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Eugène Lanceray and Italy: the influence of the classical heritage

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The quotations from letters, diaries etc. used in this thesis were originally in Russian,
all of them have been translated into English
with the possible loss of spelling and/or punctuation of the original.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. General objective

The famous Russian artist of French origin Eugène Lanceray [Evgeny Evgenievich Lanceray or Lansere] (1875-1946) studied art in St. Petersburg (in 1892-1895) and Paris (in 1895-1899). From the 1890s he traveled extensively in Russia (in 1902 he traveled to Japan through Siberia) and in Western Europe (France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, England, Denmark). He worked as a book and magazine graphic artist, painter, theater artist in the Art Nouveau style with elements of symbolism and impressionism. Since 1900 he was a member of the artistic group *World of Art* [Mir Iskousstva].

His grandmother was Camilla Albertovna Cavos (1828–1891), the granddaughter of the composer Katarino Cavos (1775–1840), who came from Venice to St. Petersburg, and the great-granddaughter of Giovanni Cavos, the director of the La Fenice Theater. His grandfather is the famous architect Nikolai Leontievich Benois (1813–1898), who, after graduating from the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg, in 1840–1846 studied the monuments of Italy (together with A. Krakau and A. Rezanov, he took the measurements of the cathedral in Orvieto).

Like many of his other relatives (e.g. his uncle Alexander Benois and sister Zinaida Serebriakova), Eugène Lanceray visited Italy. He was in the Apennine Peninsula in 1899 and 1907. The second trip was longer, since the artist and his wife traveled from Verona to Naples, visited Sicily and returned through Sorrento, Assisi, Padua and Venice. That trip strongly influenced him by the works of the Italian masters of the 14th–16th centuries: Giotto, Fra Angelico, Botticelli, Giulio Romano, Veronese, Titian, and especially Tintoretto in Venice.

Under the influence of Italian art in the late 1900s, Lanceray moved from Symbolism and Art Nouveau to variants of neoclassicism in monumental painting (including neo-Renaissance in the murals of G. Tarasov's mansion in Moscow, 1910–1911).

Knowledge of the Italian monuments of architecture and art helped Lanceray in his works of book and magazine graphics, in theater projects (staging Shakespeare's tragedy *Julius Caesar* at the Maly Theater in Moscow, 1923), in developments for a porcelain factory and lapidary factories, in sketches of sculptural decorations for buildings. But to a greater extent, the fascination with Italy, and especially Tiepolo's murals, influenced the master's monumental painting already in the 1930s in Moscow: a series of panels in the Kazansky railway station, plafonds of the Moskva Hotel restaurant, and of the auditorium of the Bolshoi Theater. In these cases, for the first time in the USSR, the artist used the traditional Italian baroque technique of *trompe-l'œil*.

This thesis intends to clarify the influence of individual works of Italian Renaissance and Baroque painting on the artwork of Eugène Lanceray, and the definition of stylistic nuances in his neoclassical and neo-baroque panels and murals of the 1900s – 1940s.

Classical heritage in this work refers to architectural monuments and works of fine arts of Western Europe, mainly Italy, of the period of Antiquity, as well as of the XIV–XVI centuries, including paintings, murals, sculpture of the Renaissance era.

Research has been carried out in Italian and Russian archives and libraries to clarify the biographies of the artist's Italian ancestors and the circumstances of the artist's travels in Italy.

1.2. Historiography

Due to the dispersal of archival and artistic materials, the biography and artwork of Eugène Lanceray remain little studied. Many documents and works are kept in museums and private collections not only in Russia, but also in the former republics of the USSR (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan), in France, Italy and USA. And even though the work of Eugène Lanceray has attracted a specific interest from art historians and art critics for decades, there is still a significant body of unclaimed materials, and the study of his artistic heritage often concerned only his early years. The *World of Art* period of Lanceray's artwork is well known because of numerous publications from pre-

revolutionary and Soviet periods. In contrast, the Caucasian and Moscow periods have not yet been sufficiently studied.

The degree of development of the research topic remains extremely low. Little known are many facts about the artist's travels in the 1890s – 1900s, when he formed his special attitude toward different regions of Europe and Asia, toward art, local history and culture, nature and landscapes, toward the ways of depicting them, and which travels had a significant influence on all of his future creation.

His own very personal ideological and artistic ideas against the backdrop of changing eras and styles caused different, even diametrically opposed opinions about Lanceray's works. This concerns both to the pre-revolutionary and to the Caucasian and Moscow periods of his art creation.

World of Art criticism

The artist gained fame at the beginning of the 20th century. After accusations of "decadentism" (together with other members of the *World of Art* group) and the repetition of foreign examples by V.V. Stasov and other conservative critics, the first balanced assessment of the Lanceray's work was given by his uncle A.N. Benois (1902): in *The History of Russian Painting*, he drew attention to the "bookish" vocation of his nephew, to his merit, along with L.S. Bakst and K.A. Somov, in "raising the typographical business in our country". Citing his illustrations for the E.V. Balabanova's book *Legends of the ancient castles of Brittany* (St. Petersburg, 1899) as an example of a virtuoso book decoration, Benois points to the roots of his art "in the wonderfully illustrated chronicles of Froissart, in the Venetian editions of the XVI century, and partly in modern English books" (Benois, 1902, p. 270).

Another researcher, A.A. Rostislavov (1908), in a monographic article for the magazine *Zolotoe Runo* [Golden Fleece], defined the main character of Lanceray's artworks, for the first time noting in them the manifestation of a harmonious fusion of his artistic skills with his personal qualities. His features, such as modesty, artistic conscientiousness, and cleanliness, are reminiscent of criticism of medieval miniaturist monks. A short but very valuable remark about the "flow into each other" of artists being close to Lanceray, while maintaining his own

“creative physiomy” (Rostislavov, 1908, pp. 9-10), allows us to establish the context of the artist’s work in 1900s.

Rostislavov (1915) returns to the Lanceray’s work in his article “Decorative talent of E.E. Lanceray” in the magazine *Apollo*, continuing the theme of working in different styles, which was facilitated by the "decorative instinct" clearly manifested in the mural paintings. Along with the fascination with Dürer and English engravings, the influence of "impressionist technique" (panel in the Café de France) and “the stylistic task of classicism” (painting of the hall of the Academy of Arts), the researcher singled out “a deep inner connection with the baroque”, which manifested itself even by an attraction to the unusually magnificent relief of the mountains. In addition, was mentioned the "subtle fusion of Western and national forms", the basis of which was in the fact that in his artworks the "baroque romanticism passed through the sobriety and modesty of realism" (Rostislavov, 1915, pp. 5-10).

Close to the artist in his artistic positions, S.K. Makovsky (1909, p. 131), in the second part of the *Pages of Artistic Criticism*, noted changes in Lanceray’s works over “recent years”: “fluctuations in his work are noticeable – from the search for style and graphic sophistication to more real and direct painting”. Already in 1914, in the book *Modern Russian Graphics*, the critic highlights the special role of the artist in the revival of the Russian book by the members of the *World of Art* group; in the creation of "our graphic style"; in solving the problems of "book decoration in its entirety". It is Lanceray, according to Makovsky, who stands at the origins of the “modernized Empire style of books”, gravitating towards the style of almanacs of the early 19th century. From him came "a passion for ancient fonts, intricate strokes and book signs” (Makovsky, 1917, p. XVIII). Considering, like N. Radlov (1917, p.60), that Lanceray is one of “our most productive and interesting graphic artists” of the early 20th century, the compiler of the book selected 41 Lanceray’s illustrations for being published, which is more than from any other artist (41 out of 319).

The largest article in the pre-revolutionary period (eight pages of text and four illustrations) was dedicated to the Lanceray’s art in 1912 by V.Ya. Kurbatov. He noted that “the art of E.E. Lanceray is an exceptional and, perhaps, the most unexpected phenomenon in the history of modern Russian artistic life” (Kurbatov, 1912, p. 379): considering various

aspectual and genre manifestations of the “unexpected” phenomenon of the artist’s art against the “background of a striking decline in taste and style, which was characteristic of the second half of the 19th century”, the critic writes about Lanceray’s shift from “the desire for a style similar or equal to the style of great eras” to the desire for antiquity without any “attempts of historicity”. This article is also valuable as an attempt to select historical analogies to some of Lanceray's works. For example, his theatrical scenery is compared with the projects of Ferdinando Galli da Bibiena, his monumental painting with paintings by the early Venetians, and his graphic works with early engravings by Louis Lepère or Gravelot. Trying to be quite objective, the critic still could not resist some enthusiastic assessments (e.g. "the best graph of modernity") and complaints about the lack of demand and underestimation of the artist among the public. Kurbatov's words sound prophetic about the future recognition of Lanceray as "one of the masters of the great style", and of his works in the *World of Art* magazine as classics.

N.E. Radlov considers Lanceray’s work from the standpoint of summing up the artist's activities as a member of the *World of Art*. Noting in the *Apollo* magazine in 1915 his wide versatility, his knowledge of styles and "sense of constructiveness", the critic pays special attention to the "difficulties" in determining, "in addition to or even against his desire", the special character traits of his creative personality (Radlov, 1915, p. 4). As if arguing with Makovsky (1913, p. 133) and answering his question "can Lanceray become just a painter?", Radlov finds the “distinctness” of his artistic talent not in the field of historical sympathies and tastes, but precisely in the field of painting.

Thus, before the revolution of 1917, the name of E. Lanceray was not only well known, but also placed in the context of the general art development in Russia. Notable events in the cultural life of Petrograd were the “*Exhibition of drawings and sketches by E. Lanceray, brought from the Caucasian front, and by M. Dobuzhinsky from Galicia and Poland*” in 1915, and the publication of the book *Hadji Murad* of L.N. Tolstoy with illustrations by Eugène Lanceray in 1916, which were both highly appreciated by many critics. In his article about his nephew in the newspaper *Rech* [Speech] dated March 4, 1916, A.N. Benois emphasized Lanceray's virtuoso ability to "compose freely and work in any style". Advertising his decorative possibilities to architects, Benois is surprised at

interruptions in commissions: some "moments d'élection", during which, working at book illustration "relieves feelings" (Benois, 1916). In the book *Modern Russian Graphics*, published in Russian in 1917, N.E. Radlov (1917, p. 68) depicts Lanceray's illustrations for *Hadji Murad* as "reduced gouache paintings". He predicts the future development of the artist and notes that "graphics is not Lanceray's specialty, although he began his artistic performances with it" (Radlov, 1917, p. 61).

Post-revolutionary critics

After the revolution of 1917, due to the change in the political and therefore the artistic situation, the versatile activities of the artists who were part of the *World of Art* group faded. The topics related to the pre-revolutionary moods reflections of the early twentieth century became more relevant. Thus, Lanceray became appreciated and studied more like an artist of satirical magazines from 1905–1906¹.

Nevertheless, in the mid-1920s, several studies appeared that continued the tradition of pre-revolutionary art criticism. Those essentially apolitical works also reflect some stylistic problems. So, A.S. Strelkov, in a book dedicated to the *World of Art*, characterizing the work of Lanceray, adds the uniqueness of each of his illustrative works in terms of artistic technique to the previously mentioned decorative talent and the artist's "feeling of the baroque" (Strelkov, 1923, p. 13).

Rich in interesting details, Benois's book *The Emergence of the World of Art* helps to understand the relationship, artistic preferences, and creative nature of the founders of that artistic group. Pointing to the absence of a dominant style, "enlightened and broad perception", "preaching of cosmopolitanism", the realm of taste instead of direction, an authoritative researcher nevertheless singles out within that association the "more conservative, encyclopedic and even eclectic" character of Lanceray, Yaremich, Merezhkovsky and, often, Serov (Benois, 1929, pp. 37, 49, 50, 38).

¹ See Dulsky (1922), Botsyanovsky and Gollerbakh (1925), Dreiden (1925), Mitskevich (1926), Isakov (1928).

Two reports by V.K. Okhochinsky of 1924, read in Leningrad and dedicated to Lanceray's works in the field of book design, actualize his significance "in the inculcation of an artistic book sign in Russia" and provide a valuable indication of the English origins of his bookplates (Okhochinsky, 1925, p. 7, Okhochinsky, 1928, p. 8).

From the time Lanceray worked on a series of panels for the Kazansky railway station in Moscow in 1933-1934, sketches for which were created both in Tiflis and in Moscow, the Moscow observers wrote laudatory materials about the artist², but mostly ignored the Caucasian period of his life. And in some articles, only the importance of the artist's accomplished transition from the St. Petersburg influences to the realism of the Soviet era was emphasized. Perhaps the most perspicacious was K.F. Yuon, who noted the emergence of his pictorial culture "only after the trips to the Caucasus under the influence of the colorful and new decorative richness of nature that captured him there" (Yuon, 1936, p. 4). But he does not avoid biased statements: "In the face of the living beauty of the Caucasian nature, Lanceray moved away from his former devotion to the past, and the quivering nerve of Soviet reality rang in his works" (Yuon, 1936).

Monographic studies on the Lanceray's artwork

The artist had no luck with a monograph about his work. At first, its publication was announced in 1912 in the collection of the publishing house *Na Rassvete* [At Dawn], dedicated to D.I. Mitrokhin. But it didn't come out at that time. In December 1931, A.V. Grigoriev, Chief Art Inspector of the People's Commissariat of Education of the RSFSR and one of the founders of the Association of Artists of the Revolutionary Russia and the Union of Soviet Artists, offered to publish such a monograph. N.E. Radlov was a possible author of the main text, but Lanceray did not approve of him in the letter dated January 1, 1932: "At our meeting on December 25, you spoke about the proposal to publish my monograph <...> You mentioned then N.E. Radlov, whom you intended to contact about this matter. I still welcome this choice, especially in terms of his general view on my work and in the sense of establishing my general position among my other contemporaries – but it still

occurs to me that N.E. cannot know my biography, and it would be very difficult to establish the necessary close contact – he is in Leningrad, and I am in Tiflis!”³. In other words, the disagreement was caused by fears about Radlov's lack of knowledge, including the works of the Caucasian period, and not by doubts about his abilities as a researcher or an art critic.

On the issue of the monograph, the artist wrote to his sister Z.E. Serebryakova in Paris on April 20, 1933: “We are both not lucky with the monograph: you don’t have a good one, more or less complete, and I don’t have it at all; when I am in Moscow, conversations start, but things have not progressed further already for the second year”⁴.

One of the first detailed monographic studies of Lanceray's work has been an article by M.V. Babenchikov (1935, pp. 76-99) in the magazine *Iskusstvo* [Art]. By the same time, more than half of the 24 works that were published there had been created by the artist in Georgia.

The only lifetime publication with reproductions devoted entirely to Lanceray is the catalog of his Moscow exhibition in 1936, dedicated to the 40th anniversary of his artistic activity, including bibliography, lists of museums, exhibitions and more than 350 artworks, two-thirds of which were related to the topic of this thesis, but far from exhausting this topic (Lanceray, 1936c, p. 86). In an extensive introductory article “The life and career of E.E. Lanceray”, musicologist L.A. Ureklian proposed one of the first periodization of the artist's work, although without taking into account stylistic changes. The researcher names some works that were opening new periods of the artist’s creation: works in the magazine *World of Art*, satirical drawings of 1905, illustrations for *Hadji Murad*, works in Dagestan in 1918-1919, and finally, murals of 1932 in Kharkov (Lanceray, 1936c, p. 21). L.A. Ureklian also mentioned Lanceray's two trips to Italy: “In 1907 Lanceray made a trip to Italy, from where he brought a number of sketches and studies in oil and watercolor (Rocks near Syracuse, etc.)” (Lanceray, 1936c, p. 15).

² See Shchekotov (1934); Warsawsky (1936), Shchusev (1936), Zotov (1936).

³ Letter from E.E. Lanceray to A.V. Grigoriev, from Kharkov to Moscow, January 1, 1932. Kozmodemyansky cultural and historical museum complex. DF 629. L. 1.

⁴ Private collection.

Artist's manuscripts

To compensate the insufficient attention of researchers to the influence of Italian and Western European art in general on the work of the artist, we use his own diary entries, letters, technical and theoretical notes. In addition, Lanceray has written over thirty articles from 1934 to 1945, dealing mainly with mural painting⁵. As he wrote himself in his diary on December 17, 1934: "I admit in my heart that, of course, I can say something closer to the point"⁶.

The nature of the Caucasus, the southern region, akin to Italy in some climatic conditions, had a great influence on the development of the artist's pictorial talent. In 1936, he published a short article about the Caucasian period in the magazine *Creativity* [Tvorchestvo], in which, in addition to the main events of his creative life, he also wrote about his more active work in nature, about the advantages of tempera and about the transmission of reflexes: "In the south, down in valleys, greenery and rocks are discolored, scorched by the sun, but everything around is so saturated with light that reflexes begin to play the role of the main colorful theme in the whole étude. There you begin to understand the colorful role of the reflex, and the reflex, the understanding of the flamboyance of the shadow, is one of the most important elements of painting, coloring" (Lanceray, 1936d, p.12).

In 1937–1938, the artist's work on the plafond of the restaurant in the hotel "Moskva" led to a number of articles about it by the author himself⁷, as well as by David Aranovich⁸ and Boris Ternovets⁹.

⁵ Lanceray E.E. (1934b) "My work on the painting of the Kazansky railway station"; Lanceray E.E. (1934a) "Experience and labor"; Lanceray E.E. (1936a) "Plafond in the hotel Moscow"; Lanceray E.E. (1936b) "Painting and its environment"; Lanceray E.E. (1945) "New themes and old attributes".

⁶ Archive of the artist's family.

⁷ Lanceray E.E. (1937) "Ceiling painting of the hotel "Moscow"", *Construction of Moscow*, March 23; Lanceray E.E. (1938) "Monumental painting", *Izvestia*, February 6; Lanceray E.E. (1938) "Together with the people", *Soviet art*, February 20.

⁸ Aranovich D. (1937) "Plafond by E. Lanceray in the hotel "Moscow"", *Tvorchestvo* [Creativity], №8–9, pp. 19–22.

⁹ Ternovets B. (1938) "Plafond by E.E. Lanceray in the hotel "Moscow"", *Architecture of the USSR*, №5, pp. 51–55.

Posthumous literature

The beginning of the understanding of the entire work of the artist was the brochure by K.S. Kravchenko (the first separate publication about the artist, not associated with any exhibition) and was signed for publication 13 days after Lanceray's death. The author, one of the first researchers, correctly noted the fruitful influence of Italy on the work of the artist: "In 1907, Lanceray and his wife travel to Italy, where he is fond of the masters of the early Renaissance – Beato Angelico, Botticelli, Giotto. The frescoes of these masters revealed a lot to Lanceray during his further monumental works, but they did not influence his monumental painting, like rather the masters of the late Renaissance and Baroque" (Kravchenko, 1946, p. 13). Kravchenko especially singled out the murals by Lanceray in the mansion of G.A. Tarasov in Moscow, in which the artist's transition to neoclassicism was manifested: "In the painting of the ceiling depicting the myth of Perseus, and the frieze with giants supporting the heavy folds of the magnificent curtain, Lanceray is already a skilled and experienced muralist, in love with Tintoretto, but completely independent in his compositional ideas, boldly owning complex angles, the movement of a naked human body, the drama of plot situations. The painting in Tarasov's house was for Lanceray the beginning of that great art that we have witnessed in our days (Kravchenko, 1946, pp. 13-14). But the small volume of this publication (31 pages) did not allow to pay due attention to all Western European influences in the artist's work.

The real discovery of Lanceray occurred in connection with the active study of his work twenty years after his death. A great merit here belongs to the employees of the Research Institute of Theory and History of Fine Arts of the Academy of Arts of the USSR (in particular, V.M. Lobanov, N.I. Shantyko, V.P. Tolstoy). Lobanov's monographic study dating from 1948 (Lobanov, 1948, p. 108) differs from the works of other authors by a detailed analysis of Lanceray's book and magazine graphics, but again, many issues of the influence of Western European art remained unaccounted for.

In the third chapter of a monograph by M.V. Babenchikov (1949), concentrated on the work of 1905–1917, the author described the trip of E.E. Lanceray to Italy: "Lanceray

was drawn to a deeper study of frescoes and canvases of old Italians, primitives and Bolognese at the same time. In the spring of 1907, as if in response to these aspirations, Lanceray again had the opportunity to visit Italy. With particular joy, he now gives himself over to the artistic impressions that have flooded over him and, wandering around Venice with Jan Tsionglinsky, his “eternally burning” former teacher, he admires Tintoretto, who’s dynamic intensity of painting, the golden color and the boldness of technique, he now appreciates more than the silver pearliness of Veronese and the lush decorativeness of Titian. From this trip, during which, in addition to Venice, he visited Florence, Rome, Naples, Assisi, Sienna, Messina and Syracuse, Lanceray brought numerous drawings and sketches in oils and watercolors” (Babenchikov, 1949, pp. 37-38). But, as rightly noted in the review by O.I. Lavrova (1950, pp. 117-120), Babenchikov writes very little about pedagogical activity, monumental, theatrical and film works, and makes mistakes in the list of artworks.

In March 1951, N.I. Shantyko defended her Ph.D. thesis on the topic “The work of the artist E.E. Lanceray”. But out of 350 pages of text, only a few pages are devoted to the influence of Italian art. The ideologized approach, however, did not prevent Shantyko from correctly assessing the huge influence of Italy on the work of the artist as a whole. On the basis of the dissertation, an album (Shantyko, 1952) was compiled with rare illustrations, including a black-and-white reproduction of the triptych *Gyok-Gyol* (1944).

The monumental painting of E.E. Lanceray was studied by V.P. Tolstoy. But in his article (Tolstoy, 1956, pp. 27-29), only two pages of text are devoted to the pre-revolutionary period of Lanceray’s artwork. At the same time, the researcher was one of the first to appreciate the high importance of the artist's panels and murals in the formation and development of the Soviet school of monumental art. He paid much attention to the "thoughtful development of the classical heritage" by the artist (Tolstoy, 1956, p. 30).

Until now, one of the best complex study is a monograph by O.I. Podobedova (1961). Structuring the material by types of art, the author devotes a separate chapter to the family and student years, cites theoretical statements, letters and diary entries of the artist. A certain weight is added to the study by the list of exhibitions and an extensive, though far from complete, list of works. Paying great attention to the artist's book projects, Podobedova

overlooks many sketches of illustrations and monumental works of the 1920s. To a large extent, the work is problem-analytical in nature.

In the articles of the 1960s, the range of subjects is related, among other things, to the Caucasian period of E. Lanceray¹⁰. The life and work of the artist in Georgia was most fully covered in the dissertation of G.A. Maskharashvili (1965). The main purpose of that work, which was fixing the multifaceted activities of the artist during his life in Tiflis, predetermined a careful study of the huge graphic material based on his travels during the Georgian period in various regions of the Caucasus. Maskharashvili rightly emphasized Lanceray's great interest in ancient Georgian paintings, which was not associated with imitation or stylization of local artistic traditions. The author proceeded from the opinion of the artist: "both in a monumental and in any work of painting, the real form should be the basis, and in monumental painting, conventionality in the transfer of reality is least of all acceptable" (Maskharashvili, 1965, pp. 17-18). But due to ideological reasons and the fragmentation of the artistic heritage, many periods (especially 1920) and commissions were not analyzed. On the basis of the Makharashvili's dissertation, a book was written and published in Georgian (Makharashvili, 1973).

In the 1970s, the study of the artist's life was continued by articles by researchers from Moscow, Leningrad, Dagestan and Georgia. Topics that are still of great interest are the work of E. Lanceray in Dagestan¹¹, his illustrations for the works of L.N. Tolstoy¹² and the study of painting and of monuments of architecture of Georgia¹³.

¹⁰ See Maskharashvili G.A. (1960) "Transcaucasia in the works of E.E. Lanceray", *Iskusstvo*, no. 11, pp. 29-36; Shmerling R.O. and Volskaya A.I. (1961) "E. Lanceray. Dagestan sketches", *Sabchota helovneba*. 1961, no. 3, pp. 49-55; Khanzadyan S.N. (1979) "E. Lanceray in Zangezur", *Sovetakan arvest*, no.5, pp. 53-57; Chahiryan G.P. (1969) "Unknown works by E. Lanceray" [On sketches for the film "Anush"], *Iskusstvo*, no. 8, pp.28-34.

¹¹ Puterbrot E.M. (1972) "Lanceray and Dagestan", *Soviet Dagestan*, no. 4, pp. 72-74; Voronkina N.P. (1978) *Visual art of Soviet Dagestan: pages of history*, Makhachkala, Dagestan book publishing house; Gadzhiev B.I. (1992) *Temir-Khan-Shura*, Buynaksk, Publishing house at the printing house no. 2; Dairova D.A. (2017) "Eugene Lanceray and Dagestan", *Selected texts about art. Collection of articles*, Makhachkala: Information Center "Master", pp. 158-194.

¹² Podobedova O.I. (1973) *On the nature of book illustration*, Moscow, Soviet Artist; Pistunova A.M. (1982) "Hadji Murad", *Bibliophile's Almanac*, Issue 12, pp. 201-225; Drobysh A.S. (1988) "Tolstoy in the work of E.E. Lanceray", *Yasnaya Polyana collection*, Tula, Priokskoye book publishing house, pp. 120-127.

¹³ Medzmariashvili M.Zh. (1987) "I want the truth...Monuments of medieval architecture of Georgia in the landscapes of Eugene Lanceray", *Literary Georgia*, no. 6, pp. 219-224; Klykov D.N. (2015) "David Gareji Monastery in the work of Eugene Lanceray", *Russia-Georgia. Dialogue of*

In 1978, Elena Viktorovna Shunkova published a collection of documents on Monumental painting workshops at the Moscow Architectural Institute and at the Academy of Architecture of USSR, headed by V.A. Favorsky and L.A. Bruni, opponents of E.E. Lanceray on composition and perspective in murals¹⁴.

Much attention in recent years has been given to the publication of archival materials¹⁵. Back in the 1950s, O.I. Lavrova, researcher at the Pushkin State Museum in Moscow deciphered the artist's handwritten diaries (1556 typewritten sheets) for 1893-1904, 1914-1915 and 1920-1946 years. In 2008–2009 they were published, but with cuts and some errors (Lanceray, 2008).

Questions of style in Soviet monumental painting of the 1930s, examples of the influence of the heritage of Antiquity, of the Italian Renaissance, Baroque, Old Russian and folk painting, of the territories of the Far East, of Art Nouveau are studied by an employee of the Tretyakov Gallery Alexandra Ivanovna Strukova¹⁶, who wrote a special article devoted to baroque connotations in Soviet painting of the 1930s, including works of E. Lanceray¹⁷.

Despite a noticeable increase in research interest, a significant part of the easel and theatrical and decorative works, as well as many unrealized book projects by E. Lanceray were left unattended. The artist's epistolary heritage was not subjected to a comprehensive analysis. Much less than half of the works shown at solo exhibitions in 1936, 1956, 1961 and 1976 were published (at least in black and white). Significant gaps remain in the study of the artist's work. Some clarifications regarding Lanceray's life in the pre-revolutionary period make sense both to indicate the first artistic passions and range of creative interests, and to understand the nature of his sustained interest in Italian culture, in which historical, cultural, artistic and socio-political circumstances came together.

cultures, Moscow, Andrei Rublev Museum, pp. 73–84.

¹⁴ Shunkova E.V. (1978) *Workshop of monumental painting at the Academy of Architecture of the USSR. 1935–1948*, Moscow: Soviet artist.

¹⁵ Shekhurina L.D. (2012); Bronnikova E.V. (2012).

¹⁶ Strukova A.I. (2018) “We are the true heirs of all the splendor of human culture”: stylistic guidelines in the monumental painting of the USSR in the 1930s, *Actual problems of theory and history of art. Collection of scientific articles*. Issue 8. St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg State University Publishing House, pp. 411–423.

¹⁷ Strukova A.I. (2017) “Eugène Lanceray's monumental paintings of the 1930s: baroque connotations in socialist realism painting”, *Tretyakov Readings*, Moscow, ed. count L.I. Iovleva, T.A. Yudkevich, pp. 278–297.

1.3. Relevance, object, subject, purpose and tasks of the research

Relevance of the research

The relevance of the research is due to the lack of generalizing publications on the influence of Italian and Western European classical art on the formation and development of neoclassicism in Russian painting. This thesis contains the factual basis that is essential for a deep dive into the essence of artistic processes and their further conceptual research. Moreover, they are relevant in cases where they are aimed at filling gaps, when they can not only enrich, but also correct existing ideas. This thesis for the first time reconstructs in detail many of the circumstances of Lanceray's life and work, not only significant in themselves, but also closely related to important socio-political and cultural events in Russia. In addition to the circumstances of the artist's creative biography, little-known facts of the history of the family, artistic groups, the activities of his friends and colleagues are introduced into scientific circulation.

The object of the thesis is the creative and documentary heritage of the artist, including texts, photographs and other archival materials from the end of the 19th to the middle of the 20th century.

The subject of the thesis is the works of art by E. Lanceray, his teaching activity in the context of the influence of the classical heritage on the artist's work.

The purpose of the research, based on the study of the fundamental body of materials and the analysis of different areas of Lanceray's activity (artistic, pedagogical, public, exhibition and museum) is to identify the role of the Renaissance and Baroque Western European heritage in shaping the features of the artist's work, which influenced the formation of the Russian direction of neoclassical and neo-baroque painting.

Tasks realized for the purpose of this research:

- identification of the reasons for the artist's interest in Western European culture, in Italy and in France;
- setting the Italian roots of Lanceray;
- tracing the rise of interest in Italy among Russian artists and architects at the beginning of the 20th century;
- establishing the facts related to the journey of E. Lanceray in Italy in 1899 and in 1907, with dates and routes of expeditions, places of residence and circle of accompanying personalities;
- identification and exploration of the most complete corpus of written sources from archives and private collections, including diaries, correspondence, contracts and other materials;
- expertising artworks from museums and private collections, both artistical, technical and contextual analysis. In some cases, artworks were found without any author attribution or date and place information.
- comparing known and just discovered sources to establish an objective picture of the life and work of the artist;
- determining the circle of Italian masters whose works were particularly interesting for Lanceray, as well as his style guidelines and preferences, both in the pre-revolutionary period and in the 1920s-1930s;
- tracing the pedagogical activity of the artist and clarifying the possible role of Western European educational institutions in the development of a professional academic school in Russia in the 1930s;
- establishing the cause of stylistic changes in the artist's work in the first half of the twentieth century.

1.4. Materials of the study

The materials of the study can be divided into several types:

- paintings, sketches, author's graphic sheets, book layouts, stored in more than 60 museums, state archives and libraries in Russia (the State Tretyakov Gallery, the State Russian Museum, the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, the State Central Theater Museum named after A. A. Bakhrushin, the Benois Family Museum in Peterhof, etc.), Armenia, Georgia, Italy, Kazakhstan, USA, Uzbekistan, Ukraine and other countries, and in dozens of private collections;
- murals and monumental canvases preserved *in situ* in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Tbilisi and Kharkov;
- research on the history of cultural contacts between Russia and Italy, on the fine arts of Italy in the 14th – first half of the 20th centuries;
- archival documents and printed materials about the life and work of E.E. Lanceray in Italy;
- diaries, photographs and albums kept in the artist's family;
- correspondence, contracts, painting programs, drafts of lectures and articles, photographs and other archival materials stored in the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, Departments of Manuscripts of the State Russian Museum, the State Tretyakov Gallery, the State Museum of Fine Arts named after A.S. Pushkin, the National Library of Russia, the Russian State Library, in the Hermitage Archives, the Archives of the Benois Family Museum (Peterhof) and in private collections;
- published articles, autobiographies and other texts written by the artist with a mention of his Italian trips¹⁸;
- articles (in magazines, newspapers, collections, electronic resources) and monographs about the work of E. Lanceray and the artists of his circle;
- catalogs of personal exhibitions of the artist's works¹⁹.

¹⁸ E.E. Lanceray (1944) “*Autobiographical essay*”; E.E. Lanceray (1951) “*Autobiography*”.

¹⁹ *Catalog of the exhibition of artworks by E. Lanceray in connection with his 80th anniversary* (1956), Comp. G.A. Maskharashvili, Tbilisi, Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR; *Catalog of the exhibition of works by Eugène Lanceray* (1961),

1.5. Chronological framework and geographical scope of the study

The chronological framework of the study is determined not only by the stay of E. Lanceray in Italy in 1899 and in 1907, but also by the life of his first known ancestors, Cavos family in Italy (from the middle of 18th century), as well as by the implementation of monumental painting projects in the neoclassical style in Moscow in the 1930s-1940s.

The geographical scope of the study is wide, determined by the frequent trips and active exhibition activities of Lanceray. In addition to Italy, he traveled to different other regions of Western Europe (France, Germany, Switzerland, England, Denmark, Austria-Hungary, Greece, Turkey), to Siberia and the Far East (Chinese Eastern Railway, Port Arthur, Japan), to the North Caucasus (from Elbrus in the west to Kizlyar in the northeast and Derbent in the southeast) and Transcaucasia (Georgia, Armenia, Kazakhstan), to Western Asia (Turkey).

In 1904, 1911 and 1936 he visited the Crimea. Until 1917, the artist worked in St. Petersburg (Petrograd) and in the estate of Ust-Krestishche in the Kursk province (now the village of Sovetsky, the Soviet district of the Kursk region). In 1920-1934 he lived in Tiflis. In 1927, during a business trip to France, he visited Marseille, the departments of Var in Provence and Eure in Normandy, Paris and surrounding cities, and then also he visited Istanbul and Athens. From 1934 he lived in Moscow, and from the end of the 1930s he spent the summer months at his dacha in the village of Peski, Kolomna District. He visited Kharkov, Rostov-on-Don, Leningrad, Frunze, Kiev and other cities and towns.

Lifetime exhibitions of the artist were held in more than 30 cities in Europe, Asia and America: in St. Petersburg (Petrograd, Leningrad), Moscow, Tiflis, Erivan, Baku, Kazan, Ukraine (Kharkov, Kyiv, Odessa, Lvov), Kislovodsk, Kalinin, Gorky, Kuibyshev, Saratov, Stalingrad, Astrakhan, Riga, Tallinn, Vilnius, Chisinau, as well as in the USA (New York, Baltimore, Waterbury, Columbus), Japan (Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya), Paris, Brussels and Prague.

1.6. Methodology and research methods

The methodology of this study is complex. The personality of E. Lanceray is considered in a historical context, which makes it possible to identify the influence of the classical heritage on the artist's work in different periods of the first half of the twentieth century. The formal-stylistic analysis of the works, together with the technical-technological and other methods of research, made it possible in more than a hundred cases to clarify the dates and belonging to the series. For the analysis of archival materials and publications, the method of source analysis was used. Systematic and iconographic methods were used in the study of book graphics, theatrical and monumental painting projects. In long-term projects and works of different periods, a method of comparative analysis of the works of both the artist himself and his predecessors and contemporaries were performed. Many facts of the biography can be explained from the standpoint of the psychology of perception and creativity.

1.7. Scientific novelty of the research

This dissertation is the first attempt at a comprehensive study of the influence of the Western European (primarily Italian) classical heritage on the work of E. Lanceray with an analysis of works created in the style of neoclassicism. For the first time, archival materials (diaries, unpublished correspondence, travel notes, contracts, work notes, etc.), Lanceray's works stored in museums and private collections, including those of the artist's family, were taken into account as much as possible. Taken together, they finally can show the academician as an integral artist, whose diverse work is based on solid ideas and principles developed by himself, as well as a teacher and connoisseur of classical art. More than three hundred works are introduced into scientific circulation, including those related to the numerous expeditions of the artist, his unrealized book projects, film and theater experiments, and design activities.

1.8. Theoretical and practical significance of the research

More than a hundred of artworks revealed in the process of working on this thesis and introduced into scientific circulation, as well as the archival documents analyzed and translated into electronic version (diaries, letters, contracts, etc.), enrich not only the idea of the life and work of the artist, but also the knowledge about the processes in the fine arts in the first half of the 20th century. They form a well-founded base for further scientific research of Lanceray's work and of the whole era in various aspects. They can be used in teaching, expert and museum activities. The thesis materials can be used for the preparation of general lecture courses and special thematic seminars on the art of pre- and post-revolutionary Russia, Russian emigration, as well as for the organization of permanent and temporary museum exhibitions, excursions, and local history projects.

1.9. Approbation of the work

This thesis was prepared and discussed at the meetings of the Department of Philosophy and Cultural Heritage of Ca' Foscari University of Venice and of the Sector of Modern and Contemporary Art of the State Institute for Art Studies (SIAS). Separate provisions and ideas of the thesis were presented by the author in reports at the conferences "L'unité sémantique de l'âge d'argent" ("Semantic integrity of the Silver Age") at the University of Lyon-3 named after Jean Moulin (2009), "The Artistic World of Russia and the Benois Family" in St. Petersburg (2013), "Taking and denying: Challenging canons in arts and philosophy" in Venice (2020), "Victory – style of the era. Academic view" (2021) and "Dialogue of cultures in history and modernity. Panorama of artistic contacts between Italy and Russia" (2022) in the Russian Academy of Arts in Moscow, at the XX Alpatov Readings in Moscow dedicated to the theme "Russia-France in the Art of Three Centuries" (2010). Some ideas of the thesis were used by the author when writing the monographs *Zinaida Serebryakova. The World of Her Art* (Pavlinov, 2017) and *Eugène Lanceray. Caucasus. Art and travel* (Pavlinov, 2019). And during the organization of the expositions: "150th Anniversary of the Sculptor E.A. Lanceray" (1998, State Tretyakov Gallery,

Moscow), *The Artistic Family of Benois-Lanceray in Russian Art of the 19th - 20th centuries* (2000; State Memorial Museum of A.N. Scriabin, Moscow), *Eugène Lanceray in Dagestan* (2022; Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow) and others. Articles on the research topic have been published by the author of this thesis, including in peer-reviewed publications.

1.10. Provisions for defense

– French and Italian roots of E.E. Lanceray, trips of his relatives and friends artists and architects to Western Europe contributed to the artist's interest in the European cultural heritage, including the heritage of the Renaissance and Baroque periods;

– the study of the Western European (primarily Italian) classical artistic heritage formed the basis for the transition of E. Lanceray in his works from Art Nouveau and Symbolism to Neoclassicism and then Neo-Baroque;

– the performed work of attribution of pieces of art of Lanceray from 14 museums and many private collections led to the clarification of dating, the identification of depicted personalities and places;

– Lanceray was a personality of a universal type – the circle of his creative interests was not limited to the usual painting and graphic arts, he also successfully worked for theater and cinema, was a teacher, connoisseur of antiquities, he took an active part in artistic life;

– in the second half of the 1920s, the master used elements of modernism in graphics, scenography and monumental painting, but the basis of his artistic vision was realism and a deep knowledge of the classical foundations of art in composition, anatomy, transmission of dimensions and space, color and light;

– Lanceray's unique creative experience of the 1900s – 1910s in neoclassical and neo-baroque styles turned out to be in demand in monumental, theatrical and book projects in the USSR of the 1930s – 1940s, despite the artist's internal detachment from socialist didactics and pompous heroism.

1.11. Political views of Eugène Lanceray

Lanceray's enthusiasm as a public figure did not come from the artist's ambitions, but from his essentially romantic active citizenship and hopes for the improvement of the state system by personal participation. Until the 1920s, he somewhat naively believed in the possibility of such changes, including through revolution. If at the end of the 19th century he thought about a constitutional monarchy and if he wrote in his diary on April 10, 1893: "Dumas, and I follow him, is on the side of the monarchy, and I hate all revolutionaries <...>, except the constitutional ones"²⁰, then in 1905 he has already come out on the side of the revolutionaries for the abolition of the autocracy, for resolving the issues of land and democratic freedoms. Largely influenced by European magazine graphics, the works of Thomas Theodor Heine for the magazines *Simplicissimus* and *Die Jugend* [Youth], Lanceray created sharply political drawings for the magazines *Spectator* [Zritel], *Zhupel* and *Infernal Post* [Adskaya Pochta] (published from June 1905 to July 1906; the *Spectator* was resumed in 1908). In the author's annotation in the *Infernal Post* (1906, n°2, p.8) he wrote: "We raise our torch in the name of the affirmation of the individual and in the name of the free union of people based on love for the future transfigured world". In 1907, he prepared drawings for the anthology *Calendar of the Russian Revolution* published by the Shipovnik publishing house, soon confiscated, but republished in 1917.²¹

At the beginning of 1906, Lanceray urged the doubting Alexandre Benois, who had left from the riots to Paris: "I absolutely do not understand why, for example, your conscience would prevent you from joining the left. And I do not stand at all for the necessarily extreme, for the barricades, and so on. This, of course, is none of our business. But on the other hand, one should not think that attacking the autocracy and the bourgeoisie is now the same as kicking a dying lion" (from a letter of E. Lanceray to A.N. Benois,

²⁰ Diaries of E. Lanceray here and below are quoted from the original, kept in the archives of the artist's family. Emperor Alexander II wanted to introduce elements of a constitutional monarchy in Russia. On January 28, 1881, the Minister of the Interior, Count M.T. Loris-Melikov (who was guarding Hadji Murad in 1851-1852), proposed a draft reform. But on March 1, the emperor was killed, and Alexander III abandoned the idea of the Constitution.

²¹ Almanac collected under the editorship of V.L. Burtsev contained 12 half-titles by artists : B. Anisfeld, I. Bilibin, Z. Grzhebin, M. Dobuzhinsky, B. Kustodiev, E. Lanceray and S. Chekhonin.

January 5, 1906)²².

However, a year later, in February 1907, after voting for the Cadets in the State Duma, Eugène predicted with regret the imminent fall of the monarchy: “according to the results of elections throughout Russia <...> it is felt that the Cadets are lagging behind. That perhaps things will go at an accelerated pace along a completely unexpected path. But the poor king – where is his support?” (from a letter of E. Lanceray to A.N. Benois, February 11, 1907)²³.

On February 27, Yevgeny spoke even more clearly: “I am already only a Cadet, not a socialist ... However, I am for the broadest and most democratic reforms and for socialism as a broad principle of organization <...> But I have been a member of the socialist parties for a year now, even more, with attempts to follow for 170 kr., strikes, very incredulous <...> I am for a completely definite and real program of the Cadets”²⁴.

Sympathetic words about the czar remained in personal correspondence, while the wide popularity of Lanceray's political cartoons earned him a reputation as a champion of the revolution. Perhaps it was the artist's participation in the design of satirical magazines in 1905-1908, known from post-revolutionary publications, that protected him in the 1930s from the attacks of militant communists.

After 1917, the artist continued his friendship with many socialists, but strengthened his negative attitude towards the Bolsheviks²⁵. In the summer of 1919, he was invited to work in the Propaganda Department of Denikin's Volunteer Army. Because of his wife and children who remained in the North Caucasus, the artist evacuated himself to Georgia in March 1920, where he was reunited with his family. He took the Sovietization of the

²² OR GRM. F. 137. № 322. A copy in the archive of the artist's family.

²³ OR GRM. F. 137. № 323. L. 7. A copy in the archive of the artist's family.

²⁴ Letter from E.E. Lanceray to A.N. Benois dated February 27, 1907. OR GRM. F. 137. Op. 1. No. 323. L. 13.

²⁵ In a letter to N.E. Dobychina, on April 5, 1917, the artist welcomes the February Revolution, but also foresees the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks: “I congratulate you on this great miracle of the resurrection of Russia, which happened so unexpectedly. And how sorry I am that I was not a witness of these days. We left almost the day before. Now, if only it hadn't broken – if the masses had had enough wisdom not to follow the Bolsheviks <...> pushing something into all sorts of seizures, and therefore – into anarchy” (Manuscript Department of the Russian State Library. F. 420. K. 13. Unit 57); “I have a completely different attitude towards the leaders – to some kind of writing, ranting, radicalizing company; I'm not talking about Lenin, but all sorts of Steklovs and

republic in 1921 calmly, as the change of power of some socialists by others, and believed in the adjustment of the political system. In order to earn money, he took part in the discussion of plans for monumental propaganda (the installation of a monument to Rustaveli, etc.), in the design of holidays, public buildings, books and magazines, but he was very selective in relation to the topics of commissions and did not agree to work for an openly agitational Bolshevik nature.

A long stay in the Caucasus allowed Lanceray to distance himself from the turbulent events of socio-political life, to which the artists of both capitals were inevitably involved. However, it was impossible to remain apolitical. The negative attitude towards the power of the Soviets solidified in the early 1930s, with the failures of collectivization and waves of mass starvation. After the verdict was passed on his brother, Nikolai Lanceray, in 1932, the artist wrote in his diary several pages of accusatory text, of which almost all had to be destroyed soon, but the beginning was preserved: "I am more and more deeply imbued with the consciousness that we are enslaved by the scum of the people, boors; rudeness, impudence, misunderstanding and dishonesty in everything are completely unimaginable under other regimes"²⁶. Lanceray was forced to strike a balance between his own creative needs, primarily in the monumental works provided by the state, and his political views. In official commissions for monumental paintings, he tried to evade the praise of the communists and approached many subjects from the position of an aloof observer. Only in 1939-1941, when Eugène wrote petitions to the Supreme Prosecutor of the USSR M.I. Pankratiev and L.P. Beria with the hope of releasing his brother from camps and prisons, he was forced to start working on sketches of panels with images of Lenin at the Winter Palace and Stalin on Red Square for the vestibule of the Kazan Station. With the outbreak of war, work ceased. After the death of his brother in the Saratov transit prison in 1942, Lanceray no longer held back his indignation: "Unheard of terror, the destruction of the intelligentsia, immorality, poverty of the masses are the result of the regime"²⁷. Of course, he was cautious in his printed and public statements, but after these events, and especially at the end of his

Chernovs, all this politicking anthill that settled in other people's houses..." (from a letter from E. Lanceray to A.N. Benois, May 14, 1917, OR GRM. F. 137. Op. 1. Item 325. L. 22v.).

²⁶ Diary entry March 22, 1932. Archive of the artist's family.

²⁷ Diary entry September 18, 1942. Archive of the artist's family.

life, he was mentally prepared for arrest. Never having a rebellious inclination, he acted with equal restraint in both public and artistic life, guided by his own principles.

Radical changes in the fine arts of the 1910s - 1930s are associated with the activities of avant-garde artists, but the artists who were perceived as conservatives, for example members of the *World of Art*, did not remain indifferent to the changes neither. For political and economic reasons, many of them were forced to emigrate, like Z.E. Serebriakova, A.N. Benois, or to leave the central part of Russia for the outskirts, like E.E. Lanceray, M.V. Dobuzhinsky, and thus, having talent, enthusiasm and education, they often contributed to the development of local schools of fine arts. Years of life spend in the Caucasus did not make Lanceray an escapist hermit. It was a time of serious work and creative acquisitions. A comprehensive study of the Caucasian period allows us to trace the evolution of his artistic preferences from the *world of art* poetics, from being the connoisseur graphics, a Petersburg young *bookish* man to a greater emotional freedom of drawings, breadth, generalization and color saturation of easel and monumental painting.

Based on the study of a significant body of drawings and paintings from museum and private collections, written documentary sources, including previously unknown and published for the first time, a large and very productive period of the life and work of the artist is reconstructed. The text also analyzes works of book graphics created by the artist for the works of L.N. Tolstoy, M.Yu. Lermontov and other authors under the influence of the Caucasian trips. For the experience of reconstructing the chronicle of his life and work, the most productive way is to analyze the individual stages that form a whole picture of gradual evolution. Whereas the study of individual groups of works (by type, genre, etc.) for the entire Caucasian period is productive for identifying individual aspects, it is fraught with a loss of the integrity of the biography and activity, as well as repetitions in the characterization of individual significant turns. A cumulative analysis of the entire body of works can not only enrich our understanding of the artist's creative destiny, but also re-evaluate the diversity and complexity of artistic processes on the periphery of the former Russian Empire and in other countries, as well as identify some patterns of cultural communication between the center and the outskirts.

Chapter 2. Eugène Lanceray and his relatives in Italy

Outline

First of all we are interested in all aspects of creative influence of Italy on Eugène Lanceray. This material can be divided into three groups. (1) Origins of Italian influence on art creation and on all the intellectual environment of Russia from the 12th century up to the development of the Imperial Academy of Arts. Soviet-Italian cultural relations up to the middle of the 20th century are also analyzed. (2) Then, we turn directly to the genealogy of Eugène Lanceray himself and the trips of ancestors and relatives to Italy. The genealogy of the family (Cavos, Benois etc.) reveals the undoubtedly important creative link between all of its members. (3) These aspects are exceptionally combined with the distinctiveness of Eugène Lanceray, which is shown through his personal quest and his first journeys in Europe and Asia, his trips to Italy, but still in a continuous correspondence with his relatives and friends (including among the members of *World of Art* artistic association). Thus, in this chapter, it become already clear that, on the ground prepared by the previous history of cultural exchanges with Italy, it is family ties, ancestral heritage, the cultural education since the early childhood and the close artistic environment that play a major role in the artistic development of the artist. All these aspects will be deepened in the next chapters. The research was performed in Russian, Italian and French state and private archives in order to complement existing genealogical trees and correct errors that could occur; the research was as well performed at museums and private collections in order to underline the artistic connections and influences between all of the artists mentioned in this chapter.

2.1. Trips to Italy by Russian architects and artists in the 18th – mid 20th centuries

The Italian lands have long-standing cultural ties with Rus' (Old Russian state, Grand Duchy of Moscow, Russian empire). Monk Anthony the Roman (about 1067–1147), who founded a monastery near Novgorod, arrived about 1106 from Italy. According to the Life of the saint, compiled in the 16th century, he was born in Rome. The arcade-columnar

belt of the Vladimir-Suzdal churches of the 12th century goes back to the Lombard arcature. One of the few codices with Russian pre-Mongolian facial miniatures is the Psalter of Trier (Prayer Book of Gertrude, Egbert's Codex) and is kept in the National Archaeological Museum in the city of Cividale del Friuli.

In 1438-1439, about two hundred Russian envoys were in Italy at the Council of Florence. Probably, the head of the embassy, Metropolitan of Kyiv and All Russia Isidore, was depicted by Benozzo Gozzoli in the frescoes of the chapel of the Palazzo Medici-Ricardi in Florence.

In the 15th century, relations were established between the Grand Duchy of Moscow and Venice, Florence, Genoa and Naples. In 1472 Sophia Palaiologina, the niece of the last Byzantine emperor, arrived in Moscow from Rome and became the wife of Ivan III the Grand Duke of Moscow. In 1475, the embassy of Semyon Tolbuzin to Venice took place, and the Bolognese architect Aristotele Fioravanti arrived in Moscow with him. Following that, the fortifications of the Moscow Kremlin, the palace of the Grand Duke, the Assumption and Archangel Cathedrals, the bell tower of Ivan the Great were built by architects from Italy (Bologna, Milan, Venice, etc.). One of the first tent churches in Russia, the Church of the Ascension in the royal residence of Kolomenskoye (nowadays within Moscow city), was built in 1530-1532 by Pietro Francesco Annibale, who was released to Moscow by Pope Clement VII. At the end of the 15th - the first half of the 16th centuries, the Italians built fortifications and temples in various cities of the Muscovite state (Nizhny Novgorod, Ivangorod, Novgorod, Dmitrov, Sebezh, Pronsk, etc.).

In the 17th century, the Italian lands began to attract Russians with the development of science, medicine and the arts. In 1692, "The University of Padua awarded the Russian doctor and translator Pyotr Vasilievich Postnikov the degree of Doctor of Medicine and Philosophy" (Timofeev, 1980, p. 10). B.P. Sheremetev visited Naples, Rome, Florence and Venice in 1697, and then, in 1698, Tsar Peter I wrote to the Doge of the Venetian Republic a request to send him craftsmen to build the Admiralty. The same Peter I bought through ambassadors in Italy ancient sculptures, sculptures of the 17th – 18th centuries (Pietro Baratta, Giovanni Bonazzi, Marino Gropelli, Antonio Tarcia, Giuseppe Torretto), paintings by Titian, G. Bellini, P. Bellotti, A. Celesti and others.

Many Italians worked in Russia in the 18th and 20th centuries. In 1716, the sculptor Bartolomeo Rastrelli and his son arrived from Paris to St. Petersburg. In the middle - second half of the 18th century, the contribution of the Italian painters to the development of the school of portraiture and monumental and decorative painting in Russia was very important: Pietro Rotari, Giuseppe Valeriani, Francesco Fontebasso, Antonio Perezinotti, Pietro and Francesco Gradizzi, Serafino and Giuseppe Barozzi, Stefano Torelli, Salvatore Tonchi.

Russian architecture of the 18th – 19th centuries cannot be imagined without the palaces, temples and other buildings of Giovanni Mario Fontana, Domenico Trezzini, Nicolo Michetti, Gaetano Chiaveri, Francesco Bartolomeo Rastrelli, Antonio Rinaldi, Giacomo Quarenghi, Vincenzo Brenna, Carlo Rossi (it was his version of the “Italianizing” Empire style that spread in St. Petersburg in the beginning of 19th century), Giuseppe Bove, the Gilardi family.

Often, Italian influences came to Russia through third countries. Thus, the first rotunda temple without annexes in Russia after the 12th century was erected in the village of Podmoklovo near Serpukhov (100 km south of Moscow) in 1714–1720 with the participation of the captive quartermaster of the Swedish army Lorenz von Fikin according to Italian prototypes. Perhaps, the designs of the late 17th - early 18th centuries by Carlo Fontana for the unrealized temple on the Roman Colosseum were used.

Under Tsar Peter I, Russian students began to be sent to Italy to study architecture. In 1715 former batman Yury Kologrivov was sent to Rome. In the summer of 1716, he met a group of young architects in Livorno: Pyotr Eropkin, Timofey Usov, Fyodor Isakov and Pyotr Kolychev. Through Venice, Florence and Siena they reached Rome. Eropkin and Usov studied in Italy with S. Cipriani until 1723, after which they returned to St. Petersburg via Amsterdam. In Italy, the students were imbued with the ideas of the Renaissance, the architecture of L.B. Alberti, A. Palladio, Fr. Borromini, performed the examination project of a church.

The first trip of Russian painters to study in Italy took place in 1716. At the end of 1716, Ivan Nikitich Nikitin came to the Russian agent Beklemishev in Venice, by decree of Peter I, with three students, his brother Roman Nikitin, Mikhail Zakharov and Fyodor Cherkassky. They had to learn "painting" and "civil architecture". In July 1717,

Beklemishev took them to Florence, where Duke Cosimo II de Medici entrusted their education to the muralist Tomaso Redi. After two years of study, on January 8, 1720, Russian artists returned to Venice, and on January 17, Ivan and Roman Nikitin left for St. Petersburg (Moleva, 1965, p. 42).

In 1754-1758, the serf of the Count A.S. Stroganov, historical painter Matvey Puchinov, studied in Rome in the workshop of Pompeo Batoni (Kostyshin, 2018).

In the 1760s, in connection with the establishment of the Imperial Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg, a system of pensioner trips was built (from Latin *pensio* – payment; pension with maintenance abroad for three years)²⁸, which graduates of the academy with Big Gold Medal for their thesis could apply for.

France was the first priority. In September 1760, the architect V.I. Bazhenov and painter A.P. Losenko were sent to Paris. But soon, due to the greater development of classicism and the growing interest in antiquity, Italy became more important for pensioners. Already in 1762, Bazhenov moved from Paris to Rome, where he received the title of professor at the Academy of St. Luke (1764). He was also elected a member of the Clementine Academy in Bologna and the Academy of Drawing in Florence.

A.P. Losenko, returning from Paris to St. Petersburg, in 1765 went purposefully to Rome, where he studied the culture of antiquity and Renaissance (he sketched an equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, wrote a copy of Raphael's *Justice* in Vatican). The result of his study of ancient sculpture was "academies" – picturesque studies of nude male figures (*Cain*, 1768, Hermitage; *Abel*, 1768, Kharkov Art Museum). Losenko's painting *Zeus and Thetis* (1769, Russian Museum) is known, in which knowledge of the *Belvedere Torso* from the Papal Palace is evident. After returning to St. Petersburg, in 1772 Losenko was appointed director of the Imperial Academy of Arts.

In 1767–1768 Ivan Starov studied Italian architecture (Mikhailova, 2000). In 1781, Nikolai Alexandrovich Lvov, a Russian Palladian who kept a diary, visited Italy (Nikitina,

²⁸ In the 19th century historical painters, sculptors and architects used to travel to Western Europe for six years. Artists of everyday life, battle and landscape genres spent three years abroad, and then three more traveled around Russia. After the reform of the Imperial Academy of Arts in 1893, painters and sculptors received a pension for four years, and architects, engravers and landscape painters for only two.

1996). After returning to Russia, he translated the treatise by Andrea Palladio "*Roman Antiquities*" ("*L'antichità di Roma*"; published in St. Petersburg in 1798).

An excellent example of the influence of Italian architecture on the Russian Empire style is the Kazan Cathedral in St. Petersburg, built by Andrei Voronikhin (1801–1814) after a competition announced by Emperor Paul I, who was impressed by the colonnade of St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome.

In 1784-1790 M.F. Voinov was engaged in copying murals and paintings (Raphael, Domenichino, Guido Reni).

Historical painters Ivan Akimov and Pyotr Sokolov (both 1773–1779), Grigory Ugryumov (1785–1790), Vasily Shebuev and Alexei Egorov (both 1803–1807) studied as pensioners of the Academy of Arts in Italy²⁹. In 1823-1835, Karl Pavlovich Bryullov lived in Rome (until 1826 he lived in Rome with his elder brother, architect Alexander³⁰); his painting "The Last Day of Pompeii" (1827-1833) became widely known, exhibited in Rome, Milan and Paris. The painter received the title of professor of the first degree of the Florentine Academy of Arts. In 1850 he again came to Rome, near which, in the resort of Manziana, he died two years later. In 1830, Alexander Ivanov went to Italy as a pensioner of the Society for the Encouragement of Artists, remaining in Rome until 1858 and returning to his homeland two months before his death.

Semyon Shchedrin (1769–1776), Fyodor Alekseev (1773–1776), Mikhail Ivanov (1773–1779), Mikhail Ivanovich Lebedev (1834–1837), brothers Grigory and Nikanor Chernetsov (1840–1842), Ivan Konstantinovich Aivazovsky (1838–1840, 1844), Lev Feliksovich Lagorio (1853), Alexei Petrovich Bogolyubov (1854–1855) visited Italy as pensioners among landscape painters. Fyodor Matveev left for Rome in 1779 and lived

²⁹ E.V. Yaylenko wrote about the Russian art colony in Italy in the first half of the 19th century (*The Myth of Italy in Russian Art of the First Half of the 19th Century*. Moscow: New Literary Review, 2012).

³⁰ Probably, it was Alexander's impressions of Pompeii in 1825 that influenced his brother Karl and his choice of the subject of the painting "The Last Day of Pompeii". A letter from Alexander to his mother dated December 2, 1825 has been preserved: "I forget the age in which I live, I dream of seeing this city in its flourishing state [...] But what is this? I see fiery rivers [...] Meanwhile, the rain of sand, ash and stones falls asleep on lush Pompeii" (Bryullov Archives, St. Petersburg, 1900, p. 86).

there until his death in 1826³¹. Sylvester Feodosievich Shchedrin came to Italy in 1818, became an honorary professor at the Naples Academy of Arts (1829) and died in Sorrento in 1830.

Many artists came to Italy for the first time with their parents. So, at the age of five, Prince Grigory Grigorievich Gagarin (1810–1893), the future vice-president of the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg, came to Italy with his parents. In 1824–1826 he studied at Ptolomeo's College in Siena and traveled extensively in Italy. Only in 1832 did he return to Russia³².

Pensioner trips to Italy, especially since the late 1760s, were of great importance for sculptors: Fyodor Gordeev (1769–1772), Fedot Shubin (1770–1773), Feodosy Shchedrin (1773–1775; Florence and Rome), Ivan Martos (1773–1778), Mikhail Kozlovsky (1773–1779). As S.P. Yaremich wrote in his article “The Foundation of the Academy of Arts” about the 1770s: “There is a noticeable turn of sympathy from French art to the doctrine of Winckelmann, who found support for his teaching in the ancient Greek ideal of beauty and saw the complete completion of this ideal in the Roman school of the 16th century and mainly in Raphael. As a result, one feels exceptional attention to everything Italian and a clear preference is given to Italian art”³³.

From 1816 to 1823, Orest Adamovich Kiprensky lived in Italy as a pensioner of Empress Elizabeth Alekseevna. In 1828 he returned to Rome, became a corresponding member of the Academy of St. Luke in the drawing class.

On his own initiative, after studying at the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg, Fedor Antonovich Moller went to Italy in 1838 and soon became interested in the ideas of the Nazarenes.

A remarkable example of the cultural community between Russia and Italy is the work of a native of Milan, Fidelio Bruni (Fyodor Antonovich Bruni; 1799–1875). Arriving in 1807 with his father as an artist in St. Petersburg, he graduated from the Academy of Arts

³¹ About the memoirs of Russian artists in Italy: Kryukova O.S. (2004).

