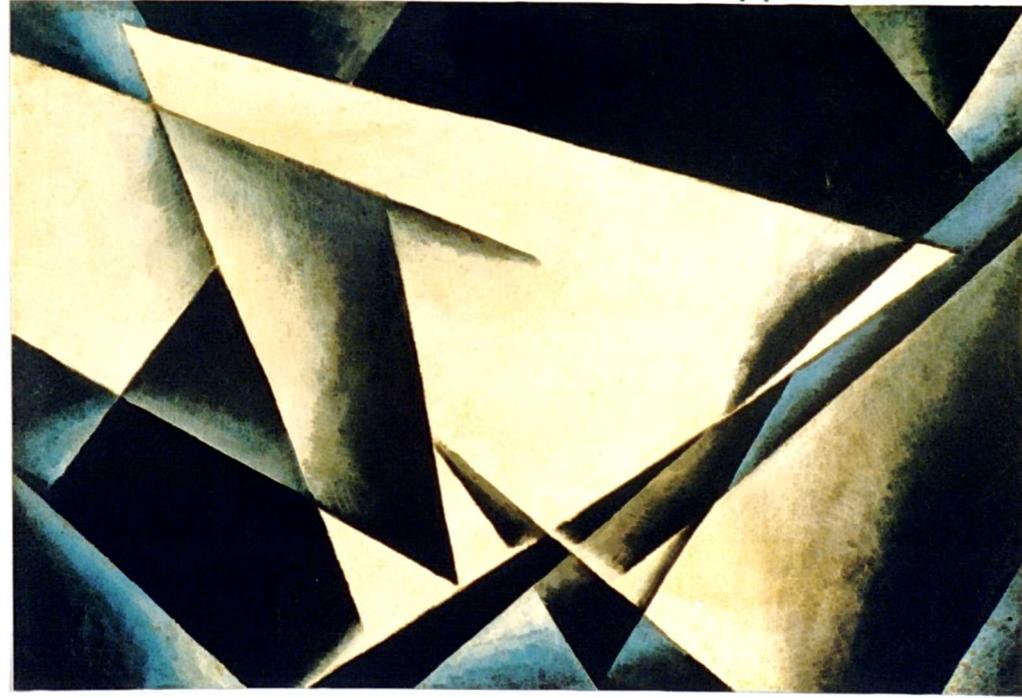
6.8 Tatlin: Corner Counter-Relief,  
1914-15.



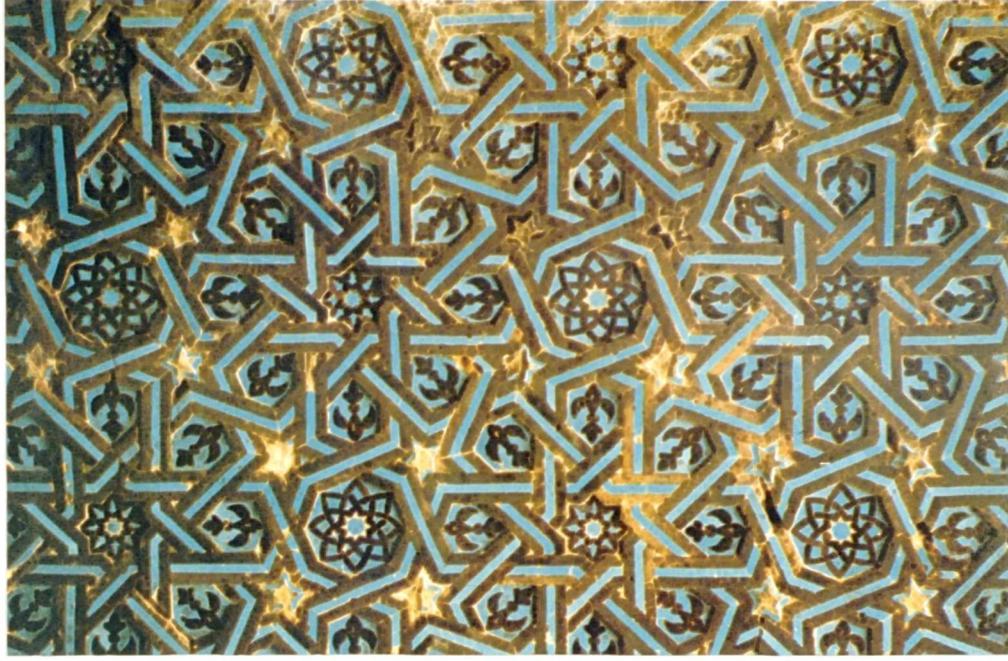
6.9 (a) The Shah-Zinda Mausolea,  
Samarkand.



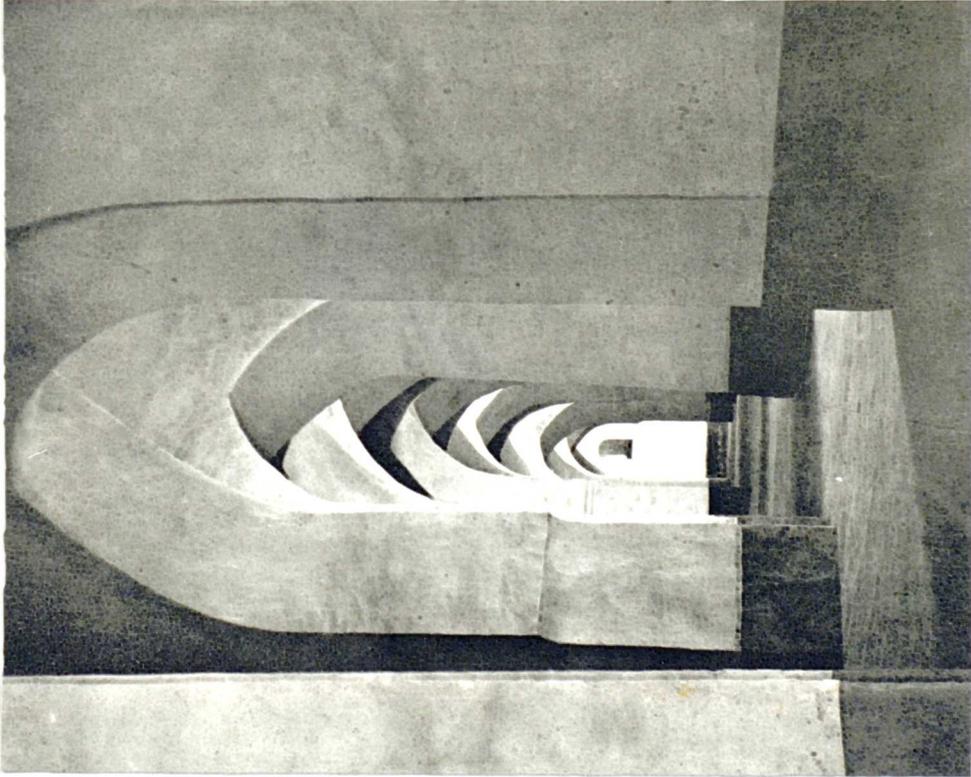
6.9 (b) Detail of tilework on Shah-Zinda,  
Samarkand.