³² Grigory Gagarin, like Eugene Lanceray, was interested in the East, he spent many years in the Caucasus, illustrated literary works, advocated the creation of an Art school in Tiflis.

³³ Quoted from: *Reading book on the history of Russian art* (1950), Issue 2, Art of the XVIII century. Moscow, p. 130.

and in 1818 was sent by his father to improve his painting skills in Rome, where he stayed until 1836. The skills he acquired then and in 1838-1840 in Italy contributed to the successful creation of a series of cardboards (1841-1845) for the murals of the grandiose St. Isaac's Cathedral in St. Petersburg. In 1855 he was appointed rector of the Academy of Arts in the department of painting and sculpture.

In 1833-1850 and 1853-1854, the engraver Fyodor Ivanovich Jordan lived in Rome, who created an engraving from Raphael's painting "Transfiguration", for which he was recognized as a member of the Florentine, Urbino and Berlin academies of arts, professor at the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg. Italy became his second home; in 1849, during the defense of the Roman Republic from the French, he was drafted into the national guard and remembered the appearance of Garibaldi.

In 1851-1854, the future famous art critic Vladimir Vasilyevich Stasov lived in Italy. He worked as a secretary for A.N. Demidov, Prince San Donato, and could enjoy the monuments of art in Florence, Rome, Naples and other cities. So, on the evenings of Passion Week in April 1852, he perceived the greatness of the murals of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican. He discovered the Italian masters: "Just two years ago, I didn't even suspect what Titian, and Rub[ens], and Veronese were, I didn't even consider them among my chosen painters. But in London for the first time I was bitten to death by Rubens, in Florence for the first time I saw with my eyes Titian, and it seems with every nerve, in Vienna and in Venice I began to ask myself: are these not the very first two painter for me?"³⁴ Venice made the strongest impression on critics in 1853³⁵.

³⁴ Letter of V.V. Stasov to A.A. Suchkova dated June 2, 1853. Published in: Stasov V.V. *Letters to relatives* (1953), V. 1, Moscow, p. 215.

³⁵ "My wish came true, I got to know Venice, and how I got to know it. I'm not talking about painters now (this is not the place to talk about this, which needs 1000 pages), but everything else! .. Gondolas are like Turkish shoes from a woman's foot". "Yesterday I was given the whole day to freely see Venice, and I will never forget this day - the whole day in the churches, I went from one painting by Veronese or Tintoretto or Titian to another. And all this is *cosa d'opera* of the first class. The last time I was in palazzo dei Dogi, and at this farewell I had to cry at least: like this palace and Palazzo Vecchio (in Florence) there is no third in the world. Because both were created by republics." Letter of V.V. Stasov to A.A. Suchkova dated June 2, 1853. Published in: Stasov V.V. *Letters to relatives* (1953). V. 1, Moscow, p. 216–217.

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the well-established system of pensioner trips continued to work. Hundreds of graduates of the Imperial Academy of Arts visited Italy³⁶.

Among them: K.A. Beine (1841–1852), A.Kh. Kolb (1845–1849), D.I. Grimm (1850s), N.N. Ge (1857–1863), P.P. Chistyakov, V.P. Vereshchagin (1860s), I.E. Repin (1873), V.D. Polenov (1872³⁷, 1874), D.A. Rezanov (1880–1883), F.I. Chagin (1883–1887), G.A. Kosyakov (1902–1903), V.A. Schuko (1905, 1906–1907), A.I. Savinov (1909–1911), V.D. Falileev (1911, 1912–1913; created etchings from paintings by Raphael and Tintoretto). Architects created projects for the restoration of Italian monuments, as a necessary part of the pensioner's report: A.P. Bryullov - a project for the restoration of the Forum baths in Pompeii (1825–1826), A.M. Gornostaev - the temple of Jupiter in Pompeii (1836-1838), F.F. Richter - Forum of Trajan and the Baths of Paul Emilia in Rome (1839), S.I. Ivanov - Baths of Caracalla in Rome (1847–1849)³⁸, V.A. Kossov and M.E. Messmacher - of the ancient theater in Taormina (1869-1872; in 1873 the project received a gold medal at the World Exhibition in Vienna), G.D. Grimm - Villa Madama in Rome (1893). Architects and artists were interested in the monuments of antiquity, Byzantium, Romanesque and Gothic (G.I. Kotov, L.O. Vasiliev), Renaissance (F.O. Bogdanovich, A.G. Trambitsky, M.T. Preobrazhensky), Baroque.

On trips to Italy, pensioners sketched fragments of interiors with monumental painting: V.A. Kenel - murals of the house of Mark Lucretius in Pompeii (circa 1865-1867; in 1868 in St. Petersburg he was awarded the title of academician of architecture for this work); V.A. Kossov - Neoniano baptistery in Ravenna (1868); R.E. Schmeling - the ceiling of the hall of Venus in the palazzo Pitti in Florence (1870); A.O. Tomishko - murals of the villa of Pope Julius II and the villa Madama in Rome (1875–1879); D.A. Rezanov - the church of the monastery of San Maurizio in Milan (1883); A.G. Trambitsky - the Cathedral

³⁶ *Italy through the eyes of Russian artists: album* (2013), scientific editor V.-I.T. Bogdan. St. Petersburg.

³⁷ “Venice is amazing! This is some kind of creative fantasy, some kind of inspired corner! The city is built on the water, so wonderful, but at the same time so attractive that you can’t find a comparison with anything. And the artistic beauty is so own that you stand there and only wonder.” (Vasily Dmitrievich Polenov. Elena Dmitrievna Polenova (1964) *Chronicle of a family of artists*, Moscow, p. 81).

of San Marco in Venice, the ceiling of the Palazzo Pubblico in Viterbo (1885-1886); L.O. Vasiliev - the Cathedral in Siena, the Palazzo Pubblico in Perugia, the Palazzo Doria in Genoa (1886); S.U. Solovyov - the ceiling in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome (1886-1887); F.O. Bogdanovich - the Church of La Martorana in Palermo, the temples of Ravenna, the Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta on the island of Torcello (late 1880s); G.A. Kosyakov - cathedrals in Venice and Milan (1903).

Fedor Petrovich Reiman in 1895–1907, on the instructions of Ivan Vladimirovich Tsvetaev, created a whole series of copies of the paintings of the Roman catacombs. In the early 1900s, professor of the Academy of Arts L.N. Benois even introduced a special course of monumental painting at the Faculty of Architecture, so that architects could better feel the synthesis of arts and be able to accentuate parts of buildings with murals with ornamental frames.

In 1911, Nikolai Nikolaevich Lokhov (1872–1948) went to Italy from the Academy of Arts to paint copies of frescoes and paintings. The remaining half of his life he lived in Italy, but he could not realize his dream - to create a gallery of copies of murals and paintings of the Italian Renaissance. Some of his copies were bought by the universities of Gardard and Pittsburgh in the USA, in the USSR the proposal of his heirs to purchase a collection of copies was refused.

In addition, in the 1870s - 1910s, many artists and architects aspired to Italy, as to a country with a huge heritage of classical art from antiquity to the 18th century³⁹. So, in April 1872, after the sale of his painting "The Roman Orgy of the Brilliant Times of Caesarism", Academician Henryk Hektor Siemiradzki came to Italy for the first time. In Rome, he communicated with the artists of the Russian colony⁴⁰, with A.P. Bogolyubov, F.A. Bronnikov, sculptors M.M. Antokolsky, V.P. Brodsky and M.P. Popov. Semiradsky's workshop, where he worked on the painting "The Sinner", was visited by Grand Duke

³⁸ Materials published in: Ivanov S.I. (1858) *Restoration of the Caracalla Baths*, Rome. In 1938, the Museum of Architecture in Moscow hosted the exhibition "The Baths of Antonin Caracalla in the reconstruction of S.A. Ivanova"; 1000 copies of the catalog were published.

³⁹ See Kuvaldina I.V. (2013).

⁴⁰ *Henryk Siemiradzki and the colony of Russian artists in Rome: On the occasion of the 175th anniversary of Henryk Semiradsky* (2017), compiled by P.Yu. Klimov, St. Petersburg (Almanac.

Nikolai Konstantinovich. In March 1873, the master left for St. Petersburg, but returned in November and then lived in Italy for several months almost every year. The king of Italy Victor Emmanuel II in 1876 awarded the artist with the Order of the Crown of Italy. In 1880 he was elected a member of the Academy of St. Luke in Rome. In 1891 he performed the composition "Ascension" for the altar of the Polish Church of the Resurrection of the Lord in Rome.

«Despite the large number of the Russian colony, only two families of artists managed to enter the forefront of the cultural life of Rome in those years: Svedomsky and Rizzoni»⁴¹. The descendants of the family from Bologna, the brothers Pavel and Alexander Rizzoni, from the late 1860s, depicted genre scenes in Italy. The brothers Alexander and Pavel Svedomsky lived in Rome since 1875 and painted on historical and mythological themes. In 1883, Stepan Vladislavovich Bakalovich moved to the Italian capital (he died there in 1947), who loved to depict life in ancient Rome.

Other artists who visited Italy in the late 19th and early 20th centuries included: V.I. Surikov (visited Italy in 1884), V.A. Serov (1887), V.D. Polenov (1896), A.V. Shchusev (1898), I.V. Zholtovsky (since 1903, 26 trips), K.K. Pervukhin (1910s), S.T. Kononov (1911), P.P. Konchalovsky (1912). In 1899, at the initiative of the Russian ambassador A.I. Nelidov the Society for Mutual Aid of Russian Artists and Scientists in Rome was formed. And in 1908, Princess M.V. Baryatinsky organized the Society for the Encouragement of Young Artists in Rome. In 1912, it paid for a two-year stay in Rome for the artist V.I. Shukhaev, who became a neoclassicist.

Many artists came to Italy in 1911 as exhibitors at the International Art Exhibition in Rome, dedicated to the 50th anniversary of Italian unification. According to the idea of Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna and Count E. di San Martino, different trends in Russian art were presented: from the realism of V.I. Surikov, V.A. Serov, V.E. and K.E. Makovsky through the "Russian style" of V.M. Vasnetsov and M.V. Nesterov, the impressionism of

Russian Museum. Issue 517); *Heinrich Semiradsky. Following the example of the gods* (2022), Moscow, The State Tretyakov Gallery.

⁴¹ D'Amelia A. (2011) "Russian artists in Rome in the early 20th century: from the International Exhibition to the avant-garde", *Life of Russian in 20th century Italy*, Moscow, Russki Put'. P. 15.

Grabar, Korovin and Malyavin, the picturesque searches of Repin and Serov to the innovative works of the "*World of Art*" (Bakst, Benois, Golovin, Dobuzhinsky, Kustodiev, Roerich) and "*Blue Rose*". Yevgeny Lanceray presented a sketch of the part of the neoclassical ceiling for the Tarasov mansion in Moscow ("*Perseo e Medusa*", 1910)⁴². Russian pavilions for this exhibition and for the International Exhibition of Industry and Labor in Turin were built in neoclassical style by V.A. Schuko, so I.E. Repin, in his article about the exhibition, suggested: "Decided - I don't know who - that this style - Russian Empire - will characterize Russia!"⁴³ Alexander Benois in the newspaper *Rech* praised the Russian pavilion in Rome in relation to the pavilions of other countries, but he was also aware that the neoclassical style goes back to the study of Italian monuments: «the only decent-looking pavilion is our Russian. Let's not exaggerate and "forget". What we showed this time is not our own, but "theirs". This is the same "Roman" tradition that I spoke about and which we inherited through the Camerons and Gilardi»⁴⁴.

According to the projects of A.V. Shchusev in Italy the churches of Christ the Savior in San Remo (1912-1913) and St. Nicholas in Bari (1913-1919), the Russian Pavilion at the Venice Biennale (1914; the construction was financed by the Kyiv industrialist B.I. Khanenko; the pavilion was open on April 29) with elements of Russian architecture were built.

Interest in the classical European heritage in Russia, after the tumultuous start of the Russo-Byzantine style in the 1830s, had not gone away at all. In the 1840s - 1890s, the Neo-Renaissance style was developed, especially in St. Petersburg (the facade of the Shuvalov Palace on the Fontanka embankment, 1846-1849; the palace of Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich on Palace embankment, 1867-1868; the palace of Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich on Admiralteyskaya embankment, 1885–1891) and Moscow (the building of the State Bank on Neglinnaya Street, 1893–1895).

⁴² *Catalogo della mostra di belle arti* (1911), Roma, no. 178.

⁴³ Repin I.E. (1911) "Roman exhibition", *New magazine for everyone*, No. 32. P. 89.

⁴⁴ Benois A.N. (1911) "Artistic letters. Crippled Rome", *Rech* [Speech], April 30.

At the same time, the Russian version of the Neo-Baroque style developed: first with the interpretation of the forms of the Petrine Baroque and the Elizabethan Baroque (the Beloselsky-Belozersky Palace on Nevsky Prospekt in St. Petersburg, 1847-1848), then - Western European Baroque forms (the house of Princess Zinaida Ivanovna Yusupova on Liteiny Prospekt, 1852-1858). The parallel development of a more magnificent version of the neo-style (neo-baroque, sometimes neo-rococo) was also characteristic for the second half of the 19th century, for the 1910s, and even for the 1930s-1950s.

Neoclassical styles began, as a rule, with more rigorous forms, and this was facilitated by the study by architects and artists of the monuments of antiquity and the Renaissance.

At the beginning of the 20th century, trips to Italy by Russian architects, painters, sculptors, already greatly contributed to the development of neoclassicism in Russia – a new wave of enthusiasm for the classics. So, a long trip to Italy by the sculptor A.T. Matveev (he visited Rome, Florence, Naples and other cities) in 1913 caused an increase in neoclassical tendencies in his sculptures, intensified his search for architectonicity and plastic clarity. During his thirty years of teaching (1918–1948), he trained dozens of sculptors who adhered to neoclassical positions⁴⁵. Toward the end of Alexander Matveev's life, in 1955-1956 his works were exhibited at the XXVIII International Art Exhibition in Venice.

Due to the high interest in Italy, books were published in Russia to help travelers. In 1911-1913, two editions of the first two volumes of "*Images of Italy*" by Pavel Pavlovich Muratov ("Venice. The Way to Florence. Florence. Cities of Tuscany" and "Rome. Latium. Naples and Sicily") took place in Moscow (in 1924 the third volume was published in Berlin)⁴⁶. At the beginning of 1914, the Educational Excursions publishing house in Moscow published a book by L. Villari with a description of Italy (in the series "Countries

⁴⁵ *Alexander Matveev and his school* (2005), St. Petersburg, State Russian Museum. (Almanac. Issue. 84).

⁴⁶ Deotto P. (2000) "Bibliography of P.P. Muratov", *Archivio russo-italiano II*, a c. di D. Rizzi e A. Shishkin, p. 365-394.

of Western Europe") and a book by Boris Aleksandrovich Griftsov about the sights of Rome (in the series "Cultural Centers of Europe")⁴⁷.

Italians also visited Russia, but much less frequently. So, in 1906, the painter Umberto Boccioni (1882-1916) visited Moscow, St. Petersburg and Tsaritsyn as a guest of the diplomat Sergei Berdnikov and his wife Augusta Popova⁴⁸.

In January-February 1914, the ideologist of Italian futurism, F. T. Marinetti, spent three weeks in Moscow and St. Petersburg⁴⁹. And already in April-May, Alexandra Ekster (she first traveled in Italy in 1912), Olga Rozanova, Alexander Archipenko and Nikolai Kulbin (Marinetti's intermediary for relations with Russian artists) exhibited their modernist works at the *Exposizione libera futurista internazionale* ("International Free Futuristic Exhibition") in Rome.

With the outbreak of World war I in 1914, pensioner travel ceased. However, cultural ties were not interrupted. In 1917, the second tour of the Russian Ballet in Italy after 1911 took place. Since the autumn of 1916, S. Diaghilev, L. Myasin, S. Grigoriev, artists Mikhail Larionov, Natalia Goncharova and Lev Bakst were in Rome to prepare them. On March 25, 1917, the *Exhibition of Russian Artists and Art Lovers* opened at the Gogol Russian Library, at which Stepan Bakalovich, Princess Olga Viktorovna Baryatinskaya (President of the Circle for the Encouragement of Young Russian Artists in Rome), Vsevolod Andreevich Subbotin, Grigory Pavlovich Maltsev⁵⁰, Mikhail Larionov, Natalia Goncharova and Boris Iofan presented their works.

In connection with the revolutionary events in Western Europe, and in Italy as well, a wave of emigration rushed (Buluchevskaya, 2018). So, in March 1919, Olga Pavlovna

⁴⁷ Griftsov B. (1914) *Rome*, Moscow: Educational Excursions. One of the copies (now in a private collection) was presented by the author to V.K. Makarov, who became a museum specialist (in 1920-1928 he was the director of the museum in Gatchina). A dedicatory inscription has been preserved: "To dear Vladimir Kuzmich Makarov – forever grateful for the Roman evenings. B. Griftsov. Apr. [1]914".

⁴⁸ Boccioni U. (1971) *Gli scritti editi e inediti*. Milano.

⁴⁹ De Michelis C.G. (2009) *L'avanguardia trasversale. Il futurismo tra Italia e Russia*, Venezia: Marsilio.

⁵⁰ Grigory Maltsev (1881–1953), graduated in 1913 from the Imperial Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg. Having received the "Rome Prize", he came to Rome in 1913 and in the 1920s - 1940s he painted religious images, including for the Pontifical Seminary of Russicum in Rome and on the island of Elba, for the Church of Our Lady of Damascus in Malta (destroyed during the war). In 1926 he painted the chapel of the Jesuit Institute in Rome (Borgo Santo Spirito).

Olsufieva (nee Shuvalova) and her children Alexei and four daughters - Alexandra⁵¹, Maria, Daria and Olga Olsufieva sailed from Batumi in Georgia to Taranto in Italy on a British ship.

About 20,000 Russians were in Italy around 1920; however, by the mid-1920s, about 15,000 of them had moved to other countries. The centers of artistic emigration were Rome and Venice. There were not so many professional artists and architects - a few dozen. At the same time, most of them adhered to a realistic orientation of their art.

Already in 1920, thanks to the painter Pyotr Vasilyevich Bezrodny (1857-1945), who was P.P. Chistyakov student and lived in Venice since 1914, the works of some of the emigrants were exhibited at the XII International Biennale.

In June 1920, a watercolourist, architectural historian Georgy Kreskentieievich Lukomsky, came from the Crimea through Constantinople to Venice. There he restored his work on Andrea Palladio, whose work he became interested in back in the 1900s. Two months later, he moved to Paris, but in the first half of the 1930s, the “modern Winckelmann” spent four years in Italy and managed to publish the book “*Masters of Classical Architecture*” in Milan⁵².

From 1920, the Odessa painter Vsevolod (Vittorio) Nikulin (1890–1968) lived in Nervi, and then in Milan. Around the same year, the spouses Boris and Inna Zuev settled in Italy.

In 1921, the sculptor Paolo Troubetzkoy (1866–1938) returned to Italy from the United States. In the years 1925-1933 he created three portraits of Mussolini, the first in the form of a bust was shown at the XV International Exhibition in Venice in 1926.

Among the artists who moved to Italy was Grigory Ivanovich Shil'tyan, who lived in Rome, Milan and on Lake Garda in 1923-1927 and 1933-1985 (Bertelé, 2018).

⁵¹ Alexandra Vasilievna Olsufieva, together with her sister Daria, studied at the Florentine Art School with the sculptor Elena Zelezny Scholz. In 1928, Alexandra married the Roman architect Andrea Busiri-Vici. She worked as a designer, painter, and created stained-glass windows for the Italian pavilion for the New York World's Fair (1939). In 1931, the artist Daria Vasilievna married Prince Junio-Valerio Borghese. In 1954, she published her essays on the monuments of Rome with sketches (“Vecchia Roma”; reissues – 1967, 1982; abridged in Russian – “Old Rome”. Moscow, 2008). And in 1955 she published the work “Gogol in Rome”. Maria and Olga Olsufieva married the Michaelis brothers.

⁵² Lukomski G. (1933). *I maestri della architettura classica da Vitruvio allo Scamozzi*, Milano: Hoepli.

Nevertheless, his "painting of reality" has many features characteristic of modernism and surrealism.

In 1924, the architect Leonid Brailovsky (1867–1937) moved from Belgrade to Rome, worked on the themes of Russian antiquity (*The Visions of Old Russia* series) and founded the Museum of Russian Religious Architecture in the Vatican (1933). In 1926, the artist Alexei Isupov (1889–1957) came to Italy for treatment and stayed there. In 1925, the painter Ivan Mikhailovich Karpov (1898–1970) moved from Bulgaria to Milan, having graduated from the Sofia Academy of Arts, and then the Brera Academy.

The architect Andrei Yakovlevich Beloborodov (1886–1965) was in love with Italian classical culture. As a student of Leonty Nikolaevich Benois at the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts, he was one of the twelve members of the Duodecim circle, which put forward the idea of reviving classical traditions in architecture. In 1920 he moved from Petrograd through Finland and England to Paris. He spent almost every summer in Italy, created landscapes of Rome, Verona, Florence, Sicily, and Venice. From 1934 he lived in Rome, worked as a book graphic artist, theater and film artist, created fictional landscapes with ruins. Around 1938, he made a series of vedute "Rome Mussolini" depicting the excavation of the ruins and areas of the Italian capital before their reconstruction⁵³. In 1957, he created a draft design for the villa of his friend Giorgio di Chirico (which was not carried out).

Then, in 1934, the Franchetti spouses moved from Paris to Rome. The painter and teacher Vladimir Feliksovich Franchetti (1887–1969) was from a family of immigrants from Italy, he taught at the Moscow Vkhutemas-Vkhutein. His wife, the sculptor Lidia Aleksandrovna Franchetti (née Trenina; 1898–1980), was expelled as a "socially alien element" from Vkhutein. In 1932, they went to Paris together, and then to Rome: he opened his art school, and she became a professor at the Roman Academy of Arts.

In 1936, the painter and writer Vasily Nikolaevich Nechitailov (1886–1980) moved from France to Italy. Soon he converted to Catholicism and turned to biblical themes. In the early 1940s, he settled on the Amalfi Coast.

⁵³ *Urbe*. 1936. Fasc. 2. Novembre.

In 1938, engraver master printmaker Vadim Dmitrievich Falileev (1879–1950) moved from Berlin to Rome. In April 1940, with his wife, sculptor E.N. Kachura-Falileeva, as well as A.Ya. Beloborodov and the Brailovskys, he participated in the XXXII International Exhibition in the Galleria di Roma. It was dedicated to foreign artists living in Rome. His daughter Ekaterina Falileeva-Santopietro became an icon painter and moved with her husband, abstract artist Aldo Santopietro, to New York.

In 1939, theater and film artist Boris Konstantinovich Bilinsky (1900–1948) moved from Paris to Rome with his Italian wife Franca Pelan.

In the 1920s – 1930s, especially after Mussolini recognized the USSR in 1924, there was interaction between Soviet and Italian architects and artists⁵⁴.

In 1923–1926 I.V. Zholtovsky worked in Italy on a business trip from the Academic Center of the People's Commissariat of Education. Probably, according to his project, the Russian pavilion of the Milan Industrial Fair (1926) was built.

In 1923, the People's Commissariat of Education sent the painter Pavel Dmitrievich Shmarov to Italy to complete his painting. At the end of 1924 he settled in Paris.

Since 1924, the USSR has participated in the Venice Biennale; the exposition was composed by A.M. Efros, A.V. Bakushinsky, P.S. Kagan, B.N. Ternovets, V.N. Domogatsky and B.R. Wipper. Architects by Kazimir Malevich, compositions by Alexander Vesnin and theatrical scenery by Vladimir Shchuko, colorful paintings by Martiros Saryan, Russian in subjects – works by Boris Kustodiev were used (in total, the works of 97 Soviet artists of all directions from “impressionism through suprematism to neorealism” were exhibited)⁵⁵. Yu.P. Annenkov went to Italy for the opening of the Soviet part of the exhibition, which took place on June 19 (according to the official wording, he left “in order to demonstrate his works, as well as to get acquainted with the latest

⁵⁴ Anna Vyazemtseva deals with this issue: Vyazemtseva A. (2019) Soviet architecture in Italy and Italian architecture in the USSR in the 1920–1930s: Exhibitions, publications, joint projects, *Questions of the general history of architecture*, Issue. 1 (12), pp. 248–260.

⁵⁵ *Russian artists at the Venice Biennale. 1895–2013* (2013), author-editor N. Molok. Moscow: Stella Art Foundation.

achievements of European art")⁵⁶, and never returned to Russia. Sculptor V.V. Ellonen, unlike Annenkov, returned after the exhibition to Leningrad.

In 1924, the painter M.F. Verbov was sent from the Leningrad Higher Artistic and Technical Institute to Italy and Austria for a year to complete his art education⁵⁷.

In the same 1924, K.S. Petrov-Vodkin was sent to Italy, Germany, England and America for scientific and artistic studies by the People's Commissariat of Education.

In 1924–1925, the architect Georgy Goltz traveled in Italy, creating drawings for political cartoon magazines (ABC, Mondo, Il Mateno).

In those same years Pyotr Petrovich Konchalovsky traveled to Italy with his family, to show the exhibition of his works and to enjoy Venice, Sorrento and classical Italian painting. But then he painted in the spirit of modernism⁵⁸.

In 1925, graphic artist Alexei Ilyich Kravchenko was sent to France for the International Exhibition of Decorative Arts and Art Industry. Already in the fall, he left for impressions in Italy, where he visited Venice, Florence, Pisa, San Gimignano and Rome.

In 1927, a group of Vkhutein graduates was sent to Italy to participate in the Third Exhibition of Decorative Arts in Monza and Milan. Among them was Georgy Goltz, who was already interested in the classical heritage. The painter Fyodor Bogorodsky was a Vkhutein pensioner in Italy in 1927-1929. In 1928, Pyotr Vladimirovich Williams visited Paris, Germany and Italy with a permit from the People's Commissariat of Education.

⁵⁶ Shepeleva N. (2001) Pages of the history of the People's Commissariat for Education (According to the materials of the Central State Archive of the RSFSR), *Ways and Crossroads*, Moscow, Issue 5, p. 95.

⁵⁷ Shepeleva N. (2001) Pages of the history of the People's Commissariat for Education (According to the materials of the Central State Archive of the RSFSR), *Ways and Crossroads*, Moscow, Issue 5, p. 94.

⁵⁸ P.P. Konchalovsky recalled in the 1930s about his trip of 1924: "I painted from Tintoretto, as with wildlife, and only then I realized how infinitely life-like his painting was in every piece. I remember that in Calvary I was struck by the figures of warriors throwing bones, and I briefly sketched the structure of this group. Then, quite by chance, in Tintoretto's drawings, I came across his sketch for this group; the idea of this incomparable master".

"I left Venice with sadness. How many painters painted it, at least in ancient times only: Carpaccio, Gentile Bellini, Bassano, Longhi, Canaletto, Guardi, Bellotto, and they all had their own Venice, and they all painted it correctly. How I regret now that at that time a streak of some kind of "thoughtless" painting found itself on me, that at that time I did not set myself tasks of an analytical order. her soul... Yes, it was a happy journey full of joys". Nikolsky V.A. (1936) *Petr Petrovich Konchalovsky*, Moscow, pp. 91, 95.

Georgy Ryazhsky received a trip to Italy and Germany in 1928-1929 as a prize for his painting *Delegate*.

In October 1931 – May 1932, at the invitation of Maxim Gorky, brothers Pavel and Alexander Korin visited Italy. 159 letters from Pavel Dmitrievich from Western Europe to Moscow to his wife Praskovya Tikhonovna Korina were published in the book “P.D. Korin. Letters from Italy” (Moscow, 1981). For more than three months, the brothers lived in Rome, where, on the eve of the Soviet cultural and political turn from modernism to the classics, they studied the monuments of antiquity and the Renaissance, copied the murals of the Sistine Chapel. From Capo di Sorrento in February they traveled to Naples, Pompeii, Sicily (Palermo, Monreale, Cefalu). In April we went to Paestum, Naples (with a visit to the museum in the former Carthusian monastery Certosa di San Martino), spent four days in Rome, then through Orvieto, Perugia, Assisi, Arezzo, Siena, San Gimignano and Pisa arrived in Florence where they spent 16 days. On May 10 they arrived in Ravenna, on May 11 in Padua, on May 12 in Venice, which took six days to explore. The work of Titian, Tintoretto, Tiepolo struck Pavel Dmitrievich with grandeur and monumentality⁵⁹. After Italy came Vicenza, Verona, Mantua, Milan, then Paris, Versailles, Chartres, Berlin and Dresden.

Having fallen in love with Italy, P.D. Korin returned to it in 1935, 1961 and 1964, visiting the Vatican Museums each time. And in 1965, on his way from New York to Moscow, he stopped by Rome, where he changed his attitude towards Michelangelo's frescoes in the Paolina Chapel. He especially liked the composition "The Crucifixion of St. Peter".

In 1932-1933, at the invitation of Maxim Gorky, the painter and restorer Vasily Nikolaevich Yakovlev (1893-1953), who became a staunch neoclassicist, also visited Italy⁶⁰. Despite the writer's persuasion to stay still and go with him through Greece and Istanbul, he decided to return faster through Florence, Venice and Vienna. In Venice, he

⁵⁹ “How pleased I am that I saw the painting of the Great Venetians,” wrote P.D. Korin to his wife on May 17, 1932. Published in: Korin P.D. (1981) *Letters from Italy*, Moscow, p. 208.

⁶⁰ In conversations with young artists in 1949, he said: “We deny academicism as the sum of scholastic skills, but we recognize the great cultural strength of those traditions that successively connected the epochs of classicism with modern times. You just need to be able to make the right selection of values in the academic heritage. And one of the greatest values of the academic system

wrote: “After wandering around the city, I go to the academy to visit Tintoretto. His painting always amazes me and intoxicates me like a sip of red wine. Amazing Tiepolo. In general, you comprehend it somehow deeper and wider here. No wonder Venice was so proud of her youngest son. A monument to him has been erected in the gallery of the Doge's Palace, and for a long time I admire his eagle, mighty, bronze head. Here's a genius! Here is the power! The inscription on the monument says that the fertile soil of Venetian culture will inexhaustibly give birth to geniuses and in the 18th century created a man who is not inferior to Michelangelo and Titian. [...] Again and again I stand, I cannot tear myself away from the things of Tintoretto in the abbey of St. Rock”⁶¹.

Many Italians also traveled to the USSR. So, in the fall of 1932, as part of a group organized by the French magazine *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, the architect Pietro Maria Bardi went to the USSR⁶². On September 2, 1933, the Friendship Pact was signed between Italy and the USSR.

However, after 1932 there was a strict delimitation of constructivism and neoclassicism. In 1933, Konstantin Melnikov was invited to participate in the V Milan Triennale as one of the leading representatives of modern architecture. He did not receive permission to leave the USSR as a representative of modernism.

In turn, Italian architects criticized the design of the grandiose Palace of Soviets in Moscow, created by Boris Iofan and approved after the second closed competition in 1933. Iofan studied in Italy in 1914-1924, including with Armando Brasini.

Nevertheless, in the fall of 1934, Vladimir Shchuko once again visited Italy, he visited Venice, Florence, Rome, Caprarola, Naples, Pompeii, Milan, and at the All-Union Creative Conference of Architects in Moscow in May 1935, he categorically spoke out: “In our Union, architectural youth must be sent to Italy to create a genuine architectural style. Only there will they be able to study and test all the secrets of architectural laws and instill in themselves a genuine architectural taste.”⁶³

of education was the high skill of drawing”. Published in: Yakovlev V.N. (1966) *Artists. Restorers. Antique dealers*, Leningrad, p. 42.

⁶¹ Yakovlev V.N. (1966), *Painters. Restorers. Antiquarians*, Leningrad, p. 87.

⁶² Bardi P.M. (1933) *Un fascista al paese dei soviet*, Roma: Le edizioni d'Italia.

⁶³ Shchuko V.A. Creativity report (1935), *Architecture of the USSR*, № 6, p. 19.

In the articles of L.I. Rempel and Yu.D. Kolpinsky about the architecture and art of Italian fascism “both authors, uttering all the necessary words of condemnation against “fascist art”, secretly admire the finds of Italian masters, who in some way (primarily in architecture and monumental art) are ahead of similar searches in our country”⁶⁴.

In 1935, after the United States and France, Alexander Alexandrovich Deineka visited Italy. During his three weeks in Rome, he created a series of views of this city. And from September 22 to 28, 1935 in Rome, the XIII International Congress of Architects was attended by the Soviet delegation consisting of Alexei Shchusev, Karo Alabyan, Viktor Vesnin, Nikolai Colli and Mikhail Kryukov⁶⁵. Encouraged by the congress, Alabyan thought about creating a Soviet academy in Rome. But already in October 1935, after the entry of Italian troops into Ethiopia, a note of protest was received from the USSR and relations between the countries deteriorated.

Relations were restored only after 1945. Many Russian artists began to visit Italy again. In 1952, 1956, 1957 and 1963, Semyon Afanasyevich Chuikov, a disciple of R.R. Falk, winner of the Stalin Prizes of the 2nd and 3rd degrees, visited Italy. After the 1963 trip, he published his "Italian Diary" (Moscow, 1966). Feeling the “spirit of antiquity and the Renaissance” in Rome, “greatness and majesty in everything: in scale, in impulse, in the pathos of monumental forms”⁶⁶, the artist advocated the use of the principles of the classical heritage in contemporary art. And he even entered into a correspondence polemic with M. Gorky: “Maxim Gorky at the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers said that the method of critical realism can only serve us to illuminate the remnants of the past, to combat them, but cannot serve to “educate socialist individuality”. It seems to me that it is our socialist society that can create a new classical art, a great and lofty art of the new Renaissance. Only it can handle such a task. And if so, then the traditions of the Wanderers

⁶⁴ Kantor A.M. (1991) Classical heritage and art criticism of the 30s, *Ways and crossroads*, Moscow, Issue 1, p. 418.

⁶⁵ *Architectural Notes. Rome - Pompeii - Florence - Venice - Vicenza - Paris* (1937), Ed. R. V. Galinsky, Moscow: USSR Academy of Architecture.

⁶⁶ Chuikov S.A. (1966) *Italian Diary*, Moscow, p. 44.

alone are not enough, but one must also learn from the artists of antiquity and from the artists of the Renaissance”⁶⁷.

In 1956, a group of artists with the participation of Sergei Gerasimov visited Rome.

2.2. Relatives of Eugène Lanceray in Italy in the 18th–20th centuries

The representative of the famous creative dynasty, Eugène Lanceray inherited a lot from his relatives. He displayed a strong commitment to realism, a love for nature, a passion for the peasant theme, all inherited from his father, the animal sculptor Eugène Lanceray [Yevgeny Alexandrovich Lanceray], and an interest in classical European art, with the use of various painting and graphic techniques, – inherited from his mother, the artist Ekaterina Lanceray, née Benois.

Eugène's grandfather was the architect **Nicolas Benois** [Nikolai Leontievich Benois] (1813–1898), whose ancestors came from France. The first known representative of this genus was Francois Benois (circa 1660 – circa 1720), who lived near the city of Cezanne, east of Paris (Benois, 2020, p. 13). His great-great-grandson Louis Jules (1770–1822) studied the craft of a confectioner in Paris from 1785 in the house of the Duke Anne Alexandre Marie Sulpice Joseph de Montmorency-Laval, and in 1794, together with the envoy of Prussia, he went to St. Petersburg, where he worked for the Golitsyns and the Naryshkins, and soon became the court personal chef of the Dowager Empress Maria Feodorovna, and then in 1808 – her court “*maître de bouche*”.

The Empress was the godmother of the children of Louis Jules and Catherine Groppe (they had 18 children in total⁶⁸) and took them to state maintenance. After the death of his father in 1822, the Empress sent Nicolas to study at the Imperial Academy of Arts. After his studies, in 1840–1846, being a pensioner of the Academy, he visited Germany, Switzerland, France, England, Belgium, but most importantly, Italy.

⁶⁷ Chuikov S.A. (1966), *Italian Diary*, Moscow, p. 83–84.

⁶⁸ The Russian Museum in St. Petersburg holds a portrait of the five Benois brothers, painted in 1847 by Michelangelo Scotti, son of the famous decorator Giovanni Battista Scotti.

Since 1840, Benois painted urban and rural views in watercolor, created architectural drawings of facades, sections, interiors, profiles of buildings in Rome, Milan, Florence, Orvieto, Viterbo, Toscanella (modern Tuscania), Montefiascone, Caprarole, Civita Castellana, Albano, Siena, Parma, Piacenza, Verona, Vicenza, Padova, Venice and other cities. In Viterbo in 1843, he pictured the interior of the Renaissance church of Santa Maria della Quercia, architect J. da Sangallo. A great impression on Nicolas Benois was made by the Pavia Certosa, as well as by the cathedral in Orvieto, which he, along with other pensioners A. Rezanov and A. Krakau, measured and sketched.⁶⁹ In Orvieto, he also created a project for the reconstruction of the Podesta Palace (Palazzo Capitano del Popolo).

Benois' circle of acquaintances in Rome included A.A. Ivanov, N.V. Gogol, I.F. Overbeck. In December 1845, together with Rezanov, he was honored to show the baths of Caracalla and other Roman sights to the Emperor Nicholas I. Upon returning to St. Petersburg, the architect was enrolled in the service of the Cabinet of His Imperial Majesty.⁷⁰ Emperor Nicholas I entrusted some important work to Benois, for example, the project of an altar made of malachite for the King of Sardinia, Charles Albert (1847).

Benois' love for Italy also manifested itself in the choice of a life partner. In 1848, Nicolas Benois married an Italian woman, **Camilla Stefania Cavos** (1828–1891). The history of her family is also closely connected with art. According to the family tradition and genealogy compiled by Albert Cavos in the middle of the 19th century, the ancestors were Spanish crusaders, immigrants from Mallorca in Spain, whose descendants moved to the island of Corfu, which belonged to the Venetian Republic.

The first documented known, **Giovanni Cavos**, was a canon of San-Marco cathedral in Venice in the second half of the 18th century, and his son **Alberto Giovanni Cavos** was a ballet dancer and choreographer. From 1775 he worked at the Theater San Moise; in the

⁶⁹ Drawings published in: *Monographie de la cathédrale d'Orvieto* by N. Benois, A. Resanoff et A. Krakau (1877), Paris.

⁷⁰ The further life of N.L. Benois has developed very well. In 1847 he was awarded the title of academician. In 1857 he became a professor of the 2nd degree and an architect of the Imperial Court. In 1850-1875 he was actually the chief architect of Peterhof, in 1863-1873 he was the chief architect of the Imperial Theaters, in 1890-1893 he was chairman of the St. Petersburg Society of Architects.

1780s – in the Venetian theaters of San Benedetto, Sant'Angelo and San Cassiano, in the theaters of Dolphin in Treviso, Obizzi in Padua and Balbi in Mestre. In 1795–1802 he was the impresario of the La Fenice opera house in Venice⁷¹.

Albert's son, **Catarino (Catterino) Cavos**, was born in Venice on October 30, 1775. He spent his childhood in the house of the Cavos on the Grand Canal, opposite the Maritime Customs and the church of Santa Maria della Salute (it has been preserved in a heavily rebuilt form). His teachers were the opera composer Francesco Bianchi and the singer Giambattista Cimadora (Romano, 2015). He was probably the organist for some time at St. Mark's in Venice and began to compose music early. In 1796 he was already a musician and leader of the orchestra (maestro al cembalo) at the Balbi theater in Mestre.

For the theater La Fenice in Venice in the year of the fall of the Republic of Venice, he composed the Patriotic anthem in honor of the city guard (*Inno patriotico in onore della guardia civica*) on a text by Antonio Simone Sografi. Its premiere took place on September 14, 1797, performed by the tenor Matteo Babini. In January 1798, he composed the music for the cantata Hero (*L'eroe*) about the events associated with the entry of Napoleonic troops into the Venetian Republic. Its premiere took place on January 30, after the entry of the Austrian troops into Venice, which put an end to the sack of the city by the French. Soon, through Austria, Catarino Cavos went to St. Petersburg in connection with the activities of the Italian troupe of Gennaro Astarita. Probably, on September 1, 1798, Cavos entered the service of the directorate of the Imperial Theaters as the maestro of the chapel of the Italian Opera Company. Probably in the autumn of 1799 he returned to Venice and, together with Vittorio Trento, Catarino Cavos was a composer of ballets (maestro di musica de' balli) at the Teatro La Fenice in Venice (Rossi, 2002). In 1799 he composed the music for Lorenzo Pansieri's ballet *Il sotterraneo, ossia Caterina di Coluga*. The premiere took place on November 16. The ballet was included in the opera *Le Feste d'Iside* by Sebastiano Nasolini.

In 1803, Catarino Cavos was again in St. Petersburg, where he signed a three-year contract with the directorate of the Imperial Theaters as bandmaster and teacher at the

In 1884 he was awarded the Order of St. Anne, 1st class, which gave him the right to hereditary nobility. Monograph about him: Frolov (2017).

⁷¹ Biography of Albert Cavos and his son was studied by Anna Giust (2011, 2017).

Theater School, and served in the directorate until his death on April 28, 1840. He split the opera and drama troupes, created music for operas (*Prince Invisible*, *Ilya the Bogatyr*, *The Firebird*, *Dobrynya* and others), ballets, vaudevilles with the inclusion of Russian folk themes, taught music and singing, directed opera companies. In 1803, the opera *Lesta*, *Mermaid of the Dnieper*, a Russian version of the Austrian opera *Das Donauweibchen* of 1798, was staged.

In 1814 he became bandmaster, director and conductor of the Russian and German troupe. On October 19, 1815, the premiere of his opera *Ivan Susanin* took place at the Maly Theater in St. Petersburg. In 1821 he became inspector of the musical department of the Imperial Theatres. In 1822 he staged his last opera, *The Firebird*, or the *Adventures of Prince Levsil*. Since 1829, he held the position of Director of music for all theater orchestras. On March 15, 1840, he got a decree for one year for a health treatment in Italy. But he did not get the time to go to Italy, he died in St. Petersburg on April 28.

Catarino Cavos had children with the Italian singer **Camilla Baglioni** (1773–1832; she came to St. Petersburg from Venice in the 1790s). Three of them, Alberto, Giovanni and Stefania, remained in Russia. The most famous and the eldest is **Albert (Alberto) Cavos** (1800–1863), who became an architect. As promised by Catarino Cavos to his mother in a letter of 1802, he sent his eldest son to study in Italy. In 1822, Albert graduated from the Faculty of Mathematics of the University of Padua and became a Doctor of Mathematics. Upon his return to St. Petersburg, he studied architecture with a native of Naples, K.I. Rossi, and in 1829-1830, he was his assistant in designing the Empire style ensembles of the Russian capital (including the Alexandrinsky Theatre). He also built a marble colonnade near the house of the Cavos family on the Canal Grande in Venice.

Once becoming a theater architect (chief architect of the Office of the Imperial Theaters, since 1835), he built the Bolshoi, Mariinsky, Kamenoostrovsky and Mikhailovsky (Maly Operny) theaters in St. Petersburg, and also a theater in Sao Paulo (Brazil). Albert Cavos reconstructed the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow after the fire of 1853, built many other buildings, was elected Academician of Architecture of the Academies of Arts in St. Petersburg (1846), Venice, Vicenza and Parma. He was also recognized as an honorary architect of Brazil (1849). Emperor of France Napoleon III wanted to entrust him with the

construction of the building of the new opera (Grand Opera) in Paris, and he became a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor of France. But due to court intrigues, the theater project was not implemented. He taught architecture, was a professor at the Roman Academy of St. Luke and at the Imperial Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg.

Albert Cavos was the author of publications on theater construction. He felt as a European master and accepted Russian citizenship only in 1859. He was married twice. His first wife, the Venetian **Carolina Carobio** (1801-1835), gave birth to Stanislav, Caesar, Constantin and Camilla (wife of Nicholas Benois) and died early. The second – Ksenia Ivanovna, gave birth to Sophia, Mikhail and Ivan.

The passion of Nicolas Benois and his wife Camilla Cavos for Italy was passed on to their children: Albert, Leonty, Alexandre and Ekaterina.

Their eldest son, **Albert Benois**, received the title of academician in 1885 for watercolors created in southern France and northern Italy.

Their son **Leonty Benois**, architect, visited Italy with his wife in March 1882. After two days in Vienna they went to Venice, then to Florence, Rome, Naples and Genoa, from where they rushed to Paris. And after nine days in France, they returned to St. Petersburg via Berlin. As early as November 4, 1879, Leonty Benois received a large gold medal from the Academy of Arts and could qualify for a retirement trip. But due to his marriage the following year to Maria Sapozhnikova⁷², he lost this right and traveled at his own expense. So, in March 1882 they visited Italy together.

Their younger son **Alexandre Benois** visited Italy several times. In October-December 1894, during his honeymoon trip, he visited Milan, Pavia Certosa, Genoa with its suburbs of Pelli, Pisa, Florence, Padua and Venice. In two days in Milan, he managed to enjoy the cathedral, the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio, the Brera Gallery and the Ambrosiana collection. "In the Brera Gallery, we were especially captivated by the Venetians, gathered here with amazing completeness. Here are first-class paintings by masters of the 15th century: Bellini, Carpaccio, Crivelli, Cima, here are masterpieces of artists of the 16th century: Savoldo, Tintoretto, Paolo Veronese. In the Ambrosiana collection, we enjoyed the

⁷² She owned the painting *Madonna* by Leonardo da Vinci (c. 1478-1479), which was later bought by the Hermitage and titled *Madonna Benois*.

beauty of the portraits and drawings of Leonardo da Vinci himself and the Lombards close to him, as well as the wonderful still lifes of Caravaggio and that series of small, subtle landscapes of a fantastic nature that have been preserved here since the days of Cardinal Federigo Borromeo, who ordered them from Jan Brueghel the Elder” (Benois, 1980, p. 31). In Florence, Alexandre Benois was impressed by the triptych of the Portinari family by Hugo van der Hus in the Orphanage (nowadays in the Uffizi Gallery), the sculptures in the Bargello Museum and in the squares, and the frescoes by Benozzo Gozzoli in the Palazzo Riccardi. “The impressions that are completely out of the ordinary are: *The Birth of Venus* and *Spring* by Sandro Botticelli, *Adoration of the Magi* by Gentile da Fabriano, *Vision of St. Bernardo* by Filippino Lippi in the Church of Badia, bronze doors of the Baptistery by Andrea Pisano and Lorenzo Ghiberti, fresco by Perugino in Santa Maddalena de Pazzi, frescoes by Beato Angelico in the convent of San Marco, sculptures by both Robbia, mosaics in the dome of the Baptistery, archifamous frescoes by Ghirlandaio in the apse of Santa Maria Novella; wonderful figures of generals and sibyls by Andrei del Castagno in S. Appollonia, etc.” (Benois, 1980, p. 38).

It was from Florence that Alexandre Benois wrote an open letter to his beloved nephew Eugène Lanceray in St. Petersburg: “I am sending you a card with the view of your beloved Uffizi! What's then? Jealous?! I think so!!! Florence is charming, but, of course, only by its past, Gothic is not important here either, but still better, or rather more different than in Milan. In terms of painting and sculpture, untold richness! When will we be able to see it all? Just take a look! How far from full enjoyment!!”⁷³.

Due to the abundance of impressions, they decided not to go to Rome, but instead spent two days in Padua, where they studied the paintings by Mantegna and Giotto, and two and a half weeks in Venice, where they talked with Russian artists K.P. Stepanov⁷⁴ and A.A. Karelin, as well as with the designer Mariano Fortuny Jr. (1871–1949), who later showed the city to S.P. Diaghilev. Memories of art in Venice by Benois turned out to be very brief: “I will only say that I was especially struck and captivated by the colorful beauty of the

⁷³ Letter from A. Benois to E. Lanceray dated November 9/21, 1894, from Florence to St. Petersburg. Archive of the State Hermitage. F. 9. Op. 1. No. 77. L. 4.

⁷⁴ His son Daniil Stepanov (1882–1937) then worked as an artist at La Scala and gave lessons to Boris Chaliapin in Venice.

interior of the Cathedral of St. Mark, the beauty of colors and painting in the paintings and plafonds of Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese in the Doge's Palace, and again that colorful chant that is the picture of the first, *The Miracle of St. Mark* at the Academy. We were deeply touched at the same time by the *Madonna* by Giovanni Bellini in the sacristy of the Frari church, and we were taken to some fabulous country by the cycles of paintings by Carpaccio in the Academy and in the church of San Giorgio dei Grechi. Tiepolo's frescoes in the plafond of the Church of Scalzi and in the hall of the Labia Palace set us in a particularly joyful and solemn mood, we were completely intoxicated with delight from all the architecture and from all the ornamental decoration of the marble church of Santa Maria dei Miracoli" (Benois, 1980, p. 43).

In the spring of 1903, Alexandre Benois with his wife Anna (who converted to Catholicism) and their children were in Rome in the same time as Anna Ostroumova and Claudia Truneva, as well as Alexandre's sister Ekaterina Benois with her three daughters (Ekaterina, Maria and Zinaida – sisters of Eugène Lanceray⁷⁵). Often, they walked all together, visiting the monuments of the ancient city. "On the eve of Catholic Easter in the evening we went to the Colosseum in a large party, together with Lanceray. The moon was shining, some smells rose from the ancient earth, elusive and tart. It smelled of dust, a menagerie", recalled A.P. Ostroumova-Lebedeva (1945, p. 45).

In 1964, **Zinaida Serebriakova** (sister of Eugène Lanceray) recalled: "My mother and three sisters visited Rome, where we lived for two months, and I still remember that awe and my delight in front of the ancient world!.. We visited also the catacombs in Rome,

⁷⁵ Ekaterina Nikolaevna Lanceray (née Benois) with her three daughters began their trip to Italy on October 27, 1902, on the recommendation of Albert Benois, in order to improve their health. On November 12, Catherine wrote to her brother Albert from Venice: "Che bella Venezia. Siamo felici! Magnifico tempo!" (OR GRM. F. 137. Op. 1. No. 304. L. 1). They spent the winter on the island of Capri, where the girls painted landscapes. 28th of February 1903, Lanceray moved to Rome. They settled in a hotel near the church of San Giuseppe on Francesco Crispi Street. Nearby were the Spanish Steps, the Quirinal Palace and the park of Villa Borghese. After visiting Florence, in mid-April mother and daughters left for Vienna, and then to the Neskuchnoye estate in the Kharkov province, where they remembered their trip to Italy for a long time. On May 3/16, 1903, in a letter to the spouses Alexander and Anna Benois, Catherine wrote: "In general, we must admit that after Italy la Sainte Russie seemed very poor to us, and this is very sensitive to my artists" (OR GRM. F. 137. Op. 1 No. 304. L. 4). About Zinaida Serebryakova's trips to Italy: Pavlinov P.S. (2017b) Italy in the work of Zinaida Serebryakova, *Russian Art*, № 2, pp. 104–113.

my feeling is unforgettable – a terrible and deep excitement at the thought of the persecution of Christians and their unshakable faith that won and saved the world”⁷⁶.

Zinaida Serebriakova returned to Italy in 1914, 1932 and in 1937⁷⁷. It is difficult to overestimate the importance for the artist's further creation, of her trips to Italy at the end of May – July 1914. Because of her desire not to leave the children for too long, Serebriakova planned to move quickly in only six weeks. On the way, she visited Berlin, Leipzig, Munich, stopped in Switzerland, where friends, the Chulkovs, lived in the mountain resort of Grion. On June 2 (15), Zinaida was already studying museums in Milan. In the Brera Gallery, the artist's attention was attracted by *Madonna dell'Albero* by Cesare da Sesto (1510s), a copy of which was in the dining room in the Neskuchnoye estate, Kursk province (near Kharkov).

Approximately on 5 (18) June, Serebriakova went to Venice. Zinaida wrote to her mother: “I am enjoying myself in Venice: what a wonderful, marvelous city! In the evening it is especially fantastic, we go to St. Mark every evening to listen to music (from different operas) and admire the buildings of incomparable architecture”⁷⁸. In 1917, in a conversation with Sergei Ernst, she recalled the darkened, but saturated with color, paintings by Titian and Tintoretto: “The most powerful and beautiful impression of an Italian trip is the great, magnificent and mysterious Tintoretto. Huge, pathetic canvases, glowing with stormy rainbows of darkened colors, the tireless movement of such lively and so decorative compositions, the miraculousness of all ideas shocked the artist” (Ernst, 1922, p. 21).

Soon Zinaida Evgenievna visited Padua, and then spent about a week in Florence, enjoying the architecture of the city and getting acquainted with museum collections. The sketches created there impress with their lightness and colorful expressiveness. It can be assumed that, in contrast to the trip of 1902–1903, when Serebriakova admired the “primitives”, artists of the 13th–15th centuries, her sphere of interest had shifted to the High and Late Renaissance. “The centuries-old, all-embracing and truly monumental art of Italy

⁷⁶ Letter from Z.E. Serebriakova to E.E. Klimov, dated December 29, 1964. OR GRM. F. 151. No. 6. L. 31.

⁷⁷ More about Zinaida Serebriakova's trips to Italy are in the article by P. Pavlinov (2017b), “Italy in the work of Zinaida Serebriakova”.

⁷⁸ *Zinaida Serebriakova. Letters. Contemporaries about the artist* (1987), Moscow, p. 61.

revealed to her the best achievements of those very searches that agitated her soul more and more and that soon so powerfully filled all her art” (Ernst, 1922).

Indeed, immediately after returning to Neskuchnoye in mid-July, Serebriakova began a three-year work on a series of large canvases depicting peasant life. Both in different versions of *Harvest (Girls on the Field)*, and in *Whitening of Canvas*, there is that "truly monumental" understanding of painting, which came to Zinaida Serebriakova in Italy. In 1915–1916, she created sketches for panels for the Kazansky station in Moscow in the spirit of Tiepolo and other Italian "illusionist" artists. At the peak of her passion for neoclassicism in 1916–1917, Serebriakova developed sketches for unrealized panels for the mansion of M.K. Morozova in Moscow (Mertvy pereulok, later Prechistensky pereulok) on themes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (*Diana and Actaeon*, *Narcissus and the Nymph Echo*, *Danae*). The harmony present in the images of the Renaissance Madonnas seen in Italy in 1914 was reflected in the wonderful portraits of mothers with children painted in the 1920s – 1940s.

The next time, in August-September 1932, Zinaida Serebriakova, together with her daughter Catherine, visited small settlements in Umbria and Tuscany. In early August, the Serebriakovs settled in Assisi, where they painted a series of portraits of monks from the monastery of St. Francis. They also visited Florence, where they lived on 78 Via della Robia with the restorer Nikolai Nikolaevich Lokhov and his wife Maria Mitrofanovna. There were superb city views filled with tempera: the Ponte Vecchio, the Boboli Gardens, the Piazza Ospedale degli Innocenti. Recalling her past visits to the city, the artist looked for views of the red-tiled buildings from distant points, such as the church of San Miniato al Monte. In the second half of September, Zinaida and Catherine lived in the town of Buggiano, 15 kilometers from Pistoia. From the window of the room, which was allegedly rented from the Italian Maria Centini (her portrait was painted on September 29), a beautiful view of northern Tuscany opened.

Regarding this trip, A.N. Benois wrote: “And yet I prefer Serebriakova’s exotic Europe <...> How wonderfully the artist is able to convey this European way: both when she leads us to a wonderful Florentine garden, and when we find ourselves in the cozy square of

the provincial Assisi, and then, when she introduces us to those Italian donnas, whose great-grandmothers posed for Rafael and Filippo Lippi”⁷⁹.

Finally, in October – early November 1937, the artist, after an intensification of her illness, lived for a month with her daughter in San Gimignano, known from paintings by P.P. Muratov and engravings by A.P. Ostroumova-Lebedeva. Despite her poor health, she tried to capture city towers from afar, surrounded by valleys, pleasing to the eye with delicate green, blue and ochre hues. As the art historian N.E. Radlov (1929, p. 5) wrote, “Serebriakova's art is naturalistic in the broadest sense of the word. She depicts what she sees around her, not trying to populate her fantasy or modify the world around her with fiction”.

E. Lanceray's and Z. Serebriakova's uncle **Alexandre Benois** visited Italy much more often after 1903. Resting during the summer months of 1908–1913 with his family near Lugano in Switzerland, he made trips to Saronno, Val d'Intelvi, Sacromonte di Varallo, as well as to Milan, “whose museums, thanks to this, I finally began to “know” no less than the Hermitage or the Louvre. And again, sometimes alone, sometimes with my wife, we visited, “departing from” Lugano that became our native, Venice, Brescia (what a wonderful artist Moretto!), Ravenna, Bologna, Vicenza, Verona, Florence, Siena, Mantua twice, etc. We even went down to Naples. And after each such trip, I returned with a notebook full of notes, and a suitcase full of museum catalogs, with countless photographs... I could then give a place to my pictures in my luxuriously published *History of Painting*, which began to appear at publishers from 1911. The culmination of all those walks and travels was the pass over the Simplon that we made in our last Lugano summer in 1913” (Benois, 1980, p. 499).

In July 1908, Alexandre Benois explored Vicenza, Venice (where he spent three days, saw Diaghilev and rediscovered Giudecca Island and the interiors of San Marco)⁸⁰,

⁷⁹ Benois A.N. (1932) “Zinaida Serebriakova”, *Poslednie novosti* [Latest News], Paris, December 10, no. 4280.

⁸⁰ “It was very difficult to leave Venice. I console myself with the fact that next year my wife and I will come and settle in the surroundings, for example, in Bassano <...> Thunderstorm and rain ruined the famous Redentore festa. I went on foot to the Giudecca. Surprisingly interesting. I was also in the wonderful garden on Giudecca, about which Rene speaks in *Rene de la Amour*. I am in artistic pleasure. Amazing cathedral. What a miracle inside! What kind of Russian dudes we were that in 1894 we did not appreciate him. This is a fairytale” (Benois, 2016, p. 23).

Verona (which he called "little Venice without water" (Benois, 2016, p. 23), Mantua (where he enjoyed buildings by Giulio Romano) and Parma.

Probably, Alexandre Benois looked at the works of Giulio Romano under the influence of the recommendations of his nephew Eugène Lanceray, who had seen them a year earlier. "Giulio Romano is indeed one of the greatest, and it is totally incomprehensible how this versatile, powerful genius is forgotten, how modernity has nothing to do with him <...> This is just the type of artist, the type of person obsessed with creativity and fantasy <...> All of his semi-classical architecture is a brilliant distortion of classicism and the creation of something deeper and more complex" (Benois, 2016, p. 24). Benois shared his impressions with architects in St. Petersburg. October 16, together with V.A. Schuko, they looked at photographs of the buildings of Palladio and the Palazzo Te in Mantua.

In July 1909, after the dizzying success of the Russian Performances in Paris, Alexandre Benois and his family went to Switzerland, and from there to Venice, where he spent about two months, supposedly living in the Cavos house on the Canal Grande.

About twenty days in April-May 1911, Benois spent in Rome in connection with the productions of the Russian Seasons at the Costanzi Theater (now the Rome Opera House). He went to the Sistine Chapel twice and at least twice before nightly rehearsals – to the Colosseum: on May 11 together with Fokine ("I went with Fokine to the Colosseum – divine beauty in the moonlight" (Benois, 2016, p. 103), on the 13th – with Diaghilev and Nijinsky. Rehearsals of *Petrushka* took place there in Rome, which premiered on June 13 in Paris⁸¹.

The artist participated in the International Art Exhibition in Rome, which opened on April 29. The Russian pavilion was designed by V.A. Shchuko in the style of neoclassicism and on the ground floor there was arranged, among other things, an exhibition of modern Russian graphics, as well as exhibits of the Historical Exhibition of Architecture, designed by Alexandre Benois and shown at the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg. For his work, the artist was awarded the officer's cross of the Crown of Italy.

⁸¹ In Italy, the *Petrushka* ballet was performed in Milan in 1920 (Teatro Lirico), in 1926 and 1927 (Teatro alla Scala).

In autumn, he made another trip to Italy: he was in Rome, Naples, Bologna. In October, he visited Florence: “In the morning I studied G. Gross and continued to study the Uffizi Gallery. The rest of the day was spent on Pitti” (Benois, 2016, p. 108).

In 1912, the artist sketched the corners of Venice (*Santa Maria dei Miracoli*, paper, watercolor, ink, pencil; gallery “Our Artists”, Moscow). Under the influence of the atmosphere of this city, he created a whole series of picturesque "fantasies" (Zavyalova, 2013).

Alexandre Benois' deep interest in Italian culture is reflected in his diaries. “I am reading Goldoni's memoirs. Unusually cozy and so reminiscent of dear Italy”, he wrote on September 8, 1913 (Benois, 2016, p. 164). As an art historian, he wrote about Italian art in his multi-volume publications *The History of Painting of All Times and Nations* (Moscow, 1912–1917; not completed; 22 issues published) and *Monuments of Western European Painting* (issues I–XI, Italian Painting, Moscow, 1912–1914).

In 1926 Alexandre Benois moved from Leningrad to Paris. In 1930, he was fired from the Hermitage staff and he finally stayed in Western Europe, doing a lot of sketches of scenery and costumes for theater productions in Paris and Italy.

In 1929, the ballet performances of the troupe of Ida Rubinstein in Benois' design were shown during a tour at the La Scala Theatre. In 1930, Benois designed the opera *Sadko* by N.A. Rimsky-Korsakov at the Royal Opera House in Rome.

In the 1930s – 1950s, for the La Scala Theater in Milan, he created the design for more than thirty productions, including J. Massenet's opera *The Juggler of Notre-Dame* (*Le Jongleur de Notre-Dame*; 1934), the ballet P.I. Tchaikovsky's *The Nutcracker* (*Shhelkunchik*; 1938), G. Puccini's opera *Manon Lescaut* (1957)⁸². Nor did he forget Venice; he visited this city again, for example, in 1938.

In 1952, after the death of his wife, Anna Karlovna, he lived with his son Nicolas in Milan. In May – June 1955, at Villa del Olmo on the shores of Lake Como, the exhibition *Mostra dei Benois* took place and was the most complete lifetime exhibition of the artist

⁸² Many sketches by Alexandre Benois were shown in 1970-1971 at the exhibition dedicated to his 100th anniversary, at the La Scala theater in Milan. Many sketches are published in the catalogue: *I Benois del Teatro alla Scala* (1988), a cura di Gillo Dorfles, Milano.

outside of Russia⁸³. His children, artists Elena and Nicolas, also participated in this exhibition.

In Italy, an unrealized attempt was also made in the 1950s to publish (with the help of Olga Signorelli, 1883–1973) Alexandre Benois' Memoirs in Italian⁸⁴.

Most of all the relatives of Eugène Lanceray to be linked to Italy in the twentieth century was the son of Alexandre Benois, **Nicolas Benois** (1901–1988). He studied art with his father and with the chief set designer of the Petrograd State Theaters, O.K. Allegri. From 1920, he performed sketches of scenery for the Petrograd Academic Drama Theater and for the Academic Opera and Ballet Theatre. In 1924 he left with his wife Maria Nikolaevna Pavlova for Paris. Soon the director Alexander Sanin recommended him to Arturo Toscanini as an artist for the production of M. Mussorgsky's *Khovanshchina* in Milan. In December 1925, Nicholas Benois moved from Paris to Milan (on March 1, 1926, the premiere of "Khovanshchina" took place at La Scala), and in 1927 to Rome, where he worked as a stage designer at the Royal Opera House (by 1936 he had designed 26 performances there).

“In the second half of the twenties, N.A. Benois often visited M. Gorky in Sorrento, where he struck up a friendship with Olga Resnevich Signorelli, with Gorky's son Maxim Peshkov, with the artist Boris Chaliapin, son of the famous bass Fyodor Chaliapin, with the Georgian prince Irakli Bagration-Mukhransky. Benois painted a portrait of Bagration-Mukhransky, their mutual affection lasted a lifetime” (Deotto, 2006, p. 508).

In 1932, Ottorino Respighi recommended Benois to the director of La Scala, Angelo Scandiani, as stage designer for productions of his ballet *Belkis – Queen of Sheba*. At the end of 1932, Nicolas Benois returned to Milan, where already in 1937 he received the Italian citizenship, and after the death of Luigi Sapelli he became the chief artist and head of the artistic and production part of the La Scala theater. “While working at the La Scala

⁸³ Among other exhibitions of works by Alexandre Benois in Italy: Verdi through the eyes of Benois (Villa Pallavicino, Busseto ; June 18 - August 20, 1967), Exhibition in memory of Alexandre Benois (Small Hall of La Scala Theatre ; May - June 1960), Alexandre Benois, classic of the revolution, 1870-1970 (La Scala Museum, November 28, 1970 - January 10, 1971), Benois at the La Scala Theater (Small Hall of the Teatro alla Scala, 1988), Theatre of Reason / Theater of Desire: the Arts of Alexandre Benois and Léon Bakst (Fondation Thyssen-Bornemisza, Villa Favorita, Lugano, June 5 - November 1, 1998).

⁸⁴ For the first time, the diaries of Alexandre Benois were published in America: Benois A. *The life of an artist. Memories* (1955), 2 vols, New York: Chekhov Publishing House.

Theater, Nicolas Benois established professional and friendly ties with many Italian artists and invited them to work for the theater: Giorgio de Chirico⁸⁵, Alberto Savinio, Enrico Prampolini, Mario Sironi, Lucio Fontana, Ardengo Soffici, Carlo Carra, Felice Casorati, Maria Signorelli, as well as famous designers Gianni Ratto and Gio Ponti" (Deotto, 2006, p. 507). He set up a scenery shop in Via Balducci (1937), a tailor shop at the theater (1939), and also in 1938 he convinced the management to build a mechanical stage with movable panels (Deotto, 2019, p. 101).

Before he ended his work as the head of the artistic and production part in 1970, he created scenery and costumes for more than 126 performances. In addition, in 1942, he worked with Gaston Medin as a production designer in the film *The Shot* directed by Renato Castellani (based on the story by A.S. Pushkin). He also worked for theaters in Rome, Verona, Florence, Palermo, Venice, Naples, Bergamo and other cities and countries (in 1939 he traveled to Buenos Aires)⁸⁶. From 1947 to the early 1950s, he was involved in the construction of a new stage and productions at the Teatro Colon in Buenos Aires.

Nicolas Benois also tried his hand as an artist of monumental and decorative wall painting. Probably in the late 1930s, commissioned by Mario Prada⁸⁷, he painted the walls of the Prada store in the Galleria Victor Emmanuel II in Milan. The bottom floor depicts "the stern of a cruise ship in port, suitcases waiting to be loaded, a car of the era, travel symbols"⁸⁸. In this painting, Nicolas Benois found a balance between a clear construction of perspective, confident composition, distribution of rhythms, and modernist tendencies to flatten masses and generalize objects. The ship *Rex*, used from 1932 to 1944, a car, a locomotive, people, are depicted by the artist on separate attached planes, which makes these paintings related to theatrical scenery.

⁸⁵ About the work of de Chirico in theater: Crespi Morbio V. (2018).

⁸⁶ The contribution of Nicolas Benois to Italian culture is analyzed in the monograph by Vlada Novikova-Nava (2021, first edition in Italian – Milan, 2019). The memoirs of the artist himself were compiled by the journalist Renzo Allegri and published with translation from Italian into Russian in St. Petersburg in 2013: *Nicolas Benois tells...* (2013), comp. R. Allegri, St. Petersburg.

⁸⁷ This commission is cited by Dana Thomas: Thomas D. (2007) *Deluxe: How Luxury Lost Its Luster*. London.

⁸⁸ Prada e I viaggi primo '900 di Nicola Benois (2018), *Il Corriere della Sera*, October 28.

And after the death of Nicolas Benois, according to his sketches, Gino Romei created a large panel *Christ* for the Sanctuary of the Virgin Mary Skrencis in the city of Bertoliolo in the province of Udine.

The artist also worked on state commissions⁸⁹. In June 1937, on the recommendation of Prince Cesare of Castelbarco-Albani, he designed and realized a pyrotechnic performance on the occasion of the baptism of the King's grandson Victor Emmanuel III. A reconstruction of the feast on the occasion of the wedding of Duke Galeazzo Sforza with Bona of Savoy in 1468 was created with wagons in the spirit of those depicted in Andrea Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar*.

In June 1937, during a tour of the La Scala theater in Berlin, Germany, Nicolas Benois was introduced to Hitler, who laughingly declared: "I am also an artist! We are colleagues" (Novikova-Nava, 2021, p. 108).

Theatrical scenery and costumes of Benois were appreciated by the public; in 1944, his personal exhibition was held at the Borromini Gallery in Como. In May of the same year, he organized the Exhibition of contemporary theater painting (Mostra di Pittura Teatrale Contemporanea) in the Clerici Palace in Milan. In 1975, Nicolas Benois became the first winner of the Golden Bibiena Prize. Three times he returned with a tour of the La Scala theater to Russia: in 1964 (with productions of G. Verdi's *Il Trovatore* and G. Puccini's *Turandot* at the Bolshoi Theatre), in 1965 (with a joint production of the B. Britten's opera *A Midsummer Night's Dream*) and in 1979 (with a production of G. Verdi's *Un ballo in maschera*). In 1985, Nicolas Benois became one of the initiators of the creation of the Benois family museum in Russia and in 1987 he went to Leningrad (the museum opened in Peterhof in 1988).

In the 1950s, Nicolas Benois met the opera singer Dizma de Cecco (1922–2006; their marriage was registered in 1973), with whom he lived during the summer months in a villa (*dacha*) in Codroipo near Udine in the Friuli region⁹⁰.

⁸⁹ Peculiarities of biographies and creativity of Nicolas Benois in the 1930s – 1950s years were studied by Patricia Deotto (2012, 2015).

⁹⁰ In 2008, the City Theater in Codroipo was named after the honorary citizens of the city, Nicolas Benois and Dizma de Cecco.

Nicola's son, **Romano Benois** (1931–2020), lived almost all his life in Italy, was an actor, and since the 1960s he has worked as a tourist guide, including on the island of Elba, in the city of Marciano, where his mother died in 1980. His children, Alexander (born in 1962) and Albert (born in 1963), live in Italy.

Very fond of Italy was also the nephew of Eugène Lanceray – **Alexandre Serebriakov** (1907-1995), a master of watercolor interiors of mansions and villas ("portraits of interiors"). In 1951, at the invitation of Carlos de Bestegui, he captured the costumed Ball of the Century at the Palazzo Labia in Venice. Thereafter he came to Italy several times. Finally, in 1979, he was elected a member of the National Academy of St. Luke in Rome.

A great number of more distant relatives of the Lanceray family visited and worked in Italy too. So, in 1921, the architect **Albert Benois-Konsky** (1888–1960; second cousin of Eugène Lanceray) and his wife, artist Margarita née Novinskaya (1891–1974), came to Italy (Rome, Venice) from Paris to study architecture. In 1928 they traveled to Amalfi and Assisi; in 1929 – to Venice and San Gimignano; in 1931 – to Sicily and Venice. They performed watercolor landscapes and architectural views.

In the 1950s, Albert Benois-Konsky also worked with his wife to decorate the Russian church of St. Nicholas in Bari: they created a low single-tier iconostasis (installed in 1952) with icons painted by them in Paris from 1951 to 1954. On the wall in the apse for the consecration of the temple in 1955, they painted the image of the Savior on the Throne, and in 1957 – the image of Our Lady of the Sign.

The cousin of Albert Benois-Konsky, the artist **Alexander Levy** (Alexandre Benois di Stetto; 1896-1979), also visited Italy.

The son of Eugène Lanceray, the architect-artist Evgeny Evgenievich Lanceray (1907–1988), who traveled to Italy in 1907 in the womb of his mother, dreamed of going to Italy for many years. Since 1927, he studied at the Faculty of Architecture of the Tiflis Academy of Arts, in 1927–1931 – at the Transcaucasian Polytechnic Institute. Entering the Moscow Institute of Architecture in 1938, he graduated with honors in 1946. He was a student of I.V. Zholtovsky. Then worked in Giprogor (State Institute for Urban Design) to restore cities destroyed during the war. He was an admirer of neoclassicism in architecture and painting. Only in 1986, together with his wife, historian Svetlana Dmitrievna Lanceray

(nee Yakunina), did they receive permission to travel from the USSR and to visit Italy (Rome, Milan, Venice).

In 1992, during the exhibition “Russian Symbolism. Sergei Diaghilev and the Silver Age of Art”⁹¹ (curated by V.A. Dudakov), their daughter, historian and painter Ekaterina Evgenievna Lanceray (b. 1952), who graduated from the Faculty of History of Moscow University named after M.V. Lomonosov, visited Venice. The exhibition was held at the Giorgio Cini Foundation from August 29 to November 29, 1992, was organized on the initiative of the Russian International Cultural Foundation, headed by Academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachev, the Olivetti Society and the Giorgio Cini Foundation, together with the Diaghilev Center. The works of 66 masters of the 1880s - 1920s from the Russian Museum, the Museum of I. Brodsky and the Museum of Theater and Musical Art in St. Petersburg, the State Central Theater Museum named after A.A. Bakhrushin in Moscow, the Ivanovo Regional Art Museum and from about thirty private collections were exhibited. Evgeny Evgenievich Lanceray was presented by the landscape “Ust-Krestishche. The beginning of spring ”(1917).

Under the influence of trips of relatives and lectures on the art of the Renaissance by V.N. Grashchenkov, I.I. Tuchkov and V.P. Golovin at the Department of Art History of the Faculty of History of Moscow University, the son of Ekaterina Evgenievna Lanceray, the author of this study first visited Italy in April 2000. Having entered Italy with passing cars from France, I saw Tuscany (Pistoia, Prato, Florence, Siena, Arezzo), after that Ravenna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice and Trieste. Then there were trips in June-July 2002 (Verona, Milan, Castelseprio, Brescia, Ravenna, Florence, Arezzo, Rome, Pompeii, Naples, Matera, Bari), November 2004 (Rome), October 2008 (Sicily – Catania, Syracuse, Nota, Ispica, Ragusa, Piazza Armerina, Agrigento, Castelvetro, Selinunte, Palermo, Monreale), August 2010 (Rimini, San Marino, Ancona, Croatia, Slovenia, Gorizia, Cividale del Friuli, Udine, Palmanova, Aquileia, Grado, Venice), December 2010 (Naples, Pompeii), September 2012 (Rome, Tivoli), May 2017 (Erasmus+ program; International Vesuvian Institute of Archeology and Humanities and the Foundation for the Restoration of Ancient Stabiae;

⁹¹ Catalog was published: *Il Simbolismo russo. Sergei Djagilev e l'Età d'argento nell' arte* (1992), a cura di V.A. Dudakov, Milano: Electa, Olivetti.

Castellamare di Stabia, Naples, Caserta, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Salerno, Ravello, Amalfi, Sorrento, Capri, Paestum), February 2020 (Bergamo, Verona, Venice, Treviso).

2.3. Art studies of E. Lanceray and his trips to Europe and Asia

Eugène Lanceray's artistic education began in the family. His parents are the sculptor Eugène Lanceray [Yevgeny Alexandrovich Lanceray, E.A. Lanceray] (1848–1886) and the artist Ekaterina Nikolaevna Lanceray (née Benois). In the 1870s – 1880s, E.A. Lanceray made many artistic and ethnographic trips and was the first in his family to become interested in the East. In 1870, after graduating from the law faculty of St. Petersburg University, he traveled to the Caucasus for the first time⁹². Under the influence of his passion for the culture of the region, E.A. Lanceray began to wear Caucasian clothes, which surprised the Benois family⁹³. And in the fall of 1874, he and his young wife Ekaterina Nikolaevna (née Benois)⁹⁴ made their honeymoon trip through Ossetia to Georgia. Local culture inspired the artist to create many ethnographically authentic sculptural images of Georgians⁹⁵, Tatars, Ossetians, Circassians, Lezgins⁹⁶. In 1883 the sculptor visited Algiers.

⁹² In the autobiography of 1943, Eugène Lanceray even writes about hereditary traits and his father E.A. Lanceray: “<...> I received several traits from my father (only as heredity), which I want to mention here: interest in finding the right everyday gesture, movement; interest in the ethnographic characteristics of their characters and, finally, an attraction to the Caucasus. In the distant (then especially) Caucasus, in the appearance and life of its inhabitants, one could see that romanticism and often heroism, which is much more difficult to feel in one's everyday environment” (OR GTG. F. 91. No. 26. L. 1).

⁹³ From the memoirs of A.N. Benois (1980, p. 204): “Once, among our guests, I spotted a new face – a young man with a pointed beard, dressed quite differently from the others – in a caftan without buttons and trousers. On his feet he had soft Circassian boots, and on his head was a strange Caucasian cap. This alone was amazing, but even more amazing was the fact that this young man appeared on a Cossack horse”.

⁹⁴ Ekaterina Nikolaevna Benois, daughter of the architect Nicolas Benois, received an art education (attended the drawing classes of P.P. Chistyakov at the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg). While in Tiflis, she completed a series of watercolor landscapes of the city from the side of the Kura River (*Climbing to the Church of St. David of Gareji and Mount Mtatsminda*, 1874, paper, watercolor, private collection), as well as works in the animalistic genre (Donkey, Common pheasant, 1874, watercolor on paper, private collection).

⁹⁵ Sculptures *A Georgian prancing on a Karabakh horse* (1870), *A Georgian boy driving three donkeys* (c. 1875), *Two camels with a Georgian (Caucasian camel driver)* (c. 1875), mentioned in the list of works by E.A. Lanceray, 1877 (Russian State Historical Archive. F. 789. Op. 10. No. 87. L. 20–22). Bronze castings are kept in many museums and private collections. Photos from them, created during the life of the sculptor, are in the archives of the State Historical Museum, in the Russian National Library, the State Public Historical Library, in the archive of the Lanceray family.

After the death of the sculptor in 1886, his widow and children moved from the Neskuchnoye estate in the Kursk province to St. Petersburg to the Benois house⁹⁷, where the eleven-year-old Eugène Lanceray fell under the strong influence of his uncle Alexandre Benois⁹⁸. “I was especially pleased that under the same roof with me now was my beloved nephew Zhenya or Zhenyaka [Eugène – P.P.] Lanceray, who very early began to show an extraordinary artistic talent <...> I can sort of “educate” my nephew, help him become an artist. It is likely that Zhenya [Eugène] would have chosen the artistic field without my help, simply because of the talent bestowed on him by God, but in some way I still think I helped him” (Benois, 1980, vol. 1, pp. 86–87).

In the late 1880s, Alexandre attracted Eugène to the "society of self-education", from which the artistic group *World of Art* grew⁹⁹. He recommended books and magazines on art to his nephew (including those obtained through the French consulate officer Charles Birlé (magazines *L'Art Français*, *L'Art et l'Idée*, catalogs of the Salons of the Champs Elysees and of the Champ de Mars), invited assistants in home theater productions (for example, in 1886–1887 in the production of *Pharaoh's Daughter*): “he was only 12 years old, but I could entrust him various minor paintings” (Benois, 1980, vol. 1, p. 555).

Together, uncle and nephew discovered the poetics of ordinary St. Petersburg: its embankments, bridges, streets, mansions, temples. So, on April 30, 1893, they went to Podzorny Island to sketch the sunset: “We went to Lotsmanskyy Island to watch the sunset. Shura and I drew it. He was very poetic. The chimneys of the factories on the other side and the buildings seemed like a fantastic city” (Lanceray, 2008, vol. 1, p. 82). On April 1, 1894, Eugène studied New Holland: “Just returned, looked at the gates (New Holland,

⁹⁶ Sculptures *Tulukhcha*, *Tiflis water carrier* (1875), *Ossetian with a killed gazelle* (not later than 1877), *Smoking Circassian* (1870), *Dzhigitovka of a Circassian rider* (1874), *Dzhigitovka Lezgin* (not later than 1876).

⁹⁷ In the Benois house on Nikolskaya street in St. Petersburg (in 1892 it was renamed Glinka street) E. Lanceray and A.N. Benois lived on the same floor until 1895, when Benois moved with his wife to another apartment in another building.

⁹⁸ Their acquaintance took place in Pavlovsk in August 1875, where Nicolas Benois with his wife and children and E.A. Lanceray with his wife Ekaterina Nikolaevna (née Benois) lived in the same country house with their first-born son Eugène. 5-year-old Alexandre Benois fell ill with scarlet fever. “In the same period of illness, a family event promised from the beginning of summer took place. Katya gave birth to little Zhenya, and I began to hear his faint, choking cry” (Benois 1980, vol. 1, p. 262).

warehouses, with the moon on the side) on the advice of Shura [Alexandre Benois – P.P.]. I felt scared and terrified looking at them” (Lanceray, 2008, vol. 1, p. 193).

In the spring of 1893, Alexandre introduced his nephews Eugène and Nicolas (architect N.E. Lanceray) to his fiancée Anna, and soon to her brother Pyotr Kind, with whom Eugène went to painting classes in the private class of Ya.F. Zionglinsky (Lanceray, 2008, vol. 1, p. 166). “It is possible that it was Zhenya and Kolya’s [Nicolas] comments about Ata [Anna] that contributed to such a change in my relatives regarding her” (Benois 1980, vol. 1, p. 693). On June 29, 1894, Eugène was one of Alexandre's main assistants at his wedding.

It was Alexandre Benois who interested his nephew in modern (mainly French) art and recommended literature for reading. However, often the tastes of emerging artists did not match. So, in 1893, Eugène took a negative position in relation to some of the foreign symbolists praised by Alexandre, suggesting that the dark tones, decorativism and blurred manner of performing their works are largely a tribute to fashion¹⁰⁰.

At the same time, Alexandre Benois showed his nephew the works of many book illustrators (for example, the cycle *Seven Crows* by Moritz von Schwind), although he protected him from imitating other artists (including J.P. Laurence), when, for example, Eugène in March 1893, decided by himself to illustrate the N.M. Karamzin’s *Russian History* (Lanceray, 2008, vol. 1, p. 42).

Some of Alexandre's innovative artistic compositions had a significant influence on Eugène. So, in January 1894, they created similar works *Monastery* depicting a fragment of the facade of a Gothic cathedral. Eugène wrote on January 30: “I must have received from him the first thought of this greatness. Only at the same time, Shura’s [version] is gloomy, and I want it only, enormously” (Lanceray, 2008, vol. 1, p. 170). And he remembered the development of this topic on December 5 of the same year: “The brother-in-law story. Corner of a Gothic cathedral, at the bottom of the medieval roof, cities, broken clouds and

⁹⁹ “Last night, Shura had comrades: Bakst, Nouvel (Shura hates him), Somov, Mr. Nurok – for the first time,” wrote E. Lanceray, November 28, 1893 (Lanceray, 2008, vol. 1, p. 152).

¹⁰⁰ “But I do not recognize the symbolists, filthy comedians !!!”, wrote E. Lanceray on November 28, 1893 (Lanceray, 2008, vol. 1, p. 153).

sunset behind. It would be possible, as a last resort, on the fireplace” (Lanceray, 2008, vol. 1, p. 227).

In the circle of Alexandre Benois's friends, Eugène joined the perception of music¹⁰¹: on January 31, 1895, “there were brother-in-law's comrades, they played a new German opera *Hanschen und Gretchen* of Humperdinck, an *Ouverture* of Lohengrin, a Tchaikovsky's *Trio*, etc.” (Lanceray, 2008, vol. 1, p. 238). Together they went to museums and exhibitions, staged productions in the home theater. On March 17, 1895, Eugène clearly expressed in his diary his love for theatrical and decorating activities: “theatre lessons console and encourage me. Shura, Atya, Nouvel and I are now staging the *Orpheus in the Underworld* according to Policien. Nouvel writes the music, Alexandre and I make the scenery; I am also a theater builder and chief mechanic. <...> The scenery should be interpreted almost like paintings, the only difference is that there will be suitable light and 3 plans (2 backstage and background)” (Lanceray, 2008, vol. 1, p. 242).

However, Eugène didn't completely trust Alexandre. “One need to be careful about Shura's praises: sometimes it is difficult to distinguish what he is saying seriously, what is joking; he will never say directly that it is bad”, he wrote in his diary on March 11, 1893 (Lanceray, 2008, vol. 1, p. 46). In April, Eugène showed his sketches for the big painting *Battle*: Alexandre “said “stupid” and fell asleep on the table with us. But, despite this, I continued to develop and compose, but without showing it to Shura” (Lanceray, 2008, vol. 1, p. 83). Regarding contemporary Russian art, Eugène was often closer to the position of the sculptor Arthur Aubert than to Benois. “Shura is too critical and scholarly, he doesn't like nature, just nature, a bush, a stump, etc. [...] And I say that I love nature [...] That's why Ober can admire Shishkin, but Shura can't”, wrote E. Lanceray (2008, vol. 1, p. 183) on March 16, 1894, after visiting the XXII exhibition of Peredvizniki [Wanderers].

¹⁰¹ On September 23, 1894, E. Lanceray wrote in his diary: “So, about music: the longer I think about it, the more it comes down to me, the closer painting comes to it, the more I want to know and love it” (Lanceray, 2008, vol. 1, p. 214).

A significant role in the professional education of Eugène Lanceray was also played by his uncle Albert Benois¹⁰² (in his workshop in the spring of 1895 he painted his mother's portrait) and by friends of family, for example, Nikolai Leontievich Benois' assistant, architect Alexander Pavlovich Panchetta (1845–1900). In February 1893, the young artist was impressed by the posthumous exhibition of Professor Luigi Premazzi¹⁰³ in the halls of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, including his interiors and views of the cities of northern Italy (“*Winter view of Milan*”, “*Colonnade of the University of Turin*”, “*Facade of the Milan Cathedral*”¹⁰⁴ and others).

Already no later than 1893, the artist appreciated the quality of painting by old masters, including the 17th century. On February 27, “I went to the Hermitage and was delighted again. But not with Velasquez, whom I went to admire, but with Van Dyck, namely with his *Lord Warton*. I watched the Spanish, Flemish, Rembrandt, French and Russian schools. [...] In the case of ancient masters, it is splendor, beauty, in a word, it is pleasant to look at. [...] I liked Velasquez, Zurbaran, Ribeira, Coello, Murillo. But in the Spanish school I had to search, look out, find masterpieces and beauties. While among the Flemings they themselves are conspicuous; from one delight you pass into another, without seeking, without thinking”¹⁰⁵.

The artist had not yet reached a deep understanding of Italian Renaissance painting. But he was already interested in Venice. So, being in Moscow in July 1893, he compared Cathedral Square with San Marco Square in Venice. In August he praised the article “*Venice*” by the American Henry James in *Historical Revue* (December, 1883). And at the

¹⁰² In May 1893, after the return of Albert Benois from Italy, Eugène examined his watercolors: “Corfu and Capri; there is one with St. Peter of Rome; two or three – with Vesuvius and two lovely Venetian views ” (diary entry by E.E. Lanceray on May 8, 1893).

¹⁰³ Luigi Premazzi (1814–1891) was born in Milan. Studied at Brera Academy. In 1834 he moved to St. Petersburg. Since 1850, it has been popular with members of the imperial family. Since 1854 – academician. Since 1861 he has been a professor of perspective watercolor painting. At his suggestion, in 1880, the Circle of Russian Watercolorists was created (since 1887 – the Society of Russian Watercolorists). Taught watercolor painting by Albert Benois.

¹⁰⁴ “I noticed an interesting mixture of Gothic and renaissance in the cathedral,” – E.E. Lanceray diary on February 14, 1893.

¹⁰⁵ Diary of E.E. Lanceray on February 27, 1893.

end of December he read in French "*The History of Art in the Renaissance*" by Eugene Muntz¹⁰⁶.

In 1893–1895, he often went to the Hermitage to copy, drew casts of antiques in the sculptural museum of the Academy of Arts, studied the technique of paints in the Kushelev Gallery (in the same building of the Academy).

Even then, in the 1890s, Eugène Lanceray's worldview organically combined diverging passions: Westernizing hobbies (mainly under the influence of members of the Benois family, including his uncle Alexandre), a deep interest in Russian history, a romantic taste for distant regions and different cultures, both Western and Eastern, peoples, inspired by the work of his father, the sculptor E.A. Lanceray, as well as Jan Frantsevich Zionglinsky, a teacher at the Drawing School¹⁰⁷.

The artist was attracted by the vast expanses of the Russian Empire, but until the age of 17 he only had been in the Kursk province, in southeastern Finland (1891; Vyborg, Vilmanstrand, Launel) and at dachas near St. Petersburg. He made his first long trip without his mother in the European part of Russia. In June 1893 together with his uncle Leonty Benois, they traveled to Yaroslavl (Rybinsk, Yaroslavl, Rostov, Borisoglebsky Monastery) and Vladimir provinces (Vladimir, Gus-Khrustalny) and Moscow. At the end of June – July 1896, together with the journalist V.S. Rossolovsky¹⁰⁸ along the Volga and Kama rivers, Eugène traveled to the Aksakovs' estate in the village of Musino, Ufa province (now the village of Starye Kieshki, Karmaskala district of Bashkortostan). Then the young artist saw the foothills of the Ural Mountains, located beyond the Belaya River. On the way, he stopped in Nizhny Novgorod, where he visited his uncle Albert Benois, who was in charge of the Art Department of the 16th All-Russian Industrial and Art Exhibition. And in the

¹⁰⁶ Muntz E. (1889–1895), *Histoire de l'Art pendant la Renaissance* [History of art in the Renaissance period], Vol. 1–3. Paris.

¹⁰⁷ E. Lanceray studied at the Drawing School of the Imperial Society for the Encouragement of Arts in St. Petersburg (1892–1895), and then at private academies in Paris (1895–1898). One of his main teachers at the Drawing School, Jan Zionglinsky, traveled to Egypt, Tunisia, Turkey, Palestine, India and even Ceylon.

¹⁰⁸ Vyacheslav Silvestrovich Rossolovsky (1849–1908) – an alumni friend of E.A. Lanceray, a correspondent for the *Novoe Vremya* newspaper, was awarded the Order of St. Stanislaus, 3rd class,

summer of 1903, with his brother Nicolas, S.P. Yaremich and V.A. Shchuko, he painted architectural monuments of the Pskov and Kiev provinces¹⁰⁹.

Of particular importance for Lanceray's further artistic passions were his trips to Western Europe and the Far East. In April – June 1894, Eugène made his first trip abroad, together with Leonty Benois, he visited Warsaw, Vienna, Munich, and Switzerland. In May 1894, during this journey through Germany, Austria-Hungary and Switzerland to France, Eugène's first encounter with the mountains took place. Probably, these were the Outer Western Carpathians on the road from Warsaw to Vienna, and then the Alps on the road from Munich to Lake Geneva (the peaks of the Bavarian Alps and the Bernese Alps). In Switzerland, he lived for two weeks with Leonty Benois in the commune of Veitaux near Montreux on the shores of Lake Geneva, where he was captivated by the Alps and the especially clear water of the lake. He wrote about his impressions to his mother and uncle Alexandre¹¹⁰. The artist especially remembered a walk to the holiday village Sonchaux, located at an altitude of 1300 meters above sea level: “I passed the fog (clouds) and <...> I even felt terrified to be alone at such a height in this vast emptiness of the sky <...> Below, between light clouds, cities were visible, trains were moving and whistles and barking dogs were heard from afar. It was the best walk in Switzerland”¹¹¹. Impressed by the trip in the

for participation in the battles of the Russian-Turkish war of 1877–1878; attorney at law for conducting business of A.N. Aksakov.

¹⁰⁹ On June 27, 1903, E. Lanceray came to Pskov to see his brother Nicolas who studied the architecture of the Pskov land together with V.A. Schuko. On July 3, together with the artist Stepan Petrovich Yaremich, he went to Kyiv, and then to the archaeologist Nikolai Fedorovich Belyashevsky on the Knyazhaya Gora farm near Kanev downstream of the Dnieper. This settlement, located on the beautiful high right bank of the Dnieper, is usually identified with the remains of the ancient Russian city of Roden, mentioned in the annals under 980 and destroyed in 1240.

¹¹⁰ “Gothic cathedrals, paintings, mountains, people – I already admired all this in advance, but I didn't think about water at all, and therefore, when I saw Lake Constance, I was amazed and admired more than anything else. In addition, I rejoiced most of all in the Warsaw Church, seeing the Carpathians and the peaks of the Alps on the road from Munich, because it was the first Gothic church and the first mountains that I saw”, – from a letter from E. Lanceray to his uncle Alexandre Benois, on May 13, 1894 (OR GRM. F. 137. No. 310). “Of course, I am delighted with the mountains, etc., etc. Uncle Lyulya tirelessly admires the views. But I was struck not so much by the mountains as by the water. In Lake Constance it is something magical; completely green, transparent, wonderful!”, – from a letter from E. Lanceray to his mother, May 12, 1894 (OR GRM. F. 137. No. 332. L. 1).

¹¹¹ Diary entry made upon E. Lanceray return to Russia on August 16, 1894. Archive of the artist's family.

album, he developed sketches of paintings with lakes, fields, forests, hills and a grazing horse, half a century later embodied in a transformed form in the triptychs *Lake Gyok-Gol*.

From Switzerland, in May the young artist rushed to France, the homeland of his great-grandfather Paul Antoine Lanceray, an officer in the Napoleonic army, a member of the company of 1812, who remained in Russia. The artist especially wanted to see the Cathedral of Notre-Dame-de-Paris, and even in advance in St. Petersburg he bought a book by V. Hugo "Notre-Dame de Paris". After spending alone three weeks in Paris, from where he visited Versailles with Charles Birlé, he went to Rouen and Le Havre, and then returned by steamboat with a stop in Copenhagen to St. Petersburg. Everywhere he studied museums and got acquainted with Western European art.

Under the influence of Alexandre Benois, his friends, as well as Repin and Aubert, he refused to enter the Imperial Academy of Arts and after three years of study at the Drawing School of the Imperial Society for the Encouragement of Arts in St. Petersburg, Eugène left for Paris in September 1895¹¹². There he studied at the private academy of F. Colarossi (1895–1897), where he worked up to 7 hours a day under the guidance of the orientalist L.O. Girardot and G.K. Courtois. In addition to the French, there were many Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians and Englishmen. In the 1880s: P. Gauguin, K. Claudel, A. Mucha, A.Ya. Golovin; in the early 1890s: S. Wyspiansky; in 1895–1897: A.S. Golubkina, B.I. Egiz; and in 1897-1898: A.P. Ostroumova-Lebedeva, K.A. Somov, Swedish sculptor K. Milles. New friends of Eugène were Americans H.I. Field and the Pole J. Leman.

Eugène often visited the Luxembourg Palace, where he studied the works of modern painting. He liked Puvis de Chavannes, Quarry, Roehgrosse, Lieberman, Benard, Oudet,

¹¹² Eugène's decision to go to Paris was influenced by the rise in price of Zionglinsky's classes at the drawing school of the Imperial Society for the Encouragement of Arts, the advice of the watercolorist Emil Georgievich Akker and Desmonov, the departure of Diaghilev and Bakst to France, the residence of Yuli Yulievich Benois, as well as "the desire to see and pray in the great Gothic temples" (from a diary entry on April 5, 1895) (Lanceray, 2008, vol. 1, pp. 245–246). According to the new charter of the Academy of Arts, which came into force in September 1894, it was possible to enter the Higher Art School only with a certificate of completion of the scientific course of drawing schools (in the amount of the programs of the Moscow School of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture). Without such a certificate, Eugène could not enter the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg for next year, although he often went to the building of the Academy to sketch copies of antique statues.

Decamps, Neuville, Israels, Danyan, Dupré, Meissonier. But he did not forget about the old masters, while often visiting the Louvre.

On May 20, 1896, on the way to Russia, he spent the whole day in Berlin, where he examined museums in detail: “enjoyed Watteau, with which I was absolutely delighted, then Velasquez, a copy from Correggio, Terburg and Rembrandt. Enjoyed the Renaissance sculpture, antiques. All this is in the Altes Museum, which has relatively few things and almost all of them are masterpieces. However, I didn’t look at the Italian primitives or the early Germans at all, I didn’t want to”¹¹³.

Lanceray spent the summer and autumn of 1896 at home in Russia, and from mid-November he was again in Paris, where he continued to attend classes in nude drawing at the Colarossi Academy, and from January he studied at the R. Julian Academy, founded back in 1867, the most representative of the private academies in Paris, with more professors and competitions, which made young artists try harder. Among his teachers: orientalist Jean-Joseph Benjamin-Constant, historical painter Jean-Paul Laurent. Simultaneously with Lanceray, were studying there L.S. Bakst, P.P. Konchalovsky, B.A. Vogel, N.P. Yasinovsky, German sculptor G. Kolbe.

In addition to peer friends, he also communicated with masters of the older generation. At his second cousin’s Ekaterina Zarudnaya-Cavos (1861–1917), he met the painter Julien Dupré and the artists of the Nabis group Ker-Xavier Roussel and Paul Ranson.

Lanceray also studied anatomy and art history at the School of Fine Arts. In continuation of the aesthetic searches, the young artist talked with Alexander Benois, “how difficult any beauty is without sweetness and found it only in Madox Brown («Farewell to England»), B. Angelico, Titian, Lippi, a little in S. Botticelli and, maybe in some of the old Italians, but now, in our century, there are no such”¹¹⁴.

In March 1897, at the suggestion of the grandson of US President Adams, together with Field, they made a ten-day hike through central France¹¹⁵. He spent the summer with

¹¹³ Diary entry of E.E. Lanceray on June 15, 1896.

¹¹⁴ Diary entry of E.E. Lanceray dated March 28, 1897.

¹¹⁵ E. Lanceray and H. Field made an expedition on foot: through Versailles, the village of Trappe, the cities of Rambouillet and Epernon, the village of Maintenon and the castle of St. Prest to

Alexandre Benois¹¹⁶ and his wife Anna Kind and Ober in the village of Primel-Trégastel near the town of Morlaix in northern Brittany¹¹⁷. After buying a bike from Field in October, he made trips to the outskirts of Paris.

At the end of May - beginning of June 1898, on the way to Russia, where Lanceray spent the summer, he visited Strasbourg, the German cities of Munich, Landshut, Regensburg, Nuremberg and the Czech castle Karlstejn and Prague. In Munich, he studied the Bavarian National Museum, the Alte Pinakothek, in which he singled out the works of Memling, the *Annunciation* by Rogier van der Weyden, Fra Angelico, M. Wolgemuth, Dürer, Altdorfer, J. Clouet, *Danae* by Gossaert, Massijs, *Portrait of Doge* by the school of Tintoretto, *Descent from the Cross* by Rembrandt and Rubens, the New Pinakothek with Schwind, Lenbach and G. Marx. At the Secession exhibition, he noted the works of the Germans that he did not like and of the Dutch that he did like, Hoecker, and Böcklin, Taulov, Levitan, Serov, Meunier and Aubert.

In September 1898, Lanceray again travels to France through Berlin, Kassel and Cologne and immediately heads to Upper Normandy to see Alexandre and Anna Benois. Here, in the town of Saint-Pierre-en-Port near Fécamp, he spent three weeks studying the shores of the English Channel, talking with the Cure officer and discussing Alexandre's article "What Impressionism Gave Us".

Chartres; further through the castle of the 17th century Mesle-le-Vidam, the city of Bonval, Chateaudun with the "best medieval castle" they saw, Clois-sur-le-Loire, Fretval, Vendôme with the Trinity Church of the 15th century and the ruins of the castle, Villeromain in Blois with the castle and the church of St. Nicholas 11–13 centuries. Only on the way back, probably from Orléans to Paris, did they use the railroad. A ten-day journey through the Ile-de-France and the Central region left an indelible impression on the artist and opened up a whole series of hiking expeditions, which in the 1920s received not only artistic, but also scientific task.

¹¹⁶ In the very start of discovery of Paris, Eugène was two years ahead of his uncle. Alexandre Benois was afraid that France would disappoint him and put off the trip. But upon the arrival of Benois in October 1896, Alexandre and Eugène both managed to enjoy the arts in Paris to their heart's content – museums, galleries, theaters, concerts, restaurants, the Cellar of Nothingness tavern and much more. Benois even named one of the chapters of his memoirs "Acclimatization. Parisian frenzy" (Benois 1980, vol. 2, pp. 126–135). Eugène lived then without a break in France for a year and a half, and Alexandre for almost a year.

¹¹⁷ In June 1897, A. Benois and E. Lanceray opened Brittany for the artists of the *World of Art* association (Alexandre Benois and Zinaida Serebriakova visited it several times until 1939).

Since October he has been living in Paris again; already in December, he became a permanent artist of the magazine *World of Art*: he worked on the initial letter *Ship in a stormy sea* and the vignette *The Captive Princess*.

The last chords of the foreign period of Lanceray's learning were his trips to Italy and London¹¹⁸.

In 1899, E. Lanceray returned after studying at the Academies of Paris to Russia and came to grips with the projects of magazine graphics. At the end of 1900, he once again visited Paris.

In the summer (from June 4 to August 11, 1902), together with his uncle Leonty Benois, he made a Far Eastern trip, which anticipated many genre decisions and compositional techniques of his subsequent creative periods¹¹⁹. Much of the travel to Manchuria, Japan, and the Russian Far East was via the newly opened Chinese Eastern Railway¹²⁰. The first stop was made on the night of June 22–23 in Harbin. Then he visited Port Arthur, Japan (Nagasaki, Kyoto, Nagoya, Tokyo, Nikko and other cities), Vladivostok and again Harbin¹²¹. During the trip, Lanceray created a large number of expressive sketches and landscape sketches and drawings, eighteen of which were reproduced on

¹¹⁸ On May 15–20, 1899, Eugene Lanceray, together with Alexandre Benois, Somov, Nurok and Nouvel, explored London, which they reached through Dieppe and Southampton. Together they went to St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, the British Museum, to the changing of the guard ceremony, to the play "Tristan and Isolde" in Covent Garden, to the music halls. But the National Gallery made a special impression on Lanceray, where the artist rediscovered the Italian primitives and the Dutch masters. "One can only say that we have not yet seen anything, and that only today I saw the Italian primitives for the first time, I finally understood them, and, therefore, fell in love just like the old Germans. Quite seriously: in Italy one cannot almost imagine what their primitives are. And the secret of the local gallery is that almost only masterpieces have been selected and, most importantly, so restored, so cleaned – it's as if they had just been painted, it's a pleasure to look at" (Draft letter from E.E. Lanceray to A.P. Ostroumova-Lebedeva. Archive of the artist's family).

¹¹⁹ In 1935, in his autobiography, E. Lanceray recalled: "In 1902, by chance, I managed to make a trip to the Far East: to Manchuria, Port Arthur, Japan, and this trip was the first experience and a harbinger of the work that in my Caucasian period served as an occasion for a decisive turn away from graphics to painting. In them, these works, as one of my friends remarked, already characteristic features of my sketches appeared – the search for a landscape style (while remaining very accurate) and the absence of purely pictorial tasks" (typewritten copy in the archive of the E. Lanceray's family).

¹²⁰ The chief manager of the Chinese Eastern Railway in 1902–1918 was Dimitri Horvat, the husband of Camilla Benois, Lanceray's cousin. Husbands of the Lanceray's sisters, Sofia Daniel and Maria Kalacheva, subsequently worked on the same railway.

¹²¹ During the trip, E. Lanceray reached the extreme eastern (Utsunomiya city; 139°53'E) and southern (Nagasaki city; 32°42'N) geographical points in his life. The extreme western and northern

postcards of the Community of St. Eugenia in 1904–1906, including views of Manchuria with the Great Khingan hills, also known from a later expedition of 1934–1935 years by N.K. Roerich¹²². On this trip, the artist was interested in architectural monuments (*Manchuria. Chinese idols*), and genre scenes (*Port Arthur. Chinese junks*), and unusual landscapes (*At the Taiga station; Wood storage at the Karymskaya station of the Trans-Baikal Railway; In the plains of Western Siberia; Central Siberia. Yenisei crossing; Lake Baikal*), seen and captured from the windows of trains, from the decks of ships (on the way from the port of Tsuruga in Japan to Vladivostok¹²³) and on the streets of cities (Irkutsk, Chelyabinsk, Harbin) and villages. Particular attention was drawn to the landscapes of Japan and the Greater Khingan with high cliffs surrounded by green forests (*Manchuria. The Greater Khingan Ridge and Northern Manchuria. Near Barim Station*).

It can be assumed that the nature of the Far East and the passion for Japanese engraving influenced the Lanceray's special manner, which manifested itself in some views with oriental principles of perspective construction (*Port Arthur. Western Basin*). More often than before, he uses vertical compositions on a trip (*Port Arthur. Chinese boatmen; Vladivostok. Outer raid and Walls in Old Harbin*), as well as a combination of water and mountains in one picture (*Thunderstorm over the Yenisei*).

Many works from this trip were created as images of an outside observer, moreover, an actively moving traveler. After all, more than twenty thousand kilometers were covered in two months, i.e. on average, every day the artist could drive about three hundred kilometers. Only in some works depicting people can one find signs of a deeper interest in the life of the peoples, which the artist will develop in the Caucasus. So, the theme of life in a yurt, started in the painting *Manchuria. Yakeshi Station* (1904), will be continued in 1928 in his painting *In the Nagai Steppe* (State Museum of Architecture named after A.V. Shchusev, Moscow).

points were Brittany in July 1897 (calvary in the village of Guimillieu, 3°59'W) and Finland in 1891 (the city of Vilmanstrand, modern Lappeenranta; 61°06'N).

¹²² Probably due to the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, drawings created in Japan were not published on the postcards of the Community of Saint Eugenia.

¹²³ E. Lanceray and Leonty Benois were among the first St. Petersburg travelers who used the Tsuruga – Vladivostok marine voyage, opened in 1902 by the Oya Kisen shipping company. A year later, V.V. Vereshchagin managed to use it in both directions.

But the most anticipated for the artist since the 1890s was a trip to the Caucasus. For him, the example of relatives was important. In April 1893, Leonty Benois, who returned from the Crimea and the Caucasus, promised to take Eugène with him next fall. “At first, I believed and already imagined myself in the Caucasus, among the huge mountains, Circassians and auls! See new cities, places, trees, people, sky and water! How interesting it is, how I want it”, the young artist wrote in his diary on April 8, 1893¹²⁴. And in 1895, another uncle, Albert Benois, went to the Caucasus.

The features of romanticism in Lanceray's character attracted him to the Caucasus. In the Benois family, his aspirations were little supported, but his father's friend, the sculptor A.L. Ober fully shared and reinforced his interest in traveling to new regions far from civilization¹²⁵. Eugène studied also literature dedicated to the Caucasus. On the recommendation of A.N. Benois, he read books by French travelers Frederic Dubois de Montpereux¹²⁶ and Alexandre Dumas, including his impressions of a trip to the Caucasus in

¹²⁴ Diary albums. Archive of the family of E. Lanceray.

¹²⁵ On April 24, 1893, E. Lanceray wrote in his diary: “They started scolding St. Petersburg and its climate <...> Then about the Caucasus and about the Crimea, that Uncle Lyulya scolds the Caucasus, saying that there is no culture there, not like Italy! <...> Shura says that he is not drawn to the Caucasus. Atya and Ober, on the contrary, they “terribly” would like to go there. Aubert says that he does not at all want to go to museums, “live” in hotels and generally enjoy culture, but that he would travel with delight through the Crimea, the Caucasus, Turkestan, through wild primitive countries where there are no bells and whistles, there are no famous Madonnas, but where nature is whole, great, free, untouched by civilization. <...> I completely agree with him, and I really liked Ober. How I would also like to travel on horseback or on foot, through wild desert places” (Archive of the artist's family).

¹²⁶ Frederic Dubois de Montpereux (1798–1850) in 1831–1834 made a trip to the Crimea and the Caucasus, after which he prepared a 6-volume edition *Journey around the Caucasus...* (Voyage autour du Caucase, chez les Tscherkesses et les Abkhases, en Colchide, en Géorgie, en Arménie et en Crimée, vol. 1–6, Paris, 1839–1849) with an atlas of illustrations.

1858-1859¹²⁷. Later, probably already in the 1910s, the artist also learned about the works on Caucasian studies by a native of Paris, Marie Brosset¹²⁸.

Lanceray was awaiting the trip to the Caucasus for a long time. Only in the summer of 1904, he undertook a romantic honeymoon trip with Olga Konstantinovna (née Artsybusheva) through the Caucasus, along the Georgian Military Highway to Tiflis¹²⁹ and then through Sukhum, Gagra and the Black Sea coast to the Crimea. An example in choosing the direction of the trip was the Caucasian trip of 1874 by the artist's parents, about which his mother told him. During the trip, E. Lanceray created a small album of mostly pencil sketches from nature¹³⁰ and was very imbued with the mountains, so that already on March 8, 1906, in a letter to Alexandre Benois, when discussing a place for a trip in the summer, he wrote: "And if you really dream, now for some reason the mountains pull me more, than the sea"¹³¹.

Since the wedding trip of 1904, the famous member of the *World of Art* association has repeatedly dreamed of getting back to the Caucasus region. But the next opportunity will fall only eight years later, in 1912, in connection with the design and creation of

¹²⁷ Alexandre Dumas (1802–1870; Dumas père) from June 1858 to February 1859 traveled around Russia with the artist Jean-Pierre Moinet. On July 22, they went to Moscow by train, on September 7 they went to Pereslavl-Zalessky, and then visited Uglich and other Volga cities, Tsaritsyn, Astrakhan. The Caucasus made a special impression on travelers. On November 7, they were in Kizlyar, then visited the villages of Silk and Chervlennaya, Khasav-Yurt, Chir-Yurt, Temir-Khan-Shura, Derbent, Baku, Shemakha, Nukha, Tiflis, Mtskheta, Ananuri, Kaishaur, Suram, Kutais, Poti. Returning in February through Batum, Turkey and Marseilles to Paris, he published his impressions in the newspaper "Caucasus", and then in the same year issued a separate publication (*Le Caucase*. Paris, 1859). In 1861, the impressions were published in Tiflis with large abridgements in Russian translation. Lanceray could use both options.

¹²⁸ Marie Brosset (1802–1880), orientalist, visited the Caucasus (Georgia and Armenia) from August 1847 to July 1848, together with the Russian artist Ivan Muslov, fixed monuments and inscriptions. In 1859–1867 headed the eastern branch of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society. Wrote more than 270 scientific papers, including trip reports (*Rapports sur un voyage archéologique exécuté dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie, exécuté en 1847–1848 par M. Brosset, membre de l'Académie impériale des sciences*, St-Petersburg, Académie impériale des sciences, 1850).

¹²⁹ Three days after the wedding on July 7, 1904, the newlyweds were in Vladikavkaz (at the Grand Hotel of G.M. Burduli), and on July 11 they already stopped at the London Hotel in Tiflis, on 31 Atoneli Street near the Dry Bridge. It was opened in the year of Lanceray's birth and was controlled by the Germans of the Richter wife. P.I. Tchaikovsky, Lord J. Curzon, K. Hamsun stayed there. Stamps with dates and names of hotels are in the passport of E. Lanceray, issued in 1899. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. No. 2. L. 9 and 19v.

¹³⁰ Stored in the collection of the artist's family.

¹³¹ Letter from E. Lanceray to A.N. Benois dated March 8, 1906. Copy in the Lanceray family archive.

illustrations for L.N. Tolstoy's *Hadji Murad*. Prior to this, Lanceray had created several projects with images of mountains, based on impressions from past trips and from the works of other artists.

One of the first images of mountains in Lanceray's book graphics were illustrations for S. Kondurushkin's *Syrian Tales*, published in the St. Petersburg publishing house Znamya in 1908. The artist has never been to Syria and in twenty-one illustrations he depicted views known to him from books about the "dead cities" of Syria, Baalbek and Palmyra, landscapes of the desert, mountain villages, Damascus, Tripoli. The original illustrations are kept in various collections, including the Russian Museum, as well as in private collections. Most of it was done in ink. Two color illustrations (*In the Desert* and *Hermon*) were printed in black and white on separate inserts by R. Golike and A. Vilborg. Of particular interest in the aspect of this study is the image of *Mount Hermon*, along which the border of Syria and Lebanon now passes (the original is stored in the National Museum "Kyiv Art Gallery", 1908, paper, tempera). The image of two riders against the backdrop of fog and Mount Hermon anticipates some of the artist's artistic decisions of 1912–1915. And the mountain settlement on the western side of the foothills of Hermon is similar to some settlements of Central Dagestan, studied by Lanceray only in 1925.

It is difficult to say what images, photographs, drawings the artist relied on in his work. By the beginning of the XX century, a number of expeditions to Syria were made by Russian researchers, the results of which were published with photographs¹³². But more than

¹³² During an expedition in 1882, 24-year-old Prince Semyon Abamelek-Lazarev (1857–1916) and 35-year-old archaeologist Adrian Prakhov (1846–1916) found the famous Palmyra tariff (137 AD), transferred in 1903 to the Hermitage. Research published in the book: Abamelek-Lazarev S.S. Palmyra. Archaeological research of Prince S. Abamelek-Lazarev, full member of the Russian Archaeological Society. SPb., 1884. In the autumn of 1891, under the leadership of Nikodim Pavlovich Kondakov (1844–1925), a historical and archaeological expedition organized by the Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society worked. This expedition was also attended by an archaeologist, corresponding member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences Ya.I. Smirnov, historian V.G. Vasilevsky, Professor A.A. Olesnitsky, photographer I.F. Barshchevsky and artists A.D. Kivshenko and N.A. Okolovich. The materials of the expedition were published in St. Petersburg (Kondakov N.P. Archaeological Journey through Syria and Palestine. St. Petersburg, 1904). No less important is the role of the expedition to Syria in 1900 by the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople led by Fyodor Ivanovich Uspensky (1845–1928), with the participation of Boris Vladimirovich Farmakovsky (1870–1928) and Pavel Konstantinovich Kokovtsov (1861–1942). The removed tomb portraits formed the basis of the Hermitage collection of Palmyra antiquities. The results of the expedition are published in the article of Uspensky (1902).

these photographs, Lanceray was interested in the paintings of V.D. Polenov, depicting many of the places described in his stories by Kondurushkin¹³³. However, unlike Polenov, the member of World of Art, in accordance with the spirit of modernity and symbolism, creates a general image of the region rather than an ethnographically reliable description, therefore, as well as the design of the book by E. Balabanova's *Legends of the ancient castles of Brittany* (1897–1898), illustrations for *Syrian Tales* can be criticized for the great degree of fantasy allowed by the artist.

It can be assumed that E. Lanceray agreed to illustrate *Syrian Tales*, bearing in mind his father sculptor E.A. Lanceray who visited in 1883 another exotic country of the Mediterranean basin – Algeria. The result of the trip was the Algerian series of works by E.A. Lanceray: the bronze sculptural group *Great Arab Dzhigitovka* (1883–1884; State Historical Museum and other collections) with four mounted Arabs and compositions touching on the themes of death (*Killed Arab, Arab with a killed son*), poverty (*The Beggar Arab*), the lives of ordinary people (*Kabil, the seller of water*)¹³⁴.

E.A. Lanceray the sculptor died early, at the age of 37, but he could well convey to children an interest in studying distant countries and peoples¹³⁵. His eldest son Eugène Lanceray, more than others, imbued with the theme of artistic and ethnographically reliable understanding of the traditions and landscapes of exotic countries.

After illustrating S. Kondurushkin's *Syrian Tales*, in 1908, his next appeal to mountain landscapes takes place in the autumn of 1911. Together with the architect V.A. Shchuko, he created the scenery for the P. Calderon's play *The Purgatory of St. Patrick* (1643), for the second season of productions-reconstructions of the *Old Theater* enterprise

¹³³ In 1881–1882 Polenov participated in the first part of the expedition of S. Abamelek-Lazarev in the eastern Mediterranean and visited Baalbek.

¹³⁴ All models for the sculptures were created in 1883 and are known from photo albums of E.A. Lanceray stored in the State Historical Museum, the National Library of Russia, the State Public Historical Library and in the archive of the Lanceray family.

¹³⁵ Four of the six children of E.A. Lanceray visited the countries of Asia and Africa. Since the 1920s and until 1956, Maria Evgenievna Kalacheva (1883–1961) lived in China, in Harbin. In 1928–1929 and in 1932 Morocco was visited by Zinaida Evgenievna Serebryakova (1884–1967). In her Moroccan series, the artist realized her craving for depicting an exotic country. After all, oriental motifs have interested her since pre-revolutionary times. One can recall her numerous sketches of 1915–1916 with allegorical figures "Siam", "Turkey", "India" and "Japan" for a panel for the Kazansky railway station in Moscow.

in St. Petersburg¹³⁶. Mountain landscapes with towering rocks and shaded gorges, low swirling clouds in contrasting lighting, created in the spirit of romanticism, were used as the background of architectural structures (sketches are kept in the State Russian Museum and the State Central Theater Museum named after A.A. Bakhrushin; paper, watercolor, gouache).

Thus, by the beginning of the 20th century, Lanceray had already visited many regions of the Russian provinces, Western Europe and Asia, got a taste of travel, including mountainous areas, and was looking forward to the possibility of other trips.

2.4. Visits to Italy by Eugène Lanceray and his friends

Eugène Lanceray was born into an artistic family. As a child, he was influenced by artists and architects of the Benois family (architects Nicolas and Leonty Benois, artists Alexandre and Albert Benois), by architect Alexander Panchetta, and by friends of his father, journalist Vyacheslav Rossolovsky and sculptor Artemy Ober.

After the death of his father, the sculptor E.A. Lanceray, in the fall of 1886, the widow Ekaterina Nikolaevna with her children moved from Neskuchny to three rooms in the house of her parents (the architect Nicolas Benois and Camilla Cavos), near St. Nicholas Cathedral in St. Petersburg. Eugène found himself in an atmosphere filled with interest in fine arts and architecture. The interior contained Venetian vedutes of the 18th century, Guardi's sepia, family portraits (including works by Boileau and Courteille), a copy of a painting by Jordans, watercolors by Albert Benois, reproductions of scenery by D. Corsini and artists of the Galli-Bibiena family, furniture of the 18th – mid-19th centuries, sculptures dating back to the 16th–19th centuries (including *Boy* by N.S. Pimenov, *Chumatsky cart* by E.A. Lanceray, *Bull winner* by A.L. Ober). There were frequent musical concerts on the

¹³⁶ Premiere of the play staged by Baron N.V. Drizen with decorations designed by E.E. Lanceray and V.A. Shchuko and costumes based on sketches by I.Ya. Bilibin took place on December 6, 1911 in Salt Town on the Fontanka embankment (house 10). In Moscow, the first show took place on March 4, 1912 at the theater on Bolshaya Nikitskaya. In the 1930s, in his autobiography, the artist also mentioned another of his completed works of the same season: the scenery "for another – Lope de Vega's *Sheep Spring* – were staged" (RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 2. No. 13. L. 3rev.).

Gentsch piano and the harmonium. Of particular interest to young Lanceray was the library of his grandfather Nikolai Leontyevich with albums of his drawings, numerous publications, and engravings by J.B. Piranesi.

One of the main artistic relics of the Benois family in the late 19th - early 20th centuries was the *Madonna with a Flower* by Leonardo da Vinci (c. 1478–1479), bought by the merchant Alexander Petrovitch Sapozhnikov (1786–1827) from the collection of the artillery general Senator Alexei Ivanovich Korsakov (1751–1821), a member of the Order of Malta, from his son Nikolai, and in 1824 transferred from wood to canvas by a former employee of the Hermitage Evgraf Korotkov. On February 17, 1880, Alexander Alexandrovitch Sapozhnikov (1827–1887) presented the painting as a wedding gift to his daughter Maria, who had married Leonty Benois, uncle of Eugène Lanceray. She received the second name *Madonna Benois*, in 1898 when she was taken to Paris for attribution by the brother of Leonty, Alexander Benois; and along the way, the deputy curator of the Royal Collection of Paintings in Berlin, Paul Müller-Walde (1858-1931) certified the attribution to Leonardo da Vinci. Later, the curator of the Hermitage art gallery, Ernst Lipgart, and the art historian Bernard Berenson certified the authorship of the great Italian. After the return of Alexandre Benois in the spring of 1899, the *Madonna Benois* was placed in the newly built own house of Leonty Benois (20, 3rd line of Vasilyevsky Island). In January 1914, it entered the collection of the Imperial Hermitage, since on December 21, 1913, the Emperor Nicholas II agreed to purchase it for 150 thousand rubles.

Thus, Eugène Lanceray saw many times the *Madonna Benois*, also during his studies in 1892-1895 at the Drawing School of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts in St. Petersburg. Among his teachers were Jan Frantsevich Zionglinsky (painting class; traveled extensively in Europe, the Middle East, North Africa; visited Italy in 1894), Ernest von Lipgart (decorative painting class; the artist worked from 6 to 8 hours a week with him), Nikolai Samokish (pen drawing class), Evgeny Sabaneev (lectures on art history and drawing class). Among the famous students of the school of previous years: Repin, Vereshchagin, Vrubel, Somov, Dobuzhinsky. In 1893, he joined the Self-Education Circle, headed by Alexandre Benois, from which the *World of Art* society was later formed.

This Circle was also visited by **Konstantin Somov**, who visited Italy one of the first among the "Neva Pickwickians", in 1890 and 1894. He visited Bologna, Florence, Perugia, Assisi, Rome, Naples, Parma, Venice and left letters to his elder brother Alexander and diary entries, full of impressions from the painting of Giotto, Raphael, Correggio and others, including Venetian masters¹³⁷. In October-December 1894, Alexander Benois visited northern Italy (Milan, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Padua and Venice) on a honeymoon trip.

In the first half of the 1890s, Yevgeny Lanceray traveled mostly around Russia: to Vyborg and Wilmanstrand (1891), to Yaroslavl and Vladimir provinces and Moscow (June 1893, together with Leonty Nikolaevich Benois). In June–July 1896, together with his father's friend, journalist Vyacheslav Rossolovsky, he traveled along the Volga and Kama rivers to the Aksakov's Musino estate in the Ufa province.