6.10 Popova: Painterly Architectonics,  
c1918-19.



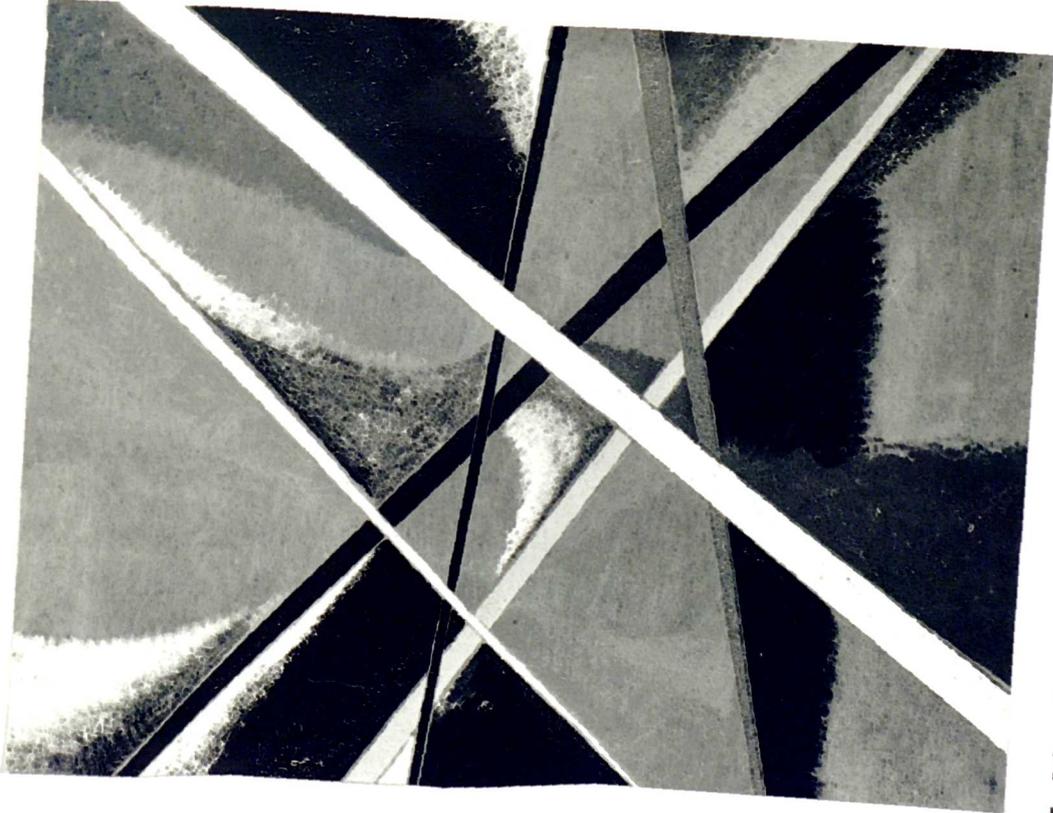
6.11 Detail of decoration from the Gök  
Madrasah, Sivas, Turkey, 13th Century.



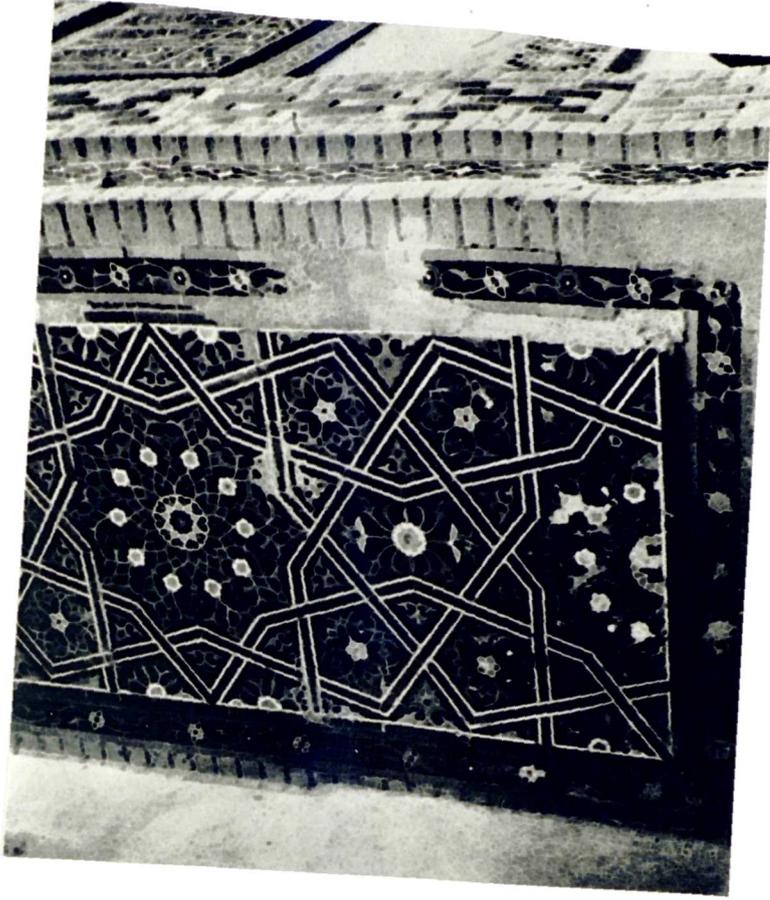
6.12 Interlacing Archways in the main  
(congregational) mosque, Herat,  
Afghanistan, c1200.



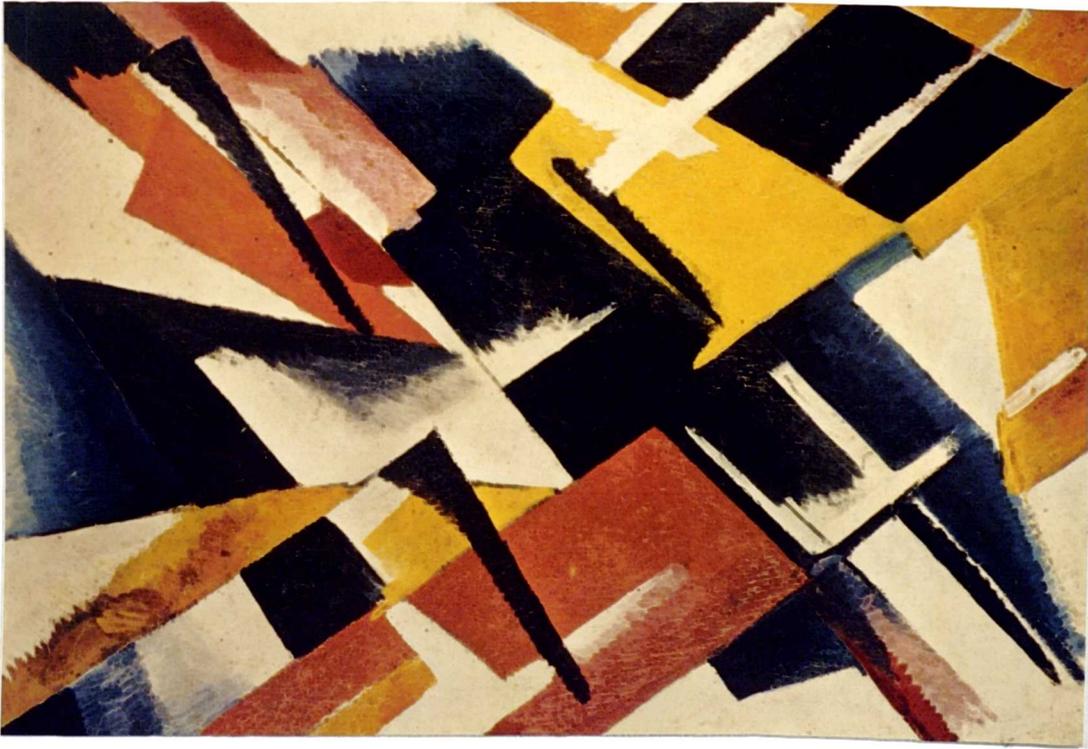
6.13 Popova: Painterly Architectonics, c1918.