Approximately equally, the artist was interested in Western Europe. The first art exhibition he described in his diaries was a posthumous exhibition of watercolors and sketches by Professor Luigi (Ludwig Osipovich) Premazzi, which he visited in the building of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts on February 14, 1893. Premazzi was the teacher of Albert Benois, so Eugène walked around the exposition with a particular interest. Up to 340 paintings were presented. Among the oil studies, interiors and streets of the cities of Northern Italy, he was especially impressed by the views of Milan: "I especially liked No. 221 – Milan – winter view. Coldish, light, a lot of air, and very tastefully executed. To the right is the brown cathedral. Ahead in the middle is a reddish brick wall, and behind it are houses with white roofs and smoke from chimneys, snow on the ground near the fences. Several figures. Then I liked the Colonnade of the University of Turin. A good statue: there is a lot of light and air between it and the background. Grey-blue color. Light and beautiful. A little pale and cold. Then the sunny part of the facade of the Milan Cathedral (No. 233). Brightly and warmly lit by the sun, almost without shadows. In the cathedral I noticed an interesting mixture of gothic and renaissance .<...> All views of Italy and Switzerland are very interesting and there are a lot of good ones"¹³⁸. Eugène also singled out some Venice

¹³⁷ Diaries of K.A. Somov. Summer 1894. OR GRM. F. 133. № 87–88. Excerpts published in: Somov K.A. (1979) *Letters. Diaries. Opinions of contemporaries*, Moscow: Art, pp. 52–53.

¹³⁸ Diary entry of E. Lanceray on February 14, 1893. Collection of the artist's family.

studies: “*Capello Palace in Venice, St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice* (No. 102) and *Pio Canal in Venice* are all good things, and many more”.

Among what he read on August 4, 1893, Eugène noted an article by the American writer Henry James “Venice” in the journal *Historical Bulletin* for December 1883: “Written simply, without pretenses, original, interesting, picturesque, not impudent. He does not describe buildings, etc., but speaks of the impressions of gondolas, canals, palaces and temples. I really liked it. Mr. James – loves Venice”. Further on, the artist compares the text of H. James with the “Diary of a Pilgrim” by Jerome K. Jerome, published in the *Bulletin of Foreign Literature* in January 1893: “Written in an artificially stupid-naive spirit. The ridicule is not very malicious, but it is funny (the author's trip to Ober Amergau for the performance of passions). So far, this style is new, original, very pleasant. Good but worse №5 (Venice). H. James and J. Jerome are similar to each other in their frankness, simplicity (without pretenses, which is what I like). The 1st is serious, the 2nd jocular”.

In the fall, he moved on to specialized literature: *The History of Battle Painting in France* by Arsène Alexandre (Paris, 1889), *The Philosophy of Art* by Hippolyte Taine (Paris, 1865). In December, he read *The Philosophy of Art in Italy* by H. Taine (Paris, 1866) and began the three-volume *History of Art in the Renaissance* by Eugène Muntz (Paris, 1889–1895). “And I don’t know where to read the political history of Italy in that era”, he wrote on December 30, 1893.

The real discovery of Western European culture happened for the young artist during his studies in Paris in 1895-1899.

E. Lanceray visited Italy twice, and both times in the spring – in 1899 and 1907.

The first time in Italy, he spent three weeks. He left Paris on March 27, 1899, on the annual pilgrimage train (to cut costs) (Fomicheva, 1970, p. 396) in the company of Anna Ostroumova and her friend Anna Pisareva¹³⁹.

¹³⁹ “On March 27, “I, Anyuta Pisareva and Evgeny Evgenievich Lanceray left for a short trip to Italy”, wrote A.P. Ostroumova-Lebedeva in her “Autobiographical notes” (V. 1. Leningrad, 1935, pp. 172–173).

On the eve of her departure, Anna Petrovna wrote a letter to her mother: “A very nice artist Lanceray, Benois’ nephew, a handsome young man, like Transhel¹⁴⁰, is coming with us. We all have assigned roles: Lanceray will be busy with hotels, Anyuta will be in charge of restaurants and various spectacles, and I will be in charge of galleries and, most importantly, guides, from which I can deftly fight off only through lookings and gestures”¹⁴¹.

After spending two nights on the train, with stops in the border towns of Modane in Savoie and Bardonecchia in Piemonte¹⁴², they arrived in the main city of their journey – Rome. During the first days, they managed to see the right-bank part of the city with St. Peter's Cathedral, in which they were struck by the scale, magnificence, but also by the crowds of a diverse audience: “Yesterday we were imbued with its immensity; simply monstrously great, and in the yellow rays of the sunset, in the blue haze below, with burning golden ceilings, in the incessant noise of the huge but completely lost in this vast crowd of walking people and with the distant singing of the service – it is magnificent. A crowd of Italians and foreigners. The first ones are walking in groups, laughing; behind the rich ladies, the lackeys wear pilyans, since there are no chairs; between the legs are children. The second ones are foreigners poking their Baedekers from corner to corner <...> Immediately, between them, in the confessionals, the Capuchins release those who confessed with a blow of a long pole <...> The Cathedral, moreover, with its rude luxury and rudely huge size, is much to this mood of the crowd”¹⁴³.

Eugène, who had previously traveled through the northern countries, was shocked by Italy for the first few days (the lack of cabanas at the station, scammers in hotels,

¹⁴⁰ She probably meant the painter Heinrich-August-Johann Transhel (born 1870), a student of the Imperial Academy of Arts in 1892–1900.

¹⁴¹ OR RNB. F. 1015. No. 266. Letter 13. March 26, 1899. L. 37.

¹⁴² Letter from Anna Ostroumova to her parents dated March 28, 1899 from Bardonecchia in Piemonte to St. Petersburg: “4 o'clock in the morning. We sit on the platform on our luggage, as on the ruins of Carthage, Anyuta, Lanceray and I. Italian border – Modane. Just saw the snowy peaks of the Alps and drove through a half-hour tunnel. Our train is full of people. More than three hundred people”. OR RNB. F. 1015. No. 266. № 14. L. 41. The 13.65 km long tunnel was built in 1858–1871.

¹⁴³ March 31, 1899 E.E. Lanceray sent Alexandre Benois from Rome to Paris four open letters with photographs of the square in front of St. Peter's cathedral, the Arch of Janus, the façade of Peter's Cathedral and the Square of Spain. OR GRM. F. 137. Op. 1. No. 315. L. 2–5. A copy is kept in the archives of the artist's family.

environmental development) and even at first did not understand the beauty of Rome: "The city, as a city, is ugly, but the tone, the colors !!!!"¹⁴⁴. Alexandre Benois, left behind in unexpectedly snowy Paris, retold his nephew's impressions to his sister Ekaterina in St. Petersburg: "Zhenyaka [Eugène] is surprised in Rome; I'm terribly envious; but it seems to me that he is doing well before the final immersion in the Petersburg rottenness, to grab fresh and clear air!"¹⁴⁵.

Anna Petrovna Ostroumova was thinking about a trip to Italy back in February¹⁴⁶ and was struck by the nature of Rome, probably more than Eugène Lanceray. On March 30, she wrote to her parents in Russia: "Second day in Rome. I am writing in the square in front of St. Peter and have breakfast with Anyuta and Lanceray. Just climbed to the very dome of the cathedral. From there we looked at the whole of Rome. The air is unusual, it smells of palm trees, oranges and cypresses. Yesterday we were at the Coliseum, at the Forum and at the front café on the Corso. We are going to the Vatican now"¹⁴⁷. On April 3, in a letter to Claudia Petrovna Truneva, she continued to admire Rome: "For three days now, I have been in the eternal city! The impressions are amazing! What a nature! Oranges, flowers, bright sun all enchant. All day long we run around the ruins of Rome. Yesterday we were in the catacombs and on Via Appia in the chapel of Levra"¹⁴⁸.

On the way back from April 7, the travelers visited Siena, Florence¹⁴⁹, Pisa and Genoa. What they saw can be judged after Anna Ostroumova's letters to her parents, Peter Ivanovich and Maria Klementievna Ostroumov (Department of Manuscripts of the Russian

¹⁴⁴ OR GRM. F. 137. Op. 1. No. 315. L. 5.

¹⁴⁵ Letter from Alexandre Benois to Ekaterina Lanceray (born Benois), written in April 1899. Archive of the State Hermitage. F. 9. Op. 1. № 76. L. 52v.

¹⁴⁶ On February 12, 1899, Anna Petrovna Ostroumova wrote to Klavdia Petrovna Truneva: "And maybe in two weeks I will leave for Italy, Rome, Florence, Siena, Milan and Genoa with my friend Pisareva." OR RNB. F. 1015. No. 270. L. 2.

¹⁴⁷ Letter from A.P. Ostroumova to her parents from Rome to St. Petersburg. OR RNB. F. 1015. No. 266. Letter 14a.

¹⁴⁸ OR RNB. F. 1015. No. 270. L. 3. Already on her return to Russia, Anna Petrovna Ostroumova wrote again to Klavdia Petrovna Truneva at the end of April: "A week since I returned from Italy and I still live with these wonderful impressions, what Italy gave me ... How many wonderful sensations. And why do I need all this?! We lived in Rome, in Sienna, in Florence, in Pisa and in Genoa, the latter made one of the strongest impressions on me. Fascinating Mediterranean Sea! OR RNB. F. 1015. No. 270. L. 4–5.

¹⁴⁹ There was trouble in Florence. Anna Pisareva went to the consulate to get a free museum ticket for Anna Ostroumova and lost her passport. Anna Ostroumova wrote about this in her letter to her father dated April 18, 1899. OR RNB. F. 1015. No. 266. № 17. L. 50–51.

National Library, Fund № 1015). On April 10, she wrote: “I am in Florence, that is, in the homeland of almost the greatest masters: Raphael, Michel-Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci and many others. The city itself is delightful, in a wonderful charming valley, surrounded on all sides by high mountains with snowy peaks, the river Arno flows through the valley. The city is small with miniature, narrow streets, on which rise colossal medieval battle castles, of surprisingly strange architecture, with small tiny windows, built of colossal unhewn stones, more like fortresses than palaces of aristocratic families, which have now long been exhausted. Florence is now all in flowers, not without reason the Italians call it Firenze la Bella. But what constitutes, so to speak, its grain – these are its galleries – there are no similar galleries in the world. Here the whole history of painting stands out vividly, when it was revived in the Middle Ages, on the soil of the ancient world, but with the new high ideals of Christianity, starting with the first forerunner of medieval art, Giotto, and ending with the crown of all Italian artists, Raphael, here they are all surprisingly full, characteristic and shining their best works. Unfortunately, we stay in Florence only 4 days, it is so, so little to learn everything, and besides, it is interesting to see the surroundings of the city, and the time that we have left from the galleries, we use for country walks. On the very first day upon arrival, we took a carriage and drove out of town along a wonderful road which ascended a huge screw-like mountain, from where marvelous views of the city, blue mountains, monasteries with their cemeteries and dark cypresses, olive groves, the Arno River opened; The road along which we rode at a walk pace was all planted with trees completely strewn with flowers: white, pink, purple – peaches, cherries, apricots, wisteria! What air! Warmth, in a word, as good as in paradise. Today we went even higher on an electric horse to another mountain, where the old monastery of Fiesole stands and from where we watched the sunset! In the evening, returning to the city, after dinner, we wandered around the sleeping city for a long time, looked at the waves of the Arno, and they dragged me home almost by the arms, I was so exhausted today.”¹⁵⁰

On April 12 the travelers left Florence, and already on April 14, Anna Ostroumova wrote her parents from Genoa: «So I finished my little trip to Italy. I'm leaving Genoa in an

¹⁵⁰ OR RNB. F. 1015. No. 266. Letter № 15. Partially published: Fedorov-Davydov A.A. and Nedoshivin G.A. (1970, p. 389).

hour, and tomorrow evening I'll be in Paris. Recently, Italy has not spoiled us with regard to the weather, and when leaving Rome, we immediately felt that we were going north. In Genoa, fortunately for us, half a day was good and we managed to ride in a carriage along the highest points of the city and look at the sea from afar. Then we went to the sea and not only in the harbor, but we even went a little to the open sea. <...> With great difficulty, we landed at the very end of the pier, where part of it was smashed to smithereens by the last storm <...> Late in the evening, when the city was getting dark and the lanterns were lit, we returned to the harbor. The painting was magical. The silhouettes of ships of various physiologies rose like ghosts, thinly drawn in the darkened sky. On the shore there are thousands of lights, houses, and behind them mountains and mountains with peaks covered with clouds. <...>

A city with a very special physiognomy, not the same as we have seen so far <...> This is the largest port in Italy; a mass of wandering or passing people, a mass of all kinds of nationalities, an incredible revival in the streets, on streets of unusual narrowness - you can't walk side by side together, or you get both walls with one and the other, and at the same time the houses are 7 and 8 floors. Some cracks! Where people are swarming, just some kind of "fly-eating"»¹⁵¹.

On April 16, Eugène returned to Paris and on the 20th wrote a lengthy letter to his mother in St. Petersburg, in which he admitted that "that Rome nevertheless made the strongest impression", and in which he singled out "two arts – the ancient Roman in museums in the form of countless statues, and the Christian in churches and a little in art galleries, in fact, not rich"¹⁵². Remarking his low interest in ancient sculpture, which is also abundant in the Hermitage and the Louvre, Eugène noted the picturesqueness and poetry of the ancient ruins of temples and palaces: "The first ones are beautiful and there is the most interesting thing in Rome: marvelous columns, capitals, friezes, bas-reliefs – they are all made of stone, and therefore each piece, even falling, retains all its charm of fine workmanship and taste; or these charming remains of temples, triumphal arches can be

¹⁵¹ OR RNB. F. 1015. No. 266. Letter № 16.

¹⁵² Draft letter from E. Lanceray to his mother, dated April 20, 1899. Archives of the artist's family.

directly admired – this is what you will not see in such numbers anywhere except Rome”. He also noted the ruins of the Palatine, the ruins of the baths and the villa of Hadrian, but immediately made a reservation: “I am delighted with ancient Rome – although the Middle Ages are kinder and closer to me”. The main disappointment of the artist was the Baroque basilicas: “There are many basilicas in Rome – and I had high hopes for them, but, alas, I was disappointed in them. <...> Everything glitters with gold, precious stones, everything is gigantic, pretentious, theatrical, it beats either optical illusion or wit”.

Eugène correctly noted that “all true works of art are made for people, on a human scale; all [ancient] Roman temples are small; palaces - even amaze with the modesty of the size of the rooms; Gothic churches – their doors, bases of columns, stairs – everything is built at man size. In Rome, they increased antique proportions with a compass”. In the 1900s-1910s and in the Soviet era, the artist tried to maintain human proportions in his monumental painting and was very reluctant to undertake the execution of Stalinist projects of gigantic proportions.

Despite the poverty of Roman art galleries, Lanceray noted the marvelous paintings of Titian, Velasquez, Veronese, Botticelli, Melozzo da Forli (apparently by the degree of impression from them). He mentioned Michelangelo's *Pieta* and the monument to Sixtus IV Antonio Pollaiolo in St. Peter's Basilica, the paintings by Raphael and Michelangelo in the Vatican¹⁵³.

After Italy, E. Lanceray visited the English capital around May 15–20, 1899. He traveled with Alexandre Benois, Somov, Nurok and Nouvel, from Paris via Dieppe and Southampton. In London, they were accompanied by Ostrogorsky, they went to St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, the British Museum, to the changing of the guard ceremony, to the play *Tristan and Isolde* in Covent Garden, to the music halls. But the National Gallery

¹⁵³ “Picture galleries are random and poor: for the whole of Rome 1 (but marvelous) Titian (worthy of this name, the rest under his name is boring), 1 Velasquez, 1-2 Veronese, 1 Botticelli, 1 Melozzo da Forli, 1 Valentin. But then I came to the real gem of Rome – the frescoes of Raphael and Michelangelo in the Vatican. Raphael's rooms and Michelangelo's plafond are so good that I don't

made a special impression on him, where the artist, thanks to a good restoration, discovered Italian painting of the 14th–15th centuries and the Dutch, as A.P. Ostroumova in Paris: “I confess I don’t have to be bored, but it’s terribly annoying that you didn’t go with us. So today we were at the National Gallery and, I can only say that I have not yet seen either the Italian primitives or the Dutch (not to mention the English, who are almost non-existent in Europe). I just realized today, I saw what primitives are, in general, what old painting is. I saw how diverse they are, what amazing new combinations of colors! My dirty, sooty glasses have definitely fallen out of my eyes! The secret is that they are in perfect condition, so restored, as if painted yesterday! There is not this monotonous yellow tone, there is no dirt, and there is nothing to say but that everyone only wins. And don't be afraid – Titian is just as golden, and Rembrand is just as mysterious!”¹⁵⁴.

Around May 14 (26), 1899, Eugène Lanceray, together with Anna Ostroumova, returned by train from Paris to St. Petersburg, where a new St. Petersburg period of his work began.

In the 1900s, the attitude towards Italy in the Russian intelligentsia changed. The perception of its monuments becomes deeper, taking into account the general trend towards the study of antiquity and the Renaissance.

“With the beginning of the new century, the situation began to change significantly. The attraction to *culture*, generally characteristic of the Silver Age, was expressed in a new appeal to Italy and its artistic treasures. Bearing in mind the literary centrism of Russian culture, one should not be surprised that the “return” of Italy into its orbit was primarily due to writers, among whom are those close to P.P. Muratov, B.K. Zaitsev and M.A. Osorgin, who lived in Italy in the 1900s-1910s. At the same time, a whole galaxy of young intellectuals (graduates and partly teachers) emerged at Moscow University, who chose the art and literature of antiquity and the Renaissance as their specialty – A.G. Gabrichevsky,

even want to get excited...” Draft letter from E.E. Lanceray to his mother E.N. Lanceray dated April 20, 1899. Archives of the artist's family.

¹⁵⁴ Letter from E.E. Lanceray to A.P. Ostroumova, from London to Paris, on May 16, 1899. Copy in the archives of the artist's family.

B.R. Vipper, A.K. Dzhivelegov, S.V. Shervinsky and others" (Pechenkin and Shurygina, 2018).

A major role in the emergence of the neoclassical trend in Russian culture of the early 20th century was played by Alexander Benois, who published his articles praising the old architecture of St. Petersburg in the journal *World of Art* since 1902, from a special issue dedicated to this city (article "*Picturesque Petersburg*", 1902, No. 1, Chronicle, pp. 1-5). Benois's interest in the classics can be seen both in his contributions to the magazine *Artistic Treasures of Russia* (1901-1903) and in his program article "*Waiting for the Hymn to Apollo*" in the first issue of the magazine *Apollo* (1909). In 1909, he admired the Kurzal project in the spirit of neoclassicism by architect I.A. Fomin, who has been designing in this style since 1903 (competition project of P.P. Volkonsky's mansion near Moscow¹⁵⁵) and did not lag behind the art critic in praising the classics (article "*Moscow Classicism*" in the magazine "*World of Art*", 1904, No. 7), and thus participated in the formation of the neo-Empire style.

In every European country, the appeal to the classics in the architecture of the late 19th – early 20th centuries was associated with its national characteristics of the perception of antiquity and the Renaissance¹⁵⁶. In Russia, this perception and absorption took place especially actively in the second half of the 18th – first half of the 19th centuries and was associated with the development of domestic classicism of the 1760s – 1830s. Therefore, the appearance of Russian neoclassicism was associated with a more attentive attitude of architects to domestic classicism.

¹⁵⁵ Lisovsky V.G. (2008) *Ivan Fomin and the metamorphoses of Russian neoclassicism*, St. Petersburg: Kolo, p. 138.

¹⁵⁶ "The appeal to the architecture of the Renaissance resulted mainly in the appeal of many architects to various periods of their national renaissance, from its inception to the end of the 18th century. The choice of this or that period was usually a matter of taste. Since the development of the Renaissance in each country was influenced by the earlier architectural tradition of that country, the appeal to the past was partly a return to local traditions. So, for example, in England, some architects looked for examples in the architecture of the transitional period from the Gothic to the Renaissance in the 16th century, others in the traditional forms of residential buildings of the 17th century, others in the classical architecture of residential buildings of the 18th century, while others took as a model the creativity of individual architects." Whittick A. (1960) *European architecture of the twentieth century*, Moscow: State publishing house of literature on construction, architecture and building materials, pp. 26–27 (translated in Russian from English).

More broadly, “it was the *World of Art*, with its unique combination of modernity and passeism, that could see the classical style of the past as an integral phenomenon and set the task of recreating it”¹⁵⁷.

“The propaganda of neoclassicism was in the context of the long-standing desire of the *World of Art* to include Russia in the contemporary international art process. In neoclassical forms, Benois saw the language of international recognition of the Russian architecture (Zolotinkina, 2008, p. 293). In "Artistic Letters" in the newspaper *Rech*, Benois (1910) criticized both the "national" trends in Russian architecture that dominated the second half of the 19th century, and the "masquerade" neo-Russian style and pretentious modernity, "frivolous eclecticism and amateurism": "In general, in the advanced circles of the artistic and amateur world, the attraction to the strict simplicity of classicism is becoming stronger and stronger”.

The roots of neoclassicism in the architecture of St. Petersburg and Moscow go back to the end of the 19th century¹⁵⁸. In 1897, the architect Vasily Fedorovich Svinin won the competition for the design of the building of the Ethnographic and Commemorative Departments of the Russian Museum of Emperor Alexander III, and built in 1903–1911, it became the first building in Russia specially constructed for a museum exposition, and even in the neo-empire style. But the actualization of the "Italianizing" direction of retrospectivism is associated precisely with the 1900s, especially by the time after the collapse of the Venetian campanile on July 14, 1902.

The peak of the development of neoclassicism in St. Petersburg begins with the opening in March 1911 of the Historical Architectural Exhibition in the halls of the Academy of Arts¹⁵⁹. The exhibition was being prepared for about two years. The

¹⁵⁷ Revzin G.I. (1992) *Neoclassicism in Russian architecture of the early twentieth century*, Moscow: VNIITAG, p. 59.

¹⁵⁸ The formation of neoclassical architecture on the basis of “classifying eclecticism” in Moscow, in particular, is analyzed in the article: Rozanova T.M. (2005) "On the problem of the emergence of neoclassicism in Russian architecture (on the example of the works of Moscow architects at the turn of the 20th century)", *Architecture in the history of Russian culture*, Issue 6, Moscow, pp. 278–315).

¹⁵⁹ B.M. Kirikov calculated that if by 1905 “only 30 objects of neoclassical orientation” were built in St. Petersburg, then in 1906-1910 – 140, and in 1911-1914 – more than 400. Kirikov B.M. (1997) “Neoclassicism before and after the revolution. On the Role of Classical Traditions in the Architecture of Petersburg-Leningrad”, *St. Petersburg: a Window on Russia, 1900-1935*.

commissioner was I.A. Fomin, and Alexandre Benois joined the committee. In April of the same year, the project of a large 5-storey residential building of the First Russian Insurance Company on Kamennostrovsky prospekt was approved, developed with the active involvement of elements of neoclassicism by three Benois – Leonty Nikolaevich, Yuli Yulievich and Albert Nikolaevich, with the participation of Alexander Ivanovich Gunst (built by 1914).

And already in 1915, Alexandre Benois (1915) wrote about the students of the Academy: “No matter what professors that students study with, they all compose and develop their projects according to the canons of the “absolute beauty” that was handed over to the archives, they all give out a careful study of Palladio, Scamozzi or our Russians Palladians: Gvarengi, Rossi, Tomon, Starov and Stasov”.

The second trip of Eugène Lanceray to Italy took place in 1907. In November 1906, in the hall of the S. Korzinkin’s Great Moscow Hotel, Lanceray’s panel *Nymphs and Satyrs* (2x11 meters) was installed, executed on canvas with oil paints in the workshop of the Moscow School of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture on Myasnitskaya Street. On the fee received from the execution of this monumental painting, E. Lanceray and his wife Olga Konstantinovna (née Artsybusheva) realized their old dream: in March-June 1907 they visited Italy. On January 16, 1907, the artist wrote to Alexandre Benois about his plans for this trip: “In the spring, in March-April, we want to go abroad! <...> We would like to go to Italy and see the southern nature, in passing, the Alps, but for me personally – frescoes and large paintings in general – this is after the Moscow panel. Somehow, I want Italian painting, and architecture; and primitives, and Bolognese – all at the same time. But Paris, sorry, somehow doesn’t pull. In my heart I am indifferent, if not even hostile to Gauguin and tutti-quanti.<...> We put about 1000 [rubles] on the trip (I have about 2 ½ left from my Moscow work). There is no travel plan yet – so far Venice, Ravenna, Florence, Pisa, etc.,

Rome. Maybe in Venice we will capture the exhibition. Maybe You will go there for its organization?"¹⁶⁰.

On February 22, Ekaterina Nikolaevna Lanceray confirmed the project of her son Yevgeny in a letter to her brother Alexander: "Zhenya and Olya are going abroad very soon and it is to Northern Italy, and Albert is going there in a week to Lake Gardi, Milan and Venice."¹⁶¹ By February 23, the trip plan became more precise: "We would like to leave in the first half of March for 2 months. Itinerary in general: Vienna, Lago di Garda, Verona, Mantua, Florence, Siena, Orvieto, Rome; way back – Perugia, Assisi, Urbino, S. Marino, Ravenna (?), Padua, Vicenza, Venice, Vienna. Of course, for 2 months there is too much here"¹⁶². Further on, Lanceray writes about his preferences: «I want to see and draw a "historical" landscape with rocks – scenes, an abundance of distances, with towns on the tops of steep mountains. Maybe go to S. Gimignano? In architecture, one would like to see the Renaissance rather than the Gothic; thin and austere, but not Roman baroque; but in Rome it's rather just to live among the solemn poetry of the ruins». Arguing further, the artist, due to lack of time, thinks of abandoning Urbino, Ravenna and San Marino. But he plans to leave Mantua and Vicenza, which "Shchuko, who has just returned from there, terribly recommends"¹⁶³. The priorities in the study of the Renaissance are indicated by the

¹⁶⁰ E. Lanceray meant the Russian section at the 7th Venice Biennale. Letter from E. Lanceray to A. Benois, dated January 16, 1907. OR GRM. F. 137. Op. 1. No. 323. L. 5. Copy in the archives of the artist's family.

¹⁶¹ Letter from Catherine Lanceray to her brother Alexandre Benois dated February 22, 1907. OR GRM. F. 137. Op. 1. No. 304. L. 27.

¹⁶² Letter from E.E. Lanceray to A.N. Benois, dated February 23, 1907. OR GRM. F. 137. Op. 1. No. 323. L. 11.

¹⁶³ Idem. Architect V.A. Shchuko (1878–1939) was a student of L.N. Benois and friend Eugène and Nicolas Lanceray (in 1903 they examined the temples and monasteries of the Pskov region together). He first visited Italy (Rome, Florence, Mantua and Venice) during a retirement trip in 1905. For the second time he was sent abroad by the Academy of Arts in the fall of 1906 and for almost a year studied the architecture of Italy in detail, made measurements and sketches of the Palazzo Ducale and Palazzo del Te in Mantua, the Palazzo Porto Barbarano and Chiericati in Vicenza and many other buildings. At the end of the trip, a large exhibition of his works was arranged in St. Petersburg, which inspired many architects and artists to study the Italian Renaissance. In the 1930s, E.E. Lanceray communicated with Shchuko in connection with monumental painting projects at the Frunze Military Academy (a mosaic panel with red banners, based on sketches by Lanceray, was created in Leningrad in the workshop of V.A. Frolov; it was installed in 1937, as the first mosaic in a public building of the USSR), the Lenin All-Union Public Library, the main pavilion of the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition and the Palace of Soviets in Moscow, and the Gorky Theater in Rostov-on-Don. In 1934, Schuko was once again in Italy (Venice, Florence, Rome, Caprarola, Naples and Pompeii, Milan) and at the All-Union Creative

estimated time expectancy in cities: "We put 15 days on Rome, 10 days on Florence, 12 days on Venice, 10 days round trip (i.e. Russia, Vienna, Austria in general)".

As a result, the trip stretched to almost three months. Thus, the couple were able to see everything planned: after Verona, they enjoyed the art of Giulio Romano in Mantua, spent about ten days in Florence, where in the Palazzo Vecchio the artist "terribly liked everyone – both Vasari and Poccetti and others. And from the carpets of Bronzino – completely crazy – in terms of colors, perhaps the most beautiful thing we have seen"¹⁶⁴. In Tuscany and Umbria, Eugène realized his commitment to the art of the early Renaissance: "I am still so far behind that the [masters] of the Quattrocento still touch me more than others <...> Yesterday, in Orvieto, I really liked the Signorelli; Pinturicchio, in Siena, is handsome in the general effect of the hall, but as a poet of lines, poses I do not like him; meanwhile, Signorelli is a whole well, let's say, rather cold".

On April 17 [new calendar style], the couple arrived in Rome. Unlike the first trip in 1899, Eugène Lanceray is now "less interested in architecture and, in particular, Gothic, and much more in painting". On the very first day, he visited the Vatican Pinacothec, where he fell in love with Giotto, became disillusioned with the "deep primitives" (Beato Angelico) and unexpectedly discovered Guercino ("what a beautiful tone – green on black!").

Soon Lanceray left Rome, as they were in a hurry to the south, to Sicily, where they saw Palermo, Taormina, Syracuse. From Palermo, Eugène wrote a short letter to his friend Igor Grabar on a postcard with a photograph of metopes in Selinunte: "Dear Igor, how good these metopes are! Here are inimitable samples – despite all their awkwardness!! And how good is the South! And especially those that are already reminiscent of our summer!!"¹⁶⁵.

Conference of Architects in May 1935, he categorically spoke out: "Architects should be sent to Italy. Only there can one study architecture" (*Architectura SSSR* [Architecture of the USSR], 1935, no. 6, p. 2).

¹⁶⁴ Letter from E.E. Lanceray to A.N. Benois, from Rome to St. Petersburg, on April 5/18, 1907. OR GRM. F. 137. Op. 1. No. 323. L. 14. Copy in the archives of the artist's family.

¹⁶⁵ Letter from E.E. Lanceray to I.E. Grabar, dated April 13/26, 1907, from Palermo to Dugino, through Grabar's apartment in Ovchinnikovsky Lane in Moscow. OR GTG. F. 106. Op. 3. No. 7011.

From Syracuse on May 3, the artist wrote to Kostya Somov: “The weather is marvelous – the sea, rocks and a museum with Greek vases – this is the best thing here”¹⁶⁶.

On May 8, the couple, having enjoyed spring Sicily, were already in the suburb of Messina, the town of Faro, crossed the Strait of Messina. On the way back they visited Sorrento, Naples, lived in Rome for about a week, then were in Assisi, Perugia, Padua, Vicenza and more than ten days in Venice. The artist had special impressions from the old Venetian masters: “Tintoretto was admired in St. Rocco – Tintoretto reigns, in my opinion, in Venice; he fascinated me much more than Veronese, Titian...”¹⁶⁷.

Already on June 8, Eugène Lanceray and his wife had completed their Italian trip, leaving for Vienna, where they met the artist Jan Zionsky. The 12th of June they went from Vienna through Kiev to their estate Ust-Krestishche in the Kursk province.

After the Italian monuments of the Renaissance, in which architecture, painting and sculpture are combined into a single harmonious ensemble, Eugène Lanceray begins to pay more attention to the connection of his paintings with the architecture. This could only be achieved through more active and long-term cooperation with the architects. Due to his neoclassical predilections, before the 1917 revolution, the artist worked mainly with A.P. Tamanov, V.A. Shchuko, A.V. Shchusev¹⁶⁸ and I.V. Zholtovsky. Together with

¹⁶⁶ Letter from E.E. Lanceray to K.A. Somov from Syracuse to St. Petersburg, dated April 20 / May 3, 1899. OR GRM. F. 133. Op. 1. No. 239. L. 4.

¹⁶⁷ Letter from E.E. Lanceray to A.N. Benois, from Venice to St. Petersburg, on May 25 / June 7, 1907. OR GRM. F. 137. Op. 1. No. 323. L. 15. Copy in the archives of the artist's family.

¹⁶⁸ A.V. Shchusev first came to Italy in 1898. In August of this year, he and his wife came to Venice through Vienna and Trieste, where they met with Professor Grigory Kotov. Amazed by the Cathedral of San Marco, a few days later in early September, they left for Rome (they studied the Castel Sant'Angelo, St. Peter's Basilica, the Forum, the Capitol, the Church of Santi Quattro Coronati, the Colosseum), then to Naples with its ancient suburbs of Herculaneum and Pompeii, as well as a little more distant Paestum. Then, having left for Florence (with a tour of the Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore, the Palazzo Vecchio), they suddenly decided to go for the winter through Sicily to Tunisia, where they spent two months. “From Sicily in the winter he left for Africa in Tunisia, where he lived out the winter, and in early spring he began to climb up Italy to the north, and in April he was already in Nice, and then in Paris, where he stayed for six months, enrolling in the Julian Academy of Painting in order to improve in an accurate drawing”, wrote the architect in his memoirs (Sorokin, 1987, p. 149). In the autumn of 1899, the couple visited London, the harsh architecture of which, after Italy, did not impress Alexei Viktorovich. After a 16-month trip, he returned to St. Petersburg, “his reporting exhibition was highly appreciated” (Afanasiev, 1978, p. 14).

Zholtovsky¹⁶⁹, whom Lanceray considered as the best among modern architects¹⁷⁰, he worked almost simultaneously, in 1908-1912, on three commissions: a panel and a ceiling lamp for E.Ya. Zhukovsky in Crimea (1908-1911), ceiling and frieze in Tarasov's mansion on Spiridonovka in Moscow (1909-1911) and painting of Nosov's mansion (1910-1912). Moreover, for these commissions, E. Lanceray worked simultaneously with other artists, whose work sometimes belonged to completely different pictorial trends. This forced the artist to approach the style and selection of subjects more carefully.

Unfortunately, there is no information about the visits of E.E. Lanceray of Italian buildings of the 19th century, as well as his attitude to contemporary Italian painting in the spirit of impressionism, modernism and symbolism, which could be seen, for example, in the Palace of Exhibitions in Rome, built in 1883 by architect Pio Piacentini. We do not know his attitude to the Macchiaioli group of Tuscan artists who developed realistic tendencies.

But the artist could not help but see the grandiose buildings designed to return grandeur and national features to Italian architecture - the gallery of Vittor Emmanuel II in Milan (1865-1867) with four panels in the lunettes under the dome, the monument to Vittor

¹⁶⁹ I.V. Zholtovsky was an ardent supporter of copying Italian elements in Russian neoclassical architecture. In total, the architect has been to Italy 26 times. According to V.V. Vasilyeva, “after graduating from the Academy, Zholtovsky traveled around Italy. He rode the train from Milan to Venice and read Goethe's *Travels in Italy*. It is thanks to this book and the magnificent texts of the German poet that he suddenly decides to change his route and goes to Vicenza, the homeland of Palladio” (Firsova, 2004, p. 35). Zholtovsky himself recalled: “I learned about Palladio from Goethe. So a few bright, intelligent pages of the great poet and thinker opened up a new world in art for me, gave me the direction of my entire creative life” [ibid.]. Since 1903, he traveled to Italy with I.I. Nivinsky. In 1904, he redesigned the interior of the Bridal Room in the Ducal Palace in Mantua with frescoes by A. Mantegna into the lobby of the House of the Race Society in Moscow with murals by I.I. Nivinsky (completed in 1906). He studied not only Mantua from the Palazzo del Te, but also numerous villas near Vicenza. Shuko, Grabar and other architects and artists then traveled along his route. In 1910, Zholtovsky traveled to Rome to design the Russian Pavilion for the International Art Exhibition in Rome. In 1923–1926 he was in Italy on a business trip from Karkompros. I. V. Zholtovsky told his students: “Taste can be developed by knowledge, vision. You are unhappy in that you do not have the right to travel. Without Italy there is no science for an architect. Without Italy, you don't know what beauty is, what art is” (Nashchokina, 2017, p. 7).

¹⁷⁰ E.E. Lanceray became a member of the editorial committee of the *Yearbook of the Society of Architects-Artists*. In his letter to his brother N.E. Lanceray, dated March 19, 1906, in connection with plans to invite architects to publish their works he wrote: “So far, Fomin considers his allies Zheltovsky (do you know him? He is a Muscovite; his projects on the exhibition of the New Society of Artists in the Academy Sciences, – I am delighted with them, in my opinion, he is the best among our modern architects), Shchusev, Karpovich (I don't know his work at all, but he is close by his

Emmanuel II (1884-1911) and the palace Justice (1888–1910) in Rome. But during the master's visit to Italy the 105-meter frieze by Giulio Aristide Sartorio (1908–1912) in the Parliament Hall in the Roman Palazzo Montecitorio, depicting the triumph of the new country, had not yet been painted, also as the 30-meter cycle of paintings by Vittorio Zecina "A Thousand and one night" (1914, partly in the National Gallery of Modern Art Ca Pesaro, Venice).

Partly under the influence of the trips of Alexander Benois and Eugene Lanceray, in July 1908 their friend **Mstislav Dobuzhinsky** went to Italy. To develop the scenery for the production of the play "Francesca da Rimini" in the Moscow Drama Theater of V.F. Komissarzhevskaya, he sought to get into small medieval Italian cities. He visited Milan, Perugia, Padua, Verona, Florence, Siena. But it was not until his second Italian trip, made with his wife and three children in the summer of 1911, that Dobuzhinsky saw Rome, San Gimignano, Naples, and Pompeii for the first time, and paid close attention to ancient monuments and Renaissance and Baroque paintings¹⁷¹. In a letter to Maxim Gorky already from Switzerland, he wrote: "By the way, I was in Orvieto (I remember our conversation) and I was completely delighted with Signorelli, who, perhaps, is one of the most beautiful impressions of Italy"¹⁷².

views), I would definitely add Tamanov here, you and me, and then they will get more". OR GRM. F. 38. Op. 1. No. 11. L. 12.

¹⁷¹ Impressions of M.V. Dobuzhinsky about Italy are reflected in his memoirs: Dobuzhinsky M.V. (1923) *Memoirs of Italy*, Petrograd: Akvilon.

Chapter 3. Pre-revolutionary period (until 1917) and Caucasian period (1917–1934) of Eugène Lanceray's artwork

Outline

The inherited and grown influence of Italy, the purely artistic development of Eugène Lanceray, shown in the previous chapter, are confronted with the geopolitical changes and personal historical destiny of the artist. It can be obviously divided into pre- and post- revolutionary periods. The particularity of this PhD dissertation is to show such dramatic changes through the art style changes in the Lanceray's artwork. (1) Here the influence of Symbolism and Art Nouveau, of European artists on Lanceray are studied. Also his studies in Paris and participation at European and *World of Art* exhibitions, his creativity in the spirit of Renaissance universalism, his works and experiments on different levels up to the monumental artworks in Neoclassical style, and of course his first theatrical sketches that refer us again to his great-great-grand father, the Italian composer, Catterino Cavos, and to the family art tradition. In this part, we could identify the romantic personality and artistic universalism that are prevalent. (2) Then, we analyze the artistic confrontation with the new reality after 1917, his escape in the Caucasian mountains, and we emphasize the dilemma between the danger of artistic reclusion and the search for new artistic solutions despite the demands for a greater "revolutionism". We took into account the role of ideological attitudes, in the era of mass collectivization and industrialization, and the "partisanship" of art in analyzing Lanceray's monumental and theatrical artwork. (3) We could identify and demonstrate a very original picturesque search of E. Lanceray on his own, in the era of the dominance of both European modernism of the 1920s and "heroic realism" in the USSR.

¹⁷² Letter from M.V. Dobuzhinsky to M. Gorky dated September 13, 1911. Dobuzhinsky M.V. (2001) *Letters*, St. Petersburg: Dmitry Bulanin, pp. 114–115.

3.1. Book and magazine graphics with elements of Art Nouveau and Symbolism.

At the end of the 19th century, one of the main lines of the artist's activity was the work on graphic illustrations for literary works¹⁷³. In these initial experiments, strongly influenced by Alexandre Benois, Lanceray paid more attention to the unity of style and the "calligraphic" execution of various elements of the book's design, rather than the organic connection of illustrations with the meaning of the text.

Under the influence of Alexandre Benois, Eugène became interested in modern (mainly French) art. However, often the tastes of emerging artists did not match. So, in 1893, Eugène takes a negative stance towards some of the symbolists praised by Alexandre, suggesting that the dark tones, decorativism and blurred manner of performing their works are largely a tribute to fashion.

Nevertheless, the artist, following the theorist Albert Aurier, who shared the realistic and deistic tendencies of art, fully approves the return of the symbolists to the search for truth and beauty: "The search for truth through feeling is expressed by art and is art <...> The current French symbolists in this respect are a gratifying phenomenon. They want to return art to its real goal – the search for beauty and finally kill tendentiousness <...> It is not their fault that they have no talents, and that they involuntarily rush to extremes and scream. But the direction is good".¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ Among his early graphic experiments were illustrations for *Tales* of E.A. Lytkina (1894), to the book *Legends of the ancient castles of Brittany* of E.V. Balabanova (1897-1898), to the stories *Shot* and *Dubrovsky* of A.S. Pushkin (1899). Of great interest are the illustrations and design of Lanceray for the 3rd volume of *History of the royal and imperial hunting* of N.I. Kutepov (1901-1902), in the books such *Tsarskoye Selo in the reign of Empress Elizabeth Petrovna* of A.N. Benois (1904–1910), *Poems* of S.K. Makovsky (1905), *Tsar Hunger* of L.N. Andreev (1908), *Wreath to Wrangel from the Society for the Protection and Preservation of Monuments of Art and Antiquity in Russia* (1916). There are numerous frontispieces, title pages and covers created by the artist in the 1900s–1910s: for the books *The Russian School of Painting* of A.N. Benois (1904), *Gardens and parks. History and theory of garden art* of V.Ya. Kurbatov (1916), to the multi-volume *History of Painting of All Times and Peoples* of A.N. Benois (1912) and others.

¹⁷⁴ Fragment of a diary entry November 2, 1893. Archives of the artist's family. On November 28, 1893, Lanceray continues: "But they (Schura and Nouvel) [Alexandre Benois and Walter Nouvel] hope that in the future people will notice the falsity of the progress of the 19th century, they will notice that they have gone the wrong way, etc. Therefore, long live the symbolists, with Joséphin Peladan at the head, long live the saviors of the world!!!". Joséphin Peladan – writer, head of the Rosicrucianism in France.

The work of the 17–20-year-old artist is dominated by romantic passion for Middle Ages, and the artworks themselves fit into the concept of late romanticism as an important element of pre-symbolism. He studies the work of Moritz von Schwind, creates sketches for the tapestries *William the Conqueror* and *The Archer* (1893), a three-meter panel with a knight in the house of the directorate of the imperial theaters on Bolshaya Podyacheskaya Street (January 1894), a decorative panel *Resting and dreaming French troubadour of the XIII century* over the fireplace in the Benois house.¹⁷⁵

Despite the careful attitude to the pictorial innovations of the Symbolists, some features of this trend with a significant touch of romanticism appeared in the early work of the artist. Being influenced by the works of Menzel and by the *Calamity* of Aubert, he painted in May 1893 *The Battle* with the main actors – the deaths. In his diaries on 13 December 1893, he wrote down plans for the development of paintings in which a wide palette of human feelings could be conveyed: “I would like to make a picture of youth, its feelings: wide, light, clean, strong, furious, cheerful, aimless; for example, some people on horseback, galloping, playing – with wide, laughing faces; powerful and fresh sun and water <...> Then, even today, I would like to make a picture of the smallness, weakness, but impudence and stubbornness of a person. Columbus (or sailing caravels, or landing him ashore), surrounded on all sides by the unknown”. Among the ideas of topics with “feelings” we find allegories of life: “Time leads a person along a narrow path, consisting of individual stones, and these stones fall off now, just as Time passes them. Time holds the veil of the future before its eyes and covers a person with it to the very feet” (diary entry on 4 February 1894).

The artist studied modern French magazines, including *L'Art Français*, *L'Art et l'Idée*, catalogs of the Salon du Champ de Mars, in which he singled out Pascal Dagnan-Bouveret, Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, Arnold Böcklin.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ Diary, October 7, 1894: “Leaning and leaning his hands on a tree, a man stands and looks to no one knows where ... Behind him in a valley flooded with the light of a bright sun, castles gracefully rise among the forests... This picture interests me more for its pictorial qualities and external aspects of execution than for its mood, feelings and symbolism (like *Forest*)”.

After studying in Paris, at the turn of the century, Eugène Lanceray established himself as a master of magazine graphics (since December 1898 he created covers, headpieces, vignettes, endings, initial letters, fonts, signatures, frames, etc.)¹⁷⁷ and "small forms" graphics (from 1898 – bookplates, publishing and postage stamps, drawings of signs, emblems, diplomas, etc.), and as an author of affiches (for *Historical and Art Exhibition of Russian Portraits*, 1905, for the exhibition *Lomonosov and Elizabethan Time*, 1912, and for the theater performances) and of posters (newspaper *Morning of Russia*, 1907). In these artworks, Lanceray acts as a skillful graphic artist, who does not limit himself to one favorite method and successfully uses both the *vignette* technique and the full-page image in the design of publishing products. He is attentive both to the authenticity of details and to the harmony of the whole. The *World of Art* style with a refined, sometimes almost miniature drawing technique, increased attention to the decorative properties of line and spot, which the artist largely followed in his early works, was based on a culture of the detail – authentic and allusive at the same time, allowing to harmonize the whole according to the principle of free association. Both in book and magazine and other printed projects, Lanceray was one of the first artist in Russian art at the turn of the 19th–20th centuries who consistently and systematically approaches the issue of achieving the unity of all elements of the publication: he creates book layouts and seriously studies all stages of the printing process (from typesetting and layout to printing and binding). In his complex approach to the art of the book, Lanceray took a lot from his uncle A.N. Benois, who actively promoted the leading role of the artist in book publishing and advocated greater integrity, thoughtfulness of the entire design and production at its various stages¹⁷⁸.

¹⁷⁶ On May 31, 1893, the artist wrote in his diary about Böcklin: "I agree that he is one of the best".

¹⁷⁷ E. Lanceray worked on the design of the magazines *World of Art* (since December 1898), *Art Treasures of Russia*, *Children's Recreation* [Detsky Otdykh], *Golden Fleece* [Zolotoe Runo], *Apollo*, etc. He created the covers of periodicals *The Yearbook of the Society of Architects-Artists* (1906) and *The Yearbook of the Imperial Theaters* (1909), to the almanacs of the publishing house Shipovnik, to the almanacs *Torches* [Fakely] (1906), etc.

¹⁷⁸ From an unpublished article by A.N. Benois, "Notes on book graphics", of the 1910s: "An artist working on a book should first of all, before any thoughts about ornamentation, pay attention to the basic requirements of beauty in a book: to the format, quality, surface and color of paper, to the placement of text on the page, on the distribution and ratio of filled and empty spaces, on the font, on pagination, on bleed, brooch, etc. A book can become beautiful without a single decoration, and vice

His symbolist hobbies largely arose and developed under the influence of trips to Western Europe: in 1894 (Warsaw, Vienna, Munich, Switzerland, Paris, Rouen, Le Havre, Copenhagen), in 1895-1896 (Paris), in 1896-1898 (Paris, Brittany, Germany, Prague, etc.), in 1898-1899 (France, Italy, London) and in 1900 (Paris), naturally inclining Lanceray to European versions of Art Nouveau.

Since 1898, the artist has been developing various design elements for the magazine *World of Art* (vignettes, headpieces, endings, frames, publisher's stamp). At the suggestion of Diaghilev and impressed by the emblem of the *Münchener Secession* by Franz von Stuck, he makes sketches for the cover of the magazine *World of Art*¹⁷⁹. Completely immersed in magazine graphics, he brought symbolism to the publication. In December 1898, he created a headpiece for an article about Whistler depicting a captive princess and a dragon (1899, no. 16–17). For the same magazine, he created screensavers for the works of Z.N. Gippius and D.S. Merezhkovsky (1901, no. 5), to K.D. Balmont (1904, no. 12).

The symbolist tendencies in Lanceray's work were quite accompanied by the romantic traits of his character. So, in 1905, he took the side of the revolutionaries, advocated the abolition of autocracy, with the transition to a constitutional monarchy, for resolving the issue of land and democratic freedoms. Many acutely political drawings for the magazines *Zhupel*, *Infernal Post* [Adskaya Pochta] and *Spectator* [Zritel] (published from September 1905 to July 1906) were created under the influence of European magazine graphics, including works by Thomas Theodor Heine for the magazines *Simplicissimus* and *Die Jugend*.

The cover and stamp for the anthology *Torches* [Fakely], published during three years since 1906 are expressive symbolist works, created under the influence of revolutionary expectations. These images are explained by the author's annotation in the magazine *Infernal Post* (1906, no. 2, p. 8): "We raise our torch in the name of the affirmation of the individual and in the name of a free union of people based on love for the future transfigured world".

versa, all decorations will not lead to anything if these basic requirements are forgotten – examples of which we see every day" (Archive of the Hermitage. F. 9. Op. 1. No. 1. L. 11).

¹⁷⁹ The first issue of the magazine was published in November 1898 with a cover designed by K.A. Korovin. The issues with cover by E.E. Lanceray were published in 1901.

However, during this revolutionary time in Moscow, philanthropist Nikolai Pavlovich Ryabushinsky founded a new publishing house, the *Golden Fleece*, which was called upon to continue the educational function of the closed *World of Art* magazine. As Andrey Bely wrote in his story “The Argonauts”: «I will publish the magazine “Golden Fleece”. The Argonauts will be my co-workers, and the Sun will be my banner. With a popular exposition of the principles of sunshine, I will kindle hearts. I will gild the whole world. Let's choke in the liquid sun»¹⁸⁰. Lanceray created a publishing mark with the image of the Argonauts ship and the Golden Fleece in an octagon. The first issue of the magazine appeared in January 1906.

In 1906, the artist made the cover for Konstantin Balmont's book *Evil Charms* (published by the magazine *Golden Fleece*). In 1908 he designed the book *Tsar Hunger* of L.N. Andreev and designed covers for the collections *Earth in the Snow* of A.A. Blok and *Calls of Antiquity* of Balmont. Two years later, there were headpieces to the poems of Cherubina de Gabriak for the *Apollo* magazine (no. 10). In 1912, there was frontispiece to the first collection of A.A. Akhmatova's poems, *Evening*.

Having taken over from his older comrades and mastered such a version of the expert approach of historical and literary subjects, which was closer to the genre of memoirs than to an objectified scientific presentation, he simultaneously sought to overcome their passéism and get rid of nostalgic "visions". Back in the 1890s, Lanceray's creative mind was dominated by fascination with romanticism associated with Wagner, Böcklin, Zola¹⁸¹, tours of the Meiningen Theater, with love for the era of knights¹⁸² and navigations of Columbus¹⁸³. In the 1900s, his interests shifted to the 18th century, Beardsley, the magazine

¹⁸⁰ Bely A. (1991), *Symphonies*, Leningrad, p. 450–455.

¹⁸¹ As a teenager, Lanceray read the novels of Gustave Aimard, Jules Verne and Mayne Reid. He also read the poem *Prisoner of the Caucasus* of A.S. Pushkin.

¹⁸² In the 1890s, E. Lanceray studies the work of Moritz von Schwind, creates sketches for the tapestries *William the Conqueror* and *Archer* (1893), develops a panel with a knight in the house of the directorate of the imperial theaters on Bolshaya Podyacheskaya Street (January 1894) and a decorative panel *Resting and dreaming French troubadour XIII century* on the fireplace in the Benois house (October 1894).

¹⁸³ On December 20, 1893, the artist wrote in his diary: “For Zoza [Rossolovsky], I want to create the *Columbus' Caravels in the Ocean* <...> Thought: to show the terrible desert, loneliness, helplessness and audacity of a person. The terrible, changeable, unknown force of the ocean, which

Simplicissimus, but at the same time, a craving for the transmission of the details of modern life was growing¹⁸⁴. As the artist himself wrote in his autobiography in 1943, «parallel to this bookish and “foreign” world of interests (for me, a boy, these were castles, knights, landsknechts), my father’s friend, the sculptor-animal painter A.L. Aubert laid in me a love for wildlife, for animals, for the “smells” of the earth»¹⁸⁵.

At the same time, Lanceray was and remains known primarily as one of the first artists of the Silver Age, who conveyed the poetics of ordinary St. Petersburg. Back in the first half of the 1890s, he painted extensively different parts of the capital from nature, together with his uncle Alexandre Benois¹⁸⁶. His series of St. Petersburg views of the early 1900s gained great fame¹⁸⁷ and influenced many contemporaries (including M.V. Dobuzhinsky and A.P. Ostroumova) by its unusual compositions and poetry of an everyday life.

In the 1900s – early 1910s, Lanceray, like other artists of the *World of Art* group, developed himself as an easel graphist of a retrospective warehouse. With great interest in the Russian history of modern times, he studied the engravings of the 18th century and

does not even feel these miserable caravels. The uncertainty of the future, the distance of the homeland; loneliness, horror, mystery, the weakness of man and the power of nature” (archive of E.E. Lanceray’s family). Images of sailing ships will be found many times in the artist’s work of the 1900s–1910s: from *Ships of the times of Peter the Great* (1909, Russian Museum) to the sketch *Neptune* for a cutting factory (1915, private collection).

¹⁸⁴ E. Lanceray was keenly interested in events in the modern world. On the basis of newspaper and magazine articles, he draws the French squadron in Kronstadt (1891). In 1900, his drawing *D.V. Grigorovich on his deathbed*, created on December 23, 1899, was lithographed and published in the journal *World of Art* (no. 23–24, p. 182). He spends a lot of time in the Neskuchnoye estate, where, under the influence of the sculptor A.L. Aubert paints animals, plants, fields (a study with a hut was published in the journal *World of Art*, 1902, no. 7, p. 187).

¹⁸⁵ *Instead of the autobiography of E.E. Lanceray*, April 24, 1943, Department of Manuscripts of the State Tretyakov Gallery, F. 91, No. 26, L. 2.

¹⁸⁶ Among the early works of Lanceray, depicting various parts of the city: the drawings *Aubert at the corner of Liteiny and Nevsky* (1891), *Winter in St. Petersburg, Glinka Street* (1893), *Zagorodny Prospect near Gorokhovaya Street. Sunset* (1894), *View of the Catherine Canal from the Kharlamov Bridge to the Kazansky part. Twilight* (1894), watercolor *Fontanka* (1895) – which Alexander Benois put above the work of his brother Albert and planned to give to the exhibition of the Society of Watercolorists.

¹⁸⁷ Works *Old Nikolsky Market* (1901, gouache, charcoal, colored pencil, State Tretyakov Gallery), *Vasilyevsky Island. 7th Line* (1901, watercolor, State Tretyakov Gallery), watercolors *Kazan Cathedral* (1902, State Russian Museum) and *Kalinkin Bridge* (1902, State Russian Museum), were lithographed for the magazine "World of Art" in 1902.

depicted various scenes from the reigns of Peter the Great¹⁸⁸ and Elizabeth Petrovna¹⁸⁹ with convincing detail.

By the end of the 1900s, neo-classical tendencies (including neo-empire and neo-mannerism) increased in Lanceray's magazine and book graphics. In 1909, he created a sketch for the cover of the *Yearbook of the Imperial Theatres*, and in 1912, together with his brother Nikolai, a drawing of a *Diploma for the Ministry of Trade and Industry* with allegories, angels and attributes similar to those that Eugène Lanceray would depict in his monumental panels in 1916–1917.

The artistic universalism of Lanceray's art was combined with his active social life: participation in exhibitions (since 1898), artistic groups activities. He became widely known as a member of the old (since 1900) and new (since 1910) artistic group *The World of Art*. In 1913–1916 he was the chairman of the committee of this Society. Lanceray was also a member of the Union of Russian Artists (1903–1910), the Northern Circle of Fine Arts Lovers (since 1909), and of the Association of South Russian Artists (since 1913). October 29, 1912 at the suggestion of V.V. Mate, I.E. Repin and V.V. Pokrovsky Lanceray was awarded the title of Academician of the Imperial Academy of Arts. And November 20, 1915, after the death of K.A. Makovsky, he became a full member of the Academy and a member of the Council of the Academy.

3.2. Monumental and monumental-decorative painting of E. Lanceray in 1900s (elements of Symbolism, Impressionism and Art Nouveau)

Eugène Lanceray, known mainly for his graphic artworks, including illustrations for *Hadji Murad* and *Cossacks* of L.N. Tolstoy, very early began to conceive large easel works.

¹⁸⁸ Paintings: *The building of the Twelve Collegia at the beginning of the 18th century* (1903, watercolor, State Russian Museum), *Boat of Peter I* (1906, watercolor, gouache, ink, State Tretyakov Gallery), *Walk on the pier* (1908, tempera, State Russian Museum), *Ships of the times of Peter the Great* (1909, tempera, State Russian Museum, and 1911, tempera, State Tretyakov Gallery), etc.

¹⁸⁹ Paintings: *The Old Winter Palace in the middle of the 18th century* (1902, watercolor, colored pencils, whitewash), *Empress Elizaveta Petrovna in Tsarskoe Selo* (1905, gouache, State Tretyakov Gallery; version in the Nizhny Novgorod State Art Museum), *Tsesarevna Elizaveta Petrovna and Transfiguration in the guardhouse of the Winter Palace on the night of November 25, 1741* (1911, tempera, Tver Regional Picture Gallery), etc.

Even while studying at the Drawing School of the Imperial Society for the Encouragement of Arts (1892-1895), Eugène developed sketches for tapestries for a series of *Royal Hunts* on topics related to his passion for knights and medieval life: *William the Conqueror* (December 1892) and *Archer* (1893)¹⁹⁰ for the ex-wife of his uncle Albert Benois, Maria Karlovna Efron (née Kind). In January 1894, at the suggestion of Albert, together with V.P. Ovsyannikov and K.E. Gheftler, he worked on a large almost three-meter panel depicting a knight in the house of the directorate of the imperial theaters on Bolshaya Podyacheskaya Street in St. Petersburg, built by his great-grandfather Albert Katarinovich Cavos in 1839–1840.

From February 1894, Lanceray developed the topic of *Resting hunter (knight) in the forest*, which influenced the composition, also in the spirit of romanticism, the theme for a decorative panel over the fireplace in the Benois house: *Troubadour or Resting and dreaming troubadour of the 13th century (France)*. “Leaning and leaning his hands on a tree, a man stands and looks to no one knows where ... Behind him in a valley flooded with the light of a bright sun, castles gracefully rise among the forests ... This picture interests me more for its pictorial qualities and external aspects of execution than for its mood, feelings and symbolism (like *Forest*)”, the young artist noted in his diary on October 7, 1894¹⁹¹. The idea was embodied, but the landscape, according to the author, did not work out due to the lack of chiaroscuro.

In November of the same year, he develops the *Roland's Death* (Roland blowing his horn and Olivier surrounded by Moors). As usual, summing up some results of his work by the end of the year, on December 5, Eugène wrote down the plots that he liked, but seemed difficult to implement. Among them, “semi-plafond *View of Notre Dame towers*, in Paris or Lyon, and maybe Cologne or something else like *Notre Dame in Paris, Laon or Cologne*”. Here the artist first conceived of a composition with large visual contractions due to the

¹⁹⁰ The Nizhny Novgorod State Art Museum has a sketch of *Archer* (paper on canvas, watercolor, gouache, 129.5x68.2 cm), dated by the author in November 1893. It is executed in a realistic manner with hints of romanticism in the spirit of the Pre-Raphaelites.

¹⁹¹ The diaries are kept in the archives of the artist's family. Published in: *Eugène Lanceray. Diaries*, Moscow, 2008–2009, vol. 1–3.

view from below upwards. Then he will use this technique in the panels of the Kazan railway station and the hotel “Moscow”.

But the work on fantasy compositions and access to the monumental level was stopped in the autumn of 1895 by a trip to Paris to study in the natural classes of private Academies. There the artist was influenced by Impressionism and Art Nouveau, which did not fail to affect the style of his monumental and decorative works, created after returning from Paris and finishing the publication for the *World of Art* magazine.

Back in the 1890s, the artist dreamed of working on monumental commissions¹⁹², but only from the beginning of the 1900s his creative ambitions have been more realistically extended beyond his passion for book and magazine graphics and topics related to the reigns of Peter the Great and Elizabeth Petrovna. In the spirit of Renaissance universalism, the artist sought to express himself in a wide variety of art forms: from chamber (graphics of "small forms") to theatrical¹⁹³ and monumental (panels and murals in mansions, hotels, train stations, etc.). Following the general mindset of the era, he believed in the greatness and high purpose of art¹⁹⁴. Lanceray highly valued the personality and art of M.A. Vrubel and was close to him in the desire to "serve beauty" in all his projects¹⁹⁵. A similar aesthetic position was held by his uncle Alexandre Benois¹⁹⁶.

¹⁹² E. Lanceray wrote in his diary on In May 24, 1893: "If I were an important and already good painter, maybe they would let me paint the gallery".

¹⁹³ It should be mentioned that E. Lanceray began working for the theater in the early 1900s: he created sketches for L. Delibes' ballet *Sylvia* at the Mariinsky Theater (January 1901; sketches were also developed by A.N. Benois, L.S. Bakst, K.A. Korovin and V.A. Serov; but the performance did not take place), projects of curtains and paintings of the Hall of A.I. Pavlova on Troitskaya Street (1901), design sketches for the stage portal and walls of the auditorium of the Vasileostrovsky Theater (1901–1902).

¹⁹⁴ On February 10, 1893, he recalled the words of Alexandre Benois: “Art is the only history that does not die (it seems so), it is the voice of the Nations, it is the voice of God! I want to be an artist, and a great, great artist!..” (diary of E. Lanceray, Archive of the artist's family).

¹⁹⁵ E. Lanceray had known M. Vrubel since the 1890s. In the 1900s he visited him in clinics, corresponded with him about the exhibitions of the Union of Russian Artists. After Vrubel's death in 1910, Eugène Lanceray was one of those who carried his coffin to the Novodevichy cemetery. Many aesthetic attitudes of Mikhail Alexandrovich Vrubel were close to him (for example, “it is impossible and unnecessary to paint nature, you must catch its beauty”), as well as the motto of Vrubel and S.I. Mamontov – “Il vero nel bello” (truth is in beauty).

¹⁹⁶ A.N. Benois in the article "Artistic heresies" wrote that "beauty is the last guiding star in those twilights in which the soul of modern humanity resides... We are left with one absolute, one unconditionally divine revelation – this is beauty". Benois A.N. (1906) “Artistic heresies”, *Golden Fleece*, no. 2, p. 86.

Like S.I. Mamontov, his father-in-law's companion, Eugène believed that the beauty of the form and content of images should be shown to people in public places¹⁹⁷. In 1905, the master showed solidarity with K.A. Somov and A.N. Benois and signed the article by M.V. Dobuzhinsky (1905) "Voice of Artists", which said that it was necessary to develop «a universal need for beauty and establish a connection and mutual understanding between artists and no longer "society", but the people».

After returning from a trip to Manchuria and Japan, in August 1902, Lanceray began to try his skills at "designing interiors". Together with his uncle Alexander Benois, he worked on the creation of a *Dining room* for the **permanent exhibition of architectural interiors, paintings, furniture and applied art “Modern Art”** in St. Petersburg, organized by Prince S.A. Shcherbatov and Baron V.V. von Meck under the artistic direction of I.E. Grabar. The room was found on the second floor of 33 Bolshaya Morskaya Street opposite the Society for the Encouragement of Arts in St. Petersburg. Benois wanted to refuse, “but it was not so easy to get rid of Grabar and, in the end, I agreed, making it an indispensable condition for E. Lanceray and A. Aubert to work closely with me; the first, unlike me, was just “rushing into battle” in this area” (Benois, 1980, p. 379).

According to Benois's sketches, a large chandelier and a wall panel *Bathing Diana* were created (mostly painted by S.P. Yaremich in November-December). Lanceray also designed sketches for fruit capitals, oak doors with copper inserts with the heads of antique style bacchantes, grates for a fireplace, a long white table, appliances for windows and doors, frames for mirrors in the form of quivers, curtains, drawings of a monster for a bas-relief on a fireplace and birds over the door (embodied by the sculptor A.L. Aubert). In December-January, he selected ornaments for the fireplace and drew stencils to decorate the walls and floor. The furniture was made in the workshops of N.F. Svirsky. Porcelain from the Danish Royal Manufactory was installed in the display cases of the wardrobe and sideboard. For the neighboring boudoir of L.S. Bakst, Lanceray created sketches of reliefs with sleeping cupids on top of pilasters. Also were created *Tea* of K.A. Korovin and *Terem*

¹⁹⁷ S.I. Mamontov said that “it is necessary to accustom the eyes of the people to the beautiful: at railway stations, in churches, on the streets” (Stanislavsky, 1994, p. 68).

of A.Ya. Golovin (S.V. Chekhonin took part in the wooden decoration of the walls). Grabar himself designed the main entrance with a staircase and Dutch stoves. "Shcherbatov and Meck made a room on the motif of a peacock feather" (Grabar, 2001, p.169). In October, Lanceray created designs for the signet and poster for the exhibition depicting the muse in an octahedron, holding a laurel wreath in her right hand and artistic instruments in her left. It was one of the first images in the spirit of neoclassicism in Russian graphics. The artist had previously turned to the antique mythological theme (the drawing *Apollo's Quadriga*, engraved by A.P. Ostroumova in 1899), but in the emblem of the art enterprise "Modern Art", Lanceray not only used the forms and images of antiquity, but also organically transformed them to fit the requirements for the renewal of modern culture.

On January 26, 1903, at noon, took place the opening of the *Grabariada* or the *Grabarnya*, as E. Lanceray and D.V. Filosofov jokingly spoke about the exhibition, since they did not believe in the success of the enterprise under the leadership of I.E. Grabar. Shcherbatov (2000, p.168) liked the decorated dining room very much. It has been noticed in the media: "It was a truly artistic achievement and high Art Nouveau style, successfully combined with the influences of Peter's Russia". In connection with the arrival of René Lalique, the exhibition was visited by Nicholas II and Alexandra Feodorovna; almost all presented Lalique jewelry were sold out. Paintings by K.A. Somov, on the contrary, were ridiculed by the royal couple. Taking into account the overspending by Grabar of the approved budget and the theft of the accountant P.I. Karpinsky, a lot of money was spent on this exhibition (more than one hundred thousand rubles). However, «not a single commission for furnishings was received, the whole room was not commissioned, neither individual chairs. Taking this into account, they [Shcherbatov and Meck - P.P.] decided to organize an expanded "committee" to further conduct the case and change its structure and settings», – recalled I.E. Grabar (2001, p.172).

On April 4, 1903, on Good Friday, the first meeting of the "members of the artistic enterprise" took place. The next day, Eugène Lanceray wrote to his uncle in Rome about broad plans involving Korovin, Golovin, Bakst, Somov, Roerich, Yaremich and Fomin, and about an invitation to Benois himself to manage the enterprise and to start the work no earlier than June. Eugène enthusiastically set to work. From March to June, he developed

sketches for a smoking room and furniture for it. But already in a letter to his uncle dated May 18, he expressed doubts about the success of the organization: «It would be important to know your attitude towards “S.I.” [the exhibition “Modern Art” – P.P.]. So, who needs it? <...> Kostya sympathizes but does nothing. Fomin was refused; Roerich abandoned his projects himself; Stepan Petrovich took on too little; and, finally, even You write that it is none of your business. These rooms are a nightmare for me. The prince is also in a hurry to give up his room, since "his is a painter". Only Dobuzhinsky is still working on something»¹⁹⁸. Nevertheless, Eugène wrote to his uncle about the continuation of work on June 2: «Still, I hope that when everyone come together, including You, even if not “officially” but only being its living leader and inspirer, it will come to life [...] By the way, where do you intend to place your office? Korovin is making a dining room in his old room»¹⁹⁹. However, after the return of Alexandre Benois from Rome in August, some dénouement happened – the exhibition premises were closed, Shcherbatov and Meck arrived two weeks later, reported "that they had completely despaired of the expediency and even in general of the artistic sense of this undertaking" (Benois, 1980, p.395).

After the closing of the exhibition, the furniture and a chandelier from the dining room decorated by Benois and Lanceray were transported to the Moscow apartment of S.A. Shcherbatov in the Knyazeva's house on Novinsky Boulevard, and then to Shcherbatov's house, built by A.I. Tamanyan in 1911–1913. After 1921, the house having been taken by the Revolutionary Military Council for the clinic, many of its interiors were lost. But like other rooms (*Boudoir* by L.S. Bakst, *Tea Room* by K.A. Korovin and *Terem* by A.Ya. Golovin), the *Dining Room* decorated by Lanceray and Benois became known to many architects, artists and entrepreneurs through publications in magazines and newspapers.

In April 1905 E. Lanceray shared the news with A.N. Benois: “Imagine the seeds of 'Modern Art' starting to sprout: I must be commissioned to draw the interior decoration of the CAFÉ in the house of the insurance society Rossiya in Belgrade (brother). Karpovich,

¹⁹⁸ Letter from E. Lanceray to A. Benois dated May 18, 1903. OR GRM. Quoted from a copy in the Lanceray family archives.

¹⁹⁹ Letter from E. Lanceray to A. Benois dated June 2, 1903. OR GRM. Quoted from a copy in the Lanceray family archives.

the architect of the Society, turned to me with this, referring precisely to our dining room. Price 500–600 rubles; deadline – by autumn; Empire modernisé style”²⁰⁰. However, work on this commission took place with long interruptions: on June 20, 1905, the first sketches appeared, to which, due to revolutionary events, the artist returned only in the middle of the next year²⁰¹. Palace Rossiya (nowadays the hotel “Moscow”) in Belgrade with ornamental paintings in the spirit of Art Nouveau in its café was officially opened on January 14, 1908.

Thus, in execution, the Serbian commission overtook the more profitable and urgent Moscow one – a commission on a panel measuring 2x11,7 meters for the **Great Moscow Hotel** (Bolshaya Moskovskaya gostinitza) of S.S. Karzinkin²⁰². Commissioned through the collector surgeon I.I. Troyanovsky in June 1906, it was completed by October, in November it was put in place and by the beginning of December it was “enlivened” with glazing. This was the first time the artist has worked with such a large and complex composition. “I made a composition that is quite difficult to perform and very risky for me. In the middle of the round dance of nymphs around a young satire, on the sides are marble vases, into which other satires pour fruits and dishes from baskets, while other nymphs come up and take it. Evening sky”²⁰³. Many artists approved the panel (V.I. Surikov, V.N. Meshkov and V.K. Byalynitsky-Birulya), but many criticized it (V.A. Serov, I.E. Grabar and K.A. Korovin): «Serov doesn’t like either the composition or the resulting tone – lilac. But Yuon found that the thing turned out beautiful; the owner himself, Korzinkin, was dejected that he allowed some “decadence” in color tone»²⁰⁴.

²⁰⁰ A copy of the letter, kept in the archives of the artist's family.

²⁰¹ In a letter to A.N. Benois May 11, 1906, E. Lanceray wrote: «Again I have a period of terrible delay, again I have to drive with all my might – this time the “architecture” – a café in Belgrade, about which I once wrote to You, almost a year ago, since, indeed, this commission has been lying for a year, and only now it is finally necessary to take on it» (a copy of the letter stored in the archives of the artist's family).

²⁰² In June 1906, while relaxing with his family in a village near Pskov, E. Lanceray created the first sketch. On July 30, he brought the sketch to St. Petersburg, and in early August he arrived in Moscow, where he first worked in the workshop of V.A. Serov at the Moscow School of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, and then in the building of the Historical Museum. One of the sketches *Twilight. Dancing Nymphs and Fauns* (1906; paper on canvas, tempera; 27x145 cm) is kept in the State Russian Museum. In transferring sketches onto a large canvas, the artist was assisted by V.D. Zamirailo, E.Yu. Lockenberg and an unknown artist named student of the Stroganov School.

²⁰³ From a letter from E. Lanceray to K.A. Somov dated July 2, 1906. RGALI, F. 869, No. 15, L. 13v.

²⁰⁴ Letter from E. Lanceray to A.N. Benois, November 9, 1906 (copy from the archives of the artist's family).

Despite the miscalculations made in the color effect and composition, the work on the panel had a huge impact on the artist's self-awareness.

In 1900s the artist's confidence in the significant benefits of the collaboration of the artist with the architect is being formed. The grandson of the famous architect N.L. Benois, Eugène had architectural thinking from his early years²⁰⁵, and in 1906 he joined the Society of Architects-Artists, he became a member of the editorial committee of the society's yearbook, created its cover with a strict border, font and medallion with a harp, laurel wreath and Apollo's head, and also published regularly in it. Interest in the architecture of different eras and countries only deepened over time, including through communication and correspondence with his brother Nikolai. Together with his friends architects (A.I. Tamanyan, I.V. Zholtovsky, V.A. Shchuko, A.V. Shchusev), Eugène developed many projects of monumental and decorative interior design in different styles.

At the same time, the first years (1902–1906) of the monumental work of E. Lanceray were dominated by the Art Nouveau style. Examples are sketches of two panels and ornamental painting of the café of the Rossiya Palace in Belgrade (1905–1908)²⁰⁶ or an unpreserved panel for the Great Moscow Hotel (1906). In the missing panel for the Café de France on the Nevsky Prospekt in St. Petersburg, painted in the summer of 1907 by commission from the architect A.I. Tamanyan, the theme of the park and walking ladies refers to the elegies of V.E. Borisov-Musatov, and the technique of painting refers to the works of the Impressionists²⁰⁷.

²⁰⁵ December 5, 1894 E. Lanceray wrote in his diary: “I must say that now I have a passion to arrange different buildings in certain historical and geographical conditions (of course, invented by me, but very natural). Every now and then I arrange castles, palaces, monasteries, cathedrals, draw plans, sections, perspective and bird's-eye views (the last most interesting) [...] Am I not an architect?”.

²⁰⁶ Known by publication in: *Yearbook of the Society of Architects-Artists* (1908), issue 3, St. Petersburg, p. 58.

²⁰⁷ A sketch is kept in a private collection, painted in July 1907 in tempera on canvas (75x172 cm). From a letter from K.A. Somov to A.P. Ostroumova-Lebedeva dated August 20, 1907: “At the end of July, quite unexpectedly, Eugène Lanceray arrived in St. Petersburg, having received an order to paint a fresco for the newly opened café on the Nevsky. Order *tour de force* in two weeks to paint a picture of a few square feet. And he coped with this task. I saw the sketch and the beginning of the

3.3. Monumental painting by E. Lanceray in Neoclassical style in late 1900s - 1910s.

The rapid development of the features of neoclassicism in the work of E. Lanceray was facilitated by his trip in March-May 1907 to Italy, his study of painting mainly of the XIII–XVII centuries²⁰⁸ and acquaintance with I.V. Zholtovsky²⁰⁹. The transitional projects of the master from Art Nouveau to Neoclassicism were his monumental and decorative works for the International Building and Art Exhibition in St. Petersburg in the spring of 1908²¹⁰ and the design of Ya.E. Zhukovsky at his dacha in Novy Kuchuk-Koy (Kastropol) in the Crimea²¹¹. For the latter, in 1908–1909, Lanceray created sketches for six oblong (25 centimeters wide) octagonal decorative panels for window piers and stencils of floral ornament, which were supposed to decorate the borders at the corners of the room and next to the windows and the door²¹². However, judging by the difference in the drawing project of the interior, depicted by E. Lanceray in his letter to Ya.E. Zhukovsky on September 21,

fresco itself. Very pleasant, in a European way <...>” (OR RNB, F. 1015, no. 902, L. 62). Leonid Mikhailovich Evreinov (1868–1921) helped the artist in transposing the sketch into a wall panel.

²⁰⁸ In two months, the artist managed to visit more than twenty cities from Verona, Padua and Venice in northern Italy to Syracuse, Taormina and Palermo in Sicily. A huge impression was made by Giotto, Tintoretto and, one might assume, Luca Signorelli in Orvieto and Giulio Romano in Mantua. Among the studied cities are Florence, Siena, Perugia, Assisi, Rome, Naples, Sorrento. In the Vatican Pinacothec, the artist singled out the paintings of Guercino, but in general, masters of the 16th century dominate in his predilection.

²⁰⁹ The artist wrote in *An attempt to analyze his artistic aspirations within the framework of a brief autobiography* in April 1945: “After indefinite modernist approaches in the compositions of the first experiments here [in the Tarasov mansion], under the influence of I.V. Zholtovsky, who is able to introduce so fascinatingly into the understanding of the artistic tasks of the Renaissance, I was already moving towards a more stylistic solution. I tried to give a composition in the spirit of Tintoretto's dynamic constructions” (RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. No. 1. L. 11v.).

²¹⁰ In the frieze with garlands and putti under the dome of the pavilion of the Ministry of Trade and Industry on Kamenny Island, the artist still used the Art Nouveau style. Two large panels *Knowledge* and *Labor* on the colonnade of the Main entrance to the exhibition in the New Village were painted by S.P. Yaremich, S.V. Chekhonin and other sketch artists in which E. Lanceray already used dynamic compositions and complex foreshortenings in the spirit of the Baroque.

²¹¹ In 1906, sketches of the interior decoration were created by V.D. Zamirailo, but he soon abandoned further work. Then in 1907 the owner invited the artists of the association *Blue Rose*, P.S. Utkin, P.V. Kuznetsov and A.T. Matveev, who created murals and park of sculptures in the spirit of Symbolism, as well as E. Lanceray and M.V. Dobuzhinsky, of which only the first was able to take part in the project. (Nashchokina M.V., 1999, p. 141; Sokolov B.M., 2004, pp. 96–113).

²¹² At the Museum of Architecture named after A.V. Shchusev, is kept a stencil of a modest floral ornament created by Lanceray in June 1909 (tracing paper, ink, watercolor; 111x37). The Lanceray family archives contain sketches of stencils, as well as a panel in which the artist depicted a female figure lying on the grass, symbolizing rest, which he painted with his wife Olga Konstantinovna (nee Artsybusheva).

1908²¹³, and photographs of the 1910s of the created interior²¹⁴, the decoration project underwent significant changes towards greater rigor at the end of 1909–1910, when some panels could also be finalized²¹⁵.

The 1910–1917 years were the time of the dominance of neoclassicism in the monumental projects of E. Lanceray²¹⁶. The most important and realized from them are neo-Renaissance plafond and frieze of the White Hall of G.A. Tarasov mansion in Moscow (1910–1911, architect I.V. Zholtovsky) and neo-Empire murals in the Memorial Hall of Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich at the Imperial Academy of Arts in Petrograd (1915, architect V.A. Schuko).

At the end of 1909, the artist received a commission from I.V. Zholtovsky for the design of the **White Hall in the Palladian villa of G.A. Tarasov in Moscow**. Already at the stage of thinking over the plots, it became clear that the room would become an exceptional classicizing “jewelry box”, on the example of which other artists could learn. E. Lanceray «oscillated between several myths, made sketches, for one, then to another. And finally, stopped, although at the most “hackneyed”, but for some understandable reason, not requiring a signature and explanations, a legend about the exploits of Perseus. It's a very tempting topic!»²¹⁷

On the nine-part plafond in the central octagonal composition, the artist placed *The Apotheosis of Perseus*: “Jupiter stretching out his hand to his son Perseus, on the sides

²¹³ OR GRM, F. 59, No. 1, L. 2v.–3.

²¹⁴ OR GRM, F. 59, No. 17, L. 2, etc. The decoration of the house has not been preserved. In Soviet times, it housed the kitchen and dining room of a boarding house. In 1987, it burned out. According to the memoirs of V.A. Mazyukevich, “from the dining room to the right, the door opened into the study of the owner of the house. One window faced south, the other east. The cabinet in yellow-lemon tones was decorated with medallions by E. Lanceray, either removable or panel-mounted. Painting on them shone with yellowish-brownish hues” (Galichenko A.A., 2005, p. 19).

²¹⁵ This order may also include Lanceray's 1910 sketch (19.6x59.1; paper, watercolor, whitewash, pencil) stored in the State Tretyakov Gallery, depicting a conventional Crimean bay with a sailing ship and a lighthouse on a rocky coast. In April 1911, the artist visited New Kuchuk-Koy to see with his own eyes the location of his small panels.

²¹⁶ The monumental works of E. Lanceray in 1910s are with different stylistic nuances: neo-Renaissance plafond and frieze of the White Hall of G.A. Tarasov in Moscow (1910–1911, architect I.V. Zholtovsky), neo-Empire murals in the Memorial Hall of Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich at the Imperial Academy of Arts in Petrograd (1915, architect V.A. Schuko).

²¹⁷ From a letter from E. Lanceray to I.V. Zholtovsky dated January 5, 1910. Private collection.

Mercury and Minerva, the patrons of Perseus". On the four sides of it, in a circle counterclockwise: *Danae and the Golden Rain* (conception of Perseus), *Perseus with the head of Medusa* ("in the foreground among the petrified victims of Medusa is her headless corpse, and Pegasus and Chryzaar are born from her neck"), *Giant Atlas supporting the vault of heaven* ("Perseus turned him into a mountain, showing the head of Medusa") and *Andromeda chained to a rock and Perseus fighting a dragon* ("Nereids and tritons are ahead"). In the corner caissons are the constellations related to Perseus.

In this one of the best monumental works of the artist, his desire for "dynamic twisting" in the spirit of Tintoretto was manifested, which subsequently developed in the artist's illusionistic plafonds. "In view of the fact that the figures of the Constellations will hang in the air, there will be almost no earth here and the figures will be located almost on the diagonals. I think to draw all the plot with a semi-plafond – at an angle of 45°"²¹⁸.

Usually, the artist worked on sketches for a long time, he believed that "a good sketch is almost half of the whole work". Exactly five months after the letter to Zholtovsky, he writes to A.N. Benois: "Now I am struggling with the final establishment of the composition of the plafonds, I am resolving the contradiction, so to speak, between my invented poses and what the sitters give! And God, how difficult it is"²¹⁹. By this time, there are sketches of individual compositions stored in the Tretyakov Gallery, the Rostov-on-Don Museum of Fine Arts, the Russian Museum, the Ulyanovsk and Yaroslavl Art Museums. And only in July with the help of L.M. Evreinov, the artist began to paint the canvases themselves with oil paints on the ceiling. Already in the winter of 1910/1911, Lanceray began working on a frieze depicting Atlanteans supporting the ceiling²²⁰; the rectangles contained inscriptions related to parts of the upper ceiling: *Minerva Perseam Protectrissa*, *Andromedam Liberat Perseus* and others.

²¹⁸ Idem.

²¹⁹ From a letter from E. Lanceray to A.N. Benois dated June 5, 1910. A copy in the archives of the artist's family.

²²⁰ The Rostov-on-Don Museum of Fine Arts has a sketch of a frieze dated March 23, 1911 (paper, watercolor, gouache, pencil; 24.5x90 cm).

The rooms next to the White Hall were painted by I.I. Nivinsky, Ermolaev and V.P. Trofimov, but their works were more often of a decorative or replica nature (paintings by Mantegna and Giulio Romano, paintings by Titian and Tintoretto were used).

Simultaneously with the work for the Tarasov mansion, from the autumn of 1910, commissioned by the same I.V. Zholtovsky, Lanceray created the first sketches of the unrealized painting of the **mansion of Evfimiya Pavlovna Nosova in Moscow** (Malaya Semenovskaya Street, 1)²²¹. The architect himself created in old building of 1880s new interiors with Corinthian columns. Nosova, the daughter of the industrialist and public figure Pavel Mikhailovich Ryabushinsky and the wife of the industrialist Vasily Vasilyevich Nosov, created an art gallery in this mansion, which she planned to bequeath to the city. Her nephew Yu.A. Bakhrushin recalled: «She was a typical representative of patronizing Moscow capitalism. Surrounded by symbolist poets and “World of Art” artists, she “despite reason, in defiance of the elements” turned the old Nosov house on Vvedenskaya Square, which I remember from childhood, into the palace of Cosimo Medici”²²².

This time, E. Lanceray chose the story of Heracles, Nessus and Dejanira as a subject, which was loved by artists of the Baroque era (G. Reni, P. Rubens and others). It was supposed to create an illusory oval ceiling for the Dining room on the second floor²²³, the sketches for which became the basis for the subsequent works of the master (Kazansky railway station, the Moscow hotel, the auditorium of the Bolshoi Theater). The very form of such an oval-shaped ceiling was borrowed from the Italian masters of the 17th century. The **neo-baroque tendencies** of the artist were soon noticed by A. Rostislavov (1915, p. 6): “Lanceray has a deep inner connection with the baroque <...> The tantalizing charm of the baroque is in its slender <...> heap of ornamental forms, in exceptionally lush

²²¹ Four sketches of the ceiling have been preserved in the State Russian Museum (May, autumn and December 1911), one in the Saratov Art Museum (*The Abduction of Deianira*; 1910), one in the State Museum of Architecture named after A.V. Shchusev (1911), one in the Odessa Art Gallery (*Hercules and Ness*; 1913).

²²² Bakhrushin Yu.A. (1994) *Memories*, Moscow, p. 244.

²²³ Sketches for the end wall with the scene *Diana turning Actaeon into a deer* were prepared by V.A. Serov, but the panel itself was not realized due to his death in November 1911. In 1912–1913, the ceiling of the main staircase was decorated with ornamental painting by M.V. Dobuzhinsky. The reason for not painting the plafond by Eugène Lanceray remains unexplained.

decorativeness, and in that sweet, graceful comfort, which are brought by light baroque forms”.

The year 1911, when Lanceray's murals were completed in the Tarasov mansion in Moscow, was probably the most important year in pre-revolutionary Russia in terms of the turn of architects and painters to neoclassicism. At the beginning of the year, the ideas of using the traditions of the classics were discussed at the Forth All-Russian Congress of Architects, and at the end of the year – at the All-Russian Congress of Artists. In March, at the International Art Exhibition in Rome, Russian painting, including neoclassical art, came out for international consideration. The "Historical Exhibition of Architecture" in St. Petersburg made important accents on Russian classicism of the 1760s – 1830s.

By 1911, dozens of mansions and tenement houses in the neoclassical style had already been built in Moscow and St. Petersburg. The building of the Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow was almost completed. Vladimir Kurbatov even put forward a thesis in the journal "Old Years" about the use of elements of the classical heritage in any era, which would then be carried out in the 1930s: “Classical styles, although they were developed by the Greeks and Romans, are universal styles, they can be applied by any nation and at any time, if only the task of the possible rationality of an architectural structure is set”²²⁴.

However, E.E. Lanceray, after his trip to the Caucasus (Chechnya, Dagestan, Georgia) in the summer 1912, went away from monumental painting for several years. In 1913–1914 he mainly worked on illustrations for Tolstoy`s *Hadji Murad*, worked as chairman of the Committee of the artist group *World of Art*, and worked as head of the artistic section of the cutting factories in Peterhof and Yekaterinburg, porcelain and glass factories in St. Petersburg. There was no time left for monumental painting.

Only in May 1915, shortly after returning from the Caucasian front of the First World War, E. Lanceray decided to execute a large commission – the painting of the **Memorial Hall of His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich** in the building of the Imperial Academy of Arts in Petrograd. At Shchuko's request, the artist

²²⁴ Kurbatov V.Ya. (1911) “Preparation and development of the neoclassical style”, *Starye gody [Old years]*, July-September, p. 151.

abandoned polychromy, foreshortening and "dynamic swirling" of baroque ceilings, and created grisaille tempera paintings in lunettes on the end walls (the allegories of *Knowledge* and *Inspiration*), on the formwork and along the edges, strict in tonal solution, arches (ornamental motifs), without overloading the ceiling. By September, the work was completed and soon the master was elected a full member of the Council of the Imperial Academy of Arts in place of the deceased K.E. Makovsky.

The monumental projects that the master got involved in shortly after finishing the painting of the Memorial Hall in the autumn of 1915 were no longer carried out to the end due to the First World War and revolutionary events. Since November, at the suggestion of A.V. Shchusev, he worked on the plafond *The Triumph of Russia Connecting Europe with Asia* for the **Kazansky railway station** in Moscow²²⁵. The architect even lent the artist a notebook with phototypes of casts from the antiquities of Cambodia, exhibited in the Indo-Chinese Museum in the Trocadero Palace in Paris. Here is how Shchusev wrote about his conversation with Lanceray: "Lanceray visited me and spent the whole day painting the ceiling and came to the conclusion that it must be done differently, he took my book from the Musée du Trocadero on the sculptures of India and left with it for the village. He conceived then the plafond not in the center, but on the side, which is needed when walking through the hall in length, stop and turn, and which is not permissible, it is necessary in the way you look at the plafond – to spin"²²⁶.

On November 17, 1915, having arrived at the Ust-Krestische estate, Lanceray wrote to Benois about his meeting with Shchusev and drew two versions of the ceiling in the letter: the old one with the location of some of the figures on one of the long sides, and the new one with an emphasis on the center of the composition with the figure of the queen, symbolizing the Russian Empire, hovering against the backdrop of clouds over Europe. "It

²²⁵ According to the idea of Shchusev and Benois, the plafond was to be inscribed in a neo-baroque cartouche, and the composition itself was supposed to have the illusion of depth, which increased its dynamism. In the center, against the background of clouds, the figure of the queen hovers, symbolizing the Russian Empire. To her left is Europe on a bull surrounded by heroes of ancient mythology, to the right is Asia sitting on a dragon, in front of which representatives of Asian peoples are visible.

appears to him [A.V. Shchusev - P.P.] to be necessary to place the main figures parallel to the long axis, therefore he is against the location of *Russia*, since in order to look at it one would have to come sideways. This is also a correct consideration, but I mainly wanted to give space in the middle part. With the new style, it is closer to your sketch, only the heads of *Asia* and *Europe* are turned to the center”²²⁷.

Already in 1916, Lanceray came to the perpendicular arrangement of the figure of *Russia*. On her left, *Europe* was supposed to be depicted on a bull, surrounded by the heroes of ancient mythology, on her right – *Asia* sitting on a dragon, in front of which representatives of Asian peoples are visible. Such equivalence in relation to the two parts of the world could show the importance of the development of the Asian part of the Russian Empire.

In December 1915, Lanceray was thinking about painting a balustrade to enhance the "break through space" effect²²⁸. For the artist, this project of illusionistic painting in the spirit of the Italian *trompe-l'œil* of the 18th century was very interesting. In the summer of 1916, he once again visited Shchusev at the Kazan railway station on his way from his estate Ust-Krestishche in the Kursk province to Petrograd. By this time, he had created many detailed sketches and at least three general sketches in 1/10 and 1/5 of the present size²²⁹. With the participation of Oreste Allegri, the designer of the Imperial Theaters, the transfer of sketches to large canvases began, but the work progressed slowly. Already on October 1, Lanceray wrote to his uncle: “All commissions for painting the Kazansky railway station collapsed due to “a misunderstanding of the main employees of M.-K. [Moscow – Kazan] railroads”²³⁰. Unrealized then because of the war and revolution, the

²²⁶ Letter from A.V. Shchusev to A.N. Benois dated November 16, 1915. OR GRM. F. 137. No. 1766. L. 11.

²²⁷ Letter from E. Lanceray to A.N. Benois dated November 17, 1915. OR GRM. F. 137. No. 325.

²²⁸ “I would think along the whole edge to let go for the *trompel’oeil* written thickness, like a parapet, a balustrade, on which draperies hang, etc.” From a letter from E. Lanceray to A.N. Benois dated December 8, 1915 (copy in the archives of the artist's family).

²²⁹ Most of them are stored in the State museum of architecture named after A.V. Shchusev, in the State Tretyakov Gallery and in private collections. Another sketch in 1/10 size is dated September 1917 (private collection).

²³⁰ Letter from E. Lanceray to A.N. Benois dated November 17, 1915. OR GRM. F. 137. No. 325. Published for the first time.

project was revised in the 1920s and Lanceray created new panels for the station only in 1933–1934, which influenced his move from Tiflis to Moscow.

Living in 1916–1917 in the estate of Ust-Krestishche, the artist painted in tempera on canvas panels for the meeting room of the **building of the Board of the Moscow-Kazan Railway in Moscow**, commissioned by A.I. Tamanyan²³¹. By September 1916, the program was chosen and the main work on painting canvases began. A.N. Benois decorated the working room of N.K. von Meck with a ceiling on the theme *Time (Saturn) awakens Labor (Hercules) and Trade (Mercury)*; and Lanceray designed a plafond and an elongated panel for the meeting room on the theme of traditional industries of the peoples of Russia. At the beginning of January 1917, he brought the canvases and frieze *Peoples of Russia* for the plafond to Moscow²³². After the February Revolution, Benois stopped working on the project, but Lanceray, after returning to Ust-Krestishche around February 20, continued. At the end of July, he even planned to bring to Moscow the last part of the canvases²³³. But because of the turbulences that began, the trip was canceled and "the painting was not put in place"²³⁴.

The last commission to the artist before the Revolution was a large panel *Overseas Trade* for the dining room of the **apartment of I.P. Manus in Petrograd**. At the end of September 1917, the artist made a last attempt to go with finished works through Moscow to Petrograd, but due to strikes on the railways, he managed to get only to the city of Livny, where he rented an outbuilding, where in case of pogroms he could quickly move with his family. Then he had to return to Ust-Krestische. Already in October it was dangerous to stay in the estates. Nevertheless, as early as November 8, 1917, the artist hoped to go to

²³¹ E. Lanceray wrote to his wife as early as June 9, 1915 about a pre-order of A.I. Tamanyan for the ceiling for the building of the Board of the Moscow-Kazan Railway.

²³² *Peoples of Russia* by Lanceray (tempera on canvas; 130x720) is in the Tretyakov Gallery since 1930.

²³³ On July 25, 1917, E. Lanceray wrote to A.N. Benois: "Today it turned out that in a week I will be in Moscow (I'm taking the last part of the painting for Tamanov)". OR GRM. F. 137. Op. 1. No. 325. L. 26.

²³⁴ Autobiography of E.E. Lanceray. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 2. No. 13. L. 3.

Petrograd on the 20th with a finished panel for Manus apartment²³⁵. And already on the 19th, Eugène urgently left with his wife Olga Konstantinovna and their children Eugène and Natalya to Kursk, and then to Temir-Khan-Shura in Dagestan. The sixteen-year period of the artist's life in the Caucasus began. For two years he moved away from monumental and decorative works and was mainly engaged in painting (landscapes, portraits, still lifes), printed and easel graphics. Even in the Georgian Democratic Republic, where he came in March 1920, large design projects were developed without his participation. Modernism was already in vogue and cafés were painted by such artists as S.Yu. Sudeikin, K.M. Zdanevich, D.N. Kakabadze, Lado Gudiashvili²³⁶.

But contemporaries have long appreciated the monumental and decorative talent of the artist. Mentions of his paintings and panels are found in pre-revolutionary magazines: *Golden Fleece* (in 1906-1909, Moscow); *Art, Painting, Graphics, Art Printing* (Kiev); *Apollo* (in 1909-1915, St. Petersburg). V.Ya. Kurbatov (1912, pp. 379–394) noted that “The art of E. Lanceray is an exceptional and, perhaps, the most unexpected phenomenon in the history of modern Russian artistic life”. Choosing some historical analogies to the works of the artist, the critic compares his theatrical scenery with the projects of Fr. Bibiena Galli, his monumental painting with murals of the early Venetians, and his graphic works with early engravings by Laper or Gravelo. Kurbatov's words sound prophetic about the future

²³⁵ In the summer and autumn 1917, Lanceray painted a large panel on canvas *Allegory of overseas trade during the time of Peter I* (oil on canvas; 200x386 cm; State Tretyakov Gallery) commissioned by architect M.I. Roslavlev for the Petrograd house (Sergievskaya street, 31) of the actual State Councilor Ignatij Porfiryevich Manus, merchant of the 1st guild, director of the board of the Russian Transport and Construction Society and the Association of Petrograd Carriage Works. On the right side of the composition are depicted Neptune, the goddess of navigation Naiad and a Negro, on the left – representatives of the peoples with goods. Separate sketches on canvas were developed for the panel - *Hare, Goose and Duck, Melon and Rutabaga*, etc. But the artist did not have time to take the almost completed works to the customer. And on July 4, 1918, Manus was arrested by the Cheka. On October 30, he was sentenced to death. Nevertheless, the artist completed the panels until 1925. In 1924, I.E. Grabar even offered to send this panel to the International Exhibition of Artistic and Decorative Arts in Paris. But the allegory in the spirit of pre-revolutionary murals seemed very outdated to critics and was exhibited only in 1961 at a posthumous solo exhibition of the artist's works at the Academy of Arts in Moscow, after which it was sold by the artist's widow to the collection of the Tretyakov Gallery.

²³⁶ Indeed, architects continued to appreciate E. Lanceray. In April 1920, he helped M.G. Kalashnikov to develop a project for the unpreserved decoration of the art room of the Georgian University. Together they came up with an interior in a rational variant of the Art Nouveau

recognition of Lanceray as "one of the masters of the great style", and his artworks in the *World of Art* magazine as classics.

The tenth issue of *Apollo* in 1915 opens with two articles about Eugène Lanceray. In the first one, N.E. Radlov only touches the theme of the artist's decorative talent: «Lanceray's graphic talent is only one of the expressions of his decorative talent, which had an equally strong effect in his works for the theater (the production of *Sylvia*), and in the painting of historical paintings, and in architectural painting (the ceiling of Tarasov home in Moscow, 1911, Bolshoi Hotel, 1906, Moscow Kazansky railway station, 1914–1915). His ability to cope with the tasks of decorating wide planes is revealed in the same way, whether he takes on the white and black spots of a book sheet or the colorful spots of decorative painting. He subordinates the composition of the drawing to them, lovingly looking for the simplest and most characteristic expression of the form and the balance of the individual parts of the composition. This "sense of constructiveness" is the undoubted result of the influence of the architectural environment in which the artist grew up» (Radlov, 1915, p. 3).

In the second article, A.A. Rostislavov explains the reason for the artist's predominant inclination towards the 16th–17th centuries by his education in the Benois architectural family. He is one of the first to consider the evolution of Lanceray's style of painting from the search for pictorial tasks using the carpet-planar manner and even impressionist technique to the development of "multi-storey", airy perspective and volume ("as it was understood and transmitted by ancient masters") in sketches for the Kazansky station: "On a bright, pompous, although introduced to a certain extent into a modest frame, background, the painting itself, and even on such a topic, should be pompous, typically baroque and, in any case, if we draw a conclusion from the previous one, in character Lanceray's inclinations". The critic notes the artist's "decorative instinct" and "a subtle fusion of Western and national forms", the basis of which was that in his works "baroque romanticism passed through the sobriety and modesty of realism, aggravated by the artist's personal traits..." (Rostislavov, 1915, pp. 5–10).

His uncle A.N. Benois in the newspaper *Rech* noted the "medieval" modesty of the artist, as well as his ability to "compose freely and work in any style": "This virtuosity is

style with elements of neoclassicism and the emerging Art Deco.

already something amazing and rare, and you just have to wonder how Lanceray has not immediately been contracted forever by all our architects, how they gave him some respite, during which he was able to work for himself, to relieve his feelings” (Benois, 1916). Benois sees such “moments d’*élection*” in the work of the artist in the field of illustration, including the design of *Hadji Murad* of L.N. Tolstoy.

Finally, already on the eve of the revolution, in the book *Modern Russian Graphics*, N.E. Radlov (1917, p. 61) predicted the future development of the artist and noted that "graphics is not Lanceray's specialty, although it was how he began his artistic performances <...> His frescoes are one of the most interesting examples of our young decorative art". It was only in the 1930s that he managed to fulfill these expectations of using the monumental talent in large projects.

3.4. Theatrical sketches by E. Lanceray in 1900s - 1920s

The great-great-grandson of the composer Katarino Cavos, Eugène Lanceray attended the Mariinsky Theater from an early age, and in 1890 was carried away by the tour of the Meiningen Theater in St. Petersburg with productions of W. Shakespeare and F. Schiller.

Since the early 1900s he begins to work for the theater: he creates sketches for L. Delibes' ballet *Sylvia* at the Mariinsky Theater (January 1901; sketches were also developed by A.N. Benois, L.S. Bakst, K.A. Korovin and V.A. Serov; the production did not take place), projects of curtains and paintings for the Hall of A.I. Pavlova on Troitskaya Street (1901) and for the Vasileostrovsky Theater (1902), collaborates with N.N. Evreinov (1907–1912).²³⁷

In the autumn of 1911, together with the architect V.A. Shchuko, E. Lanceray created the scenery for P. Calderon's play *The Purgatory of St. Patrick* (1643), for the second season of productions-reconstructions of the *Old Theater* enterprise in St. Petersburg. Mountain landscapes with towering rocks and shaded gorges, low swirling

²³⁷ In 1907–1908 the artist together with his uncle A.N. Benois worked on the scenery for the *Fair for the Indiction of Saint Denis*.

clouds in contrasting lighting, created in the spirit of romanticism, were used as the background of architectural structures (sketches are kept in the State Russian Museum and the State Central Theater Museum named after A.A. Bakhrushin; paper, watercolor, gouache).

With director N.A. Popov, the artist planned staging performances of *Deceit and Love* in Kiev (1909) and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* at the V.A. Panaev theatre (1914). But due to the passion of E. Lanceray for book graphics and monumental and decorative works, they were not carried out²³⁸.

For the next ten years, the artist did theatrical work in an episodic manner only. In the summer of 1918, being in Dagestan, Lanceray, according to the memoirs of the agronomist Abakar Gadzhiev, painted a curtain for the youth club in Temir-Khan-Shura with four figures of dancers and the emblem of national art – a chirakh lamp. And in mid-December 1921, having already moved to Georgia, he urgently (in three days) completed the curtain of the Red Theater of the Central Workers Club in Tiflis with the figure of a worker looking up at the soaring muse, replaced by a star with a hammer and sickle. He wrote about this work to A.P. Ostroumova-Lebedeva on December 18, 1921. The original sketch of the curtain is kept in the Georgian State Museum of Theatre, Music, Cinema and Choreography in Tbilisi (cardboard, gouache; 34x46; Inv. No. D-981). Against the background of the sky, the artist depicted a worker looking up at the soaring figure of the muse. On December 14, the pre-collegium approved the sketch, but recommended removing the figure of the muse, adding a star with a hammer and sickle, which a worker with a heavy tool in his hand should look at. The further history of the curtain is not known.

The time of the artist's most active creative developments related to the theater in the Caucasian period of his life falls on 1923–1929. A significant theatrical project realized in those years is his work on the scenery of William Shakespeare's tragedy *Julius Caesar*,

²³⁸ In a letter to N.A. Popov June 24, 1914, E. Lanceray wrote: “I want to abandon the *Midsummer Night's Dream!*... Time has advanced so much, and my work has lagged behind so much <...> Everything I do, I do with great effort and time. And here, besides, the area is almost new for me and, most importantly, in which I feel very insecure. And all the more so to make a debut at my

staged by I.S. Plato for the Maly Theater in Moscow. 8 sketches of scenery for 5 acts were commissioned to E. Lanceray by I.E. Grabar on behalf of director A.I. Yuzhin, on the 20th of July 1923 in Moscow. Due to lack of time, the costume designs were entrusted to I.A. Charlemagne. Lanceray worked on the scenery from September to November and was probably influenced by the scenery created in 1922 by A.N. Benois for the production of *Julius Caesar* at the Bolshoi Drama Theater in Petrograd. Sketches of scenery, schemes for constructing scaffolds for a revolving stage and lighting, plans for buildings, sketches for draperies and props, created by December, were remarkable by their classical orientation, subtlety of execution and detail (partly due to the requirements of the most accurate execution of scenery in Moscow by A.P. Pligin). The artist asked the artist of the Maly Theater K.V. Kandaurov, with whom he had known since 1911 through the exhibitions of the World of Art, to control the correct execution of furniture, architectural details of the scenery, breakdown into the backstage.

The production premiered on April 10, 1924 as a benefit performance on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of Ivan Stepanovich Platon's service at the Maly Theatre. The roles were played by well-known actors: Julius Caesar was played by M.F. Lenin, his wife Calpurnia by A.A. Yablochkina, Brutus by P.M. Sadovsky. On the 12th, the artist sent a congratulatory telegram to the director, who, judging by his telegrams, was pleased with the scenery. But the classical production, without elements of modernization in the spirit of V.E. Meyerhold, wasn't appreciated by all the spectators. A devastating review of the play by the publicist E.M. Beskin was published in the *New Spectator* magazine: "There is not a single living thought, not a single sharp feeling in the whole performance <...> You can't just "swim" with the flow of traditions like that <...> The composition of the performance is hopelessly dead. And ideologically. And artistically"²³⁹. Saturated with details, voluminous and prominent constructions, the scenery could be poorly viewed from the hall. The modern principle of using a turning circle with the simultaneous segmental construction of four

age already with a thing done properly ... <...> I assure you that rock is weighing on my theatrical plans!" (RGALI. F. 837. Op. 1. No. 202. L. 7-8v.).

²³⁹ Beskin E.M. (1924) "Yuliy Tsezar" i Malyiy teatr ["Giulio Cesare" and Maly theatre], *Novyyi zritel [New viewer]*, № 14, p. 4.

paintings was combined with the difficulty of using deep perspective. After ten performances and summer holidays, the production was withdrawn from the repertoire.

From April to October 1925, sketches for the scenery for *Julius Caesar* were shown at the International Exhibition of Decorative Arts and Art Industry in Paris. The Soviet theater section was located on the second floor of the Grand Palais. Also sketches from the Maly Theater were displayed: *Ladies' War* (1924) by V.E. Egorov and *The Forest* (1921), *Poverty Is Not a Vice* (1924), *The Freeloader* (1924) by D.N. Kardovsky, who received a silver medal. Due to their stylistic conservatism, the works from the oldest Moscow theater did not receive much press coverage at that time. But many of Lanceray's sketches, now kept in the Museum of the Maly Theater and the State Central Theater Museum, became widely known in Russia through the exhibitions "10 Years of the Maly Theater" (1927), "Artists of the Soviet Theater in the 17th Years. 1917–1934" (1935, Moscow), "Artists of the Soviet theater. 1917–1935" (1936, Leningrad), as well as from publications.

On November 21, 1924, Lanceray received a commission to decorate the interior of a theater in the village of Matkhodzhi in Imereti, near the town of Khoni. On January 14 of the following year, he began to compose a sketch of the ceiling, and on February 16 he set to work on a curtain and a harlequin with a scene of the revolutionary movement in Georgia (a sketch dated February 21 was preserved in a private collection) and soon found a solution for painting the auditorium. But the work was stopped by a fire in the theater and was not resumed.

The next project was more interesting for the artist, because it was associated with the oriental theme – the opera by C. Saint-Saens *Samson and Delilah* staged by director N.N. Bogolyubov in the Odessa City Theater. After the fire in the theater, A.Ya. Golovin in June 1925 recommended E. Lanceray and F.F. Fedorovsky to the theater director Greimer. They were supposed to prepare scenery for five productions by the opening day of the theater. Initially, Eugène planned to design scenery sketches for the A.G. Rubinstein's opera *Demon*. But already on July 8-13, he made the first sketches for the opera in three acts *Samson and Delilah*, incl. a sketch of the scenery for the 1st act "Dance of the Philistines in Gaza Square in front of the temple of the god Dagon", as well as a scene in a dungeon. As in

the production of *Julius Caesar*, the artist is fond of building architecture and sculpture: the golden temple of Dagon, statues of gods and figures of lions at its entrance. A significant part of the space of the first sketch is occupied by lush curtains.

In a letter to A.Ya. Golovin dated July 13, the artist expressed his desire for further cooperation with the Odessa Theatre, especially on oriental themes. But he did not receive more commissions, partly due to a long trip to Dagestan, and continued from September 22 to assemble capitals, props and eight costumes for *Samson and Delilah*. On November 6, he sent the achievements to the director N.N. Bogolyubov by mail, but the package was lost. On December 18, he had to start drawing new 20 sheets of costumes, sent on January 4.

Back in July, the Odessa House of Scientists discussed the requirements for updating new productions, incl. regarding decorations. The chief director insisted on figurative expressiveness against abstract constructions and, vice versa, on the excessive decorative sophistication of Italian opera *mise-en-scènes*. In the note "On the scenery of the Opera House" he wrote: "Expressionism, extreme expressiveness should make the scenery saturated with the content of what is happening, light and colors should support this expressiveness"²⁴⁰. Therefore, Lanceray's sketches for the scenery for the three acts were painted in a broader and baroque pompous manner than for *Julius Caesar*. In a more expressive manner than I.A. Charlemagne in 1923, sketches of the appearance of the main characters were also created – the majestic red-haired Samson with a bright red belt, the seductive and solemnly dressed Delilah, the high priest of the god Dagon with a red rod, the Gaza satrap Abemelech, other Philistines and Jews.

On November 20–24, the artist also drew a sketch of the portal painting, which was sent to Odessa on December 11. The master refused painting the curtain with K.I. Evseev. The premiere of *Samson and Delilah* itself, despite the difficulties with sending sketches, took place in December 1926. It was well received by critics, who appreciated the spatial design of the scenery, the rich colors of oriental props and costumes.

²⁴⁰ Bogolyubov N.N. (1925) About the scenery of the Opera House, *Theater Week magazine*, No. 13–14, July 7th, p. 9. S. Voy in the next article "Dispute about the Opera", opposes "official opera *mise-en-scènes*" and the dominance of "Italianism" – "Soviet opera needs a new actor and a new director."

A two-year break in the theatrical work of Lanceray (1926–1927) ended with a collaboration with Kote Marjanishvili (Marjanov) in 1928. Over the years, the art of scenography had undergone strong stylistic changes. Back in 1922–1926, K.A. Marjanov became the leading director in Tbilisi and was, according to Sergo Amaglobeli, "a dictator and monopolist of theatres of Georgia"²⁴¹. He attached great importance to the work of artists, but at the same time waged a struggle "against the old theatrical worldview, against the skills of a naturalistic theater. This struggle was mainly for the establishment of a new theatrical art, the art of aesthetic stylization, the art of spectacular "joy"²⁴². In 1925, he staged the tragedy *Hamlet*, in which, however, the scenery of I. Gamrekeli could not reflect the romantic ideas of the director. Actor U. Chkheidze recalled that "the talented artist still failed to convey the director's interesting idea. As a result, the construction and costumes were not up to par with the performance. They were stylized and gave only a general idea of the era"²⁴³.

Since 1926, under the influence of director A.V. Akhmeteli, the Drama Theater named after Rustaveli takes the path of development of constructivism with oriental motifs and national forms. As A. Duduchava wrote, «A. Akhmeteli expelled "colorful canvases" from the Rustaveli Theater and declared an uncompromising struggle against the captivating illusion of "the notorious experience"»²⁴⁴. The artists V.V. Sidamon-Eristavi, D.I. Shevardnadze, L. Gudiashvili, D.N. Kakabadze, I.I. Gamrekeli, as well as younger P.G. Otskheli, E.D. Akhvlediani, T.G. Abakelia, M. Gotsiridze. But there was a growing tendency to simplify productions and save on their design. In 1930, during a tour of the Georgian Theater in Moscow, Marjanov spoke about this at the Communist Academy: "We tried to ensure that the exterior design was as economical as possible, so we tried to spend as little material resources as possible, obtaining the greatest power of expressiveness <...>

²⁴¹ Amaglobeli S. (1930) *Georgian Theatre. The main stages of development*, Moscow, p. 104.

²⁴² Duduchava A. (1930) *Teatr Rustaveli [Rustaveli theatre]*, Tiflis, p. 57.

²⁴³ Mardjanishvili (Mardjanov) K.A. (1958) *Tvorcheskoe nasledie [Creative heritage]. Vol. 1. Vospominaniya, stati i dokladyi [Memoirs, articles and reports]*, Tbilisi, p. 246.

²⁴⁴ Duduchava A. (1930), p. 66.

Our efforts boiled down to simplifying the productions as much as possible. Now many theaters are striving to make it more simple, accessible, and clear”²⁴⁵.

The position of constructivism with the minimalization of artistic means was alien to Lanceray. He strove for greater expression through the greater emotionality of the characters, increased brilliance and dynamics of the compositions. Therefore, when Marjanov decided to organize a new Kutaisi-Batumi Drama Theater (later called the 2nd State Theater of Georgia) with a partial restoration of the old repertoire and colorful scenery, the artist wanted to take part in his work. Directors G. Suliashvili, V. Abashidze, Sh. Agsabadze and D. Antadze were invited. A. Gvelesiani became the head of the musical part and conductor, D. Machavariani became the choreographer. Artists that were invited: David Kakabadze, who designed the production of the play *Gop-la, we live!* of Ernst Toller at the opening of the theatrical season on November 3, 1928; Petre Otskheli, who created laconic scenery for the tragedy *Uriel Acosta*; Elena Akhvlediani, who designed the new play of V. Kirshon *Rails are humming*, with the theme of industrialization. In addition to these artists, who developed new principles of scenography, Mardzhanov invited traditionalists as I.A. Charlemagne, who created the colorful scenery of the comedy *Saint Joan (Joan of Arc)* of Bernard Shaw, and Eugène Lanceray.

Initially, the director advocated a variety of repertoire and style. Thanks to this, in the late 1920s, Georgia remained one of the most important Soviet regions that preserved polystylism in theatrical creativity. This was also mentioned by A. Duduchava, who aimed at studying the modernist tendencies and peculiarities of Georgian art, which is at the crossroads of Eastern cultures: “Theatrical decorative skill is deprived here [in the Mardzhanov Theater – P.P.] of a single stylistic base: and the cubism of the artist D. Kakabadze and the methods of interpreting the artistic phenomena of the *World of Art* (O. Charlemagne, E. Lanceray) find their application here”²⁴⁶. In addition to modern plays, the plans included the resumption of productions of Lope de Vega's *Sheep Spring* in 1922 (performed on November 22, 1928 with scenery by V. Sidamon-Eristavi) and Shakespeare's

²⁴⁵ Mardjanishvili (Mardjanov) K.A. (1958), p. 180.

²⁴⁶ Duduchava A. (1930), p. 220.

Hamlet in 1925 (not performed). At the beginning of 1929, Mardzhanov also planned new productions of *Macbeth* and *King Lear* with sets and costumes designed by E. Lanceray.

For the artist himself, this project was unexpected. After expeditions to Dagestan in 1925 and to "Armenian Switzerland" (Zangezour) in 1926, he dreamed of new trips to the mountains, and in the summer of 1928 he prepared to explore Georgian Khevsureti. However, in June it became known that the People's Commissariat of Education would not be able to finance this expedition and the artist left for Kikety in early July, 25 km away from Tiflis, where he rented a summer cottage for his wife and children. Here, in a wooded area, the artist was able to do his favorite outdoor sketches. After a trip to Paris in 1927, the artist sets himself new tasks of improvement in painting. After twenty years of predominant use of tempera, he again began to use oil paints, especially in landscape studies.

Having learned about Mardzhanov's project on July 28, 1928, Lanceray specially returned for four days from his dacha, received from the director the text of the play *Macbeth* with instructions, and in the next two days he created preliminary sketches-ideas, which received his full approval on the 31st. The artist in the 1890s imbued with the era of knights, knew many pictorial sources on Western European medieval culture. For almost the whole of August, the master worked at the dacha on the scenery and on the 23rd handed them over to Mardzhanov.

In this series, Lanceray, has reached a new level of scenographic mastery, taking into account new trends in art. In the sketches (more than 50 sheets have been preserved) one can see an increased expression and a search for bright color schemes. He created about seven scenes in the interior of Macbeth's castle with options, incl. a feast scene with an abundance of red in the decoration of the walls, burning torches and hearths. In connection with the use of "built-in" and "painted" scenery for many scenes, the artist created axonometries with schemes of spatial scenery (for scenes in the courtyard of the castle, in the rooms of Macduff and the villager, in the grotto, near the tent, etc.), often using up to six plans, but focusing mainly on the third or fourth. Reliability and elaboration of details remain very important for him: in the sketch *Lady Macduff and Son* on August 15, Lanceray depicts three bracket bases stylized as animal masks, and glues a pencil drawing of one of the bases in the right left corner.

Several sketches were created for outdoor scenes, incl. solved in evening muted colors *At the stairs of the castle tower* with various shades of stone blocks of the fortress walls (there is a night version of this scene with a fire) and *Tent with banners* with bright shades of red. The artist paid special attention to two scenes: *Macbeth in front of a military tent*, for which he created preparatory pencil drawings, gouache and watercolor versions with a high red tent expanding upwards on a green hill against a pinkish dawn sky and axonometry, as well as one of the final scenes of *The Army Malcolm, Siward and Macduff with the Banners and Branches of the Birnam Forest on Dunsinan Hill*, in which Lanceray's plein-air experiments of depicting green grass, shrubs and foliage of trees were most affected. The artist finalized this scene in February 1929. To create different effects of depth and openness of space, he uses different framing-curtains with constructivist curved edges.

On August 27, after a 3-day visit by brother Nikolai Lanceray and his wife and children in Tiflis, the academician of painting began to sketch costumes, which, in his own words, he liked to draw less than scenery, because he did not believe in their exact performance. At this time, the artist spoke highly of the graphic and exquisite scenery for *Jeanne d'Arc* by I.A. Charlemagne, but he himself worked in a more free-painting manner. To enhance the emotionality of the action, he emphasized the silhouettes and used bright colorful spots on the characters (except on some warriors, a doctor and the witches): the bright blue clothes of Macduff and his wife, orange with green Banquo, yellow Macbeth, green with purple red-haired murderous servant. Lady Macbeth's costume is more detailed than others: a long blue and white dress is decorated with embroidered overlays and a long belt. On the head of the queen, under the crown, a green scarf is put on, and behind her shoulders is a red mantle. Scots' warriors and knights are expressively represented, especially in the group drawing *Scottish King Duncan surrounded by Lenox, Ross and other nobles and warriors*. In his sketches, the artist suggested suitable types and make-up. A depressing impression is made by witches wrapped in gray and dark green clothes. On September 25, Lanceray created a drawing of a long-haired, haggard dancing witch wearing a necklace of bones and blue and brown stones. As an independent easel painting, one can consider the scene of *Witches by the Fire* from Act III, when one of the prophetic sisters throws a toad into a cauldron with poison and evil spirits.

On September 30, Lanceray “received the last money for *Macbeth* transmitted by Marjanov – 200 (incl. 100 for a trip to Kutaisi)”. On the same day, in a letter to his sister Z.E. Serebriakova in Paris, he wrote: “In the summer I was commissioned (even now I still have something left for me) for the production of *Macbeth*. It was thought up easily and as if well, let's see how it will turn out, or rather, how it will be carried out” (private collection).

But due to the demands for strengthening national motives and modernizing the repertoire in the theaters of the republics of the USSR, Shakespeare's plays were never implemented in the Mardzhanov Theater (Lanceray did not even start the work on *King Lear*). Instead of them, the comedy *In the Heart* of Shalva Dadiani, the drama *How It Was* (*Rogor*) of Carlo Kaladze with design by E. Akhvlediani, and the comedy *Kvarkvare Tutaberi* of Polikarp Kakabadze with design by D. Kakabadze were staged. Only in 1932, after the transfer of the 2nd Georgian State Drama Theater to Tiflis, did the director return to the European classics of the early 17th century and staged the tragedy *Othello*.

Despite the failure of the production, Lanceray continued to work for Georgian theaters. In December 1928, he advised on the production of *Hadji Murad* at the Tiflis Armenian Drama Theater named after S. Shaumyan. For decades, the artist has been developing book illustrations and design for this story by L.N. Tolstoy (in 1912–1915, 1931, 1935, 1937, 1941, 1945), worked on the unrealized film production of the same name directed by I.N. Perestiani (in 1924–1925). Therefore, this topic was close to him. In its wake, in January 1929, he created *Hadji Murad's mother over the cradle of her son*.

In May-July 1929, the artist worked on sketches for the production of *Lohengrin* by R. Wagner for the Opera Theater in Tiflis. On July 20, he wrote a statement to the director N.N. Bogolyubov with a proposal to create by October 5 three sketches of the scenery “with the necessary details and additional details, drawings” and costumes²⁴⁷. Unfortunately, the production was also not carried out.

²⁴⁷ A draft of this statement was found on the back side of the scenery *Garden. The appearance of the Lohengrin boat harnessed by a swan* (State Central Theatre Museum, Moscow).

Rejection of productions in 1928–1929 was also associated with new trends in scenography, with the widespread rejection of stage scenery constructions and the use of strong spotlights that flatten the surface of the painting. On June 5, 1930, a student of Petrov-Vodkin, V.V. Dmitriev, told the artist about this. But Lanceray did not want to change his mind to create sketchy constructivist scenery. He went into the art of cinema, which he had known thanks to Perestiani since 1922 based on the film *Surami Fortress*, filmed by the Film Section of the People's Commissariat of Education of Georgia based on the novel by D. Chonkadze. In 1930, Lanceray created storyboards and costume designs for the film *Anush* for Armkino (the premiere took place on November 13, 1931), and in 1933 he advised Perestiani's film *Tourist Armenia*. And only in the second half of the 1930s, after moving to Moscow, he again turned to theatrical and decorative art, in connection with a return to the spectacular and illusory elements of the design of productions. Among the productions carried out with scenery and costumes based on Lanceray's drawings is *Woe from Wit* of A.S. Griboedov directed by P.M. Sadovsky at the Maly Theater in Moscow (premiered November 17, 1938), B.V. Asafiev's ballet *The Young Lady-Peasant* directed by R.V. Zakharov at the branch of the Bolshoi Theater (premiered March 14, 1946). In 1940, the master even won a competition for painting the ceiling of the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow on the theme "Apotheosis of the Arts of the Peoples of the USSR", which was not carried out due to the decision to keep the old ceiling *Apollo and the Muses* of 1856.