6.14 Popova: Spatial Force Construction,  
1920-21.



6.15 Detail of tilework on entrance arch  
to the Gur-i-Amir, Samarkand, first  
half of 15th Century.



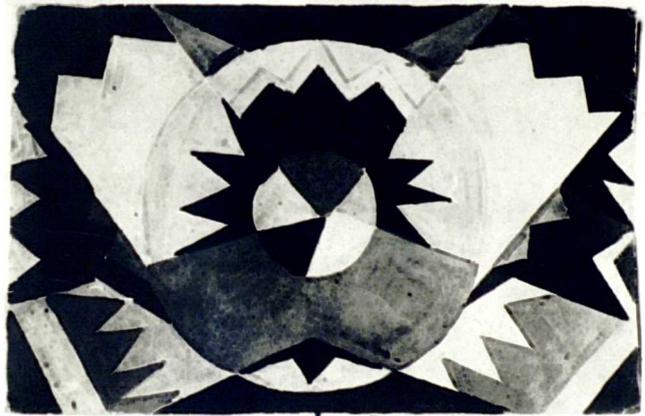
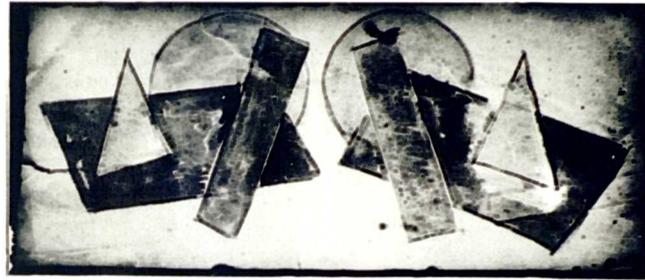
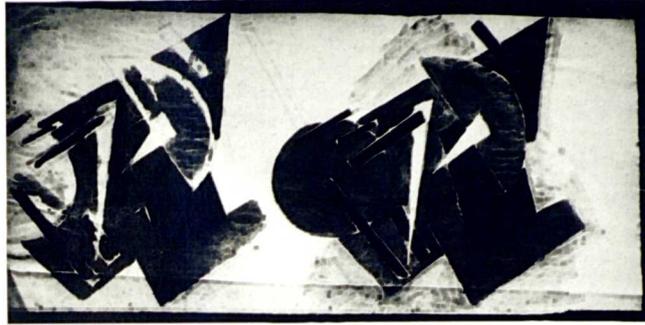
6.16 Exter: Composition (Construction of Planes according to the movement of colour), c1918.



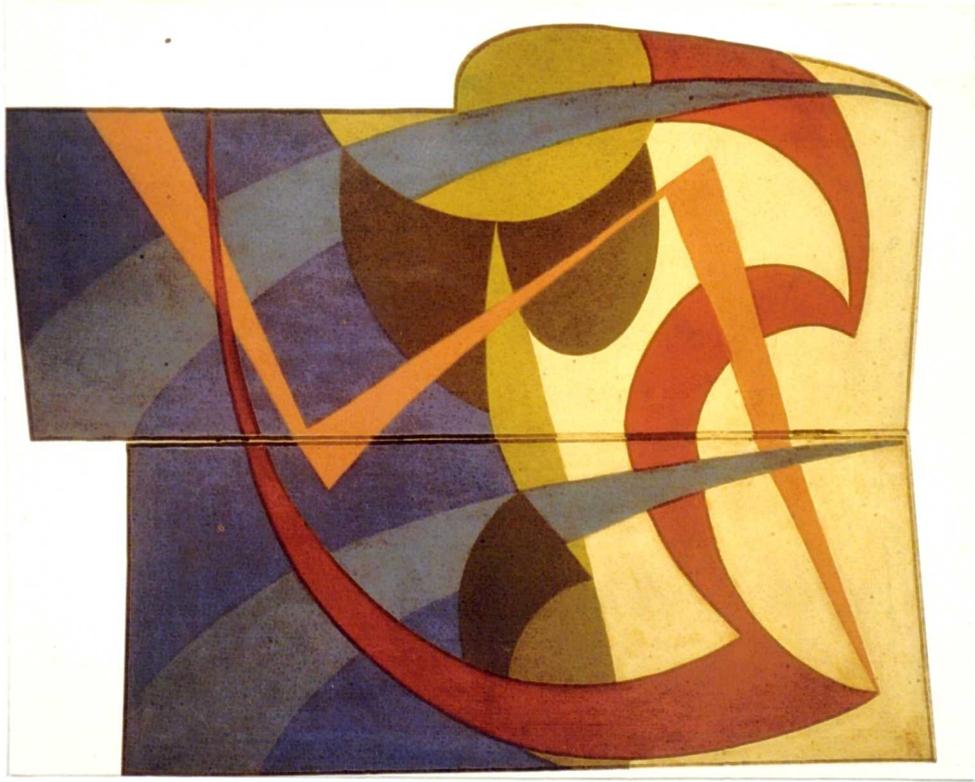
6.17 Udaltsova: Composition, 1916.



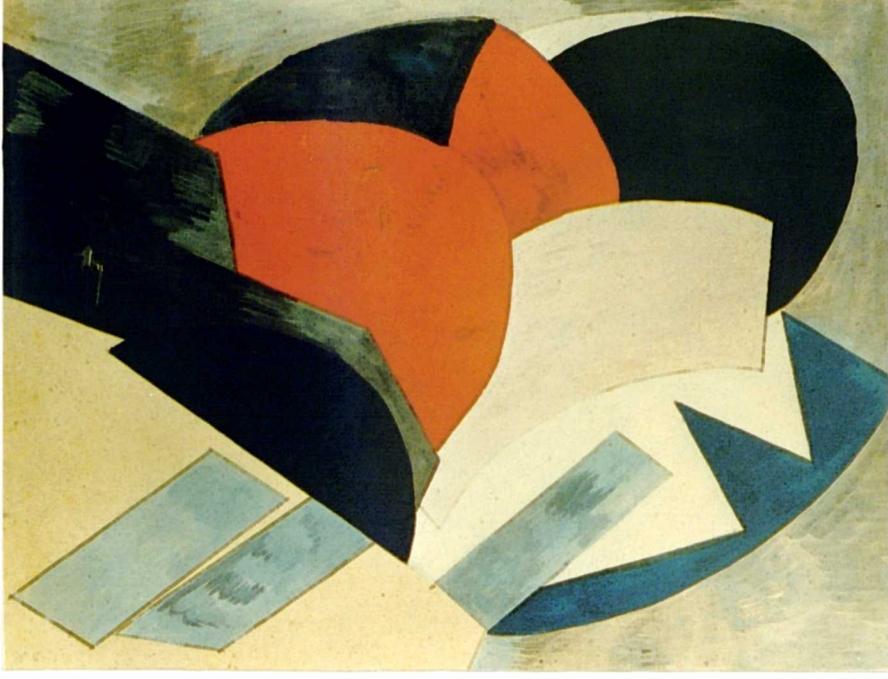
7.1 Rozanova: Project for a Fabric Design,  
c1916.