But many of Lanceray's ideas as a theater artist of the 1920s remained unsurpassed in combining the realism of the interpretation of the depicted buildings and landscapes and the expression in their color and light-and-shadow performance, correlating with certain dramatic moments of the productions. Unfortunately, the sketches for *Macbeth* and *Lohengrin* were not exhibited or reproduced during the artist's lifetime. Only in 1956 and 1961, thirteen sketches of the scenery of actions and scenes and seven sketches of the costumes of the characters for *Macbeth* from the collection of the museum of the Georgian Drama Theater Marjanishvili were shown at personal exhibitions of the artist's works in Tbilisi and Moscow, respectively. Eight sketches of scenery were shown at the exhibition of the artist's works in 1976 in Leningrad. Three black-and-white reproductions of sketches for

Macbeth are given in the monograph by O.I. Podobedova²⁴⁸(1961, p. 278, 280), five - in the Georgian-language monograph by G.A. Maskharashvili, *Eugène Lanceray and the Caucasus*²⁴⁹, another one in the book by A.N. Shifrina²⁵⁰. Only in 2007 in the album compiled by N.I. Zaalishvili seven sketches for the first time were published in color²⁵¹.

3.5. Picturesque search of E. Lanceray in the 1920s

The Soviet government realized early the true value of muralists. Already in the spring of 1918, “V.I. Lenin recommended to Lunacharsky to mobilize artists for propaganda” (Tolstoy 1983, p. 49). And in 1920, art began to be used to strengthen the new ideology on the Caucasian borders²⁵². After the capture of Tiflis by the Red Army on February 25, 1921, a case of monumental propaganda unfolded in Georgia, especially at transport facilities used by thousands of passengers. As a person close to the convictions of the socialists and cadets (but not the Bolsheviks), Lanceray, without compromising his principles, fulfilled commissions on the themes of renewing the lives of workers and peasants, but never took part in the ardent propaganda or communist plots.

So, in April 1921, he created four panels for the propaganda pavilion (agitation center) of the Tiflis railway station²⁵³. On May 7–13, Lanceray worked on the sketches for the painting of the propaganda wagon, which were already realized in June with other artists²⁵⁴.

²⁴⁸ Podobedova O.I. (1961) *E.E. Lanceray*, Moscow, pp. 278, 280.

²⁴⁹ Maskharashvili G.A. (1973) *Evgeniy Lansere i Kavkaz [Eugene Lanceray and Caucasus]*. Tbilisi (in Georgian). Ill. 52–56.

²⁵⁰ Shifrina A.N. (1975) *Vilyam Shekspir v tvorchestve hudojnikov teatra [William Shakespeare in the work of artists of the theater]*. Moscow. Ill. 81.

²⁵¹ Zaalishvili N.I. (2007) *Russkie hudojniki Gruzii. XX vek [Russian artists of Georgia. The 20th century]*, Tbilisi, pp. 188–189.

²⁵² In the summer of 1920, by order of the Military Commissariat of the Caucasian Front, artists from Petrograd (N.M. Kochergin, A.M. Lyubimov, A.I. Akishin and F.K. Konstantinov) made oil paintings on the rock of the Darial Gorge. A huge portrait of K. Marx and two compositions dedicated to the friendship of the peoples of the Caucasus and the union of peasants and workers appeared on the Georgian Military Highway (Tolstoy, 1983, pp. 137, 140).

²⁵³ In four allegorical compositions (*Man subjugates nature, Lord of the world - worker, Attributes of science and art* and *Tools of labor*) the artist abandoned in-depth picture compositions in the spirit of Tintoretto and Giulio Romano and used bright color contrasts.

²⁵⁴ Judging by his diary entries, one of the sides depicted Georgians in blue jackets against a yellow field with a plow. Almost simultaneously with the Tiflis one, propaganda trains were

Propaganda also penetrated the theatre. In mid-December 1921, the artist urgently (in three days) performed the curtain of the Red Theater of the Central Workers' Club. He wrote about this work to A.P. Ostroumova-Lebedeva December 18, 1921²⁵⁵. In the original sketch, the artist depicted a worker looking up at the hovering figure of the muse against the sky²⁵⁶. On December 14, the pre-collegium approved the sketch, but recommended to remove the figure of the muse, while adding a star with a hammer and a sickle, which a worker with a heavy tool in his hand should be looking at. Whether the artist fulfilled this commission remains unknown.

As an experienced interior decorator, Lanceray was invited to decorate government events. On March 5-7, 1922, he decorated the meeting room of the Central Executive Committee of Georgia before the signing of an agreement on the creation of the Federative Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics of Transcaucasia.

During a **business trip to Turkey** in 1922, Eugène Lanceray stayed for more than three months (from June 9 to September 16) in Angora (modern Ankara) and its suburbs. In the first weeks, almost like a man of the Enlightenment, he interests himself in the remains of the ancient world – capitals, bases, the ruins of the ancient Roman temple of Augustus with a column, Byzantine walls with cornices, the so-called tower of Tamerlane (minaret of the mosque). He draws plans of a Roman temple, Byzantine capitals, Seljuk fragments, a citadel, city walls, a caravanserai, mosques (Imaret, Iblik, Kursunly, Hadji-Moussa, Hadji-Bayram, Sarisinam and Erzerum-mejit), the mihrab and minbar of the ruined mosque. Out of a long-standing love for Muslim tombstones, he separately studies the old Angora cemetery. Finally, he creates several general views of the city from distant points to the west and to the east. He is pleased to share his architectural impressions with his brother, who

decorated in other cities (named after V.I. Lenin and “Krasny Vostok”, 1920; “Chervona Ukraine”, 1921).

²⁵⁵ “Yesterday I finished the curtain for the stage (as always it had to be done very hastily: in 3 days), I still have no calculation, the tariff is up to 20,000 per arsh. But I hate such hasty work, because I have no experience with glue paint and already the working conditions are always terrible – no pots, no brushes, no chorus or powders” (OR RNB. F. 1015. No. 685. L. 1v.).

²⁵⁶ E.E. Lanceray. Curtain design for the Central Workers' Club in Tiflis. 1921. Cardboard, gouache. 34x46. Georgian State Museum of Theatre, Music, Cinema and Choreography. Inv. No. D-981.

had recently moved from Kislovodsk to Petrograd. “At first, upon arrival, traces of ancient architecture are very striking and interesting: here and there marble capitals sometimes come across bases, usually at the doors of houses, near mosques – I think, to make it easier to climb horses and donkeys over bags (khurzhin with luggage), many mosques have antique columns, and finally two rows of city walls are full of fragments – thinly cut rods, pieces of cornices, altars, herms, sawn columns. Finally, there are the ruins of the temple of Augustus, this is part of the walls with very elegant cornices, sandrik, and rods along the bottom panel. In general, next to modernity, the subtlety and pettiness of the work is striking”²⁵⁷.

During the first month, Lanceray hoped to travel to other parts of Turkey, and he wrote to B.M. Kustodiev: “I hope to visit the front, as well as Konya, Adana and Mersin, but I won’t see the most interesting eastern provinces with Kurds”²⁵⁸. But he soon resigned himself to the role of a resident of "a deep, terribly quiet, poor province". His main interest had shifted to the realm of a lively "almost medieval" and thus exotic reality, in which, among other things, archetypes are revealed to him as in demand by contemporary art. The very next day (July 11) the artist continues in a letter to I.A. Charlemagne: “The local cities, still almost completely untouched by Europeanism, are extremely fascinating: for example, there is not a single iron roof on the houses, there are almost no drainpipes, lamps, telegraph poles, kiosks (except for a small corner near the Majlis), not to mention trams, sidewalks, squares. The architecture is very primitive, but also direct - windows are planted where they want, without thinking about symmetry. The second floor is always half-timbered half-brick thick, and out of a delicate feeling for the harem women, to give them entertainment by looking along the streets, and on the other hand, often to even out the right corners of the room, with the extreme winding of the streets – all the second floors not only hang over the first, but are also placed obliquely; sometimes the third makes another shift. This is where the principle of “shifts” and cubism in architecture is found”²⁵⁹. Examples of these "shifts"

²⁵⁷From a letter of E.E. Lanceray to his brother N.E. Lanceray dated July 13, 1922 (OR GRM. F. 38. No. 14. L. 3v.).

²⁵⁸From a letter of E.E. Lanceray to B.M. Kustodiev dated July 10, 1922 (OR GRM. F. 137. D. 2654).

²⁵⁹Letter of E.E. Lanceray to I.A. Charlemagne dated July 11, 1922. Private collection.

can be seen in the artwork *Street in Angora*. Among other drawings of traditional architecture are *Cheshme near Imaret-jami*, *Terrace of an old Angora house*, *Aisle at the Haji-Bayram mosque*, *Tea-khane on the square near the embassy*, *Shops at dusk*.

In 1925, the artist worked a lot for the theater. Since January 14, he has been compiling a sketch of a ceiling for a theater in the village of Matkhodzhi in Imereti, near the city of Khoni, and on February 16, he set to work on a curtain and a harlequin with a scene of a revolutionary movement in Georgia. Soon he found a solution for painting the auditorium with flowers on the walls, bright blue colors of the second tier and a multi-figure scene in a harlequin. The work was stopped by a fire in the theater and was not resumed ²⁶⁰. On November 20–24 of the same year, commissioned by A.Ya. Golovin, the artist created a sketch of the portal painting for the Odessa City Theater named after A.V. Lunacharsky.

But the range of commissions was very limited. The stylistic preferences of private customers were dominated by belated cubism and futurism. Refusing to be led by fashion in the fall of 1925, Lanceray created a project for painting the stairs of the hotel “Orient”, commissioned by K.N. Sapitsky, but he did not pass the competitive selection.

After this failure, the artist tried to modernize his style, but remained within the narrow limits of his commitment to figurative painting that conveys volume. He nevertheless used the techniques of poster art, framing compositions, complicating angles, flattening shapes and activating colors. In May 1926, using these techniques, the artist executed design of the pavilion of the newspaper *Zarya Vostoka* at the Transcaucasian Agricultural Exhibition in Tiflis, commissioned by the architect N.P. Severov's ²⁶¹.

He continued the search for compromises between the classics and the requirements to updating style and topics, begun in the murals of the propaganda (agitation) center. Instead of mythological characters that had become little understood, Lanceray used modern

²⁶⁰From a diary entry dated February 26, 1925: “Finally, as if, I found a solution for painting the theater hall and ... in the evening I learned from Kutateladze that the theater in Matkhodzhi had burned down ... Finally, I am discouraged and losing faith in the future” (archive of the artist's family).

²⁶¹Under April 25, 1926, the artist's diary states: "Nikolai Pavlovich came to us with Chubinov, confirmed the order – drawings for the pavilion of the Dawn of the East". Archive of the artist's family.

labor themes. The painting had a fragmentary composition, the image of the figures of printers and communications workers and the objects of their work became more flat and conditional, in the spirit of post-impressionists. It is interesting that soon, while traveling from Georgia to Leningrad in September 1926 Eugène attended in Moscow, the meetings of I.A. Morozov on Prechistenka and S.I. Shchukin in Bolshoi Znamensky and confirmed his artistic passions: “My favorites are Monet, Sisley, Degas, Renoir, Marquet, 2 Matisse, Puvis, Lobre, Carrière, some Cézanne, Gauguin, Vuillard, M. Denis, and I reject Picasso, Derain, Rousseau. I really didn't like Rodin, the large panels of Matisse nor of M. Denis”²⁶².

Eugene Lanceray spent 20 days in September 1926 in Leningrad, where he visited the Hermitage at least six times, talked with Alexander Benois, F.F. Notgaf, director S.N. Troinitsky and met the assistant director I.A. Orbeli. After examining the painting "The Conversion of St. Paul" by Paolo Veronese Alexandre Benois frankly told his nephew about the situation in the museum, "about the hopelessness, that there is no one to replace [him – P.P.], that the change will be even worse"²⁶³. On September 15, with Benois they “saw the Italian and Spanish schools. The Italians are being moved. In awe of Titian's eldership thing - St. Sebastian; Crespi - parts painted from nature. Caravaggio – new thing; Portrait of a priest - Rotary, Tiepolo; new Veronese”²⁶⁴. Eugene Lansere maintained his commitment to Italian painting of the 16th-18th centuries, but also became interested in the Spaniards (Murillo, Ribeira, El Greco and others).

After returning from a business trip to Paris in 1927, the artist formulated his attitude to modern painting. His perception stopped conditionally at the level of early post-impressionism. “I went with a thirst to see the new in art, to “learn”, but perhaps in these years a person is no longer free to change! In general, everything that is done there, I do not like. But still, this is everything, or almost everything, within the limits of art. This is a search for paint, composition of paints, strokes. There is a cult of sketch; and in this sense, it

²⁶²Diary entry September 5, 1926. Archive of the artist's family.

²⁶³Diary entry of E.E. Lanceray dated September 9, 1926. Head of the Art Gallery of the Hermitage A.N. Benois had in mind his imminent departure to France. He was replaced by James Alfredovich Schmidt, who also opposed the sale of works from the Hermitage abroad. In May 1927, S.N. Troinitsky was removed from the post of director. The most deplorable changes in the life of the Hermitage occurred due to purges of employees and sales of works in the 1930s.

²⁶⁴Diary entry of E.E. Lanceray dated September 15, 1926.

would seem, bless the fashion and make sketches; but the old conscientiousness creeps in and I can't overcome it. Otherwise, it could be nice – *anyhow à la* Dufy or Van-Dongen etc. And again, I create just as I did before Paris. But Grigoriev and even K. Korovin are delighted. And Dobuzhinsky. Alexandre Benois is enigmatic (or rather diplomatic). Argutinsky recognizes the greatness of the rulers of fashion. And only Somov, my sister [Z. Serebriakova] and I are outraged”²⁶⁵.

In his autobiography, the artist summed up: “For better or for worse, but I must confess that neither Gaughenism nor Sezanism, in their time, neither later cubism and Picassism touched me”²⁶⁶.

Nevertheless, Lanceray's artworks of the second half of the 1920s are very different in their freedom of composition, flattened background, and use of bright color accents. A typical example is the poster for the subscription of periodicals “Subscribe. News of the CEC. New world. Krasnaya Niva” with the image of seated representatives of different peoples, created in Leningrad in September 1926 and commissioned by Ya.A. Tugendhold.

The artist tried to introduce even greater innovations into his painting after returning from Paris. In October 1927, under the patronage of D.N. Kakabadze, Lanceray and his students wrote monumental poster-diagrams about successes in various areas of Soviet life for the People's Commissariat of Education, the Central Statistics Office of Georgia and other organizations for subsequent shipment via Moscow to Soviet exhibitions in London, Paris, Berlin and Vienna. One panel measuring 134x204 centimeters – an indicative picture of the comparative number of doctors *Medical care in Georgia under the tsar and Soviet power* for the People's Commissariat of Health of Georgia, he undertook to develop on his own.

The author's innovations in the field of composition are applied in the work: he creates the so-called Persian perspective with a high horizon and arranges the figures of patients and doctors in groups in two tiers – so that each figure with multi-colored clothes,

²⁶⁵Letter from E. Lanceray to A.P. Ostroumova-Lebedeva, February 8, 1928. OR RNB. F. 1015. No. 685. L. 6–6 rev.

²⁶⁶Lanceray E.E. *The experience of analyzing my artistic aspirations in the framework of a brief autobiography*. April 1945. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. No. 1. L. 12v.

standing out against a light yellow background, receives a special sound. The artist divides the field itself into two halves: on the left, the pre-revolutionary period is shown with one doctor spreading his arms in front of a crowd of Georgians; on the right – the Soviet era with more poorly dressed residents, but already with three doctors in white coats taking care of the sick. Below are the statistics for 1913 and 1926: “480 doctors; 1 doctor per 5838 inhabitants; 1382 doctors; 1 doctor per 1911 inhabitants”. At the top is a “view of Georgia from the Black Sea, to the left – the Big Range and Elbrus, to the right – the Adjara Mountains, in the center – the Rion Valley” ²⁶⁷. But the “posters” did not get to the exhibitions, as they were rejected in Moscow. The panel *Medical care in Georgia* ended up in the Museum of Social Hygiene of the House of Health Education of the People's Commissariat of Health of the Georgian SSR.

This panel was not found. Thus, it can be assumed that if from the pre-revolutionary period of the monumental work of Eugène Lanceray two completed projects are preserved (plafond and frieze in the Tarasov mansion in Moscow and murals in the Memorial Hall of the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg), the works of the 1920s are now represented only by sketches, rare photographs and mentions in diaries and letters.

The situation was much better with projects implemented in the 1930s, although their history often goes back to the previous era. In 1928-1932, during the first five-year period of the development of the national economy of the USSR, in connection with the strengthening of the positions of proletarian artists, it was extremely difficult for a conditionally “decadent” artist such as Lanceray to receive and carry out a good commission for book design, monumental, decorative works, or for the creation of theatrical scenery. Many ardent Komsomol members or members of the CPSU (b) stopped the projects of “non-communists” they objected to²⁶⁸. The refusal by K.A. Marjanishvili of the sets and costumes of Lanceray for the production of *Macbeth* at the Kutaisi Theater in 1928 is still incomprehensible. Probably, it was associated with the requirements to strengthen the

²⁶⁷ Inscription by E. Lanceray on the back of the photograph of the panel. October 1927. Private collection.

²⁶⁸ E. Lanceray wrote in his diary on January 29, 1930 that “the ‘proletarian architects’ of Erivan decided to destroy Tamanov's theatre”.

national motifs and modernize the repertoire in the theaters of the republics of the USSR, as well as with new trends in scenography, with the widespread rejection of backstage constructions of scenery and the use of strong spotlights that flatten the surface of painting. As a result of failures with the productions of 1928–1929, Lanceray turned again to theatrical and decorative art in the second half of the 1930s only, after moving to Moscow, in connection with a general return to the spectacular and illusory design elements²⁶⁹.

The situation was no easier in book and magazine graphics. In 1928, the artist's cover *The Last Days of the Paris Commune* for *Krasnaya Niva* magazine was rejected; in 1929, the *Krasnaya Panorama* magazine rejected his *Spring Spill*. The succeeding generation of editors and administration workers often saw in the artist a person alien to them. So, the new employees of the State Publishing House and the chairman of its board A.B. Khalatov said that "he is not one of us" and that he is "outdated"²⁷⁰, and did not give him commissions. Old acquaintances (J.A. Tugendhold, V.I. Narbut, I.K. Enikolopov, D.P. Gordeev) continued to offer Lanceray the design of books and magazines. But even the projects he started were handed over to more "tested" (from an ideological point of view) and contemporary artists²⁷¹. Some ensembles of illustrations developed during this period were published much later: the illustrations of 1917 and 1928 for *The Cossacks* and the new layout of *Hadji Murad* created in 1931 were used only in 1936.

Due to the regrouping of art organizations in 1930–1931 and the creation of the dominant REVMAS ("Revolution Mkhartvarta Association") and the Association of Revolutionary Artists of Georgia (SARMA), Lanceray did not participate in exhibitions during these years. After the exhibition of modern graphics at the State Museum of Armenia (1928–1929), the next time his works were exhibited was only from November 13, 1932 at

²⁶⁹ Among the productions carried out with scenery and costumes based on Lanceray's drawings is *Woe from Wit* of A.S. Griboedov directed by P.M. Sadovsky at the Maly Theater in Moscow (premiered November 17, 1938) and B.V. Asafiev's ballet *The Young Lady-Peasant* directed by R.V. Zakharov at the branch of the Bolshoi Theater (premiered March 14, 1946).

²⁷⁰ A.F. Mantel wrote about this to Lanceray in December 1927. In Lanceray's diary entry on December 30, he reacted: "And indeed I completely agree "that I am not theirs", and not only in a political sense" (archive of the artist's family).

²⁷¹ So it was with the covers for the collected works of A.I. Svirsky for the Moscow publishing house Earth and Factory (ZiF), the development of which in 1928 was transferred to the brothers V.A. and G.A. Stenberg. So it was with the design of the book *Griboedov's Travels*, transferred in 1931 by the

the exhibition "Artists of the RSFSR for XV Years" at the Russian Museum in Leningrad²⁷². And the personal exhibition of E. Lanceray in Moscow with a catalog of his works could take place only in 1936.

In the context of the struggle for the "partisanship" in art, in the era of mass collectivization and industrialization, and also taking into account the growing nationalist sentiments in Georgia²⁷³, it would be naive to think about interesting monumental commissions for Lanceray, if it were not for the old contacts that have been going on since the 1910s.

So, back in May 1927, immediately after the laying of the **Palace of the Worker of the Road Trade Union Organization of the Southern Railway in Kharkov**²⁷⁴, the academician of architecture A.I. Dmitriev suggested to Eugène Lanceray to develop one of two panels measuring 6x5 meters "in bluish-green light colors"²⁷⁵ for the end walls of the second-floor foyer. The artist agreed in principle and offered to paint the panel on the spot²⁷⁶, and already on December 5, he suggested the collaboration of artists D.N. Kardovsky and I.A. Charlemagne, as well as the deadlines (4 months for a panel and a month for installation and addition) and the first versions of plots, all this on the eve of the country's radical turn from the NEP to industrialization: "The choice of a topic is a rather scrupulous business. But here is something to start with: "the apotheosis of steel" or "of industry", "machines", "cities", "the apotheosis of fire" with workers (and engineers?) in the center, and vis-a-vis "the fertility of the earth", "the apotheosis of growth" – "fruits of the

Tiflis publishing house Zakkniga to the co-founder of the Association of Artists of the Revolution, V.A. Krotkov.

²⁷² Two color lithographs by E.E. Lanceray from the collection of the Moscow Museum of Fine Arts (*Angora*, 1923 and *Aul Ginta*, 1927). After Leningrad, E. Lanceray was shown at the exhibition "Artists of the RSFSR for the XV years (1917-1933). Graphics" at the State Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow, which opened on December 10, 1933.

²⁷³ It appears from the diary entry of E. Lanceray from February 25, 1928, that D.V. Kakabadze visiting the Severovs "vigorously protested against the chauvinism of the Georgians and the persecution of the Russian language".

²⁷⁴ Later it was named the Stalin Palace of Culture of Railway Workers. And nowadays it is called the Central House of Science and Technology of the Kharkov Directorate of Railway Transportation of the Southern Railway. The 18th of August 2022 a rocket (during the so called Russian special operation) hit the house and the state of the paintings is not determined.

²⁷⁵ Letter from A.I. Dmitriev to E. Lanceray dated May 3, 1927. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 94. L. 1 rev.

²⁷⁶ Letter from E. Lanceray to A.I. Dmitriev May 17, 1927. RGALI. F. 1982. Op.1. Unit 17. L. 1–2.

earth”, the peasant family in the center, and here and there fasten the railway as an element connecting the city and the village. Or taken directly by the railway – “the apotheosis of speed”, in another – “railroad of power”. I really wouldn’t want to get a plot smelling of propaganda!”²⁷⁷. The emboldened artist wrote to his brother: “I was very pleased with your words about Dmitriev's assurances; I terribly want a big job and I miss so much the little things and stupid things that have to be done while working; meanwhile, I feel how much more skill and courage I have now, compared to those years when there were commissions, and now I have none of them and I’m just teaching”²⁷⁸. The construction of the Workers' Palace proceeded slowly, three chairmen of the construction commission changed over one year.

At the same time, the artist himself, despite the failure to stage *Macbeth* at the K. Mardzhanov Theater at the end of 1928, was in a creative upsurge: “Now, after 10 most difficult, boring years in terms of commissions and work, I somehow began to feel my skill, solidity, connections”²⁷⁹. But everyday difficulties were so depressing that his wife Olga Konstantinovna even offered to move to Odessa. “The situation is hopeless <...> in the sense that one cannot find a separate apartment, that one cannot go anywhere, that one cannot be without working, that one cannot have enough money; that my work is slowly moving forward”, the artist wrote in his diary²⁸⁰. Nevertheless, he did not want to leave Tiflis yet, primarily because of his interest in the Caucasus.

In 1928 E. Lanceray, at the invitation of the Dagestan Museum, visited the scenes of the story *Cossacks* of L.N. Tolstoy, and in 1929 he conducted an interesting expedition to Svaneti, crossing by foot the Lechkhumsky, Svanetsky and Greater Caucasian ridges, and also participated in the expedition of the Caucasian Historical and Archaeological Institute to the Nakhichevan Republic.

²⁷⁷ Letter from E. Lanceray to A.I. Dmitriev, compiled on November 29 – December 5, 1927. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 17. L. 3–3v. In the same letter, the artist justifies the need for a vertical panel format due to the supposed voids to the left and right of them.

²⁷⁸ Letter from E. Lanceray to his brother Nikolai on January 27, 1928. OR GRM. F. 38. No. 15.

²⁷⁹ Diary entry of E. Lanceray on December 3, 1928.

²⁸⁰ Idem.

After an expedition to Svaneti in September 1929, he arrived in Leningrad, where he held talks with A.I. Dmitriev about ordering both panels in the foyer of the Workers' Palace in Kharkov: "We agreed on what I will do, that I will invent topics and send them to him. When the topics will be established, I will make two sketches for them"²⁸¹.

But the Ukrainian commission had already faded into the background, as more urgent ones appeared in Tiflis and Makhachkala. On July 10, 1929, the committee for the construction of the **House of the Transcaucasian Council of People's Commissars in Tiflis** represented by I.P. Kutateladze commissioned design drawings for the decoration of eight rooms on two floors: the vestibule, the stairwell-front door, meeting rooms, entrance halls and offices of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Georgian SSR F.I. Makharadze on the first and second floors. As written in the contract, "each project includes a drawing in colors of four walls, a breakdown of the ceiling and a plan on a scale of 1/50 of the present size, in addition, the project of this group gives a general idea of the nature and location of the furnishings of the premises"²⁸². By November 15, it was required to complete detailed drawings of the doors (in 1/10 of the present size), the niche and bas-relief of the meeting room on the second floor (in 1/5 of the present size), lighting fixtures (in 1/5), cornice templates and wall paintings (ornaments) real size. The artist did not have time to fully cope with the task, and because of a trip to Svaneti, the drawings of the stairs were developed in early January, and the last drawings of the cabinet and fireplaces were handed over only on January 24, 1930.

The artist himself reported on the style of these works in a letter to his brother dated November 8, 1929: "Of course, Art Nouveau"²⁸³, but since the producer of the works is M.G. Kalashnikov (the project is his and Severov's), then some rigor, some "traditions" still slip through"²⁸⁴. On November 16, the artist writes about the special role of Kalashnikov in

²⁸¹ Diary entry of E. Lanceray on September 28, 1929.

²⁸² Contract for the implementation of design drawings for interior decoration of the premises of the building of the Legislative Government under construction. July 10, 1929 RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 17. L. 29.

²⁸³ This meant that version of strictly Art Nouveau turning into Art Deco, which the master used in collaboration with M.G. Kalashnikov, projects for the decoration of the art room of the Georgian University in April 1920. At the turn of the 1920s – 1930s, Art Deco began to be more actively used by Soviet architects. (Malinina, 2005).

²⁸⁴ OR GRM. F. 38. No. 16.

his diary: "I listen very, very much to the advice of Mikhail Georgievitch – I always work exclusively on the decoration of the rooms of the Council of People's Commissars. Mikhail Georgievitch says that I'm indeed moving out to Louis XVI".

After the adoption of the projects by the construction committee, E. Lanceray, in his letter to his sister Zinaida, summed up some of the results of his activities for six months: "In the middle of the winter, I was busy drawing up projects for the interior decoration of the front rooms in the building of the Transcaucasian Government under construction. I have recently handed in this work, with which I was very late <...> The decoration is almost purely architectural - without paintings and panels (only in one place there are ornamental stencils): in some places sculpture <...> With cornices, inventing lighting fixtures (fireplaces, part of the furniture), etc. there was a lot of fuss. All *moderne*"²⁸⁵. During the implementation of the building of the Council of People's Commissars in September 1930, the artist continued to advise on its decoration, but by that time another commission had already become more important for him, in which again Lanceray felt his potential in the development of precisely monumental painting.

Two years after the creation of the panel *Medical Care in Georgia*, in the summer of 1929, the artist invented a new composition for the painting *Red Partisans of Dagestan Descending from the Mountains to Protect Soviet Power*, which he had planned a year ago as an easel painting²⁸⁶. Partly under the influence of the anti-machine tendencies promoted by the supporters of the "production art", he now decided to make it in the form of a triptych. "I am accompanying a sketch of a painting on the Dagestan theme (this sketch did not work out throughout the winter, and, finally, now it suddenly "turned out")", he wrote to the artist V.P. Belkin in Leningrad²⁸⁷. "I positively and firmly write down: on Friday at midnight I found the composition of the picture. The middle part – only figures, only the clang of horseshoes on stone, whooping and frightened silence of women; there is no aul at all, no field, no sky, no mountains... But on the other hand, a triptych: on the right is a small

²⁸⁵ Letter from E. Lanceray to Z.E. Serebriakova dated February 1, 1930. Private collection.

²⁸⁶ A preliminary order for a large 2-meter painting *Red Partisans* was given to the artist on April 28, 1928 in Makhachkala by the People's Commissariat of Education of the Dagestan ASSR A.A. Takho-Godi.

²⁸⁷ Letter from E. Lanceray to V.P. Belkin July 5, 1929. OR GRM. F. 118. Item. 80. L. 12.

one (both wings are slightly higher than the middle part) – a slope and ridges of mountains, a figure of a shepherd with a herd, a large cloud, a lot of sky, “evening nature”; and on the left – a generational figure of an old man, gloomy and incredulous; a girl with a child and an old woman, deeper; from the edge of the grave of murids from Golotl, ledges of fields and *aul*, a small corner of the sky; everything is distrust in the middle part; "leaving Dagestan"²⁸⁸. But Lanceray did not dare to carry out his plans without an agreement. On October 15, he signed an agreement with the head of the Dagestan Museum, M. Dzhemal, to create a triptych by March 1, 1930²⁸⁹. And soon in a letter to the employee of the Russian Museum, N.P. Sychev, he explained his delay in preparing a solo exhibition by writing a triptych for the Dagestan Museum on a subject of a "quite revolutionary content" required by Party supervision²⁹⁰.

Due to the decoration projects of the House of the Council of People's Commissars, the artist was able to start working on a full-sized canvas only in February. His painting took him a long time, starting with a limited palette: yellow-brown paint on a background taken by Neapolitan yellow, and only with other paints in May. As he himself noted in his diary, “it’s not so difficult that the subject is set, but that there are many movements, and the relative positions [of figures – P.P.]”²⁹¹. And a week later: “Looking for poses and mutual arrangement. I am tormented by the usual, reality, but I can’t even prevaricate, stylize. Perhaps I would like to make it like the “medical poster” of the autumn of 1927: figures in profile, the ground from a bird's eye view or a slope. But the density, the crowd?”²⁹².

The artist's work on the triptych took place during a period that "is characterized by the rise of the socialist offensive in the field of art and the expansion of the front line of the struggle for proletarian art, <...> for political sharpness, for socialist relevance" (Matsa,

²⁸⁸ Diary entry, June 21, 1929. Nearby, the artist placed drawings of the composition with deep construction, plans, the movement of masses and individual figures.

²⁸⁹ “The left part should depict a dying world – an old aul, a tombstone and a group of unsympathizers: old men and young, but well-dressed from the prosperous element of the aul, who are few, there is a hostile group of old women. The right side is a typical Dagestan landscape and in the foreground are the working people – a shepherd and a farmer who greet the partisans”. Agreement on writing a triptych dated October 15, 1929. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. No. 17. L. 30.

²⁹⁰ Works of "revolutionary content" were also required for the organization of a solo exhibition. Letter from E. Lanceray to N.P. Sychev, November 8, 1929. OR GTG. F. 31. Item. 838. L. 3–3v.

²⁹¹ Diary entry, February 20, 1930.

1933a, p. 399). Ideological pressure was combined with an early attempt to unite people of creative professions working in different styles and directions²⁹³. E. Lanceray was not at the forefront of these trends and considered his commission as an opportunity to develop a new type of monumental painting in a realistic spirit dear to him, using complex but effective angles.

In his reasoning, the artist sometimes proceeds from the opposite: “I sometimes think that the principle of an easel painting is in crisis. Impressionism, as an artistic theory, killed the old approach, but only a sketch remained instead, sometimes an illustration. There is still, however, the decorative approach of Gauguin, but the old antipathy for him sits in me”²⁹⁴. Feelings of a crisis in the easel painting due to the dominance of leftist tendencies and the “militant Association of Revolutionary artists” with “fellow travelers”²⁹⁵, as well as the collapse of the old system of art education²⁹⁶, intensified in 1930: “In general, to tell the truth, faith in paintings is somehow disappearing, especially, into a realistic picture”²⁹⁷.

Nevertheless, it was at that time that the master grew interested in comprehending new opportunities for himself in developing color nuances with complex shadows and reflections, in conveying expressive angles and movements. “Despite the fact that the plot is

²⁹² Diary entry March 1, 1930.

²⁹³ On June 18, 1930, the Federation of the Association of Soviet Workers in Spatial Arts was established, which included masters of the AHR, OMH, ORS, OST, architectural societies VOPRA, OSA and Asnova. In 1931, representatives of the RAPH, the Society of Book Artists, the Society of Revolutionary Poster Artists, and the Isobrigade joined. Despite the fact that about a thousand people were members of the Federation, most of the artists, including the old "masters" and "specialists", were not included in it.

²⁹⁴ Diary entry April 8, 1929.

²⁹⁵ In 1929 in Tiflis M.I. and I.M. Toidze formed a branch of the Moscow AHR (Association of Artists of the Revolution), transformed into "REVMAS" ("Revolutions Mkhavarta Association"). On February 8, 1930, instead of the Society of Georgian Artists and the Union of Armenian Artists ("Hayartun"), the Association of Revolutionary Artists of Georgia ("SARMA") was formed. E. Lanceray, like many other artists, did not join these organizations.

²⁹⁶ In 1930, shortly after E. Lanceray, from the post of dean of the Faculty of Painting, the Tiflis Academy of Arts was renamed VKhUTEIN (Higher Artistic and Technical Institute) of Georgia, and then reduced to the level of the Fine Arts Faculty of the Pedagogical Institute of Georgia. In the same year, the Academy of Arts in Leningrad was reorganized into the Institute of Proletarian Fine Arts. Many realists were fired. The Kyiv Art Institute was transformed into the Kyiv Institute of Proletarian Artistic Culture. Liquidated VKhUTEIN in Moscow. “The rout is full of all three art schools [in Leningrad] - Stieglitz, Encouragement, the Academy - no museums, no libraries, no classroom equipment, not to mention everything else. Cleanly done” (diary entry August 23, 1931).

²⁹⁷ From a letter from E. Lanceray to Z.E. Serebryakova dated February 1, 1930. Private collection. The artist has in mind, first of all, the paintings of the “neoperedvizhniki”.

more or less “custom”, it interests me, and therefore I have been fiddling with it for so long. And then there is also a lack of constant, necessary observation and verification by nature - movement, angles of horses, etc. The horses go down and almost straight toward the viewer”²⁹⁸.

In the summer of 1930, the artist could not get canvases for the side parts of the triptych for a long time. On August 6, he again set to painting, and in the first days of October he began to paint the side parts. But the triptych was completed only by July 9, 1931, when it was sent through the Soyuztrans station to Makhachkala, to the museum ²⁹⁹. The work can be considered as a serious artist’s success in the field of composition (the medieval principle of polyptychs was skillfully beaten) and tonal-color harmony (golden ocher is complemented by complex reflexes). The artist will continue to apply the successfully used principle of the triptych after moving to Moscow: *F. Engels, participant of the Palatinate and Baden uprising of 1849* (1934-1935, for the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in Moscow, not completed), *Lake Gök-Göl* (two versions in 1943-1944), *The Great Patriotic War* (commissioned in April 1943 by March 1944, only sketches were created).

E. Lanceray tried to show the historical phenomenon objectively, relying on his eyewitness memories of the revolutionary events in Dagestan. But nevertheless, he went along with the official demands for greater “revolutionism”, added pathos, intensifying the smiles on the joyful faces of the galloping partisans and the peasants waving at them on the right side, and thereby influenced the development of socialist realism in historical painting³⁰⁰. Although we can imagine the artist himself as depicted on the left side of the triptych, because of his attitude of that time, where against the backdrop of the houses that he saw in Tidib in 1925, are represented gloomy incredulous Dagestanis.

²⁹⁸ Idem.

²⁹⁹ Nowadays, the Dagestan Museum of Fine Arts named after P.S. Gamzatova. Canvas, oil. The central part - 149x200; side - 139x80.5. The decorative frame above the middle part with inscriptions, red banners and guns has not been preserved.

³⁰⁰ Zimenko V.M. (1970, p. 74) included the triptych in his study as an example of the diversity of creative manners and handwriting within socialist realism. The triptych is also analyzed in the book by N.P. Voronkina (1978, pp. 25–27) *The Visual Arts of Soviet Dagestan* and in the introductory article by T.P. Petenina (2001) to the catalog of the exhibition *Eugene Lanceray. Dagestan. 1912–1932*.

Simultaneously with the development of the Dagestan triptych in the spring of 1930, negotiations were resumed on the execution of picturesque panels for the foyer of the Palace of the Worker Club in Kharkov, completed to the roof. “The matter of writing two pictures is essential for me to complete the performance of the compositions in nature. Without them, I believe, the building will be dead, like a portrait “without eyes”, wrote the architect A.I. Dmitriev³⁰¹. The free polystylism of that time is indicated by his proposal to “make the composition somewhat monotonous”, in the spirit of “the composition of Puvis de Chavannes in the Panthéon”.

In early April, simultaneously with the sketches of costumes for the film *Anush*, Lanceray created the first sketches, and already on April 18–20 he developed conditional sketches of two panels – *The Union of Workers of the USSR, Western Europe and Asia*, with deep shadows, images of steam locomotives, construction sites and the horizon above the upper edge of the composition; and *Railways - an instrument for the exchange of products of labor*, with workers from different countries greeting each other, steam locomotives and railway platforms loaded with goods. More developed sketches were sent by the artist to Dmitriev in Leningrad on June 3. In the spirit of the times, he developed industrial themes: *Railways unite the working people of all countries*, with steam locomotives, banners hurrying towards workers (Europeans and Asians)³⁰²; and *Railways are the arteries of culture*, with two trains with coal, miners and tractors in one and agricultural machines in another.

For ideological reasons, the themes were constantly adjusted by the Party leadership. On July 23, the Construction Department of the Directorate of the Southern Railways sent the first official commission for sketches to Lanceray, in a scale of 1/20 of this size for approval by the All-Ukrainian Committee of Railway Workers³⁰³. Instead of the second composition, a completely different theme was imposed to the artist – “Free labor in the USSR and oppressed labor in Western Europe, China, etc.”, with a delimitation of the two

³⁰¹ Letter from A.I. Dmitriev to E. Lanceray, written on March 15–19, 1930. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. No. 94. L. 9v.–10.

³⁰² “In the middle – Soviet workers invite others to unity with gestures”. Letter from E. Lanceray to A.I. Dmitriev. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 17. L. 12.

³⁰³ Application letter dated July 23, 1930. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 17. L. 14.

parts by the depicted wall³⁰⁴. He did not like the new propaganda plot with the rebellious workers of the capitalist world striving "for a hole in the wall, where they are met by the working people of the USSR"³⁰⁵: "the most stupid plot of the poster: the wall – on one side the sun and joy, on the other – darkness and oppression" ³⁰⁶. Nevertheless, assuming the work on subjects imposed by the Party leadership, the artist considered changing his own style in monumental and decorative works.³⁰⁷

As if having heard the artist's dissatisfaction, the Commission did not approve the new Lanceray's sketches sent in January 1931 (two sketches of their themes and one on the imposed theme *Two Worlds*) and decided to announce an all-Union competition by February 11 ³⁰⁸. But soon Dmitriev, who came from Leningrad to Kharkov, managed to insist on the Lanceray's candidacy, showing color reproductions of his works in the French magazine *L'Illustration* and the book *Hadji Murad*. A certain Party member who came up with the theme of comparing two worlds was arrested long ago and the Commission, which consisted of four young people, expressed the opinion that "in a building intended for recreation, [workers] want to see something more calm, universal, pleasing to the eye and less poster"³⁰⁹. After expressing the wish of one of those checking the writing of something "like Aivazovsky"³¹⁰, the architect came up with the idea of offering a "clean landscape"

³⁰⁴ Supplement to the application dated July 23, 1930. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 17. L. 22. "The panel consists of two parts delimited by a wall (obstacle). One part of the panel is illuminated by bright dazzling sunlight, which depicts the peoples of the USSR (Free Labor), engaged in social construction. The wall is an obstacle that is broken by workers and through the holes and destroyed parts of the wall sheaves of light slip through, in places illuminating the second, darker part of the panel, which depicts: Western European powers, as well as China and others. In this part it is necessary to show oppressed labor. In places where the rays of the sun penetrate through the broken wall, groups of people partially similar in mood to the first part of the panel appear (the birth of the Revolution) <...>"

³⁰⁵ Explanatory note by E. Lanceray to the sketches of two panels for the foyer of the railway men's club *Worker's Palace*. December 31, 1930. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 17. L. 15.

³⁰⁶ Letter from E. Lanceray to his brother Nikolai, on March 3, 1931. OR GRM. F. 38. No. 16.

³⁰⁷ E. Lanceray wrote in his diary on December 30, 1930: "Tonight I suddenly discovered the necessary system for interpreting the decorative panel <...> It is necessary to get out of the coloring of objects; the shadow should not cross different objects, objects are not lost in the dark <...> And here is the desired path to the Persian miniature: a poster? - Yes. But also, a fresco".

³⁰⁸ Telegram from the head of the construction works of the club engineer V.V. Veryuzhsky to A.I. Dmitriev, from Kharkov to Leningrad, on February 11, 1931. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 17. L. 21.

³⁰⁹ Letter from A.I. Dmitriev to E. Lanceray, on February 18, 1931. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 94. L. 13v.

³¹⁰ Idem. L. 14.

with the rejection of a planar solution: “Themes – landscapes – the Caucasus and Crimea (I think, maybe even two *Caucasus*)”³¹¹.

Already on February 20, at the request of a certain participant in the battle for Perekop, the Kharkov regional trade union (district committee of the railway trade union) came to the decision to order three sketches: a view of the Caucasus with Soviet horsemen at the time of the Civil War (“as in *Hadji Murad*, where the riders go uphill”³¹²), a landscape of Perekop with representatives of the Red Army and a group of young Soviet tourists³¹³, and, as a fallback, a view of the Crimea near Sudak. The next day, engineer V.V. Veryuzhsky sent the artist an official commission to create sketches in 1/10 size by May 1 and a panel by November 1³¹⁴. Having received it, the artist began to think over the composition *Caucasus* dear to him in terms of topic: “I try like Bogaevsky – not that; I try like Saryan – not that; naivety, Persia, Brueghel – no. I am an incorrigible realist. I hate to depersonalize the shape of the mountains, as well as depersonalize, schematize the movement”³¹⁵.

On April 21, during the artist’s first two-week trip to Kharkov after 1919, an act was signed approving the sketches created in three days with the finally chosen subjects: *Crimea*, where tourists who have reached a mountain pass say goodbye to their guides, and *Caucasus*, where the regular troops of the Red Army meet in the mountains with local partisans³¹⁶. At the same time, the Commission considered it “possible to agree with the

³¹¹ *Idem*. L. 13v.

³¹² Letter from A.I. Dmitriev to E. Lanceray, on February 22, 1931. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 94. L. 15.

³¹³ The idea to depict the landscape of Perekop came to one of the members of the Commission. As A.I. Dmitriev wrote to E. Lanceray, on February 21: “One of the members of the Commission (who himself took part in the battle) formulated the case with panel *Perekop* in this way - “I stand firmly for Perekop, but so that there is no dump...” In general, the moment of battle is not needed”. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 94. L. 16.

³¹⁴ “In the first picture, a view of the Caucasus or Crimea, so that in the foreground horsemen (figures) corresponding to the military Soviet era were depicted - moments of the civil war. In the second picture, a view of Perekop depicting the moment of the war for the latter is desirable. Order for sketches and panels for the Worker's Palace in Kharkov. February 21, 1931. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 17. L. 19.

³¹⁵ Diary entry March 30, 1931.

³¹⁶ A copy of the act drawn up on April 20, 1931 and signed by A.I. Dmitriev, the head of construction works, engineer V.V. Veryuzhsky, Chairman of the District Trade Union P.P. Sokolov and a member of the presidium of the Rayprofsozh I.M. Zamira. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 17. L. 28.

proposal of E. Lanceray about the execution of paintings directly on the wall plaster. In the 1920s, the artist continued to collect recipes for writing on lime plaster (based on emulsions, means of fixing soil and painting), but only now, sixteen years after decorating the hall of the Academy of Arts, a new opportunity appeared to create wall paintings.

In the summer, E. Lanceray thought a lot about the technology of painting. On August 22–24, he spent time with D.I. Kiplik, who recommended wax painting to him. But the master leaned towards the more familiar tempera *al secco* and used the messages of the copyist of medieval frescoes of N.I. Tolmachevskaya³¹⁷. To determine the durability of pigments, he tested tempera on limestone plates, which he had lain in a box on the balcony in the dark, in frost and in dampness from September to May 1932.

After a trip to the mountain village of Abastuman, he finally abandoned his initial thoughts about a high horizon and elements of flatness. In sketches, he wanted to convey the romantic excitement of the characters; in *Crimea* "joyfully enthusiastic round eyes [of tourists] – youth, joy of life, sweet and naive"³¹⁸.

On October 4, 1931, Lanceray, with cardboard pierced for powder, arrived in Kharkov for two months (until November 27) and immediately after the start of transferring the *Crimea* drawing to the wall, he encountered practical difficulties: the scaffoldings were not equipped with rails, there were no glazing and heating, and not enough paints. But the intrigues of local artists, harassment by “boychukists” and workers caused great troubles: “Some young loafers from the trade union came to work to learn about ideology”³¹⁹; “Today they came to say that somewhere they decided to whitewash *Crimea* because of an inappropriate plot”³²⁰. Things even reached the point of eddities: “It turns out that they [the workers] do not like *Crimea* because one Komsomol smiles on it while passing Lenin's

³¹⁷ Tolmachevskaya (1931): Natalia Ivanovna painted copies of the frescoes in tempera on one yolk with the addition of vinegar. But since such an emulsion cannot be diluted with water when writing due to the appearance of whitishness, she recommended using a whole egg. She also reported on a medium tempera between *secco* and *fresco* (*fussoal secco*), when the plaster is wetted with lime water and the paint is rubbed with slaked lime. “According to D.I. Kiplik, work in this way is difficult to the same extent as with a real *fresco* due to the very strong fading of tones after drying” (diary entry of E. Lanceray dated August 22, 1931 in a workbook).

³¹⁸ Diary entry September 6, 1931. Archive of the artist's family.

³¹⁹ Diary entry October 13, 1931.

book, as if “he definitely doesn’t take it seriously”³²¹.

In Ukraine, under the guidance of M.L. Boychuk, professor at the Kiev Academy of Arts, a whole school of fresco painting had developed. From 1919 to 1935 the "boychukists" created more than twenty monumental paintings in the barracks, workers' clubs, theaters; in 1923 they designed the Ukrainian pavilion at the All-Russian handicraft and industrial and agricultural exhibition in Moscow. Interestingly, Boychuk and the head of another monumental workshop at the Kiev Art Institute, professor L.Yu. Kramarenko, visited Italy at the same time as E. Lanceray, in 1907, but they did not know each other. In contrast to the *World of Art* artist group, Ukrainian artists were especially impressed by the masters of the early Renaissance. At the same time, they developed the traditions of ancient Russian and, especially, folk art.

After the onset of cold weather, in which it was impossible to work with paints, Lanceray went to Moscow on November 27. Taking him to the railway station, V.V. Veryuzhsky showed “the decision of the District trade union on instructions to terminate the contract <...> already for both themes. They want to announce a competition”³²². The growth of "communist Arakcheevshchina", which was opposed by A.V. Lunacharsky (Morozov, 1995, p. 15), was also associated with the activities of "proletarian" creative organizations (including the Russian Association of Proletarian Artists, organized in May 1931).

Monumental paintings and panels were profitable commissions for the artist, but he regretted that he participated in works with ideological overtones. When work was stopped in Kharkov, he wrote: “In the depths of my soul, I would almost be glad if this work was upset and recovered by another”³²³.

After the Decree of the Council for the construction of the Palace of Soviets of February 28, 1932, the situation in architecture began to change, and then in the fine arts also. As A.V. Grigoriev, the chairman of the Union of Soviet Artists, wrote to Lanceray:

³²⁰Diary entry November 19, 1931.

³²¹Diary entry October 24, 1932.

³²²Diary entry November 27, 1931.

³²³Diary entry January 3, 1932.

“historical events take place on the artistic front. We are on the threshold of the rise and flourishing of art – the Party has taken up this task”³²⁴. There was an active turn to the classics in its various regulated manifestations. As I.V. Zholtovsky told the artist, Alexei Tolstoy is commissioned to write an article (under "our dictation") for classicism”³²⁵. The issues of using the classical heritage (Matsa, 1933b) and revising the attitude towards the "masters" are raised (Morozov, 1988, pp.224-253)³²⁶. But the idea of ideological subjugation of all representatives of creative professions is also growing at the top. After the Decree of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks “On the restructuring of literary and artistic organizations” dated April 23, 1932, were created unified creative unions and many universities were recreated, through which it was easier to implant the method of “socialist realism”, cultivated on the basis of the “heroic realism” of the Association of the Revolution Artists with adding "socialist romance".

Capital waves of transformations went to the republics. In August, the issue of his paintings in Kharkov turned in favor of the artist. Arriving in the Ukrainian capital, he heard the stories of M.A. Sharonov about the intrigues against him lead by Lev Yuryevich Kramarenko, the head of the monumental workshop at the Kiev Art Institute, and by V.V. Veryuzhsky, and the artist Tkachenko who accused Lanceray of counter-revolution. “The course of affairs was turned another way by the RKI³²⁷ and, in particular, by a certain inspector Pokrovsky, who turned out to be my “admirer” (*Hadji Murad*)”. A.N. Aprosina “said that Skrypnik spoke sharply and resolutely somewhere at a Party meeting “ in favor”

³²⁴ Letter from A.V. Grigoriev to E. Lanceray, on May 13, 1932. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 90. L. 1.

³²⁵ Diary entry August 28, 1932. This refers to the article by Alexei Tolstoy "The Search for Monumentality", published in the newspaper *Izvestia* on February 27, 1932, after the exhibition of projects of the Palace of Soviets. In it, among other things, it was written: “The proletariat inherits millennia of culture and never dreamed of opportunities <...> Classical architecture (Rome) is closest to us because many elements in it coincide with our requirements”.

³²⁶ The turn in relation to the “masters” also affected the attitude towards E. Lanceray. He was offered commissions for illustrations for the A.N. Tolstoy’ novel *Peter I* and a large painting *Transcaucasian partisans* for the exhibition "15 years of the Red Army". In 1932, five works of the artist were printed in color on postcards in the Leningrad printing house named after Volodarsky in a circulation of 35,000 copies each (*Talysh* and *Corner of Lankaran, Araks River near Julfa, Gek-Gel Lake, Zikarsky Pass for Abas-Fog*). And in 1933, his painting *Ships of the times of Peter I* (1909) was printed on a large candy box.

³²⁷RKI (Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate). Diary entry August 22, 1932.

and even scolded for the whole story”³²⁸. “There was a certain Terikov, one of the secretaries of the Party, who spoke very strongly in favor of the paintings; they say, there’s nothing to say such nonsense as changing, glossing over, etc.”³²⁹. In September-October 1932, Lanceray was able to complete the murals: first to finalize *Crimea*, then in just 28 days to perform *Caucasus*.

The deliberate joyfulness of the depicted Red Army soldiers and young tourists brought the panel closer to the standards of social realism – to the works of A.M. and S.V. Gerasimov, V.P. Efanova, G.M. Shegal and others ³³⁰. Although Lanceray himself, who experienced deep feelings from his “agreement”, thought about more general allegories: “As I dreamed while working on Kharkov wall paintings, if I did them only for myself, I would write one woman to the full height of 6 meters – Demeter – surrounded by wealth and joy of life (animals, bodily: fruits and flowers, etc.)”³³¹.

Indicative of changes in the cultural policy of the authorities is the commission of the Deputy Director of the **Museum of Georgia**, G.N. Chubinashvili, for a painting of stairs of the main lobby of the museum in Tiflis, with themes from the Georgian history of the 20th century. Judging by the first sketches of February 1932, the artist wanted to make the most of the walls of the upper flights of the stairs in order to better represent the beauty of the mountain landscapes of Georgia³³². But the management did not like such carpeting with a continuous painting with the effect of breaking through the wall and on March 17 an official contract was concluded for two panels up to 24 square meters in size each³³³. The work was supposed to be completed by June 1, but it was delayed due to clarification of the topic. Finally, in July-August, standing on the platforms, the artist painted the first composition with tempera on the wall and called it a fresco – *The laying of the Zemo-Avchalskaya hydroelectric power station in 1922* (“Subbotnik-starting work on the

³²⁸Diary entry August 24, 1932.

³²⁹Diary entry September 11, 1932.

³³⁰In 2015, the murals were proposed to be destroyed because of the images of a Komsomol member with a book by Lenin and Red Army soldiers with a red flag, which fell under the new law of Ukraine “On the condemnation of the communist and national socialist totalitarian regimes in Ukraine and the prohibition of propaganda of their symbols.”

³³¹Diary entry May 8, 1933.

³³²In the same year, V.A. Favorsky.

construction of the Zagas. Headed by members of the government of the SSR of Georgia 1922”). Back in April, he created for it a portrait of the chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Georgian SSR, F.I. Makharadze, using the bust by Ya.I. Nikoladze, and a little later, portraits of the first secretary of the Zakkraykom of the CPSU(b), Mamiya Orakhelashvili, and of the first deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Georgia, Buda Mdivani. Due to later repressions against some of these depicted here, this painting was recovered with new plaster³³⁴.

The theme of the second painting in the Museum of Georgia could not be approved for a long time. The artist created several large and small sketches on the Bolshevik Party leading the struggle of the rebellious peasants and workers, Houris, 1905, and on the Committee of the SD(b) Party leading the Georgian labor movement in 1900-1917, and others.

Finally, only after the completion of the Kharkov paintings in December 1932, the directorate of the Museum of Georgia approved the theme of the second painting of the stairs, *Stalin leads the uprising in Batum on March 9, 1902* (“The first political speech of the workers of Batum in 1902. The Batumi organization of the RSDRP, headed by Comrade Stalin leading the labor movement”). On the spot, the panel was made from February to April 13, 1933: “I painted <...> a large panel directly on the plaster in the local museum (4 by 5 meters), also in tempera, but, of course, liquid. Recently finished. And it’s nice, but also difficult to paint such huge spaces!”³³⁵

It is interesting how the artist himself a little later, on June 23, in a diary entry, strictly assessed the pictorial qualities of his multifaceted, with severely outlined figures, works: “in the Museum of Georgia, I looked at my panel, maybe the first one, ZAGES, is

³³³Contract for the execution of two paintings on the wall of the main staircase of the Museum of Georgia. March 17, 1932. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 17. L. 32.

³³⁴In 1931–1932, L.P. Beria became the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia and the first secretary of the Transcaucasian Regional Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks. In 1937-1938, on his instructions, a purge took place in the ranks of the old Georgian Bolsheviks. Mamia Orakhelashvili, Lavrenty Kartvelishvili, Levan Gogoberidze, Samson Mamulia, Mikhail Kakhiani, Mikhail Okudzhava, Buda Mdivani, Shalva Eliava were shot. The intelligentsia suffered even more: the microbiologist G.G. Eliava, theater director A.V. Akhmeteli, conductor E.S. Mikeladze, writers M.S. Javakhishvili, T.Yu. Tabidze, artist D.I. Shevardnadze, philologist G.F. Tsereteli and many others.

³³⁵Letter from E. Lanceray to Z.E. Serebriakova on April 20, 1933. Private collection.

better? In the second panel, some heads are nothing, but the cloak is motley, common silhouettes are small, the general interpretation is “illustrative”. The yellow, light-colored grasses below fall out somewhat in light-gathering power”. Both murals were created in a vertical format like Kharkov panels, each measuring 5.5 by 3.5 meters. There were still few murals even on such an average scale in the country at that time. The themes of labor depicted in them (communists with hoes at the construction of a hydroelectric power station) and revolution, and even with portraits of Stalin in the foreground, fit very well into the concept of socialist realism³³⁶. A large sketch for the painting *Comrade Stalin directs the first political action of the Transcaucasian proletariat in Batum in 1902*³³⁷ participated in the exhibition "Stalin and the people of the Stalin era", which opened in Kalinin in January 1940³³⁸.

The completion of the paintings in Kharkov and Tiflis took place simultaneously with the unwinding of a new phase of the state's struggle to subjugate the minds of artists. “Already in the autumn of 1932 and in 1933, a broadcast campaign of ideological indoctrination of all acting artistic cadres was launched”³³⁹ in connection with the postulation of the exclusivity of the method of socialist realism. The difference is indicative between the exhibitions "Artists of the RSFSR for the last XV years", which opened on November 13, 1932 in 35 halls of the Russian Museum in Leningrad (357 artists, 2824 works) and on June 27, 1933 in the Historical Museum in Moscow (245 artists, 989 works). In the first one, the jury panel included about twenty artists of different directions, different trends were shown from the AChR to “non-objectives”, and the term socialist realism was not used in the catalog. On the second, "formalistic" directions were minimized

³³⁶ Both murals were published in the XIV edition of the “Yearbook of the Society of Artists Architects” (Leningrad, 1935).

³³⁷ 1932. Paper, tempera. OK. 150x80. Tver Regional Art Gallery. Acquired in August 1937 by E.K. Mroz (in 1942-1949 – director of the gallery).

³³⁸ *Stalin and the people of the Stalin era. Exhibition catalogue* (1940), Kalinin: Kalinin Regional Art Gallery, p. 8. About his painting in Tbilisi and the sketch for the exhibition by E.E. Lanceray wrote on April 11, 1939 to the Committee for Arts under the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR. OR GTG. F. 8. Op. 2. Unit 992. L. 1. In the same year, Lanceray made a poster for the exhibition "Stalin and the people of the Soviet country in the fine arts" for the Tretyakov Gallery, engraved by M.V. Matorin.

³³⁹ Morozov (1995, p. 22).

(Golomshtok, 1994, p. 106), and the chairman of the exhibition committee, M.P. Arkadiev concludes with a wish for "a struggle for skill, for subject matter, for socialist realism".

At the first exhibition Eugène Lanceray was present with only two color lithographs (*Angora*, 1923, and *Aul Ginta*, 1927), then at the second, with a new big panel sketches for the Kazansky railway station in Moscow. The plot transformation of this order, while maintaining the neo-baroque style, is a very rare, but clear example of the official position on monumental painting in the 1920s – 1930s.

3.6. French business trip in 1927: expectations and disappointment in modernism

The Lanceray's trip to Paris in 1927, the last foreign one, was an important milestone in his artistic biography and almost coincided with the beginning of the transitional period in the State, which separated the time of the diversity of styles, trends and philosophical and aesthetic attitudes of the mid-1920s from the heyday of socialist realism and ideological installations of art of the 1930s.

Like many other artists of the Silver Age, Eugène Lanceray felt himself involved in the pan-European cultural trends. He studied in Paris, was aware of the latest trends in painting and graphics in France, Italy, Germany, Scandinavia, and felt the need to update his knowledge twenty years after visiting Italy and twenty-six years after traveling to France. He intended to use the impressions of a new visit to Paris in his work and teaching. In addition, the artist wanted to show his work to the foreign public and print an album with his own works.

The very idea of a business trip to Paris after a letter to L. Bakst in 1920, returned to the artist five years later, in connection with the desire of G.N. Chubinashvili to study French museum work. During the expedition to Dagestan, Lanceray even had dreams about the proposed trip³⁴⁰. In December, he turned to the director of the art store *Russian Art* in Paris, V.F. Zeeler, with a proposal to publish a series of Caucasian drawings. On April 6,

³⁴⁰ "I see strange and interesting dreams – I sleep well. A couple of times about Paris – about our arrival, although during the day I think very little about the future", wrote E. Lanceray in his diary August 23, 1925. Archives of the artist's family.

1926, the artist even sent him his works for sale: *Georgia. Church of Jvaris Sagdari with sheep, Dagestan. Near Gunib, Dagestan. Aul Tidib* and *In Armenia*.

Unlike many other artists, including those from the *World of Art* association who left for Western Europe, Lanceray chose to remain in the Soviet Union. While remaining an adherent of the tradition of realism, he nevertheless (largely out of habit of the pre-revolutionary time) followed new trends in art and tried, as far as possible, to participate in exhibitions in Russia and Western Europe. After looking at the magazine *L'Art vivant* that Z.E. Serebriakova had sent him, the academician felt his old-fashionedness and low demand: "I keep thinking about Paris, I'm more and more afraid of it – to be completely alien, old-fashioned in it", the artist wrote on February 13, 1925³⁴¹. But he still hoped for the publication of his work in foreign publishing houses. As early as December 2, 1924, E. Lanceray wrote to I.E. Grabar: "The material that has already been accumulated and can be accumulated has not yet completely grown old (only physically, because in the sense of "fashion" – I think that hunters must be found even for "yesterday"! – I want to use it so much, otherwise, even the purpose and meaning of life are lost! Of course, relations with foreign countries are more difficult, but they seem to be possible. And then, I could myself have passed"³⁴².

The opportunity to travel to Western Europe made it possible to be at the forefront of the cultural trends. They were also needed to feed the emotions from classical art, including for the *World of Art*, for whom the inclusion of their art in a foreign context was important³⁴³. Until the end of the 1920s, foreign business trips were often practiced in the USSR. Especially France, Italy and Germany attracted artists in the 1920s, just as before the revolution³⁴⁴. In 1925-1926, the People's Commissariat of Education sent 77 people for

³⁴¹ Archive of the artist's family.

³⁴² Letter from E. Lanceray to I.E. Grabar, on December 2, 1924. State Tretyakov Gallery. F. 106. No. 7046. L. 3.

³⁴³ A.N. Benois (1993, p. 425) wrote: "I am convinced that it was our "foreignness" that played a significant and, moreover, a positive role not only in our personal development, but also in the formation of that cultural core, from which a whole artistic movement then arose, known as the *World of Art*".

³⁴⁴ The development of relations between Russia and Western Europe in the 1920s traced in the thesis of N.E. Bakina (2005, pp. 76-102).

various purposes. So P.V. Kuznetsov and E.M. Bebutova visited Paris with an exhibition in 1923; in 1924–1925, P.P. Konchalovsky visited Italy and France with an exhibition; at the end of 1924 - July 1925, K.S. Petrov-Vodkin lived in Paris.; in 1925, A.M. Rodchenko was sent to the French capital; A.I. Kravchenko – to Italy and France. In 1928, on a ticket from the People's Commissariat for Education, P.V. Williams visited Paris, Germany and Italy. In the same year, R.R. Falk went to France to study the classical heritage. Some artists were purposefully delegated abroad as representatives of advanced art in order to maintain the image of the young country of the Soviets (like L.M. Lissitzky), but Lanceray was not one of them.

By the time of his business trip, the largest colony of artists, immigrants from the Russian Empire, was in Paris. Many *World of Art* members moved here: A.E. Yakovlev (in 1919), V.I. Shukhaev (in 1921), Z.E. Serebriakova (1924), I.Ya. Bilibin and K.A. Somov (1925), A.N. Benois (1926), S.V. Chekhonin (1928). Natives of the Caucasian region, Georgian and Armenian craftsmen, also worked in France for many years ³⁴⁵: D.N. Kakabadze in 1919–1927, V.D. Gudiashvili from 1919 to 1926, K.K. Magalashvili in 1923–1926, E.S. Kochar in 1923–1936, E.D. Akhvlediani in 1924–1927, M.S. Saryan in 1926–1928.

Eugène Lanceray, a longtime admirer of France, rushed to Paris as well. He had to wait more than one year for an opportunity to go. In 1926, “dreams about going abroad, because of finances (Zhenya’s illness and lack of commissions) were postponed for a very indefinite time”, he regretted in a letter to his sister Z.E. Serebriakova on March 14, 1926³⁴⁶. But already on January 10, 1927, in a letter to his sister, the artist asked for help with a visa to France and formulated: “the purpose of the trip is to get acquainted with art teaching and the latest artistic trends; acquaintance with artistic methods of reproduction – with

³⁴⁵ As N.A. Yezerskaya (1994, p. 61) wrote, the Ministry of Education of Georgia sent a group of young Georgian artists to Paris “for improvement”, which, in addition to Kakabadze and Gudiashvili, included S. Kikodze, E. Akhvlediani, K. Magalashvili, L. Bilanishvili. All of them are drawn into the cycle of the artistic life of Paris, participate in exhibitions.

³⁴⁶ Private collection.

autolithographs, etching, and finally, for negotiations on the publication of some of his artistic works from Georgia, Dagestan and Armenia”³⁴⁷.

On February 28, 1927, the artist wrote a petition to D.V. Kandelaki for a business trip to Paris³⁴⁸. The issue of permission to travel was decided at the level of the Georgian government. Finally, after a meeting with the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Georgia, Sh.Z. Eliava, despite the opposition of supervisory authorities, on March 26, the business trip was allowed. After a long check of documents in the OGPU on May 6, the artist received a passport. In terms of the timing of the trip, he depended on Kandelaki, who was traveling with him, but in France he was free to move. Perhaps, initially, the People's Commissariat of Education set him the goal of studying new trends in art, especially in printing techniques, and acquiring an etching machine.

On May 21st 1927, together with D.V. Kandelaki, his wife³⁴⁹ and daughter, as well as Dr. Ya.E. Hamburger, E. Lanceray sailed from Batum. Of great interest are his diary entries (kept in the archive of the artist's family) and letters written during and after his return from that last trip abroad. Interesting and indicative of the picture of his creative evolution are both the master's travel notes on the way from Georgia to Marseille and back, as well as his impressions of changes in France since the 1900s, and especially of museums and contemporary French art.

At the beginning of the voyage on the Phrygia ship, the artist looked at the coast of Turkey through the prism of his memories of 1915 and 1922. On May 22, he visited Trebizond, where he heard from B.E. Ettingof, the Consul of the USSR, about reactions to the ban on some traditional clothing and headgear (pants with fat tails, fezzes, women's hats and charchafs)³⁵⁰. The Byzantine temple, which became the Hagia Sophia mosque, with the remains of frescoes, bas-reliefs and capitals (with images of eagles with spheres) on the southern and western facades and a separate bell tower, made a strong impression on the

³⁴⁷ Private collection.

³⁴⁸ Around the same time, S.P. Diaghilev summoned G.B. Yakulov to Paris for performances designing.

³⁴⁹ On the ship, the artist created a portrait of Evgenia Alexandrovna Bubnova-Kandelaki (end of May 1927; paper, sanguine, pastel; 48x35; private collection).

³⁵⁰ According to the entries in the diary on May 23. Archive of the artist's family.

master. Further along the route, the artist visited Kerasund³⁵¹, from the ship he observed Samsun and Ineboli, standing opposite each other across the Bosphorus, the fortresses of Rumeli-Hisar and Anadolu-Hisar. He was in Constantinople on May 26-29 and then on September 13-16 on his way back. He visited Hagia Sophia, Topkapi Palace, the old bazaar, the church of the former monastery of Christ the Savior in Chora (Kakhriye-jami), Tekfur Palace, the Eikhaf Museum and the university library (where the artist was fascinated by miniatures), the areas of Pera (Beyoglu) beyond the Golden Horn and Scutari (modern Uskudar) on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus. More than in Byzantine monuments, the academician was interested in Turkish mosques (Blue, or Ahmet-Sultan Jami, Sultan Eyyub outside the city walls) with courtyards, arcades, fountains, trees and graves. He found their interiors cold and monotonous, and paid tribute to the perfection of their exteriors³⁵². On September 16, in the morning before weighing anchor, the artist created in tempera a view of Istanbul with blue shades of water and sky and brown-terracotta: roofs and walls of houses, mausoleums and other buildings³⁵³. The steamer stayed at the entrance to the Golden Horn Bay, not far from the Galata Bridge, from where rests a view of the old city with the Yeni-Jami mosques (one of the two minarets is visible) standing on the Suleymaniye hills (the largest in Istanbul, with 4 minarets) and Fatih. The view of the city from the strait so impressed the artist that he remembered it many years later. In 1932, he painted a watercolor landscape with a boat and the shore of Istanbul in the album of A.I. Khodasevich (née Chulkova)³⁵⁴.

The Aegean Sea on May 30 immediately fascinated the artist with the ultramarine color of the water. On June 1, in the morning already in another Ionian Sea near the island of Kefalonia, he began a painting with a low horizon, in which he revealed the color

³⁵¹ On May 23, the artist wrote in his diary: "In Kerasund, the corners are terribly tasty, tempting - sheer black walls of rocks, on which and under which buildings stand; rocks densely covered with dark juicy ivy; beautiful back streets on the shore between the rocks and the walls of houses with magans pulled ashore; but it would be nice to write all this in tempera, thick and strong". Archive of the artist's family.

³⁵² "What the Turks have developed in a peculiar way and to perfection is appearance; what Sophia has unfinished, damp, they found a complete, logical, clear and at the same time fantastic design for that", from a diary entry on September 14, 1927 (archive of the artist's family).

³⁵³ Stored in the Tretyakov Gallery. Paper, tempera. 32.7 x 49.9.

³⁵⁴ Album of A.I. Khodasevich is kept in RGALI. F. 537. Op. 1. No. 127. Drawing by E. Lanceray is located on the back of sheet 22.

nuances of the sea, the sky, the shadows on the clouds and mountains of the islands. The small sailing ship reminded the master of his European travels in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He was visiting Greece for the first time and everything there was interesting to him. "An attractive country! With its emptiness, the clarity of the backbone, the eternally virgin charm of those lines that Phidias and Pericles admired!", he wrote in his diary on June 1, 1927³⁵⁵. But he looked at the Corinth Canal and Athens on the way back - September 11th. In 7 hours, thanks to meeting the Plenipotentiary M.A. Ustinov with car in Piraeus, the artist had enough time to enjoy the center of Athens with the Acropolis. "I went alone to the Acropolis. It's hot, but I'm happy to be alone. Then there should be only exclamation marks in order – relics and proportions (which is one thing, because it is not a matter of size) and in order of surprise the Ionic column - Propylaea, and the steepness of the steps <...> And, finally, in order of the magical tone of the yellowed marble, what reflexions! <...> The details and smallness of the famous frieze of the Panathenaic procession are noticeable. What richness and perfection in the ornaments of the Erechtheion"³⁵⁶. Then he visited the Tower of the Winds, the ruins of the Temple of Jupiter, the Eleusinian Bay and the Byzantine Church of the Assumption of Our Lady in Daphni.

Sailing through Calabria, Strait of Messina and the Aeolian Islands with steaming Stromboli on June 1–2 and September 9, the artist recalled his Italian journey in 1907 and continued to enjoy the color of the water and the wildness of the mountains. According to the impressions received on the way, in October 1927 - January 1928 in Tiflis, he was finishing the composition *Lipari Islands*, which can be associated with the painting *Greek Islands in the Mediterranean Sea* (paper on cardboard, tempera; 41.1 x 53), stored in the Tretyakov Gallery.

The artist stayed in France from June 4 to September 7. After two days in Marseille³⁵⁷ and communicating with his sister Sophia Daniel (1880–1966), he arrived by train in Paris on June 6, where he met with his sister Zinaida Serebriakova and her son

³⁵⁵ Diary entry. Archive of the artist's family.

³⁵⁶ From a diary entry on September 11th. Archive of the artist's family.

³⁵⁷ The artist lived in a small hotel "Continental" near the Belgian embankment at the address: 6, rueBeauvau. Nowadays, the Carré Vieux Port Marseille Hotel is located here.

Alexandre, with his uncle Alexandre Benois and his family, with Charles Birlet, the Cherepnins and many others he had been missing. Over the next day, the artist managed to buy a new costume³⁵⁸ and, with the help of Alexandre Serebriakov, framed the paintings for the exhibition “Group of Russian Artists of the *World of Art*”, which opened on the afternoon of June 7 at the Bernheim le Jeune Gallery (83, Rue du Faubourg-Saint-Honoré). Many of the friends that he met there, he had not been seeing them for a very long time³⁵⁹. Almost all familiar artists were going through a financially difficult time, as their works were not valued sufficiently and exhibitions brought almost no income. A.N. Benois and K.A. Somov decided not to exhibit. Eugène Lanceray nevertheless showed about 12 of his Caucasian works (landscapes and types). The chairman of the organizing committee of the exhibition, M.V. Dobuzhinsky, wrote to F.F. Notgaf, on June 8, 1927, that “Eugène arrived from Batum right through Marseille and just in time for the opening and managed to frame and put out 12 pieces of art. He arrived tanned, healthy, young”³⁶⁰. Presumably, it was Lanceray who persuaded his sister Zinaida to exhibit. Presented at the last moment, her work is not included in the catalog. The exhibition was not very well known, but a few works were bought by G.L. Girshman.

Works brought from Georgia 1920–1926 (views of Tiflis, Mtskheta, Dagestan, Erivan, Lake Sevan and Mount Kazbek, portraits of Yezidis and Armenians) turned out to be of interest to friends and critics. The magazine *Illustrated Russia* published an article by L. Lvov (1927) "East by E. Lanceray": "Caucasus by E. Lanceray is a curious and interesting phenomenon of Russian artistic culture. Here there is no fury of the “easterner” Saryan which sometimes captivates us so much. Dimension, calm, concentration – these are the characteristic features of the "Eastern" work of the recent "Westernizer" E. Lanceray.

³⁵⁸ It was important for the *World Art* member to look good in front of his friends. The old pre-revolutionary things were already worn out and the artist bought a coat, jacket, trousers, shoes, shirt, tie and hat in Paris, which he then wore in Tiflis and Moscow.

³⁵⁹ In his diary on June 7, the artist wrote: “At the exhibition from 2 to 6. I saw there: Dobuzhinsky with his family, Grigoriev, Yakovlev, Shukhaev, Saryan, Milioti, Bilibin, Shekotikhina, Korovin - Bushen, Ernst, Girshmans, Somov, Lagorio - Healed, Beloborodov, Chaliapin, Sorin, Prince. Tenisheva, Znosko-Borovsky, Grzhebin, Ziloti A. etc. ” (archive of the artist's family).

³⁶⁰ Dobuzhinsky M.V. (2001), *Letters*, p. 210. And Somov K.A. (1979), p. 321: “I saw Eugène Lanceray, who had come on vacation from Tiflis the day before, he is just as nice and affectionate (he got old and bald and fat)” (Letter to A.A. Mikhailova, June 9, 1927).

Everything here is in the observation of the artist-ethnographer, who, by the way, often rests his attention on the architectural forms of the old Caucasus, Lanceray the painter and Lanceray the graphic artist". But most of all, the works of Eugène were useful to his sister and godmother Zinaida Serebriakova, who had previously been under his artistic influence. Her brother's "Eastern" experience was very important to her, and partly under the influence of his Caucasian impressions, at the end of 1928 she decided to go to Morocco.

In Paris, the artist got acquainted with the creative achievements of his friends (including murals in private houses of Beloborodov, Dobuzhinsky; productions by S.P. Diaghilev, scenery by A.N. Benois for the play *Ruy Blas* in the Comédie-Française; Yakovlev, Albert Alexandrovich Benois) and the museum collections of the Louvre³⁶¹, the Luxembourg Palace (he singled out the painter Paul Guigou), Carnaval, the Rodin, Decorative Arts and Guimet museums. He was also interested in the latest modernist trends in galleries (at Edmond Bernard, at the Salon of the Tuileries, in the shops on rue de la Boétie, on the boulevard Montparnasse), at the School of Fine Arts and in workshops (including D.N. Kakabadze).

He compares his impressions of Notre Dame and Sacré Coeur, of the Pantheon, of the Eiffel Tower and now notices those design details (sculptures, stained glass windows) that he did not notice or treated differently on previous visits. Together with A.N. Benois and the Serebriakovs, and sometimes alone, he traveled to Versailles (June 19, 26, July 9, August 12), Meudon (the Cherkesovs lived here), Chantilly (July 3), Fontainebleau (July 10 and 24), Saint-Germain-en-Lay (July 31). In front of many sights, he could not find the right view for a long time, as he avoided banal points of view. About the appearance of the Gothic cathedral of the XII-XV centuries in the city of Meaux³⁶², he wrote in his diary: "I drew it from the side. But somehow I get lost, I don't find the right point as quickly and accurately as Shura [Alexandre Serebryakov] <...> In the Caucasus, I go naively, like a sightseeing place, like a traveler. And here you need to find something special, because

³⁶¹On August 14, 1927, Eugene Lanceray, together with Zinaida Serebryakova, visited the Louvre: "We walked through the large gallery (Ribeira, Velasquez, and earlier Le Nain, Clouet, terribly black Veroneses). Rubens halls and completely new for me halls with the Dutch and Germans – Polish wars, horsemen in the forest – marvelous, Vermeer, P. de Hooch, Holbeins, Rembrandts, Hals, etc. Wonderful Korot". Diary entry for August 14, 1927.

there are so many photos and postcards!”³⁶³. The artist also managed to work on the landscapes of the Seine, on August 7, together with Z.E. Serebriakova, he went to Chatou, where the Impressionists liked to work in the open air. And during his stay on August 17–20 in Grandvilliers (in the Eure department in Normandy) at K.A. Somov’s place, he even created two sketches of a farm, including one depicting goats³⁶⁴.

On September 3–6, the artist traveled from Marseille to the resort of Sanary-sur-Mer, located 50 kilometers towards Toulon, where Alexander Benois, Zinaida Serebriakova and Charles Birlet with their families rested. On the 4th and 5th, they traveled together by car to the old village of La Cadière d'Azur, where the artist made studies and sketches, including a battalion of Senegalese in red fez, playing “boules”³⁶⁵. Judging by the artist’s letter to his uncle Alexandre Benois, he wanted to visit another uncle, Albert Benois, and his acquaintances Künisse-Carnot in the mountain town of Grasse near Cannes, but due to lack of time and money, this trip with a total distance of 260 kilometers did not take place³⁶⁶.

Lanceray paid much attention to printed graphics during his Paris business trip. On June 17, Yu.Yu. Cherkesov (husband of Ati Benois's cousin) showed him the lithographic workshop. By August 5, based on the Dagestan drawing of 1925, 10 hand prints were done from two stones lithograph *Aul Ginta. View of the street with towers*.

In Paris, the artist began to work in the technique of engraving. N. Romanov wrote about the work of Lanceray in the engraving workshop of V.V. Mate at the Central School of Technical Drawing of Baron A.L. Stieglitz in Saint Petersburg³⁶⁷. But then, in the 1899–1900s, the artist mostly limited himself to creating drawings, which were also engraved by

³⁶² *Cathedral in the city of Meaux*. Paper, pastel. 48x26.5. Private collection.

³⁶³ Diary entry 15 August (archive of the artist's family).

³⁶⁴ One of the sketches was created on August 18-19 and is kept in a private collection (tempera on paper; 35.7x52.5).

³⁶⁵ E. Lanceray gave E.P. Linevich, on April 1, 1931, for sale in Moscow his artwork *La Cadière – Jeu de boules*. Diary entry. Archive of the artist's family.

³⁶⁶ “If I have money, then I want to go to see uncle Berta, and maybe I’ll pass by Grasse (we’ll go together, there are very nice and rich acquaintances there – Cunissot-Carnot!)”. Letter from E. Lanceray to A.N. Benois, August 15, 1927. Archive of the Benois Museum (Peterhof). Inv. No. 5140 are. L. 1.

³⁶⁷ “Ostroumova worked in the workshop of Mate for about a year. Here Serov, Bakst, Lanceray and Somov painted with her in the evenings”, N. Romanov wrote in the introductory article to the exhibition catalog “*A.P. Ostroumova-Lebedeva*” (1916, p. 13).

A.P. Ostroumova. The first surviving engravings of the artist belong to the time of his stay in Paris. On July 27, 1927, at the theater and film artist P.N. Schildknecht's place, he began etching and by the sixth lesson engraved on a copper board a seascape with two sailing ships and the outlines of an eastern city on the horizon³⁶⁸. A few days before leaving Paris, E. Lanceray purchased an etching machine, 5 boards, tools and materials for printing from Larivière for the Tiflis Academy with the money of the People's Commissariat of Education. The artist continued further his experiments in this engraving technique in Tiflis³⁶⁹. In 1929 he created an etching *In the mountains of Dagestan* with a panoramic drawing (5x20.5 cm) and in the same years, *Portrait of V. Pataridze*, with a rare elongated vertical format (12x5.5 cm). He also created drawings for the etchings *Shepherds in David Garej* (January-February 1928)³⁷⁰, *Chichkhitauri* (Tiflis region, March 1928). In February 1930, he thought about translating his painting *Danae* into etching and about developing the plot *She takes off her veil*.

Despite the failure of negotiations for a solo exhibition in Paris (at the Charpentier Gallery and the Museum of Decorative Arts), some of the works he left in France participated in the "Exhibition of Russian Art, Old and Modern" in Brussels in 1928 (seven

³⁶⁸ The etching *Bosphorus Strait* was printed on August 27 in the Parisian workshop of Larivière. Around February 3, 1930, the artist presented one of the prints to the former chairman of the Central Executive Committee of Armenia, A.B. Karinyan, and another in 1937 - P.D. Ettinger. "The other day I saw Lanceray, who kindly gave me his etching <...> It was the only one made 10 years ago in Paris, where the artist was etching it", wrote D.I. Mitrokhin to P.D. Ettinger, June 16, 1937 (Book about Mitrokhin. Articles. Letters. Memoirs: Collection. Leningrad.: Artist of the RSFSR, 1986. P. 316). Prints of the etching *Bosphorus Strait* (picture size 12.8x11.4 cm) are kept in the Museum of Fine Arts named after A.S. Pushkin, in the Russian Museum, in the Astrakhan Art Gallery named after P.M. Dogadin, Kursk State Art Gallery named after A.A. Deineka.

³⁶⁹ In the note "Art in Paris (from a conversation with E.E. Lanceray)" in the newspaper *Zarya Vostoka* dated October 4, 1927, it is written: "D.V. Kandelaki purchased a large machine for printing etchings for the Academy of Arts of Georgia, which will make it possible, using the experience of E. Lanceray, to instill in Georgia one of the most artistic methods of reproduction". The etching machine itself lay at customs for two months and was brought to the Academy only on November 22.

³⁷⁰ Paper, ink. National Gallery of Armenia. On April 11, 1928, the artist recalled his impressions of one cave monastery: "I am sitting in a cave, once the refectory of the monastery, sketching ancient frescoes <...> Silence, because there is no person around for tens of miles, nature is silent, but there are so many sounds in this silence <...>" (archive of the artist's family).

works by Lanceray were exhibited) and also at joint exhibition in the gallery of V.O. Hirschman in Paris in 1929³⁷¹.

Negotiations on book projects were unsuccessful. But on June 29, E. Lanceray agreed on a series of publications of his Caucasian works with the editor of the magazine *L'Illustration*, Jacques Baschet. In June 1928, in two issues, was published an article by Claude Anet (1928, pp. 609–612), “Cities and landscapes of the Caucasus” with 15 color illustrations on Georgia, Dagestan and Armenia by Lanceray, but without mentioning the artist in the text. Mostly colorful works (created in watercolor or tempera) of different genres over the past ten years were chosen: landscapes of Mount Kazbek, Lake Sevan (1927), views of Dagestan (Kafyr-Kumukh, 1918; architectural motifs of the villages of Ginta, Tidib, Uroda, 1925), Tiflis (*The Lost Corner*, 1924; *Under the Sulfur Baths*, 1925; *The Gorge behind the Baths*, 1925), Mtskheta (view from the Samtavro Monastery to the Svetitskhoveli Cathedral) and Erivan (*The Blue Mosque*, 1924 or 1926). For representing the national color of the inhabitants of the Caucasus, were chosen portraits of a Georgian sawfly (1924), an aysor woman (1926), an Avar woman in a festive costume (1925) and an everyday plot *In the village of Tidib* (1925, subtitled “water carrier accompanied by her children”). The works themselves remained in Paris, they were shown at exhibitions and sold to private collections.

According to recent recollections, in October 1927, already in Tiflis, the artist painted a landscape of Normandy and composed a scene of roadworks *Pavement Repair in Paris*, which was sent to Tugendhold in the Moscow magazine *Krasnaya Niva* in December, revised in January-February and published only 2 September 1928 (No. 36, p. 5)³⁷².

Typically, artists who returned from Paris applied new modernist trends in their work. As A.V. Tolstoy wrote, “each of the artists who returned to their homeland –

³⁷¹ From July 10 to October 1 in Paris, V.O. Girshman hosted an exhibition with works by L. Bakst, Albert and Alexander Benois, A. Beloborodov, M. Dobuzhinsky, S. Zhukovsky, A. Ziloti, B. Kustodiev, E. Lanceray, N. Millioti, A. Serebryakov, Z. Serebryakova, K. Somov, V. Shukhaev, A. Yakovlev and others.

³⁷² In February 1943, the artist donated this painting to the defense fund to collect for the construction of a tank. The RGALI keeps a receipt issued by the All-Russian Cooperative Union of Fine Arts Workers on February 27, 1943. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 28. L. 2.

remigrants and business travelers – brought with them not only their new works, but, more importantly, observations, impressions from Parisian and European artistic life, from meetings with celebrities. These fragmentary information, sometimes subjective judgments, were invaluable primarily for colleagues and students (Tolstoy, 2006, p. 142). But in this case, even the artist's friends spoke out about the fact that he remained indifferent to the Parisian innovations. I.A. Charlemagne wrote to P.I. Neradovsky that “the current trip of E.E. [Eugène Lanceray] to Paris does not bring anything new into our midst. E. E. [Eugène Lanceray] took out quite a bit from the trip, and our daily work binds us so much that even he, such a “productive” artist, even now does not work for himself”³⁷³. Both Charlemagne and Lanceray were busy teaching at the Tiflis Academy of Arts and other works that left little time for sketches and free creativity.

The impression that the artist "carried out little" from his business trip was due to the fact that he did not accept the modern trends of French art. Back in 1924, he criticized modernism in painting: “In all modernists, I am repelled by the rudeness of the transfer of gesture, the primitive understanding of movement – these are always mannequins with a very poor mechanism, because heads and all members turn twist in all directions. This, they say, is “sharpness” and “fantasticism””³⁷⁴. In a letter to A.P. Ostroumova-Lebedeva, dated February 8, 1928, the artist confirmed his position: “I went with a thirst to see the new in art, to “learn”, but perhaps in these years a person is no longer free to change! In general, everything that is done there, I do not like. But still, this is everything, or almost everything, within the limits of art. This is a search for paint, composition of paints, strokes. There is a cult of sketch; and in this sense, it would seem, bless the fashion and make sketches; but the old conscientiousness creeps in and I can't overcome it. Otherwise, it could be nice – *anyhow à la Dufy or Van-Dongen etc.* – And again, I create just as I did before Paris. But Grigoriev and even K. Korovin are delighted. And Dobuzhinsky. Alexandre Benois is enigmatic (or rather diplomatic). Argutinsky recognizes the greatness of the rulers of fashion. And only Somov, my sister [Z. Serebriakova] and I are outraged”³⁷⁵.

³⁷³ Letter from I.A. Charlemagne to P.I. Neradovsky, on December 15, 1927. OR GTG. F. 31. No. 1759.

³⁷⁴ Diary entry May 20, 1924 Archives of the artist's family.

³⁷⁵ OR RNB. F. 1015. No. 685. L. 6–6 rev.

The artist was well aware of the difference between modern French art, presented in art galleries in Paris, and the work of artists of his circle, presented at the last exhibition of the *World of Art*³⁷⁶. He formulates his understanding of the pros and cons of modernism while still in Paris in a letter to Ruben Dramyan, on July 14, 1927, in Erevan: “It is very difficult to talk about my impressions of contemporary art and write about it is worse. 90% of what you see is disgusting. Even if one admits the talent, sometimes the “artistry” of a stroke, a colorful combination, then after all, this is not all, is this not an excuse for any dirty left foot? <...> In the decorative order, extremely much has been done and very high in terms of combination of colors and rhythm. There are good achievements in the landscape in terms of colors”³⁷⁷.

On January 22 and February 8, 1928, the artist made a lecture at the Academy of Arts in Tiflis about his impressions from Paris³⁷⁸. In a letter to his brother Nikolai a few days after the first lecture, he wrote: “I criticized modern French painting <...> If we say “in general”, then everything modern goes in the direction of “decorativeness”, stain, scale, sketchiness and étude. But that's not enough!”³⁷⁹. During the lecture, the artist expressed his negative attitude towards the drawings of Picasso and Matisse, and even more widely – toward most of the paintings after impressionism. In the rough drafts of his lecture on modern French painting, E. Lanceray, not without irony, writes about the effects of “cosmopolitanism” and “parisianism”, about his passions for Latour, Chardin, Rembrandt, Hals, Corot, Manet, Degas, Puvis de Chavannes, about the fruitful influence of cubism and “pure painting” solely in search of decoration. He criticizes a lot primitivism, purism, as well as the activities of art dealers and the new rich and “the transformation of the artist into a supplier”: “I believe that most of the artworks after impressionism are lies. And from a

³⁷⁶ In the same letter, E. Lanceray wrote to A.P. Ostroumova about the artists' exhibition *The World of Art*: “Next to the modernists, of course, it was a little *démodé*”. OR RNB. F. 1015. No. 685. L. 8v.

³⁷⁷ Department of Manuscripts of the National Gallery of Armenia. F. 5. No. 15250.

³⁷⁸ On January 25, 1928, the artist wrote in his diary: “On Sunday there was my “report” about my impressions from Paris. In the *Dawn of the East* the note appeared only on Sunday, and therefore there were few acquaintances, except for students. Spoke about 1.30 pm without hesitation; of course, missed something and didn't shade enough, called Picasso a charlatan for his drawings. I prepared for a long time, and was satisfied. Kakabadze objected, but could not have time to argument”. Archive of the artist's family.

financial point of view, one of the most grandiose frauds, at the expense of an incredibly ignorant and herd public <...> And for this, Matisse, Van Dongen and Dufy are welcome suppliers”³⁸⁰.

Nevertheless, impressions from Paris strongly influenced the artist's painting style. Even on the ship on the way to Marseilles, thinking over the tasks of the artistic committee planned by Kandelaki, he distinguished two lines of his activity: “1) Search, resolution of pictorial problems, 2) Image, “fixation” of life; and the third <...>, to give the task ahead”³⁸¹. Lanceray thought more and more about the development of the first line. On January 25, 1928, he wrote in his diary: “I keep thinking about sketchiness, ease of execution (Paris again, for us, artists, what is done there is so instructive)! And thick, and juicy, or easily improvised. But internally deliberately” (Archive of the artist’s family).

Ever since the mid-1920s. (trips to Dagestan in 1925, to Zangezour in 1926), painting compositions begin to occupy an increasing place in the artist's work. He reflects on decorativeness and the transmission of live movement. On February 19, 1928, after studying Rembrandt's etchings, the artist wrote in his diary: “The grasp of everyday living movement, what I am looking for and, it seems to me, sometimes I find and what I am proud of. Catch, habit. And this is exactly what is lost nowadays, or is not of interest <...> Only now I am starting to love Rembrandt for this”³⁸².

Lanceray recalled the evolution of his idea of painting tasks in the “Experience of analyzing his artistic aspirations within the framework of a brief autobiography”, compiled in April 1945: “In 1927, I was sent by the People's Commissariat of Education of Georgia to Paris, where I saw the latest trends in painting. Whether it's good or bad, but I must confess that neither Gaughinism nor Cézanism, in their time, neither later Cubism and Picassism touched me. I think that partly – heredity from the father sculptor, partly from childhood, education on black reproductions made me more susceptible to form, to composition, to

³⁷⁹ Letter from E. Lanceray to his brother Nikolai, on January 27, 1927. OR GRM. F. 38. No. 14.

³⁸⁰ RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. No. 72. L. 3.

³⁸¹ Diary entry May 25, 1927 Archives of the artist's family.

³⁸² Archives of the artist's family.

light and shadow and, relatively indifferent to the play of colors, as to the leading principle in painting... But, even if I fence myself off from the cult of paint-color and the mannerisms of the brushstroke of the recent idols of Paris, then the problems of making a picture, technique, captures me more and more every year. The evolution of artistic tasks, goals, goes on over the years for me, as, I think, for my fellow artists, from an emphasis on plot, from a dream to embody an event that is conceivable somewhere outside and outside the picture, it goes, moves towards an ever larger the concern is precisely the "made" of the picture - to the expressive transfer of real objects, their volumes, their real color. In a word, from a picture with a mood - to a still life; and in the history of painting - from Botticelli, Carpaccio - to Rubens and, perhaps, to the highest achievement of painting itself - to Velasquez”³⁸³.

The artist managed to visit Paris before the onset of more strict rules for traveling abroad. In March 1928, his niece Ekaterina Borisovna Serebriakova was able to go to Paris to join her mother. But his mother, E.N. Lanceray could no longer be given the passport for the departure. Her brother Alexander Benois finally decided not to return to Leningrad in 1928. On February 1, 1930, E. Lanceray wrote to his sister in Paris: "I strongly hope and want to come to Paris again – we dream of someday organizing an exhibition and come”³⁸⁴. But that was not his destiny. The political and cultural disunity of the USSR and Western Europe grew. In the same letter, the artist noted: “What is being done in art is very depressing; here is one extreme, and in Paris is another”.

Despite the unjustified hopes for organizing a solo exhibition and a large publication of his works, the French business trip was very important in the artwork of Eugène Lanceray. He received many impressions from sailing from Batum to Marseille and back, worked in the open air in France, strengthened his critical attitude towards European trends of modernism. At the same time, realizing the big difference between the modern artistic life of the USSR (the emergence of artists of a new ideological orientation instead of the

³⁸³ Autobiography of E.E. Lanceray. 1945. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. No. 1. L. 12v.

³⁸⁴ Letter from E.E. Lanceray to Z.E. Serebriakova dated February 1, 1930. Private collection.

outgoing artists of the “old formation”³⁸⁵, the increasing pressure of the Soviet ideological system) and France (the general popularity of modernism and ignoring realistic trends), the artist did not lose hope for preserving cultural ties between countries and was ready to be an emissary influencing local art schools. The influence of the French experience of the artist has been felt over the years: from expanding the scope of activities (etching), to the methodology of his art (increasing the decorativeness and colorfulness of his artworks, including monumental painting).

³⁸⁵ In the second half of the 1920s, die B.M. Kustodiev and V.D. Polenov (both in 1927), G.B. Yakulov (1928), S.P. Diaghilev, I.S. Ostroukhov (both in 1929), A.Ya. Golovin, A.E. Arkhipov, I.E. Repin (all in 1930).

Chapter 4. The Moscow period of Eugène Lanceray. The return of neoclassicism

Outline

In the previous chapter, we saw Lanceray's stylistic search from Art Nouveau through Neoclassicism to the experiments of Modernism and Realism. In this chapter, we try to understand the Lanceray's choices in the context of a complete reorganization of Soviet artistic associations and subordination of all spheres of culture by the Soviet government, in the context of the reorientation of art masters after 1932 towards Neoclassicism and Socialist realism, also in comparison with other totalitarian countries and with Italy. We emphasize the internal artistic struggle, depicted in his monumental and allegorical artworks in the 1930s. Finally, we will summarize his artistic findings and personal achievements through his teaching activities and his willingness to create his own "world of art", faithful to his roots (incl. Italians), pre-revolutionary education, and his personal romantic views. Compared to the previous chapter, where the performed research was essentially stylistic, in this chapter the most important source of information are letters and memoirs, unpublished and often not yet decrypted in their true meanings.

4.1. The turn towards neoclassicism in the cultural policy of the USSR

For some time after the October Revolution of 1917, there was a continued interest in neoclassicism in Russia, especially in architecture. In his essay on Andrea Palladio, G.K. Lukomsky in the 1920s recalls the rapid development of this style: "With the light hand of the Moscow architect I.V. Zholtovsky, who for the first time (1905-1906) brought to Russia the principles of Palladian construction after a 100-year break (when hundreds of Palladian-style estates were built in 1790-1810), a whole school of followers of that architect developed. V.A. Shchuko, who followed in the footsteps of Zholtovsky, L.A. Ilyin, M.S. Lyalevich, M.M. Peretyatkovich, A.Ya. Belograd, A.P. Aleshin, M.I. Roslavlev, Dubenetsky and a number of other architects embarked on this path, and, following it,

created excellent new structures that were successful even in America, judging by the reprinting of articles from Russian magazines (with illustrations) about Russian new buildings in American architectural magazines"³⁸⁶.

In 1919, some architects (A.E. Belograd, I.A. Fomin and others) created neoclassical projects for the competition for the construction of the Palace of Workers in Petrograd. In 1923, many buildings of the All-Russian Agricultural and Handicraft-Industrial Exhibition (designed by Zholtovsky and Shchusev) were built according to the classical tradition (the triumphal arch as a reworking of the Lion's Gate in Verona, the Mechanical Engineering pavilion, etc.).

In 1924 in Leningrad, according to the project of V.A. Shchuko and V.G. Gelfreich, the propylaea of the Smolny Institute in Leningrad were built. And in 1925-1927, according to the project of S.O. Ovsyannikov and A.S. Pronin, the Blacksmith's Market was erected with sculptures and rusticated columns of the Central Entrance.

By the mid-1920s, constructivism and functionalism dominated almost entirely in the USSR. Convinced classicists had to rationalize the forms and create a "new" classic, without the use of "aristocratism" (order decorations).

However, if in Moscow the formation of constructivism and rationalism proceeded at an accelerated pace, then in Leningrad "the neoclassicism that dominated here did not at all exhaust its potential", although it also retreated "in the second half of the 1920s under the onslaught of the Moscow and European avant-garde"³⁸⁷.

Some architects continued to make projects in the neoclassical style. In 1926 I.V. Zholtovsky designed the Soviet pavilion for the International Exhibition in Milan in the form of a basilica. Elements of ancient and renaissance architecture were used by I.A. Fomin in the 1927 project of the building of the Polytechnic Institute in Ivanovo-Voznesensk.

Similar trends away from overt classical traditions occurred in the 1920s in other arts as well. But in the early 1930s in the USSR, after the dominance of modernism among art

³⁸⁶Lukomsky G.K. (1925) *Palladio*, Paris, p. 5.

³⁸⁷Kirikov B.M. (1997) "Neoclassicism before and after the revolution", *St. Petersburg: Window to Russia. Materials of the international conference*, St. Petersburg, p. 56.

critics, there was a return of interest in realism, which was previously called “obsolete”, “pushed aside” concept, or even a “relic of the past” (Friche 1930, p. 177). Although A.V. Lunacharsky, while being the People's Commissar of Education of the RSFSR, proposed discussions of the realism problem³⁸⁸. The forerunner of the reorientation of the main part of artists from modernism to realism, back in 1928, was the Soviet department at the 16th Venice Biennale, described by B. Ternovets (1928, p. 98): “<...> The turn of the art of the USSR towards realism was, perhaps, the biggest “sensation” of the exhibition». But in the same year, the realists of the Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia had to withstand criticism from the adherents of ultra-left modernism: Alfred Kurella, appointed head of the fine arts department of the People's Commissariat of Education of the RSFSR wrote the article "Artistic reaction under the disguise of a “heroic realism”" (Curella, 1928). But in April 1928, Kurella was accused of formalist errors by Leopold Averbakh, general secretary of the All-Russian Association of Proletarian Writers and was soon forced to return to Germany.

However, only in 1931, according to the official position of I.L. Matsa, ended the first stage of the art of the period of reconstruction, characterized by "the expansion of the front of the struggle for proletarian art." The second stage began with "the deepening of this struggle along the line of improving quality, along the line of correcting those - often very gross - mistakes that accompanied the development of the first stage" (Matsa, 1933a).

In 1932, the Soviet government decided on a complete reorganization and subordination of all spheres of culture. The turn in architecture was very loud and revealing since I.V. Stalin took the leading role in this process and decided the "first all-Union cultural provocation" (Khmelnitsky, 2007, p.125) related to the international competition for the project of the Palace of Soviets, four rounds of which can be likened to acts of a theatrical performance, in which the actors-architects were subordinated to the will of the director. On February 28, 1932, a resolution was adopted by the Council for the Construction of the Palace of Soviets under the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR following the results of the second stage of the competition, which

³⁸⁸ From the history of views on realism in Soviet art history in the mid-1920s, *From the history of Soviet aesthetic thought. Collection*, Moscow, 1967.

stated that “without prejudging a certain style, the Construction Council believes that searches should be directed to the use of both new and best methods of classical architecture”³⁸⁹. There was an active turn to the classics in its various regulated manifestations. As I.V. Zholtovsky told E. Lanceray, “Alexei Tolstoy is ordered to write an article (under "our dictation") for classicism”³⁹⁰. Questions were raised about the use of the classical heritage. There was a return of interest in the order, forms and proportions of ancient architecture (Grimm, 1935).

Postulated in February, “no predecision of a certain style” was changed in the summer of 1932 to a full patronage of precisely the “classical style”, i.e. the classicist forms of architecture, albeit with variations and deviations towards baroque and mannerism. Old acquaintances of E. Lanceray again come to the fore: neoclassical architects A.V. Shchusev, I.V. Zholtovsky, V.A. Schuko, A.I. Tamanyan. The time of different levels of stylization began: "high" among the great architects and "eclectic stylization" among imitators (Kaplun, 1985, p. 151). The best buildings continued the series of stylizations of the early 20th century (Tarasov Palace by Zholtovsky, Kazansky Station by Shchusev³⁹¹, etc.).

At the same time, it must be admitted that for the first five years (in 1932-1937) in the architecture of the USSR, the post-constructivism style still prevailed quantitatively³⁹².

³⁸⁹ *Palace of the Soviets. All-Union competition of 1932*, Moscow, 1933, p. 56.

³⁹⁰ Diary entry on August 28, 1932. This refers to the article by Alexei Tolstoy "The Search for Monumentality", published in the newspaper *Izvestia* on February 27, 1932 after the exhibition of projects of the Palace of Soviets. In it, among other things, it was written: “The proletariat inherits millennia of culture and never dreamed of opportunities <...> Classical architecture (Rome) is closest to us because many elements in it coincide with our requirements”.

³⁹¹ “On the facade of the “refectory chamber” of the Kazansky railway station in Moscow <...> one can adequately assess the “epoch style” in Russian architecture of the 1910s, because this is an example of “aerobatics” of architectural stylization, when it is capable of creating perfect examples of art” (Kaplun, 1985, p. 150).

³⁹² The term post-constructivism was proposed by the architectural historian S. O. Khan-Magomedov in the 1980s. (Chan-Magomedow S.O. *Pioniere der sowjetischen Architektur*, Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1983). V.E. Khazanova proposed the term "style of 1935" (Khazanova V.E. *Club life and architecture of the club, 1917–1941*, Moscow, 2000). G.N. Yakovleva argued the originality of the formation of post-constructivism (Yakovleva G.N. “Creativity of Soviet architects of the pre-war period and power”, *Architecture of the Stalin era: an experience of historical reflection*, Moscow, 2010, pp. 25–30). According to many researchers (I.A. Azizyan, A.Yu. Bronovitskaya, A.V. Ikonnikov, I.A. Kazus, T.G. Malinina, E.B. Ovsyannikova, G.I. Revzin, V.L. Hite and others), post-constructivism was the Soviet version of the Art Deco style. A.N. Selivanova compares post-constructivism with the architecture of the "monumental order" in Western Europe and the USA (Selivanova A.N. *Architectus Ludens: post-constructivism, art deco and "monumental order"*, *Western art. XX century. Thirties. Collection of articles*, Moscow, 2016, pp. 335–351;

The name of the style is associated with the implementation since 1932 of the state policy on the transition from constructivism and the Soviet architectural avant-garde in general to neoclassicism, with the installation of the development of the classical heritage and the method of socialist realism in architecture. The style is characterized by the preservation of certain principles and design methods based on free shaping, characteristic of avant-garde architecture, the openness of the functional structure of the building with a shift in emphasis to its external decorative shell, a special heavy monumentality, cubic forms, experiments with an architectural order, the use of individual elements of classical architecture (pediments, arches, entablature, etc.) and sculpture. The style spread throughout the Soviet Union, its creators and major representatives were former avant-garde artists who retained the analytical design method (G.B. Barkhin, M.O. Barshch, A.K. Burov, A.A. Vesnin, V.A. Vesnin, I.A. Golosov, M.Ya. Ginzburg, N.D. Kolli, I.I. Leonidov, K.S. Melnikov, I.S. Nikolaev, N.A. Trotsky and others), as well as supporters of Neoclassicism (V.G. Gelfreikh, B.M. Iofan, I.G. Langbard, A.Ya. Langman, L.V. Rudnev, I.A. Fomin, V.A. Shchuko and others). Almost until the end of the 1930s, late constructivism developed, there were "relapses of formalism and constructivism", but after the All-Union Congress of Architects in 1937, "all architectural positions were finally placed." «Style, now called "Stalin's empire"» was formed³⁹³.

On the evening of July 21, 1932, architect A.V. Shchusev, while on a business trip in Georgia, visited Lanceray's apartment in Tiflis and advised him to move to Moscow, because, as he said, "the fashion for the elderly will last another three years and during this time you can get a lot of work"³⁹⁴. At the end of August, Eugène left for Moscow, where for the first time he became convinced of the change in the general stylistic direction of art within the framework of the cultural policy of the Soviet government: «The most interesting stories of I.V. [Zholtovsky - P.P.] about the turn to classicism. <...> A lot about the "golden

Selivanova A.N. *Postconstructivism: power and architecture in the 1930s in the USSR*, Moscow, 2018).

³⁹³Selivanova A.N. (2018), *Postconstructivism. Power and architecture in the 1930s in the USSR*. Moscow, p. 143.

³⁹⁴ From a letter from E. Lanceray to his wife, on July 21, 1932 Private collection.

section”»³⁹⁵. Soon the artist felt on himself a revision of attitude of the power towards the "artists" of his generation (Morozov, 1988)³⁹⁶.

Naturally, the master opposed the theory of planar-ornamental wall painting that prevailed in the 1920s and in the first half of the 1930s, which was associated with the development of constructivism and post-constructivism in architecture and which was supported until the mid-1930s, for example, by V.A. Favorsky³⁹⁷ or L.A. Bruni³⁹⁸: “In the sense of the theory of wall painting, I think, like M.A. [Sharonov - P.P.], that artists have always (excluding, of course, Byzantium and Persia) sought to convey depth and space, as a natural consequence of form and volume; but that it didn't come out right away. (Early Renaissance). I just looked at a reproduction from Pompeian painting: of course, the desire, the joy to give space, depth. Therefore, I consider even more the theory of the flatness of wall painting to be the sophistication of theorists!”³⁹⁹.

³⁹⁵ Diary entry August 28, 1932. Archive of the artist's family.

³⁹⁶ The turn in relation to the “artists” also affected the attitude towards E. Lanceray. He was offered commissions for illustrations for the A.N. Tolstoy’s novel *Peter I* and for a large painting *Transcaucasian partisans* for the exhibition of “15 years of the Red Army”. In 1932, five works of the artist were printed in color on postcards (35,000 copies each) in the Leningrad printing house named after Volodarsky (*Talysh* and *Corner of Lankaran, Araks River near Julfa, Gek-Gel Lake, Zikarsky Pass for Abas-Fog*). And in 1933, his painting *Ships of the times of Peter I* (1909) was printed on a large candy box.

³⁹⁷ In 1932–1933 V.A. Favorsky painted the vestibule of the Museum of Maternity and Infancy, in 1934–1935 – the House of Models of the Mosbelye trust, in 1935 – the ceiling of the ground lobby of the Komsomolskaya Ploshchad metro station (all of them were in Moscow and have not been preserved), in 1937 – bas-reliefs with paintings on the theme “*Peoples of the USSR*” on the facade of the Soviet pavilion at the World Exhibition in Paris (not preserved). Only in the plafond of the theater hall of the Central House of Pioneers and Octobrists in Moscow in 1935–1936 did he create an illusionistic “breakthrough into the sky”, which was not typical for him, with a parade of aircraft on May 1 and images of the Kremlin towers and the Palace of Soviets in strong foreshortening distortions (the plafond was not preserved).

³⁹⁸ LevAlexandrovich Bruni (1894–1948), great-grandnephew of the academician of painting Fyodor Antonovich Bruni. He painted the facade of the meat-packing plant named after A.I. Mikoyan (1935), created the panel “*Jungle*” for the winter garden in the Central House of Pioneers and Octobrists (1935–1936), frescoes of the walls of the Textile Plant in Tashkent (1936), all of them are solved mainly without depth of space. Only since 1937, in the panel “*USSR – a railway power*” for the “Transport” department of the Soviet pavilion at the World Exhibition in Paris and in the frescoes “*Construction of the canal*” (not preserved) on the tower of the Ikshinsky lock No. 6 of the Moscow-Volga river channel, the artist began to work more actively with space, revealing versatility and visual depth. And in the huge ceiling of the main stage of the Central Theater of the Red Army in 1939–1940, he even used the established after E.E. Lanceray effect “breakthrough into the sky”.

³⁹⁹ Diary entry of E. Lanceray dated October 8, 1932

After the decision of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks of April 23, 1932 “On the restructuring of literary and artistic organizations”, the authorities had to reinforce the liquidation of proletarian literary and artistic organizations (VOAPP, RAPP, RAMP and others) by changing the artistic method itself at “the moment when the social revolution, turning into a socialist one, requires precisely the unity of forces”⁴⁰⁰. As A.V. Grigoriev, the Chairman of the Union of Soviet Artists, wrote to E. Lanceray, “historical events take place on the artistic front. We are on the threshold of the rise and flourishing of art – the Party has taken up this task”⁴⁰¹. Instead of the scholastic "dialectical-materialist method" of the Russia Association of Proletarian Writers, a new looser term "socialist realism" was put forward, which could be framed and filled with examples as needed⁴⁰². On May 20, 1932, this term appeared in a speech by I.M. Gronsky, the chairman of the Organizing Committee of the Union of Soviet Writers, and connected dialectical materialism with the concepts of truth, reality and realism: “A writer must first take courses in dialectical materialism, and then write <...> Write the truth, truthfully reflect our reality, which itself is dialectical. Therefore, the main method of Soviet literature is the method of socialist realism”⁴⁰³. For the first two years, the method was often written as "revolutionary socialist realism" or replaced by "revolutionary romanticism"⁴⁰⁴.

At the second Plenum of the Organizing Committee of the Union of Writers of the USSR on February 12, 1933, A.V. Lunacharsky, with his report “Bourgeois and Socialist Realism”, drew a line under the disputes about the essence of the realistic method, establishing the dominance of socialist realism in the USSR for half a century (Lunacharsky, 1934). But later it was often overlooked that Lunacharsky added there: “Socialist realism presupposes a variety of styles. The variety of styles directly follows from it” (Lunacharsky, 1967, p. 519). The charter of the Union of Soviet Writers of the USSR,

⁴⁰⁰ Gorky's letter to M. Chumandrin on July 13, 1930 (Gorky, 1955, p. 172).

⁴⁰¹ Letter from A.V. Grigoriev to E. Lanceray, on May 13, 1932. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 90. L. 1.

⁴⁰² The design of the method, the main themes and plots suitable for it, as well as a comparison with similar processes in the 1930s in Germany, are considered, among other things by Golomshtok (1994).

⁴⁰³ Report on the speech of I.M. Gronsky May 20, 1932 (*Literary newspaper*, 1932, May 23).

adopted in August 1934, linked the term "socialist realism" with "the task of ideologically reshaping and educating the working people in the spirit of socialism"⁴⁰⁵. Serious discussions broke out about the "limits" of the method of socialist realism in literature, which spread to discussions among art critics, who closely followed the leading speeches of their fellow literary critics.

Research on the essence of realism and its interactions with other artistic movements in the 1930s was carried out at the Institute of Philosophy of the Komakademiya, at the Pedagogical Institute named after A.S. Bubnov. Articles on these topics were published in *Vestnik Komakademia*, *Literary Criticism*, *Literary Heritage*, *Art*, and other magazines and newspapers. Realist tendencies were now clearly seen and described in the works of the Renaissance (in Dante, Boccaccio, Shakespeare, Rabelais, etc.), (Schiller, 1934), in the literature of the time of the French Enlightenment, and especially in the literature of the 19th century. The collective article "Great Realists on the Tasks of Art" in the journal *Literary Critic* (no. 6, 1936) reveals the criteria for realism in different historical eras (from Leonardo da Vinci to Gorky) and talks about the revision of a huge layer of European cultural heritage from the 15th century, which included now the preparation stages that preceded the creation of the method of socialist realism.

The theme of "classical art" was updated (Morozov, 1988, p. 224). A.V. Lunacharsky (1931) was one of the first to begin to speak again widely about the artistic achievements of different eras, from ancient Egypt and antiquity to the present. He especially appreciated the Italian Renaissance. He was often called a "passeist", and in September 1929 he was removed from the post of People's Commissar of Education of the RSFSR, but already in 1930, he became an academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences, then director of the Institute of Literature and Language of the Communist Academy and director of the Institute of Russian Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. *Litfront*, *Oktyabr* and other organizations and associations of writers and artists had for a

⁴⁰⁴Titian Tabidze said "Both socialist realism and revolutionary realism are only a general formula; it must open in concrete images. And here every poet should feel like a conqueror" (*First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers. Verbatim report*, Moscow, 1934, p. 516).

⁴⁰⁵ *First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers. Verbatim report*, Moscow, 1934, p. 716.

long time (sometimes until the mid-1930s) called for the development of exclusively “production art”, and refused to turn to “old art”, because in the old eras there was no proletariat (Novitsky, 1931). B. Arvatov, A. Gan, Syedin and other "manufacturers" even spoke about the widespread rejection of easel forms of art. The democratic art of past eras, from Ancient Greece to the French Revolution, was defended in the same 1931 year by V.S. Kemenov, who in the late 1930s became the director of the Tretyakov Gallery and the scientific secretary of the committee for the Stalin Prizes (Kemenov, 1931). The Association of Artists of the Revolution, close to the authorities, also advocated the continuation of classical forms of art.

The change in the position of I.L. Matsa, the Hungarian who arrived in the USSR, is indicative. As a member of the association *Oktyabr*, he spoke out against the use of traditions in modern art until 1932⁴⁰⁶. And only in his book *Creative Method and Artistic Heritage* does he admit that “the question of the creative method, which is central to artistic practice, is directly and inextricably linked with the problem of using the artistic heritage <...> The enormous importance of the artistic heritage and its critical use is undeniable” (Matsa, 1933b, p. 18). He even admits that the art criticism discussion of 1931 "revealed mechanistic errors in the first place by the author of these lines” (Matsa, 1933b, p. 17). However, even in this work, as well as in the subsequent article “The Problem of Color in Art”, as one of the main critics of art of that time, in the spirit of trivial sociology, he considered the process of development of the world culture as a process of “flat progress”, where each subsequent era absorbed the achievements of the previous one. Most fairly, art critic V.S. Kemenov continued to defend the need to study the art of previous eras: “According to this scheme, metaphysical materialism completely covers the philosophy of Greece and the Renaissance, and according to the same scheme, Cezanne completely absorbs Titian and Rembrandt. These statements lead Matsa to the most harmful conclusions that there is nothing to learn from Titian, Rembrandt, neither objectively from Leonrado da Vinci and others in the field of color” (Kemenov, 1935, p. 210). But simultaneously with the restoration of interest in the art of previous eras, a formal-stylistic analysis "independent of the ideological content", began to be criticized (Kemenov, 1935, p.

205). And in February-March 1936, a series of articles in the newspaper *Pravda* attacked formalism, naturalism and trivial sociology. Finally, in April 1937, at the All-Union Congress of Architects, a charter was adopted, in which, surprisingly, social realism became the main method of Soviet architecture as well⁴⁰⁷. At the same time, everyone saw the manifestations of realism in architecture in different ways. A.I. Nekrasov (1934) saw it through a formal analysis of the organization of space and its connection with the "masses"; N.Ya. Collie (1934, p. 34) saw it in "the dialectical unity of all aspects of the construction business - its social tasks, its technology, economics and art"; A.K. Burov (1934, p. 36) saw it in the "veracity of structures and materials". Regarding the future of the prevailing style of Soviet architecture, in May 1934 a balanced position in the discussions was taken by V.A. Vesnin, who spoke "against unprincipled eclecticism, pointing out that it is "more dangerous" than what Zholtovsky does, and more dangerous than a return to dry asceticism"⁴⁰⁸. But Vesnin was the head of the design workshop of the People's Commissariat for Heavy Industry and built mainly industrial architecture and residential areas of industrial towns. He did not have a strong influence on the development of the architecture of Moscow, Leningrad and other major cities, although from 1936 he was president of the All-Union Academy of Architecture, and from 1937, the chairman of the Union of Soviet Architects.

The turn towards heritage in 1931–1932 initiated many new publications and started new museum exhibitions on the principle of historicism. So, already in 1931-1934, *Izogiz* undertook preparing and then publishing a 4-volume edition of *Masters of Art about Art. Selected excerpts from letters, diaries, speeches and treatises* under the general editorship of D. Arkin and B. Ternovets, in which "for the first time in Russian language were collected the most significant statements of the greatest masters of painting and sculpture of all times

⁴⁰⁶ Matsa I.L. (1931), *Literature and art*, no. 4, p. 114.

⁴⁰⁷ "Socialist realism is the main method of Soviet architecture" (Bartenev I.A., 1977, p. 376).

⁴⁰⁸ Kozhin S.N. (1934) "Lessons of the May architectural exhibition. Creative discussion in the Union of Soviet Architects", *Architecture of the USSR*, no. 6, p. 8. V.A. Vesnin also spoke out against the "decorativism without barriers" and the "wealth of a merchant's taste" of the workshop of A.V. Shchusev. Vesnin V.A. (1934) "Lessons of the May architectural exhibition. Creative discussion in the Union of Soviet Architects", *Architecture of the USSR*, no. 6, p. 6.

about art – about its tasks, goals and content, about the methods of creativity, about artistic technique, about the organization of artistic life and the social role of the artist, about the struggle of schools, trends, style systems”⁴⁰⁹. In autumn 1933, the 2nd volume was published with an introductory article by D. Arkin, “From Chardin to Courbet”. Much space was given to William Hogarth, Jacques-Louis David, Jean-Dominique Ingres, Eugene Delacroix, Jean-Francois Millet. Then, in the spring of 1934, the 3rd volume was printed (dedicated to 28 masters from Edouard Manet to artists of the modern West) with an introductory article by B. Nikolaev, "From realism to mysticism and abstraction". Relevant materials were used, up to the letter of Paul Signac to Soviet artists, published in the newspaper *Soviet Art* on June 8, 1933. A large place was given to the letters of Paul Cezanne, Vincent Van Gogh, materials of Auguste Rodin, Paul Gauguin, Henri Matisse. The 1st volume with materials on the Renaissance and Baroque (from Cennino Cennini to Antoine Watteau), and the 4th volume with materials from 25 Russian masters from the 15th century to 1912 (from Epiphanius the Wise to V.A. Serov, I.E. Repin and I.S. Ostroukhova) were published only in 1937, together with the reprints of the 2nd and 3rd volumes.

After 1931, a deeper study of the art of Ancient Egypt (V.V. Pavlov, M.E. Mathieu, V.N. Vladimirov⁴¹⁰), Ancient Greece and Rome (O.F. Waldgauer, V.D. Blavatsky⁴¹¹, N.I. Brunov⁴¹², Yu.D. Kolpinsky, A.G. Tsires⁴¹³, V.P. Zubov⁴¹⁴) took place. Based on the study of ancient and renaissance monuments, I.B. Mikhailovsky wrote the work *"The Theory of Classical Architectural Forms"* (Moscow, 1937).

In the "Rome" series, the publishing house of the Academy of Architecture of the USSR released three editions: *"Arch of Titus"* (1939), *"Temple of Vesta"* (1939), *"Pantheon"*

⁴⁰⁹ *Masters of Art about Art. Selected excerpts from letters, diaries, speeches and treatises.* (1933), V. 2. Moscow. P. 454.

⁴¹⁰ Vladimirov V.N. *Egypt. Architecture, sculpture, painting.* Moscow, 1944.

⁴¹¹ Blavatsky V.D. *Architecture of ancient Rome.* Moscow, 1938; Blavatsky V.D. *Architecture of the ancient world.* Moscow, 1939.

⁴¹² Brunov N.I. *Proportions of ancient and medieval architecture.* Issue 1. Moscow, 1935; Brunov N.I. *Erechtheion.* Moscow, 1938.

⁴¹³ Tsires A.G. *Architecture of the Colosseum.* Moscow, 1940.

⁴¹⁴ Zubov V.P., Petrovsky F.A. *Architecture of the ancient world.* Moscow, 1940.

(1940). Many books have been republished (Vitruvius' "*Ten Books on Architecture*"⁴¹⁵, Charles Cameron's "*Thermae of the Romans*"⁴¹⁶, Auguste Choisy's "*The History of Architecture*" and "*The Construction Art of the Ancient Romans*"⁴¹⁷, and others). In 1933, the Department of Greco-Roman Art was created at the Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow.