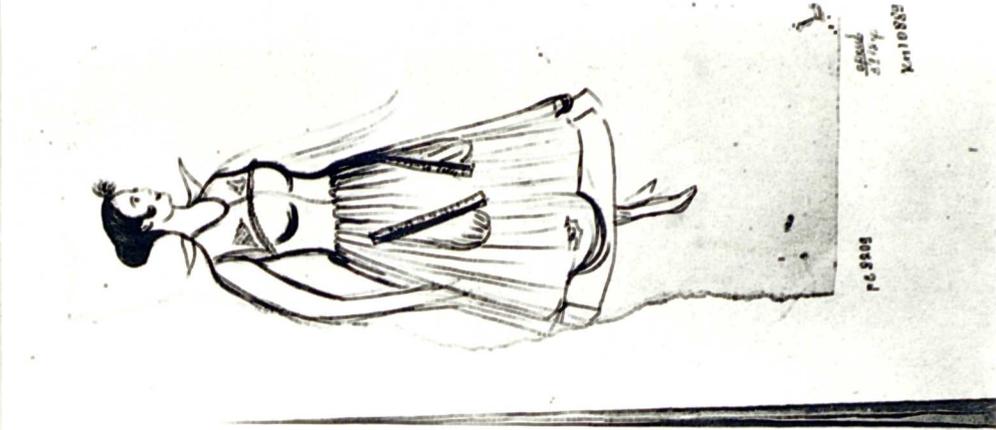
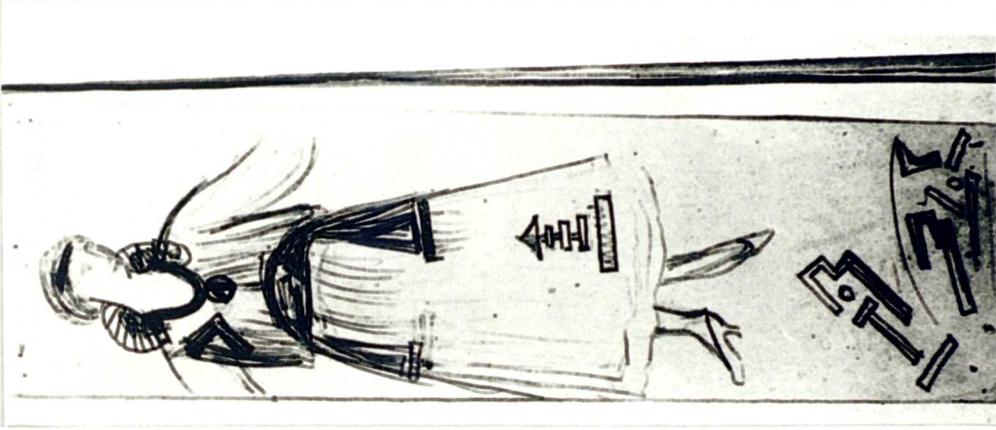
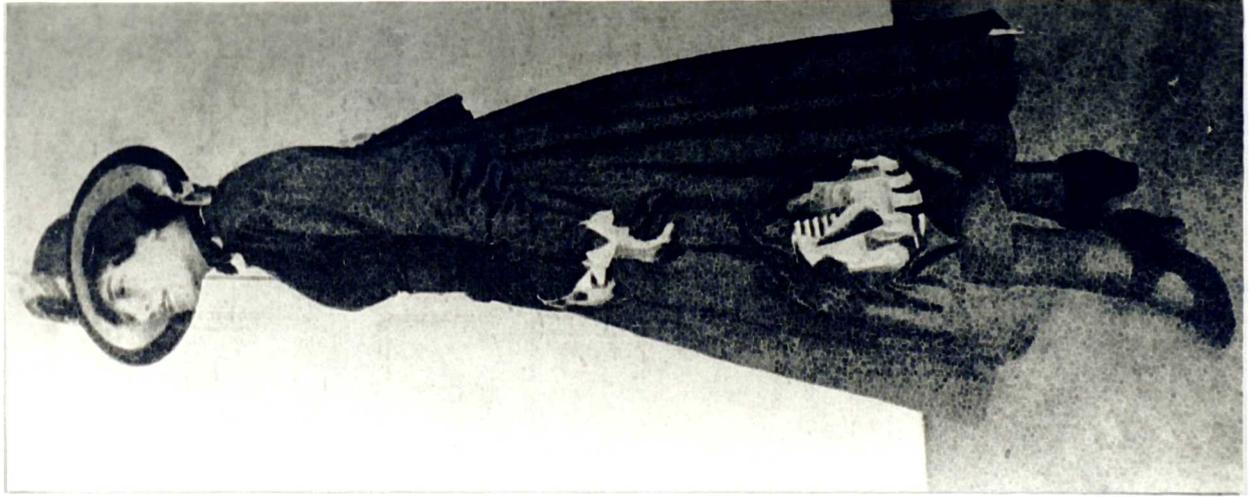
7.2 Udaltsova: Textile Designs, 1916-17.



7.3 Balla: S̄creen (with Speed Lines), 1917.

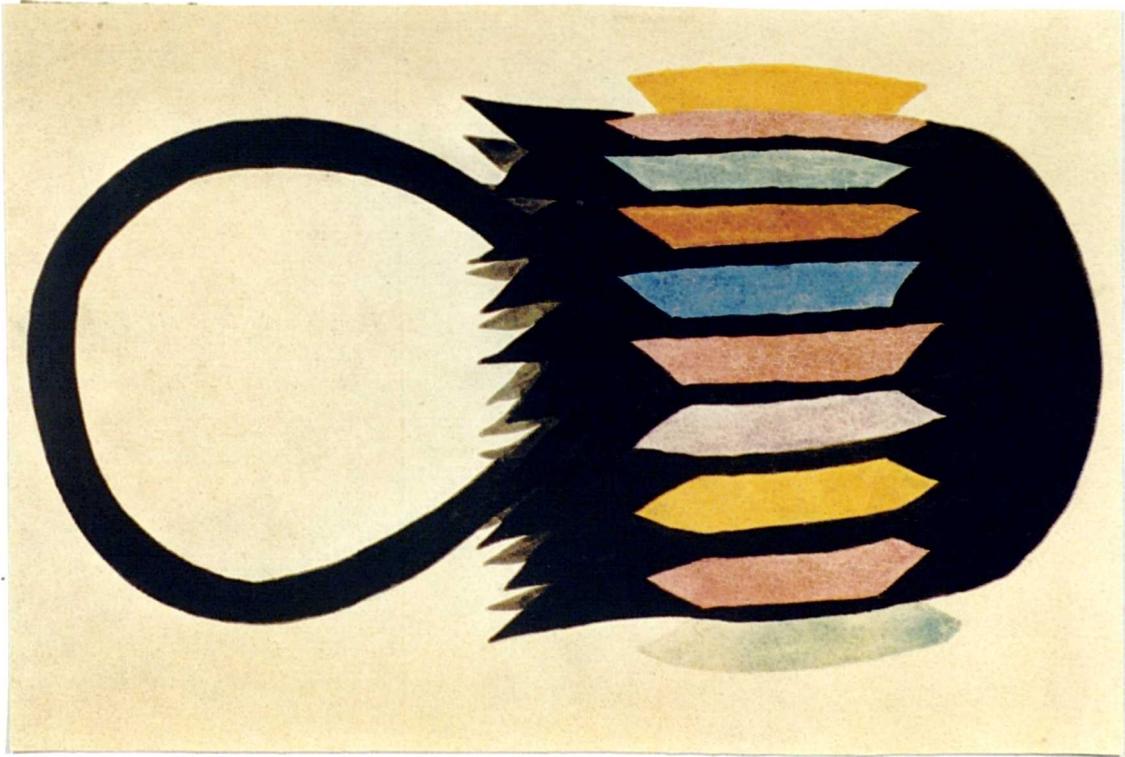


7.4 Exter: Coloured Rhythm, c1916-18.

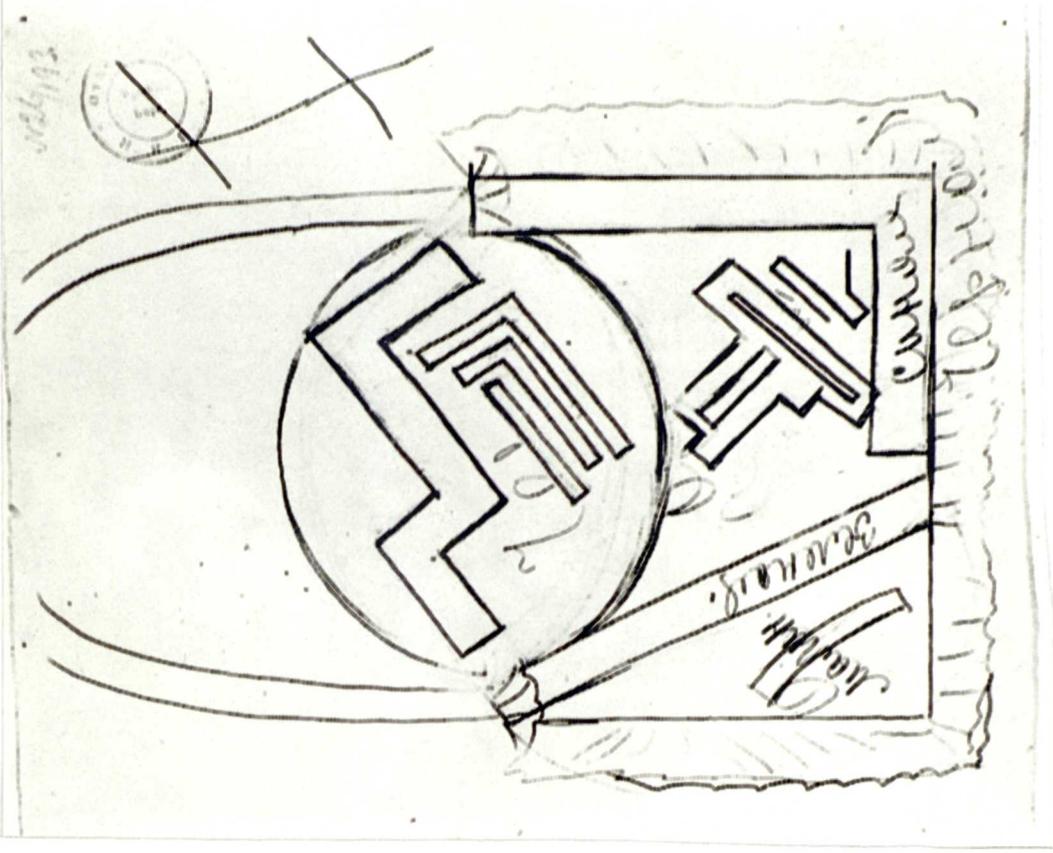


7.6 Rozanova: Sketches for Women's Dresses,  
1916-17.

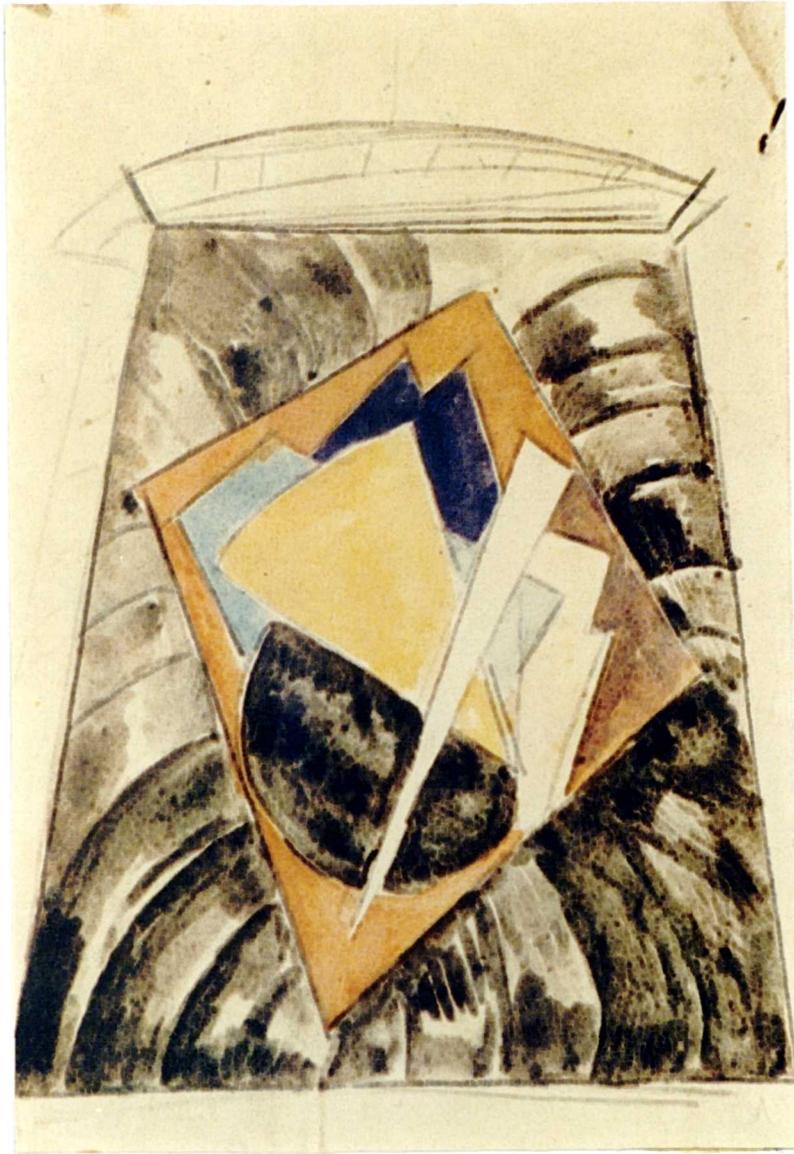
7.5 Photograph of Boguslavskaya at a Fashion Evening, 1916.



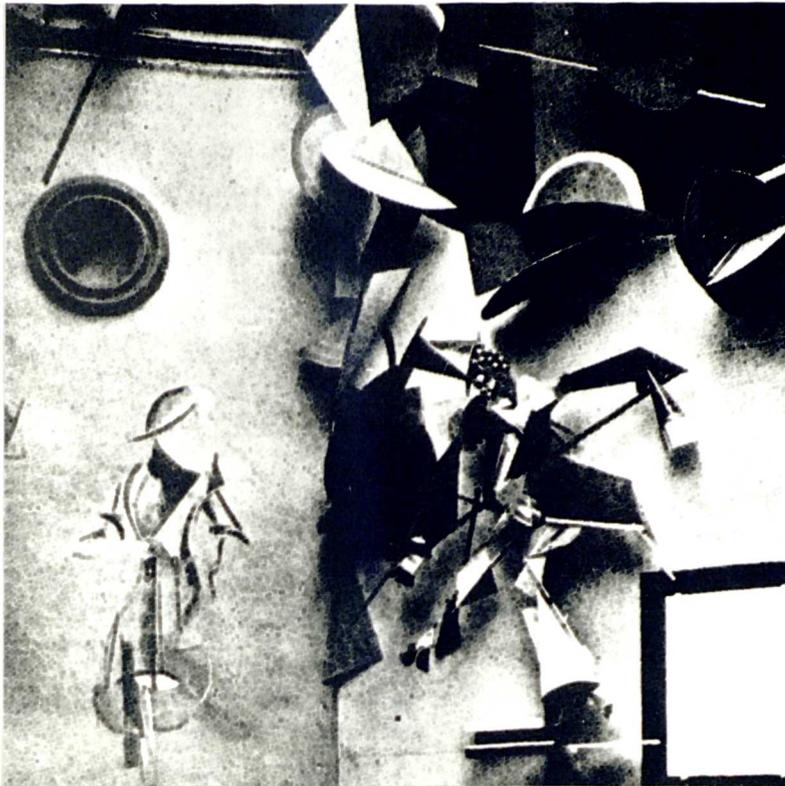
7.7 (a) Rozanova: Design for a Handbag, 1916-17.



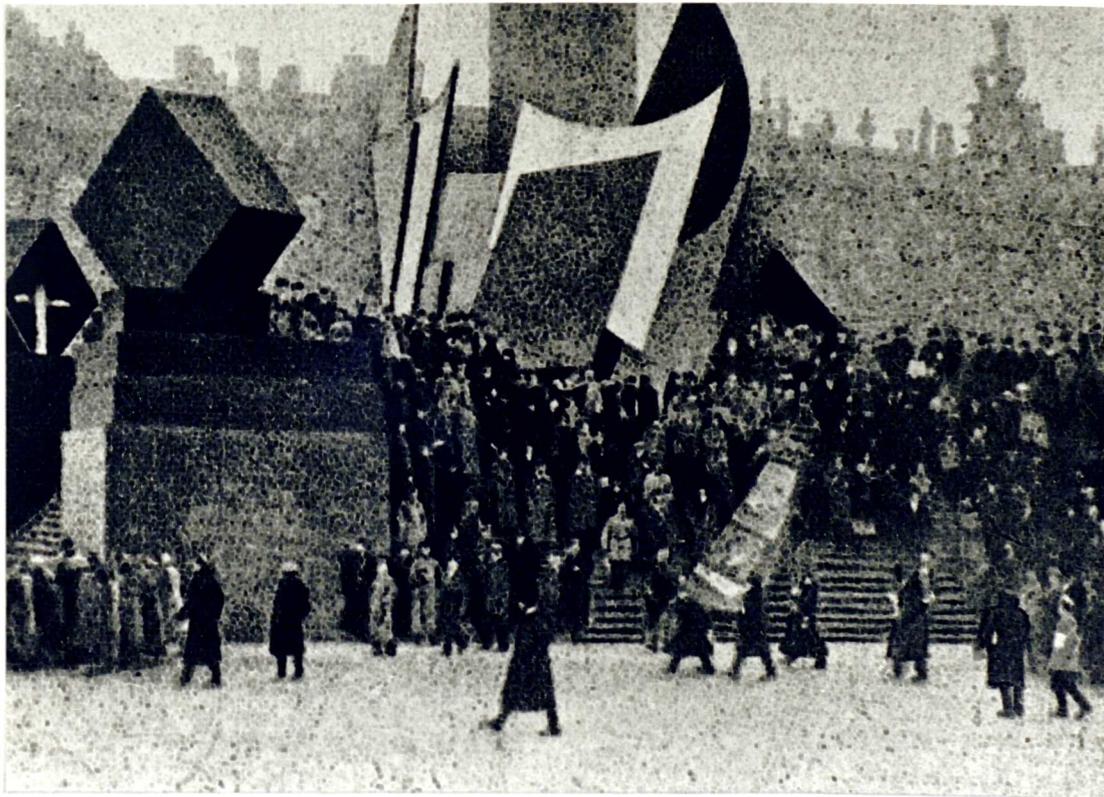
7.7 (b) Rozanova: Embroidered Handbag Design, 1916-17.



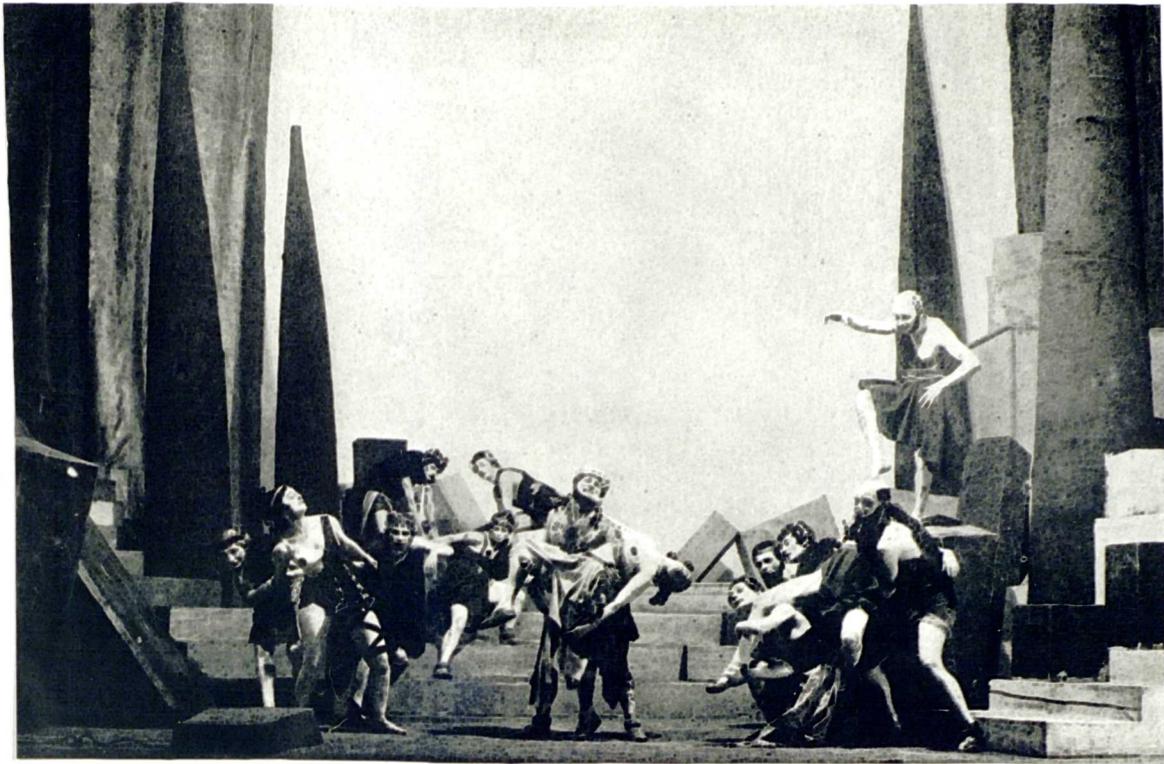
7.8 Udaltsova: Design for a Handbag, 1916-17.



7.9 Detail of the Café Pittoresque, Moscow.



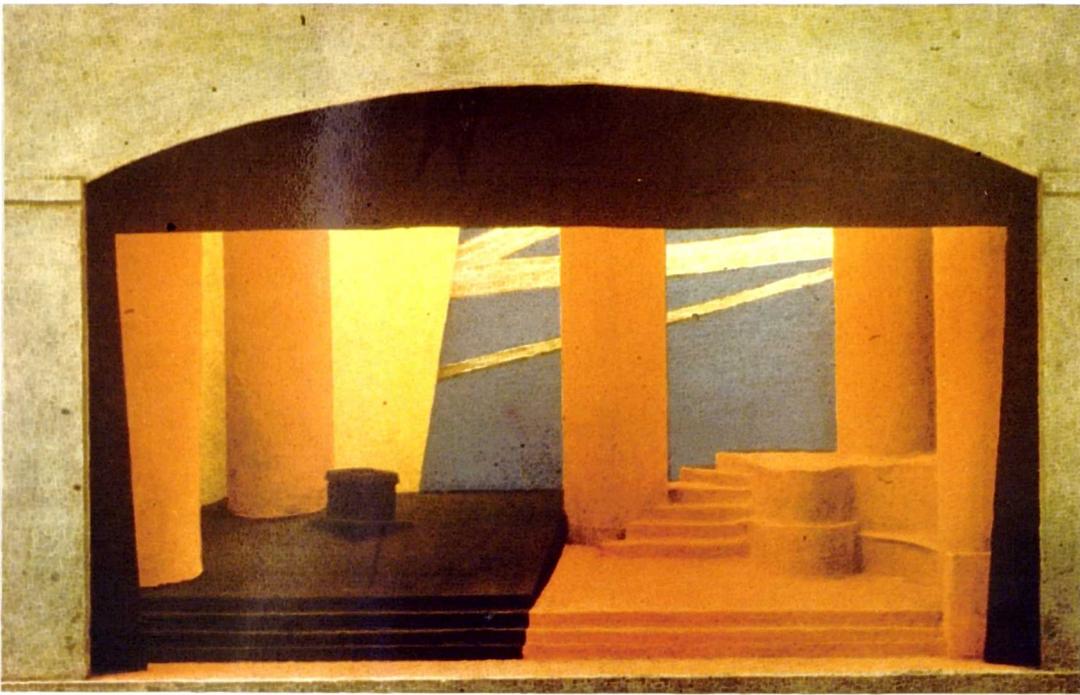
7.10 Al'tman: Tribune for the Alexander Column, Petrograd, 1918.



8.1 Famira Kifared at the Moscow Kamerny Theatre, 1916.



8.2 Exter: Costume Design for Famira Kifared, 1916.



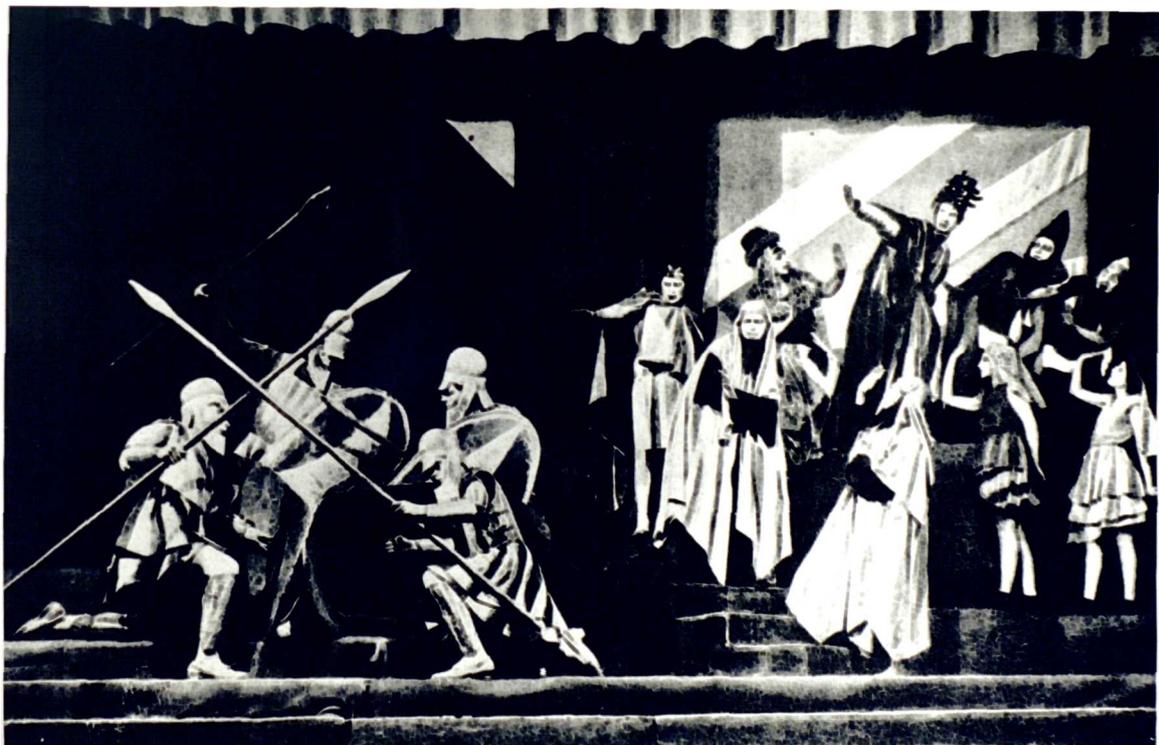
8.3 Exter: Model for stage set for Salomé, 1917.



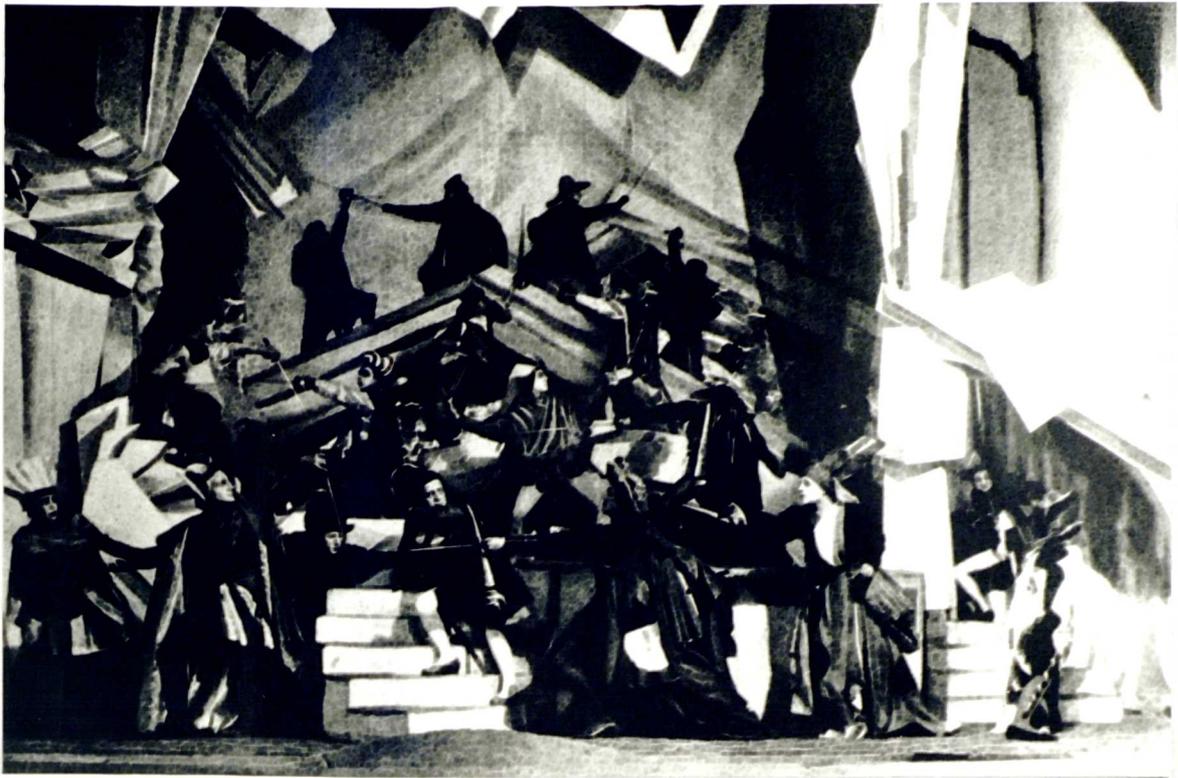
8.4 Exter: Costume Design for Salomé, 1917.



8.5 Salomé at the Moscow Kamerny Theatre, 1917.



8.6 Salomé at the Moscow Kamerny Theatre, 1917.



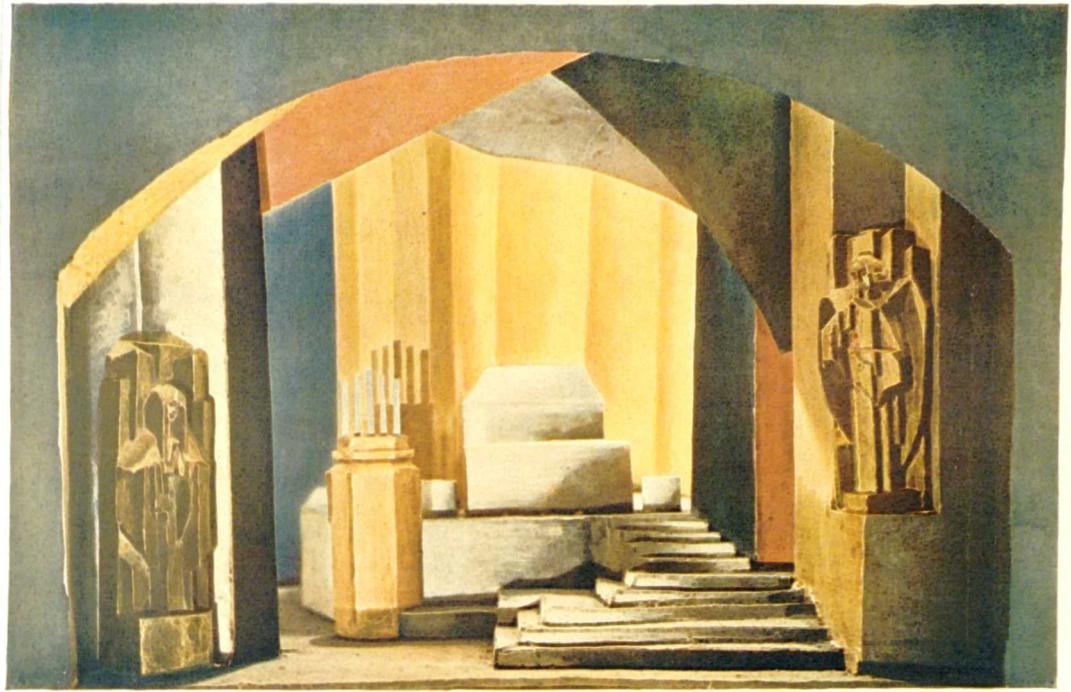
8.7 Romeo and Juliet at the Moscow Kamerny Theatre, 1921.



8.8 Exter: Costume Design for Romeo and Juliet, 1921.



8.9 Vesnin: Cover Design for 5 x 5 = 25 catalogue, 1921.



8.10 Vesnin: Model for the stage set for The Tidings Brought to Mary, 1920.



8.11 The Tidings Brought to Mary at the Moscow Kamerny Theatre, 1920.



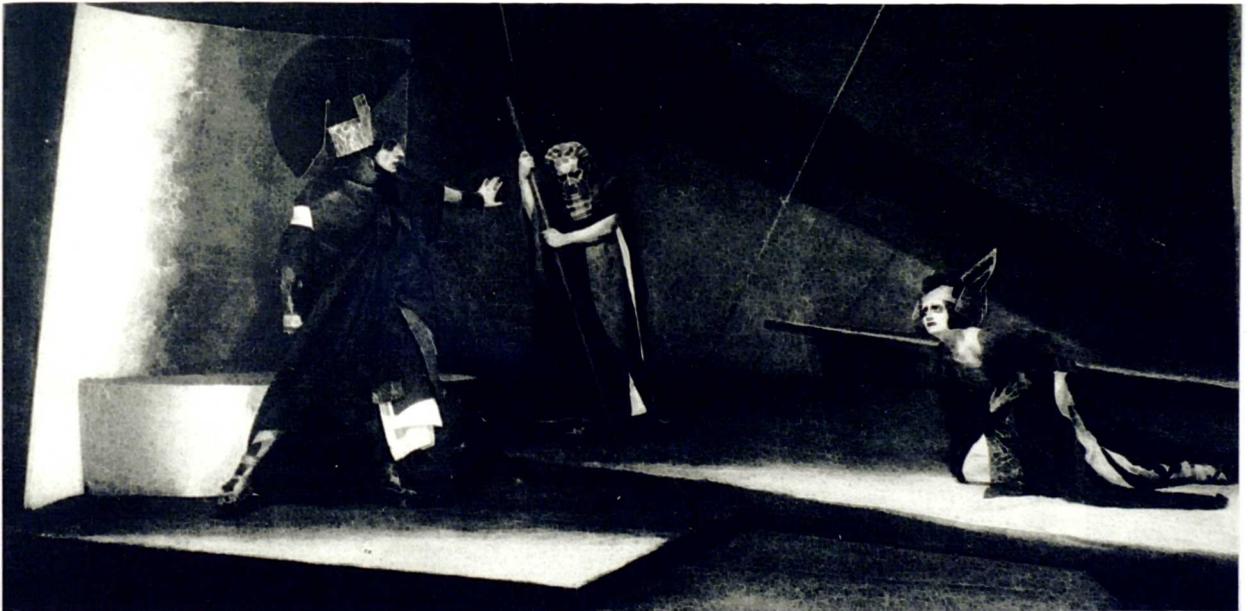
8.12 Vesnin: Sketch for the stage set for Phaedra, 1922.



8.13 Popova: Pictorial Architectonic, 1918.



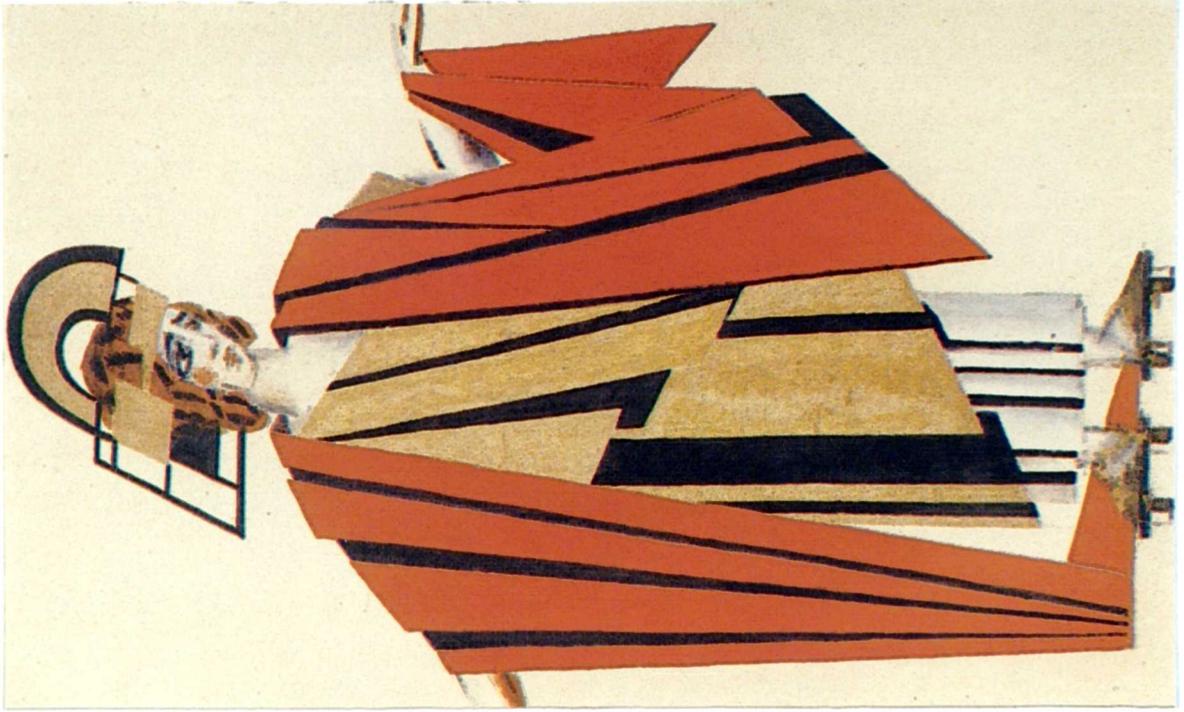
8.14 Vesnin: Model for the stage set for Phaedra, 1922.



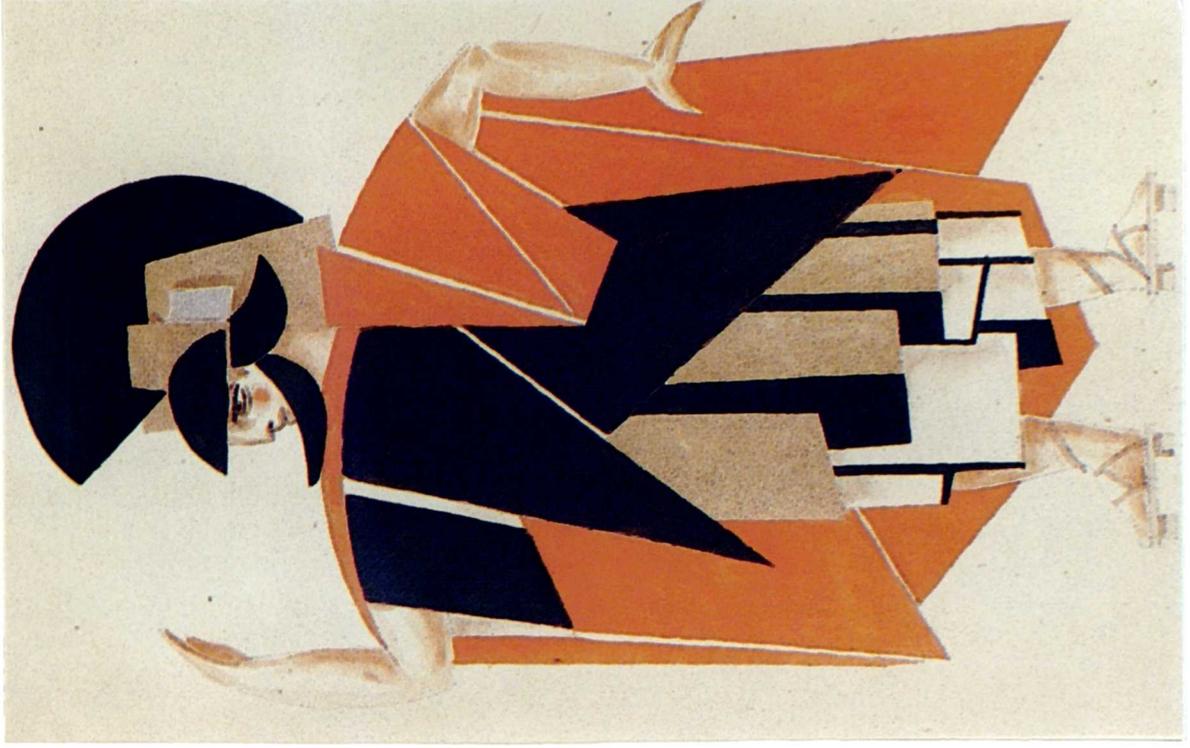
8.15 Phaedra at the Moscow Kamerny Theatre, 1922.



8.16 Phaedra at the Moscow Kamerny Theatre, 1922.



8.17 (a) Vesnin: Costume Design for Phaedra, 1922.



8.17 (b) Vesnin: Costume Design for Theseus, 1922.