Considerable interest arised for Western European masters of the 17th-19th centuries. In 1933, *Speeches and letters of the painter Louis David* were published, letters from Peter Paul Rubens with an introductory article by V.N. Lazarev, his own monograph on Vermeer of Delft, a book by E.A. Nekrasova *William Hogarth*. In 1934 – the book of A.A. Gushchin, *Paris Commune and Artists*. M.V. Alpatov published articles about D. Velazquez (1935, No. 1) and J.L. Davide (1938, No. 2) in the magazine "*Art*"⁴¹⁸. M.V. Alpatov⁴¹⁹, D.E. Arkin⁴²⁰, N.I. Brunov⁴²¹, K.M. Malitskaya⁴²² and A.I. Venediktov⁴²³ wrote about Western European architecture of the 16th–18th centuries.

There were more publications about the culture of the Renaissance (A.A. Guber, A.K. Dzhivelegov, V.P. Zubov). New translations of treatises by Italian architects and artists were being published. In 1934, Leonardo da Vinci's *Book of Painting* was published with an introductory article by V.N. Lazarev, who emphasized the revolutionary nature of the Renaissance in terms of the development of humanism and laying the foundations for the classical art of subsequent eras. The ideal of a "universal man", a diversified personality, presented in 1935 in monographs about Leonardo da Vinci by A.K. Dzhivelegova and V.N. Lazarev, was now one of the main examples for modern creators. V.N. Lazarev also published articles on the later work of Titian (1939, No. 5) and Piero della Francesca (1940, No. 1) in the magazine "*Art*". An analysis of the urban planning of the Renaissance in Italy

⁴¹⁵Vitruvius. *Ten books on architecture*. Translation from Latin by F.A. Petrovsky. Moscow, 1936.

⁴¹⁶Cameron Charles. *Thermae of the Romans*. Moscow, 1939.

⁴¹⁷Choisy August. *History of architecture*. T. 1–2. Moscow, 1937; Choisy August. *Building art of the ancient Romans*. Moscow, 1938.

⁴¹⁸The return of interest in the classical heritage, based on the materials of the magazine "Art", is traced in the article: Kantor A.M. (1991), "Classical heritage and art criticism of the 30s", *Ways and crossroads*. Moscow, Issue 1, pp. 406–433.

⁴¹⁹Alpatov M.V. *Architecture of the ensemble of Versailles*. Moscow, 1940.

⁴²⁰Arkin D.E. *Paris. Architectural ensembles of the city*. Moscow, 1937.

⁴²¹Brunov N.I. *Rome. Baroque architecture*. Moscow, 1936; Brunov N.I. *Palaces of France in the 17th and 18th centuries*. Album. Moscow, 1939.

⁴²²Malitskaya K.M. *Spain*. Moscow, 1935.

was presented in the book by A.V. Bunin and M.G. Kruglova *Architecture of urban ensembles. Renaissance* (Moscow, 1935; designed by E.E. Lanceray and I.F. Rerberg). In 1936, the work of the 24-year-old researcher Igor Alexandrovich Bartenev, *The Architects of the Italian Renaissance* (Leningrad: OGIZ-IZOGIZ; foreword by Professor N.B. Baklanov), was published.

In 1935, Leon-Battista Alberti's *Ten Books on Architecture* (1550) was republished; in 1936 - "*Four Books on Architecture*" (1570) by Andrea Palladio (translated by I.V. Zholtovsky), "*V Columnae or the description and application of five orders*" (1596) by Hans Blum and "*Perspective for painters and architects*" (1690s) by Andrea Pozzo; in 1938 - "*Commentary on ten books on the architecture of Vitruvius*" (1556) by Daniele Barbaro; in 1939 - "*Rule of Five Orders of Architecture*" (1562) by Giacomo da Vignola. In 1937-1941, a translation of the work of G. Geimüller and K. Stegman "*Renaissance Architecture in Tuscany*" was published in three editions. In 1935-1938, the figures of Filippo Brunelleschi⁴²⁴, Michelangelo⁴²⁵, Inigo Jones⁴²⁶, Rembrandt, Frans Hals, Giovanni Battista Piranesi⁴²⁷, Francisco Goya, Nicolas Poussin, Camille Corot were again revealed to the general reader.

Interrupted in 1929 (after the 1st volume of *The Emergence of Moscow Art* by A.I. Nekrasov), the publications on the history of ancient Russian art were resumed in 1933–1934, along with publications on miniatures and architecture of the 16th century (Voronin, 1934)⁴²⁸. Interest in Russian painting of the 19th century was almost uninterrupted. Moreover, if in the early 1930s books about artists of the early 19th century dominated (Kovalenskaya N.N., *V.A. Tropinin*, Moscow, 1931; *Venetsianov in the artist's letters and memoirs of contemporaries*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1931; *Letters from Italy by Sylvester Shchedrin*, Moscow, 1932), after the approval of the method of socialist realism and the

⁴²³Venediktov A.I. *Venice. Architectural monuments*. Moscow, 1938.

⁴²⁴Brunellesco Filippo. *Biography and essay on creativity*. Collection edited by M.V. Alpatov. Moscow, 1935.

⁴²⁵*Architectural work of Michelangelo*. Digest of articles. Moscow: publishing house of the All-Union Academy of Architecture, 1936.

⁴²⁶Mikhailovsky E.V. *Architect Inigo Jones. Life and creation*. Moscow, 1939.

⁴²⁷Toropov S.A. *Piranesi. Selected etchings*. Moscow, 1939.

⁴²⁸*Old Russian miniature: 16th century: 100 sheets of miniatures with descriptions and articles by M. Vladimirov and G.P. Georgievsky*. Moscow, 1933.

A.A. Fedorov-Davydov's book *Realism in Russian Painting of the 19th Century* (Moscow, 1933), the attention of researchers shifted to such artists as V.I. Surikov (books by I.V. Evdokimov, 1933; V.A. Nikolsky, 1934; A.N. Turunov and M.V. Krasnozhenova, 1937) and I.E. Repin (monographs by I.E. Grabar in 1933 and 1937; L. Gutman, 1938; N.D. Morgunova-Rudnitskaya, 1939). Their personal exhibitions were arranged – Repin in 1936, Surikov in 1937.

The thaw with regard to the association *World of Art*, whose many members left Russia in the 1910s-1920s, is evidenced by the publication in 1934 of the N.I. Sokolova's book, in which the researcher, still, under the influence of trivial sociologism, describes the representatives of the group as “retrospective dreamers”, in whom “the slogan of “free art” has been replaced by the idea of the artist serving bourgeois statehood” (Sokolova, 1934, p. 5). According to the art critic, “the main core of the *World of Art* remained alien to all types of realistic exploration of the world”. Indeed, the *World of Art* did not fit into the narrow understanding of the realism of that time, which did not allow deviation from the naturalistic manner. The important was that it was already possible to write about such alternative phenomena. Again, the categories of beauty could be used.

In the same 1934, the collection *Russian Academic school in the XVIII century*, the compilers of which were N.N. Wrangel, S.P. Yaremich and B.L. Modzalevsky, was high quality printed in the Leningrad printing house of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and started a series of studies in the second half of the 1930s on painting, sculpture and architecture of Russian classicism of the 1760s - 1930s (for example, *Murals of Russian Classicism* by V.F. Belyavskaya, 1940, Moscow-Leningrad).

By the end of the 1930s, more and more generalized works appeared: *Old Russian Fine Art* by A.I. Nekrasov (Moscow, 1937), *Etudes on the history of an antique portrait* by O.F. Waldgauer (Moscow-Leningrad, 1938), *Romanticism and Realism in France in the 19th century* by N.V. Yavorskaya (Moscow, 1938), *The Artistic Life of France in the Second Half of the 19th Century* by N.V. Yavorskaya and B.N. Ternovets (Moscow, 1938), *Ancient Greece. The image of a person in art* by Yu.D. Kolpinsky (Moscow-Leningrad, 1939), *Greek Sculpture* by V.D. Blavatsky (Moscow-Leningrad, 1939), *The Art of Italy in the Age of Dante and Giotto* by M.V. Alpatov (Moscow-Leningrad, 1939), *The History of*

Russian Art of the 18th Century by N.N. Kovalenskaya (Moscow,1940), *Essays on the history of ancient Russian monumental painting from the second half of the 14th century to the beginning of the 18th century* by B.I. Purishev and B.V.Mikhailovsky (Moscow-Leningrad, 1941).

Along with the transition to the dominance of the method of socialist realism and the appeal to classical art in 1932–1933, there was a growing trend towards the unification of culture throughout the USSR and the leveling of national trends, which often conflicted with the official realistic line of development of art. In the 1920s, national diversity in art was encouraged and shown in publications⁴²⁹ and at exhibitions ("Life and Life of the Peoples of the USSR", 1926, "The Art of the Peoples of the USSR", 1927), and studied at the Committee for the Study of the Art of the Peoples of the USSR at the State Academy of Artistic Sciences formed by A.V. Lunacharsky in 1926. After the decision of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks of April 23, 1932, the situation changed and tendencies to postulate the class unity of Soviet art and leveling national differences were growing. L. Rempel wrote about this in the book *Painting of the Soviet Transcaucasia*; it was discussed at the plenums of the Central Committee of the Communist Parties of the republics (including in November 1933 in Ukraine); the people's commissars of education of the republics, who defended national identity, were replaced (in February 1933 in Kharkov N.A. Skrypnik was dismissed, then, after being accused of "nationalist mistakes", he committed suicide). The development of art was encouraged even in distant regions. Thus, questions of the artistic traditions of the Jewish people were raised in connection with the formation in 1934 of the Jewish Autonomous Region as part of the Khabarovsk Territory. But many local artists and entire national art schools, close to the so-called formalist tendencies, were criticized: for example, the persecution of "Boychukism" in 1933-1938 (Radionov, 1938, p. 114), articles against the "old decorative style" of Caucasian and Central Asian artists in the magazine *Art* (Zhuravleva, 1933, p. 80). Local themes were welcomed, displayed in the spirit of "revolutionary romance" with "socialist

⁴²⁹ See Shchekotov (1926) and *Art of the peoples of the USSR* (Collection of articles and materials, 1930, Moscow-Leningrad).

optimism", cheerfully and "conflict-free" (Chevonnaya, 1977). Only after the report of A.M. Gorky from the rostrum of the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers in August 1934, artists were allowed to depict folklore stories on the themes of epics and legends.

At the same time there was a reorganization of the artistic associations in the country. Although the resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks on the restructuring of literary and artistic organizations dated April 23, 1932, spoke only about proletarian literary and artistic organizations and the creation of unified unions of writers and representatives of other types of art, and did not cancel non-proletarian associations, local authorities decided to interpret the resolution as strictly as possible with the liquidation of all the old creative unions. New unified unions of writers, artists, architects, composers were created gradually. On July 4, 1932, the Union of Soviet Architects was created. October 3 - Union of Soviet Composers. In August 1934 – the Writers' Union of the USSR.

On June 25, 1932, the board of the Moscow Union of Soviet Artists was elected under the chairmanship of A.A. Volter (the charter was approved by the Moscow Regional Executive Committee on August 1, 1934). In July, in addition to the Moscow Union of Soviet Artists and Sculptors, the Moscow Regional Union of Soviet Artists and Sculptors was organized (in February 1940 it merged with the Moscow Union of Artists). On July 31, 1932, the AHR declared itself dissolved. After that, the RAPH (Russian Association of Proletarian Artists) and FOSH (Federation of Associations of Soviet Artists) were liquidated. Until 1936, the Moscow Union of Artists included the International Bureau of Revolutionary Artists, which was responsible for contacts with other countries, propaganda and assistance to foreign artists. The responsible secretary was the Hungarian Bela Uitz. Then it was transformed into the Foreign Commission of the Moscow Union of Artists, which was abolished in 1939 (Ioganson, 2018). From the summer of 1932, other territorial organizations of the Union of Artists were created (on August 2, the Leningrad branch of the Union of Soviet Artists was created). On June 21, 1939, by a decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, the Organizing Committee of the Union of Soviet Artists

of the USSR was formed. The Charter of the Union of Artists of the USSR was adopted only in 1957.

After the Decree of April 23, 1932, many art schools and universities were also created and recreated, through which it was easier to spread the method of "socialist realism", cultivated on the basis of the "heroic realism" of the Association of Revolutionary Artists with the addition of "socialist romance". According to the decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of October 11, 1932 "On the establishment of the Academy of Arts ", the All-Russian Academy of Arts in Leningrad was organized on the basis of the pre-revolutionary Higher Art School at the Imperial Academy. According to the decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks of October 14, 1933 "On architectural education", the All-Union Academy of Architecture was formed, "as a higher educational and research institution in the field of architecture." Soon a postgraduate department was opened in it, per 100 people enrolled in three courses. The students continued to study at the Institute of Architecture and Civil Engineering, which in 1934 was transformed into the Moscow Architectural Institute (MAI). The publishing house of the Academy was instructed to publish, among other things, monographs and albums of classics and outstanding artists of architecture in the coming year; a brief architectural encyclopedia in 2 volumes and a course in the general history of architecture.

In 1933, after a two-year break, the independent Academy of Arts was reopened in Tiflis. In 1934, the Moscow Institute of Fine Arts was formed in Moscow by separating the graphics department from the Polygraphic Institute (in 1935, the painting department was added, and in 1936, the sculpture department). Also, the Correspondence People's University of Arts was created, designed to work in absentia, including with other regions and remote regions. A network of local art institutes, colleges and schools was formed. So, in 1934, the All-Ukrainian Art Institute in Kyiv was reformed.

Old mass media were reformed and new ones were created, mainly newspapers and magazines (*Architecture of the USSR*, *Iskustvo* and *Tvorchestvo* and others), on the pages of which the method of socialist realism was explained and classical art was promoted. Exhibitions were organized, for example, in May 1934, modern works and projects of

Soviet architects were shown in the shop windows of Gorky Street.

Finally, by decree of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks of December 16, 1935, the All-Union Committee for Arts under the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR was created, which led "all matters of the arts, with the subordination of theaters, film organizations, musical and art-painting, sculptural and other institutions". The art control system was built. The journal "Academy of Architecture" contains "the words of comrade L.M. Kaganovich, that the working class wants to live not only in comfortable, but also in beautiful houses, that our cities should become the most beautiful, comfortable cities in the world"⁴³⁰.

Similar tendencies of returning to the classics and subordinating art to the goals of power occurred in the same years in Germany, Italy and other totalitarian countries. "In 1932 the book *Architecture in the Third Reich* by Karl Willi Straub (1932) was published with a foreword by Professor Paul Schultze-Naumburg. It is directed at the same time against Art Nouveau and against modern architecture, which, according to the author, is alien to the German spirit. In the same year, Schultze-Naumburg's (1932) book *The Struggle for Art* was published in the National Socialist Library series. A campaign was carried out, "which the Italian fascists called "normalization", and the Nazis "unification" (Gleichschaltung)" (Lifshits, 1978, p. 303).

In 1933, after Hitler came to power, the House of German Art was founded in Munich. "From March until the end of the year, a series of exhibitions of 'degenerate' artists took place in Karlsruhe, Mannheim, Nuremberg, Chemnitz, Dresden and Stuttgart."⁴³¹ In November, the Imperial Chamber of Culture was established in Germany, which supervised the distribution of orders, holding exhibitions, selling art materials, etc. In the Department of Fine Arts of the Chamber in 1936 there were registered about 45 thousand people. At the same time, M. Backman, O. Dix, P. Klee, K. Kollwitz, M. Lieberman, Mies van der Rohe

⁴³⁰ From the editors. "To the First All-Union Congress of Architects", *Academy of Architecture*. 1935, no. 1–2, p. 5.

⁴³¹ Markin Yu.P. (1999) The Art of Totalitarian Regimes in Europe in the 1930s, *Artistic Models of the Universe*. Book 2. XX century. Interaction of arts in search of a new image of the world. Moscow: Nauka, p. 129.

and others were expelled from the Prussian Academy of Arts and institutes.

The departure from extreme left tendencies in art was very characteristic of many countries in the 1930s. "Regardless of all politics, the modernist movement always moves from an anarcho-decadent rebellion to a formula of a new discipline, a new organization, a new dogmatism" (Lifshits, 1978, p. 331). We can talk about similar features of French neoclassicism, Italian "Novecento"⁴³², Munich "New materiality".

In architecture, the reaction to the dominance of the modernist tendencies of the 1920s was the active development of traditionalism in the 1930s. "It is quite appropriate to conclude that there was a clear overlap of architectural styles in the era of Stalin, Hitler, Roosevelt, Chamberlain, Mussolini, Franco, Daladier (since 1938 - Petain) and similarity of the search directions of I. Zholtovsky, B. Iofan, L. Rudnev in the USSR; V. Kreis, L. Troost, A. Speer - in Germany; A. Libera, E. Padua, M. Piacentini - in Italy; O. Perret, J. Dondel, J. Carlu - in France; L. G. Soto, P. Muguruzza, F. Cabrero - in Spain; J. Pope (the creator of the Washington Memorial and the building of the National Gallery in Washington in 1937-1941) - in the USA"⁴³³. Master plans for the reconstruction of Moscow (1935), Rome and Berlin (both 1936), and many other cities were created.

But in countries with totalitarian rule, these general trends were corrected from above and ideological messages were added to them that were not directly related to a particular style. Sites for huge festivals were designed: in the Izmailovo district in Moscow, in 1933, a complex with an area of 300 hectares with a stadium named after I.V. Stalin for 200 thousand people was laid; in Nuremberg in 1937, a stadium was laid for 405 thousand spectators; construction of both stadiums was halted in 1939 due to colossal costs. The scale of the designed structures reached hypertrophic values. The Palace of Soviets in Moscow, founded in 1937, was supposed to reach a height of 416 meters. In 1939, the architect Albert Speer created a model of the People's House in Berlin for 180 thousand people, with the

⁴³²One of the first in Italy, the transition from modernism to neoclassicism was formulated around 1920 by the painter Gino Severini. In 1921, he published the book "From Cubism to Classicism" (Severini G. Dal cubism al classicism. 1921), where he mentioned the scientific method of universal art with reference to antiquity and the Renaissance.

⁴³³Markin Yu.P. (1999), "The Art of Totalitarian Regimes in Europe in the 1930s", *Artistic Models of the Universe*. Book 2. XX century. Interaction of arts in search of a new image of the world. Moscow: Nauka, p. 125.

repetition of the forms of the Roman Pantheon, but with a total height of 290 meters. The Arc de Triomphe was also supposed to be a monument to the fallen Germans during the First World War, 120 meters high. Among such grandiose ideologically directed buildings, by the mid-1940s, only the Palace of Italian Civilization was erected in the World Exhibition Quarter (EUR) in Rome (1938–1943; height 68 meters), and then not according to a project in the spirit of strict neoclassicism, but according to a project with symbolic stylization of the ancient architecture of the Colosseum with 416 arched openings (architects G. Guerrini, E. B. La Padula and M. Romano). After the war, the Palazzo Littorio (1937–1952; now the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and the Ministry of Italian Africa (project 1939; now the UN Office for Nutrition and Agriculture) were completed.

The "heroic", "monumental", "northern" style, "steel romance" was put forward as the main platform of art in Germany. In 1937, Joseph Goebbels staged an exhibition of "degenerate art" («Entartete Kunst») in Berlin with infamous inscriptions, which by April 1941 traveled to 12 more cities. There were purges of museums and burning of paintings (4289 paintings and graphic sheets were burned in the courtyard of the Main Fire Brigade in Berlin in the late 1930s). But even in Germany there was no total struggle against modernism. "Contrary to current legend, the split between Hitler's National Socialism and the modernist schools in art was never complete" (Lifshits, 1978, p. 304). One of the main ideologists of the Reich, Rosenberg (1943), as early as 1923, postulated the development of a "folk-national art" (völkische Kunst). The main principle of art history became "artistic will" according to Wilhelm Worringer with the equivalence of all styles, which gave rise to "aesthetic polytheism"⁴³⁴ (Lifshits, 1978, p. 317). On the basis of racial origin or political connections, there was a differentiation of "good" and "bad" expressionism. Albert Weisberg, Franz Marc, at first even Emil Nolde, who in 1933–1934 became the banner of a new "revolution in art", but in 1937 fell into disgrace after the exhibition "Degenerate Art" remained examples of artists recognized in the Third Reich. Among the artists who exhibited their work at the "Great German Art Exhibitions" at the House of German Art in Munich in 1937–1944 (a total of 12,550 works of art were exhibited at eight exhibitions), there were many who began their work with impressionism or modernism.

Characteristically, the USSR was ahead of Germany in the fight against objectionable forms of modernism. The struggle against formalism and naturalism, which intensified in 1933, reached a particular intensity in 1936, in connection with devastating articles in the *Pravda* newspaper: "Muddle instead of music", "Ballet falsity", "Cacophony in architecture", "About patchwork artists". In 1937, all of them and others were collected in the edition "*Against Formalism and Naturalism in Art*" (Moscow, OGIZ, 10.000 copies).

The Soviet government was more consistent in terms of studying the classical heritage. Despite Rosenberg's postulation in *The Myth of the 20th Century* that "the ideals of Aryan art should be sought from the ancient Greeks and Germans" (Rosenberg, 1931), no full-fledged return to the classical heritage occurred in Germany. Hitler opposed both "leftist" art and a return to German Gothic and the "bourgeois Renaissance" (Lifshits, 1978, p. 327). A significant "element of the motley bouquet of officially recognized painting of the Hitler era was rough props in the spirit of provincial neoclassicism of the Art Nouveau era, sometimes with a slight recollection of the art of Hans von Mare or an appeal to Stuck" (Lifshits, 1978, p. 344).

In Italy, the pressure of the authorities on art was much weaker⁴³⁵. The artists were left with more breadth of "individual creativity, initiative, personal reasoning"⁴³⁶. In architecture, classicised rationalists ("neoclassics"), moderate constructivists ("rationalists") and eclecticists quite coexisted⁴³⁷. Even at the opening of the first exhibition of the Novecento group in Milan in 1926, Mussolini supported the "return to craftsmanship" and said that he would not patronize a certain trend: "I am far from thinking of creating something similar to state art" (Lifshits, 1978, p. 241). He saw a style close to him: "The decisiveness and accuracy of the drawing, the richness and richness of colors, the strong plasticity of things and figures" (Lifshits, 1978, pp. 266-267). His closest associate, Margherita Sarfatti, formulated the general program of the Novecento: "Clarity of form and

⁴³⁴ Gerhard Rodenwald's term.

⁴³⁵ About art of the 1930s in Italy: Tempesti (1976); Bossaglia (1979, 1983); *Les Réalismes 1919/1939* (cat. d'exp. Center Georges Pompidou, Paris, 1980); *Il "Novecento" milanese. Da Sironi ad Arturo Martini* (Catalogo della Mostra. Milano, 2003).

⁴³⁶ Fossati P. (1982), *Pittura e scultura fra le due guerre, Storia dell'Arte Italiana*. P. II. V. III. Il Novecento. Torino, p. 220.

restraint of concepts, no chemical decomposition, nothing eccentric, a growing exclusion of everything arbitrary or dark” (Lifshits, 1978, p. 254). These general principles allowed for a wide variety of styles, from the "metaphysical painting" of Giorgio de Chirico to the Neo-Gothic of Gisberto Ceracchini and the "return to Ingres" of Achille Funi.

By the end of the 1920s in Italy, a few years earlier than in Russia, the theme of "new classicism" reached the national level. In 1929, Agnoldomenico Pica organized a conference in Milan "Neoclassicism of the 19th century and classical 20th century". One of the main manifestations of this interest in the classics is the Novecento movement (painters A. Funi, M. Sironi, M. Campigli, G. Morandi, F. Casorati, G. Severini, sculptors M. Rosso, A. Martini and others), whose exhibition was held in 1926 in Milan. An alternative to this movement was the direction of "magic realism", which already in 1929 received the name "Roman School" (Mario Mafai, Antonietta Raphael, Gino Boniki, Fausto Pirandello and others).

In the 1930s, an official art structure was also formed in Italy, with exhibitions of art trade unions and the Quadriennale di Roma, founded in 1931. Artists who declared themselves “modern, traditionalists, Italians” were skipping ahead, as M. Sarfatti formulated it back in the 1920s⁴³⁸. In 1931, the Mussolini Prize of the Royal Academy of Italy was established.

Nevertheless, on October 28, 1932, the "Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution" was opened at the Palazzo delle esposizioni in Rome. The exhibition and the facade of the palace were designed in the style of rationalism that developed in Italy under the influence of Soviet constructivism⁴³⁹.

In 1938, after the publication of unpopular racial laws in Italy, on the initiative of the politician Roberto Farinacci, the Cremona Prize for propaganda paintings was established. Still in 1938, after the publication of those racial laws, unpopular in Italy, Telesio Interlandi, Roberto Farinacci and other fascists even began to write articles against abstractionists and “novecentists” in painting (due to their connection with the pan-European avant-garde),

⁴³⁷ Rempel L.I. (1935), On the characteristics of the architecture of fascist Italy, *Academy of Architecture*. No. 1–2, p. 51.

⁴³⁸ Sarfatti M. (1930), *Storia della pittura moderna*. Roma.

⁴³⁹ Vyazemtseva A.G. (2017), *Art of Italy 1910-1940s*. Moscow: RIP-Holding, p. 312.

purists and functionalists in architecture. However, it did not come to an exhibition of “degenerate art”, and on December 7, 1938, Berto Ricci announced in the official newspaper *Il Popolo d'Italia* that there was no question of abandoning modernism and returning to academic canons. And in January 1939, the Minister of National Education of Italy, Giuseppe Bottai, in his "Directives", published in the magazine *Le Arti*, formulated the recognition of both the orientation towards classical forms and the “advanced” “modernist” art. In the same year, he established the annual Bergamo Prize, which offered general, non-politicized themes. And in 1941, in the article "Artistic Front", he even leaned towards Italian "more silent" artists, capable of giving "a poetic interpretation of the history of the revolution", in contrast to "indifferent chroniclers, festive sweet singers and entertainers of all kinds" (Lifshits, 1978, p. 270).

With differences in ideological positions and control over the dominance of the prevailing styles in all totalitarian states, the importance of monumental art forms, including monumental painting, increased.

At the same time, the development of monumental forms of art in the USSR came into conflict with the general guidelines for the continuation of the easel realistic tradition of the *Peredvizhniki* (*Wanderers*). "The general development of Soviet fine art in the 30s-50s had a clearly expressed character of an extra-synthetic form of style in art" (Kaplun, 1985, p. 152). Very often (the wall painting of the Kiev metro station, the plafonds of the Komsomolskaya and Mayakovskaya metro stations, the sculptures of the Ploshchad Revolyutsii metro station) in monumental orders, “the tasks of a realistic easel painting (or sculpture) were set and solved, intended for perception and aesthetic impact outside synthesis of architecture”. V.A. Favorsky and V.I. Mukhin were successfully trying to overcome the extra-synthetic stylistic stereotype that developed with the formulation of the method of socialist realism, but it was much easier to level by artists who started working in synthetic forms of art during the “high” stylization of the early twentieth century.

In Italy, questions of art synthesis were already being discussed in the late 1920s and early 1930s. In the design of the building of the Ministry of Corporations in Rome (now the Palace of Industry), built by 1932 as a result of a competition (1927) according to the design of Marcello Piacentini and Giuseppe Vaccaro, a frieze of marble bas-reliefs above the

entrance, stained glass "*Working Charter*" by Mario Sironi (1931), series tapestries of the "*Corporation*" by Ferruccio Ferrazzi (in the Assembly Hall, 1931-1932), furniture and lamps designed by Marcello Piacentini were used. The Palace of Corporations was solemnly opened on the 10th anniversary of the "fascist revolution" and it became the prototype of the "littorio style" – «the official style of "fascist architecture", proclaimed a little later, in 1934, that is, a kind of resultant between eclecticism and functionalist tendencies, with a readable ideological load»⁴⁴⁰.

It was precisely because of the extra-synthetic stylistic stereotype that already in 1934, at many meetings and conferences in the USSR, the synthesis of spatial arts was finally discussed, with participation of E. Lanceray. The first such meeting, organized by the Union of Architects, took place on December 25-28, 1934. A report on the problem of synthesis in the artistic heritage was read by M.V. Alpatov, and a report on the synthesis of architecture and painting was read by A.V. Shchusev and V.A. Favorsky. Among the speakers were D.E. Arkin, V.S. Balikhin, M. Ginzburg, N. Chernyshev, G. Golts, V. Mukhina, and Eugène Lanceray. The need to address the world heritage was also discussed. On December 27, after the meeting E. Lanceray wrote in his diary: "Alpatov was the first to speak about Egypt, about the classical solution of "synthesis" among the Greeks <...> After that, about Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque, etc. <...> Then Korolev, the sculptor, spoke, commonplaces; Bruni and me. Neroda – "sculptor and architect" – truisms, no one knows who needs them. I still suffer from the inability to speak; was greeted with applause, while others did not, and all the more ashamed of my pitiful inability"⁴⁴¹.

In the same year, the issue of the development of monumental painting was decided. Upon the Moscow Union of Artists in 1934, a section of muralists was created, which included N.M. Chernyshev, graphic artists Favorsky and Bruni⁴⁴². It was Bruni who, since 1935, headed the Workshop of Monumental Painting at the Moscow Architectural Institute

⁴⁴⁰ Vyazemtseva A.G. (2017), *Art of Italy 1910-1940s*, Moscow: RIP-Holding, pp. 298–299.

⁴⁴¹ Archives of the artist's family.

⁴⁴² Diary entry dated December 27, 1934: "According to Chernyshev, they only have graphics in the section so far – Favorsky and Bruni. And this is a characteristic and true way, perhaps, through the graphics to the monument!". Archives of the artist's family.

(MAI), and after its closure in 1937, the reorganized Monumental Workshop-Laboratory⁴⁴³ of the Academy of Architecture of the URSS in the former Donskoy Monastery (opened in 1938, closed in 1948). The staff of this workshop “over time grew to 60 people, not counting the artists who did not take a permanent part in the life of the workshop, but were invited by Lev Alexandrovich to work on various objects”⁴⁴⁴.

The question arose of recreating the educational monumental workshops that were closed in the early 1930s. In 1938, Igor Emmanuilovich Grabar organized a monumental workshop at the Moscow Art Institute and appointed Alexander Alexandrovich Deineka (1899–1969), by this time already known for his mosaics of the Mayakovskaya metro station, to lead it. Nikolai Mikhailovich Chernyshev (1885–1973), an expert on fresco and other technics of monumental painting, also taught there.

A series of discussions on the synthesis of the arts was also connected with the design of the Palace of Soviets in Moscow. At the Vth Plenum of the Board of the Union of Architects of the USSR in early July 1939, B.M. Iofan spoke about the need to ensure the initiative of masters of different types of art. Artists who pronounced speeches were E.E. Lanceray, S.V. Gerasimov, M.S. Saryan, I.E. Grabar, A.A. Deyneva; sculptors S.D. Merkurov, M.G. Manizer, A.T. Matveev, V.I. Mukhina. “Congress, plenum on the Palace of Soviets. N.P. Severov, Saryan, Gudiashvili, Nikoladze, sculptor Kakabadze, architect Ilyin, Matveev, Arapov and ordinary people. A very unfortunate my speech. The only positive thing is that I scolded Merkurov”⁴⁴⁵. The final resolution fixed the decision to create teams of painters and sculptors, with the participation of architects. A number of articles on the planned decoration of the Palace of Soviets were published in the magazine *Architecture of*

⁴⁴³ The history of the restoration of the workshop in 1938 was reflected by A.V. Sarabyanov in his monography "Biography of the Artist Lev Bruni" (Moscow, 2009, p. 142). On February 14, 1938, one of the newspapers published a letter from architects V. Vesnin, B. Iofan, V. Shchuko, artists D. Moor, Kukryniksy, E. Lanceray, V. Favorsky, L. Bruni and M. Rodionov against the closure of the workshop (OR GTG. F. 117. № 361. L. 1).

⁴⁴⁴ Edelstein K. (1978), “Joint work with L.A. Bruni in the Workshop of Monumental Painting”, *Workshop of Monumental Painting at the Academy of Architecture of the USSR. 1935–1948*. Moscow: Soviet artist, p. 146. Among the masters of the workshop were – V.A. Favorsky, M.M. Axelrod, I.K. Bezin, E.M. Belyakova, A.D. Goncharov, K.N. Istomin, L.A. Kazenin, L.A. Karnaukhov, G.S. Pavilionov, S.A. Pavlovsky, M.I. Pikov, M.S. Rodionov, S.M. Romanovich, G.I. Rublev, A.I. Sakhnov, I.I. Sveshnikov, I.S. Sobolev, S.I. Sokolov, N.V. Favorsky, V.K. Fedyaevskaya, N.M. Chernyshev, A.K. Shiryayeva, K.V. Edelstein, V.B. Elkonin.

⁴⁴⁵ Diary entry of E. Lanceray for July 1-4, 1939 Archives of the artist's family.

the USSR (1939, no. 6). At the same time, the article by E.E. Lanceray (1939) goes beyond a single order and touches upon the broad theme of the composition of monumental canvases.

Gradually, from the mid-1930s, the continuation of storylines or elements used in other periods, for example, in the so-called Italian genre of the 19th century, became more and more widespread in painting. “Inherited” are “motifs of mass entertainment, festive processions, or feasts <...> Scenes of recreation in the bosom of nature remain just as popular” (Bobrinskaya, 1990, p. 30). Often, relaxation is accompanied by listening to music or dancing. “Improvisers of the Italian genre are now being replaced by orators or the collective rapture of the newspaper <...> And, of course, scenes representing happy families and couples continue to enjoy unchanged popularity”. Portraits of prominent people and children's images were again widespread: “In this respect, it is also significant that the two highest points of the realization of the ideal of “social Italianism” - leaders and children - were often depicted together, visually representing the most complete and perfect image of harmony” (Bobrinskaya, 1990, p. 30).

At the same time, in the works of fine arts there was a rejection of critical intonations, of the prosaic and of innovation in the field of form. New iconographic stamps appeared in the image of leaders (colossal statues, scenes of meetings with the people, etc.).

4.2. Completion of a series of panels for the restaurant of the Kazansky railway station in Moscow

After the work of decorating the Kazansky railway station stopped in 1916, the artist regularly returned to thinking over the sketches of the restaurant's ceiling. At the end of 1921, he sent to A.V. Shchusev a letter and a bundle with one large and two small sketches⁴⁴⁶. In the spring of 1923, shortly after the formation of the USSR, Lanceray, while in Moscow, presented a new sketch that caused ideological disputes⁴⁴⁷. On January 8, 1926,

⁴⁴⁶ Letter from A.V. Shchusev to E. Lanceray dated January 9, 1922. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 153. L. 1.

⁴⁴⁷ “In 1923, E.E. Lanceray presented a sketch of his central plafond on the theme *Russia calls for the peoples of the West and East to world unity*. At one time, a lively discussion unfolded around

he received a letter from A.V. Shchusev with a proposal to paint a certain ceiling within a month, which encouraged the artist to travel to Leningrad⁴⁴⁸. But then the artist did not receive the work permit for ideological reasons, although the press cited cost savings as a reason⁴⁴⁹. Nevertheless, on September 3, while passing through Moscow, the artist talked about possible paintings with A.V. Shchusev and decorator D.F. Bogoslovsky, who had to transfer the composition to a large canvas. And on September 20, already in Leningrad, he began to draw a new large sketch of the ceiling⁴⁵⁰. Painting work was stopped on the 28th at the angry statement of engineer P.G. Tallaco, a board member of the Moscow-Kazan Railway, as inconsistent with the spirit of the times. The old allegories with the female figure of Russia, uniting Europe on a bull and Asia on a dragon, as well as the allegories of the four Asian countries by Zinaida Serebriakova did not meet the requirements of the new socialist content⁴⁵¹. The artist aroused distrust as "not a communist".

But Shchusev was not unwearied. In July 1927, he sent a registered letter to Eugène Lanceray, who was then on a business trip in Paris, about the continuation of the work: "Shchusev writes, however rather vaguely, that they still seem to be ordering a ceiling to me

the proposed sketch, in which took part A.V. Lunacharsky and the late J. Tugendhold. The sketch was not approved" (Painting of the Kazan Station. Conversation with Academician of Painting E.E. Lanceray // *Soviet Art*. 1933. No. 53. November 20. P. 4).

⁴⁴⁸ "About a week ago, I received an offer from Shchusev to paint a ceiling in the restaurant hall of the station. I was very pleased with this work, partly as an opportunity to visit Moscow and see all of you, although this work, thanks to the haste (and the haste, thanks to the small payment), will, of course, be very painful. But all the same, it is extremely interesting, and I want to, and I will be very upset if it does not take place... and in recent years there have been so many such soap bubbles". From a letter from E. Lanceray to I.E. Grabar, January 17, 1926. OR GTG. F. 106. No. 7050. L. 1–1v.

⁴⁴⁹ E. Lanceray wrote to F.F. Notgaft, from Tiflis to Leningrad, on May 17, 1926: "Somehow in the middle of winter A.V. Shchusev was embarrassed by the proposal to make a ceiling for the Kazansky railway station, but nothing came of it - economy mode!" (OR GRM. F. 117. No. 65. L. 16). A little earlier, on April 3, the brother of the artist, N.E. Lanceray wrote to I.E. Grabar: "What a pity that Shchusev did not manage to get money to paint the station. I hoped that my brother Eugène would come, and I dreamed so, and maybe that Zina (sister) Serebriakova will be able to write a panel, otherwise it is difficult for her, there are almost no commissions in Paris" (OR GTG. F. 106. No. 7059. L. 1).

⁴⁵⁰ Perhaps this is a sketch *Russia connects Europe and Asia* (1920s; paper, graphite pencil, charcoal, watercolor, gouache; 135.5 × 220), acquired in 2012 in the collection of the Tretyakov Gallery at the expense of Vneshprombank LLC and incorrectly dated to the early 1920s.

⁴⁵¹ On October 21, 1926, the *Novaya Vechernyaya Gazeta* (*New evening newspaper*) published an article "On the incident at the Kazansky railway station": "Today, a member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat of Railways comrade Rudy examined the works of artists Benois and Lanceray at the Kazan railway station. It turns out that the management of the railroad was not led by

... Good luck!”⁴⁵². Other participants in the murals left for France (Benois and Serebriakova), and B.M. Kustodiev died on May 26, 1927, in Leningrad, so the commission for the picturesque design passed on to Lanceray. In February 1928, in Tiflis, he began to assemble a sketch of the ceiling and marked out the scale⁴⁵³.

But the period from 1928 to the first half of 1932 was an unfavorable time for realistic monumental painting in Moscow too. It was from the capital that the directives about "industrial", "proletarian", "party" and similar arts came.

Nevertheless, Lanceray retained a love for classical painting. On November 30, 1931, on his way from Kharkov to Leningrad, he visited the Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow: “I wandered around the museum: Crespi; Magnasco - no, pleasant manner, but empty; the scenery is better than the other. But I remember that before there was something that I liked more ... Terborch; etchings by Rembrandt; Tiepolo; Olivarez - Velasquez; Guardi”⁴⁵⁴. On December 19, on the way back to Kharkov, Lanceray met with Shchusev in Moscow. He announced his sister Zinaida Serebryakova: “I will see Shchusev too, in connection with rumors that it was decided to paint and finish the decoration of the Kazan Station”⁴⁵⁵.

But a new phase of work on the design of the Kazan station, as well as murals in Tiflis and Kharkov, began only in the summer of 1932. On July 3, in Tiflis, the architect G.I. Lezhava gave Lanceray a letter from Shchusev: “We need a sketch of the middle ceiling and all the small ones with your cutting, plots and deadlines”⁴⁵⁶. Already on the 21st, the artist sent the first two sketches to the architect. And at the end of August, he even went from Kharkov to Moscow for a week, where he thought out a new program for a series of panels.

the reason of economy, but exclusively by motives of an “ideological nature”. Incidentally, the work of the artist-painters in terms of prices brought the prices of decorator-painters”.

⁴⁵² Open letter from E. Lanceray to A.N. Benois, on July 28, 1927. Archive of the Benois Family Museum (Peterhof).

⁴⁵³ On February 18, 1928, the artist wrote in his diary: “Yesterday, for the first time, I began to assemble the Kazan station.” February 26: “Today I really started to sketch the ceiling, marked out the scale”.

⁴⁵⁴ Diary entry of E.E. Lanceray, November 30, 1931.

⁴⁵⁵ Letter from E.E. Lanceray to Z.E. Serebryakova from Leningrad to Paris on December 16, 1931. Private collection.

On September 25, during Lanceray's 3-day business trip from Kharkov to Moscow, Shchusev approved the program, according to which on the western wall were depicted: in the center – *RSFSR. Modern Construction*, on the edges of it – *Crimea* and *Arkhangelsk krai*, a little higher – *Ukraine* and *Belarus*. On the eastern wall in the center – *Indochina and India*, on the sides – *China, Uzbekistan and Siberia*⁴⁵⁷.

After completing the murals in Workers' Palace (Railwaymen's palace) in Kharkov, on November 10, the artist went again to Moscow and within a week created a new program and sketches on the theme of the unity of the various regions of the Asian and European parts of the USSR. He drew up an "Indicative plan of work and its cost for the execution of the painting of the buffet hall of the Kazansky railway station in Moscow"⁴⁵⁸. It was planned to write sketches in ¼ of its size (from January 1 to June 10, 1933), to execute the paintings by three assistants (from April 15 to October 1), and to complete and register the paintings by the master (from June 20 to October 20).

Twenty-one panels, inscribed in neo-baroque stucco frames, were to be created in five stages: two paintings above the clock, which before the Revolution were supposed to be done by A.N. Benois (*The Construction of Moscow* and *Central Asia and the New Culture*), 8 corner paintings next to them, previously supposed to be done by B.M. Kustodiev (*Murman, Ukraine, Crimea, Yakutia, Buryats, Kyrgyz, Kazan and Volga*), two panels with inscriptions, a central ceiling *Feast of the Unity of the Fraternal Peoples of the USSR* in size 10x7.5 meters, and 8 round paintings above the windows. Of these, ten compositions on the end walls showed different regions. And eight round medallions with a diameter of 1.71 meters along the longitudinal walls (where before the revolution paintings were assigned according to sketches by Z.E. Serebriakova and M.V. Dobuzhinsky) now housed still lifes with emblems of the wealth of the republics (minerals, cereals, fruits, furs, etc.) connected by the Moscow-Kazan railway.

⁴⁵⁶ Letter from A.V. Shchusev to E. Lanceray, received July 3, 1932. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. No. 153. L. 2.

⁴⁵⁷ Sketches-programs of the western (paper, watercolor; 33x49) and eastern (paper, watercolor; 49.5x33.2) walls of the buffet hall of the Kazan station, created by E. Lanceray in September 1932, are stored in the State Research Museum of Architecture named after A.V. Shchusev.

On November 24, an agreement on the organizational work (preparation of canvases, stretchers, paints, brushes, etc., sticking canvases in place) was signed by the professor of painting D.F. Bogoslovsky – the main Lanceray's assistant in this work⁴⁵⁹. And on December 10, the head of the 1st operational region of the Moscow-Kazan railway N.I. Churakov, on the one hand, and Lanceray and Bogoslovsky, on the other hand, signed an agreement for the execution of sketches in two batches by June 15, and the paintings themselves with installation by November 1, 1933⁴⁶⁰.

The main work on the development of sketches began after the master returned to Tiflis, where he was assisted by Soso Gabashvili and Shalva Abramishvili on sketches from nature, including those from student Illo Kereselidze. On January 1, 1933, he began to compose *Moscow*, and already by the end of February, despite being sick with the flu, he simultaneously led large sketches of *Asia* and *Moscow*.

For depicting characters from different nations, the artist used books and collections of photographs and drawings from the Museum of Georgia and the Art Gallery⁴⁶¹. Due to the small height of the end marks in the panel *Asia*, he “had to invent an “agglomerate” made of a camel, a horsewoman, and banners behind her; and despite its low validity (it is not known who holds these banners and how), it was justified in composition (E. Lanceray, 1934b). Almost in the center of the panel, he also depicted a representative of the Caucasus

⁴⁵⁸ RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 23. L. 4.

⁴⁵⁹ Agreement on the implementation of organizational work on painting, signed by D. Bogoslovsky on November 24, 1932. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 23. L. 1. D.F. Bogoslovsky (1870–1939) graduated from the Academy of Arts in the workshop of I.E. Repin. He worked as a restorer in museums. Since 1929, he was in charge of restoration workshops at the State Historical Museum. In the autumn of 1931, he removed fragments of murals from the walls in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior and in the Cathedral of the Sretensky Monastery. On January 3, 1934, he was arrested by the OGPU in the "Case of the employees of the Central State Museum of Music", sentenced to three years' probation and released on March 5.

⁴⁶⁰ RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 23. L. 5–6. The agreement also stipulated the provision of free railway tickets for two persons from Tiflis to Moscow and back twice and a completely habitable room from April 1 to November 15, 1933 (housing was not provided). In case of disagreement, experts are selected: A.V. Shchusev, I.E. Grabar, A.V. Grigoriev and P.P. Konchalovsky.

⁴⁶¹ February 27, 1933 in Tiflis, the artist created a drawing depicting Tungus, Lamut, Samoyed, Karyak and Chinese caps according to the publication: Buschan G. (1923), *Illustrierte Völkerkunde: in zwei Banden*. Stuttgart: Verlag Strecker und Schröder, V. II. On April 29, based on the materials of the Museum of Georgia, Lanceray drew a Karategin, Uzbek, Sart, Kalmyk, Karakirghiz, Manchu and Dungan on one sheet with the caption "Old collection of Central Asia, on cardboard."

– a highlander on a horse. The sketch *Asia* was published in the magazine *Iskusstvo*, over the text by N.M. Shchekotov (1933, p. 62) on the Decree of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks of April 23, 1932.

In July-August 1933, the artist painted a large sketch of the ceiling in Tiflis⁴⁶². Shchusev, who visited Georgia at that time, recommended that, in addition to people and banners, he depict “the sea, snowy mountains, flowers <...> fab. pipes, guns, an armored car turret <...> a smeared, half-naked miner, naked athletes, beautiful women with slightly spicy turns”⁴⁶³. The disappointed artist did not make comments but developed signature quotes for ten compositions on the end walls, which depict the types of labor activity associated in the minds of Soviet people in the 1930s with certain places and regions. On the western wall around the panel *Moscow is under construction* are depicted: *Ukraine. Bread and coal*, *The edges of the North - forest wealth*, a little higher – *Crimea - a health resort of the USSR* and *Murman - fisheries*; on the east wall around *Asia. Towards a new life*; *The Volga region. Collective farms and industry*; *Kazakhstan. Animal husbandry*, a little higher – *Siberian lands – furs*, and *Uzbekistan. She takes off her veil*".

From September 8 to April 1, 1934, Lanceray worked in Moscow. A large group of artists⁴⁶⁴ began to paint the paintings themselves in emulsion tempera (an egg cut in half with oil and varnish) on canvas. In the conclusion of the Commission from the Arts Sector of the People's Commissariat for Education of the RSFSR dated October 4, 1933, its members, Deputy Head of the Sector A.V. Grigoriev and art historians N.M. Shchekotov and A.M. Skvortsov noted “the decorative elegance and richness of their [panels] composition, as well as full compliance with the dynamism of the lines of their framing”, but they recommended reworking the sketch *Kazakhstan*, adding representatives of nationalities abroad of the USSR, some figures of pioneers, images of the Red Army, and

⁴⁶² On July 30, 1933, the artist wrote in his diary: “I began to paint a ceiling on a large canvas; it “inspired” again” (archive of the artist’s family). Five large (1/4 life-size) panel sketches from 1933 for the Kazan Station are kept in the State Research Museum named after A.V. Shchusev: a sketch of the central ceiling (tempera on canvas; 260x150), *Moscow is under construction* (tempera on canvas; 129x150), “Asia to a new life” (tempera on canvas; 130x150), *Ukraine. Bread and Coal* (tempera on canvas; 100x85), *North* (paper on cardboard, tempera; 122x68).

⁴⁶³ Diary entry of E. Lanceray on August 1, 1933.

“add brief signatures under all compositions” using “quotes from Lenin and Stalin”⁴⁶⁵.

On the ceiling, the artist added a large tree, to enhance the effect of depth, partially blocking the view of the airship⁴⁶⁶. Lanceray's assistants had to depict a statue of Lenin and a portrait of Stalin on a red banner. In this composition, according to A.I. Strukova (2017, p. 289), the artist “for the first time comes to the idea of depicting the sky of the Soviet country: clear, bright blue, in which red flags flutter and planes fly, statues of leaders or heroes ascend”.

Understanding the social significance of the murals, Lanceray noted that “if clarity is needed in monumental painting, then another function of murals is no less necessary: to be an ornament, a value, to enrich the wall, to give food for looking at, to draw the viewer’s attention deep into the composition, giving impetus to the imagination and creativity of the viewer, thus “expanding” the room” (Lanceray, 1934b, p. 35). The complex sculptural ornamentation of cartouches in the form of curls of flattened acanthus leaves and a variety of climbing plant patterns, which left free space for paintings in the form of a “baroque zigzag”, also contributed to the task of decorating the wall. This baroque, heightened decorativeness and the theme of the connection between Asia and Europe were the legacy of the pre-revolutionary project.

Initiated by the government in February 1932, the artist rather welcomed the turn to the “classical heritage” and neoclassicism, because it was in tune with his pre-revolutionary predilections. Nevertheless, it is of importance that the artist did not recognize the increased “elegance” in architectural and monumental projects⁴⁶⁷, and understood that “Baroque” works in the center of the capital could be banned at any moment⁴⁶⁸. The feeling of the

⁴⁶⁴ The following artists took part in the execution of paintings according to sketches: D.F. Bogoslovsky, G.I. Sokolov, V.A. Komarovsky, A.L. Kuznetsov, A.I. Popov, V.A. Aleksandrovsky, S.N. Bushinsky, N.I. Plekhanov, V.O. Kirikov, O.I. Buravleva, V.I. Luzan (Lanceray, 1934b, p. 48).

⁴⁶⁵ Conclusion on the work carried out on October 3, 1933 by the Commission of Specialists composed of comrades: N.M. Shchekotova, A.M. Skvortsova and A.V. Grigoriev to inspect the works of the artist E.E. Lanceray. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 23. L. 8-8v.

⁴⁶⁶ Perhaps the first semi-rigid airship USSR-V5 was depicted, which was designed by Umberto Nobile and made its first flight on April 27, 1933.

⁴⁶⁷ “Our (my) talk about the risk of a new course in the government towards ‘elegance’ leading to a ‘renaissance’ is an example of Severov’s project – the Stalin Institute” (Diary entry May 17, 1933).

⁴⁶⁸ Soon, in 1935, the “persecution” of the Baroque began: “It is terribly difficult to work; all on the nerves; quarreled with K[aganovich] from 1 am to 3 am. He rejects everything, almost does

possibility of rapid and unpredictable changes in the attitude of the authorities to art was supplemented by the indignation for the innocents arrested⁴⁶⁹. So it is incorrect to talk about the complete coincidence of the “artist and the authorities”.

Newspapers happily wrote about the progress of the work: “A special commission of the People's Commissariat for Education recognized the exceptionally successful composition of the paintings. In the coming days, the paintings will be hung in the hall of the Kazan station. The first initiative in the decoration of the station was a success. Queue for other stations”⁴⁷⁰. At the peak of the work on writing large canvases on December 14, 1933, by a decree of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of Georgia, Lanceray was awarded the title of Honored Art Worker of the Georgian SSR. From January 7 to January 21, 1934, the canvases were glued under the direction of N.M. Korina to the walls and ceiling with flour glue⁴⁷¹. On February 28, an act of acceptance of monumental paintings was signed⁴⁷² and the final payment was received on March 16.

During the execution of the murals, many artists gave advice to Lanceray⁴⁷³, sincerely wanting to help him. However, the artist did not always follow their advices,

not look. Looking for a "Soviet" style, while other members of the government want a classic; the Baroque is persecuted” (Diary entry, September 9, 1935).

⁴⁶⁹ The artist's brother, architect N.E. Lanceray was arrested on March 2, 1931 and worked in the Special Design and Technical Bureau. On January 19, 1932, he was sentenced by the OGPU to 10 years for "spying for France". The artist learned about this from a letter from T.B. Serebriakova, on March 22. The architect was released ahead of schedule in June 1935 but was arrested again on May 22, 1938. He died in a transit prison in Saratov on May 6, 1942.

⁴⁷⁰ “Painting of the Kazansky railway station”, *Evening Moscow*, no. 257, November 10, 1933, p. 2. From another newspaper: “The central ceiling (size 10x7.5) depicts the celebration of the international unity of the peoples of the USSR with foreign peoples. Currently, the panel is already finished. In the coming days, they will be hung on the walls of a large station restaurant, which will be completed in December. All works were performed by Academician E.E. Lanceray. His assistants are prof. D.F. Bogoslovsky, head of the main state restoration workshops, and young artists - Sokolov, Aleksandrovsky, Plekhanov, Bushinsky, Kuznetsov and others” (“Painting of the Kazan railway station. Conversation with the academician of painting E. Lanceray”, *Soviet art*, no. 53, November 20, 1933, p. 4).

⁴⁷¹ The work was advised by chemical engineer A.D. Chivarzin.

⁴⁷² Certificate of the Secretariat of the 1st Operational Region of the Moscow-Kazan Railway dated February 28, 1934. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 23. L. 9.

⁴⁷³ On March 10, 1934, E. Lanceray noted in his diary that Nesterov recommended “not to fall into dryness, not to rework, make it wider, leave it until it is installed in place; then you will immediately see what and where”; that Yuon said "less impressionism, more monotonous, calmer"; that Favorsky said “in general, praising, on my [E. Lanceray – P.P.] words that water (Volga) is not justified in the given position of the picture [*Volga region*], - he said that the horizon could be made obliquely, - and from a purely decorative point of view, he is right, but I I would not dare because of naturalistic pedantry”.

adhering to his own ideas about the degree of conventionality in monumental painting of a traditionalist nature. The artist paid great attention to the issues of visual perception of the paintings: taking into account the conditions of perspective reduction on an inclined plane, in order to give stability to the lower corner paintings, he loaded their outer corners with a dark mass, and cut the upper edges with ribbons, and in order to avoid flattening the shape of the main end panels, he began building them with the installation of vertical divisions.

Work at the Kazansky railway station required a special approach to painting, taking into account the huge scale of the hall. In a letter to Z.E. Serebriakova dated January 27, 1934, the artist shared his thoughts: “All my murals so far have been for smaller halls <...> Here the conditions turned out to be different: rather dark, relatively small dimensions and a huge distance - height [15 m. - P.P.] <...> This refers not so much to the composition as such, but to the execution: paints and drawing. Here it is the same as for the theater - you need makeup on the actor's face so that it would not be sluggish and small, you need more clarity in light and shade and more clarity, simplicity in coloring. Talk about the “flatness” of painting on the wall (“do not make holes in the wall”, as the “theorists” like to yell) I consider it empty, because at large distances the colors go out so that there is nothing to think about illusion”⁴⁷⁴. Lanceray also noted in his diary: “At such a distance, there is no effect of volume (all my philosophy and pride in sculpting depth, “planes” are not needed!); the best you can get: 2-3 plans - in the spirit of the scenes. That's where you learn the experience and wisdom of Byzantium! Quite different than in Kharkov and Tiflis, not to mention Tarasovsky”⁴⁷⁵.

It turned out to be difficult to choose the color of the murals, able to stand out against the background of the cold coloring of the hall (white stucco and the blue field of the ceiling). As the master himself later noted, “the main drawback [of the paintings] is that there is little contrast in color and in the strength of light and shadow, dark and light”⁴⁷⁶. Later, tempera painting was “refurbished” with oil, which further “contaminated” the plafonds.

⁴⁷⁴ Private collection.

⁴⁷⁵ Diary entry, January 7, 1934

⁴⁷⁶ Diary entry, February 1, 1942.

The murals of the Kazansky railway station restaurant were connected by their compositional and coloristic techniques with Lanceray's pre-revolutionary works in the field of graphics and monumental and decorative painting. On April 4, 1933, the artist wrote that “it would be possible, if it were worth it, to make a list of my favorite combinations and poses: for example... *Kazakhstan* is associated with the first (1st chapter) vignette of *Tsarskoye Selo. Crimea = Perseus* (Tarasov's) = *Troubadour* (child's composition) in the sense of "delight". Pose of an *Ukrainian* = pose of a woman on a vase that I sculpted for the lapidary Griselli. Not to mention the *Moscow*” = a panel of the Construction Exhibition”.

Nevertheless, the artist himself understood that his painting, in comparison, for example, with the ceiling of the Tarasov's mansion, had changed a lot: “In the morning I was with N.M. Korin in Tarasov's, and my plafonds, and even friezes, seemed terribly childish. Composition, despite the theoretical (my current understanding of the tasks of the plafond) errors – still back and forth. But the colors are terrible; namely coloring, and not painting (now I have incomparably more of it); and helpless drawing, still childish, with all diligence”⁴⁷⁷.

Shchusev also spoke about the success of Lanceray: calling the works at the Kazansky railway station “the first Soviet painting”, he noted that they reflected “great maturity and continuous growth, due to the era and its themes. The painting of the station with a living theme of modernity, which gave the artist the opportunity to operate with a real living type, reveals a progressive movement in comparison with the paintings in the mansion on Spiridonovka” (Shchusev, 1934, p. 20). On January 24, 1934, at a dinner honoring the artist, Grabar spoke: “They thought that the *World of Art* was dead and rotten; and here, and Kazansky? and much better than your Great Moscow, although there was already something other than the *World Art*”⁴⁷⁸. It was thanks to the monumental murals of Lanceray in 1934 that interest arose in the *World of Art* group: V.P. Belkin asked the master “to make a report on the *World of Art*, write memoirs... This quick and sudden turn to the *World of Art* is characteristic”⁴⁷⁹.

⁴⁷⁷ Diary entry, January 29, 1934.

⁴⁷⁸ Diary entry, January 24, 1934.

⁴⁷⁹ Diary entry, October 15, 1934.

4.3. Monumental painting by E.E. Lanceray in the second half of the 1930s.

The desire to convey space and depth in painting coincided with the artist's passion for classical Italian art.

At the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Architects in 1937, A.V. Shchusev said that “only us are the successors of ancient Rome, only in a socialist society and with socialist technology is it possible to build on an even larger scale and even greater artistic perfection”⁴⁸⁰. In his major keynote speech published in the *Architectural Newspaper*, the architect paid great attention to the use of the cultural heritage of the Antiquity, the Renaissance, and other eras: “A powerful process of creating a socialist culture in content and national in form is developing and strengthening [...] In the issues of party and government on architecture, there is an indication that the creation of a socialist architecture, ideologically rich, truthful, reflecting the greatness of the era, should follow two main paths – mastering the classical and folk architectural heritage, and the achievements of modern architectural and construction technology. [...] One epoch in the history of world architecture is especially close to us, the Italian Renaissance of the 15th and 16th centuries. [...] The sources from which, over the centuries, architectural creativity drew its most valuable thoughts, were the architecture of ancient Greece, of the ancient East, and of Italy of the Renaissance”⁴⁸¹.

Successful work at the Kazansky railway station opened for Eugène Lanceray the way to further creative victories, and in June 1935, B.F. Uitz even invited the master to the presidium of the muralist section of the Moscow Union of Artists. In connection with the active construction of the subway, hotels, theaters, libraries, the artist was literally inundated with orders. Already in February 1934, there was a conversation “about painting on the facade of the Zholtovsky house” (a sketch of February 22, 1936), in April, Shchuko and

⁴⁸⁰ Transcript of the First Congress of Soviet Architects. RGALI. F. 674. Op. 2. Unit 31. L. 12.

⁴⁸¹ Shchusev A.V. (1937) “Soviet architecture and classical heritage”, *Architectural newspaper*. June 18. No. 41.

Gelfreich proposed to the artist the designing of a theater in Rostov-on-Don (not implemented). On August 7, Lanceray “agreed to make a sketch of majolica for the metro station – for D.N. Chechulin. 8th, at the Academy about the publication, i.e. illustrations, Bunin's book [*Architecture of Urban Ensembles*]. In the morning - Boris Gordeev, engineer, theater builder in Novosibirsk. I agree to all this”. Interestingly, in the design of the interior of the opera house in Novosibirsk, E. Lanceray and his assistant Kolenda were entrusted only with ornamenting the barriers, the lower part of the walls and painting in the foyer, while the 60-meter dome itself had to remain white, since it served as a screen for light effects.

On November 17, 1934, "the first business conversation [with Shchusev] about the ceiling for the hotel [Moskva hotel – P.P.] takes place". In April 1935, the artist made sketches for the interior of the Zholtovsky State Bank building, and on May 25, 1935, the artist received architect “I.G. Taranov with a proposal on behalf of Shchuko and Gelfreich to make a sketch of a huge panel for the Lenin Library... Painting should be completed by 1.XI-1936”.

For sure, the most famous work of E. Lanceray is the painting of the ceiling of the restaurant of the **Moskva Hotel** (hotel “Moscow”), created in the artist’s traditional form of an illusionistic ceiling.

Back in January 1934, after completing the painting at the Kazansky railway station, the artist says that he “would now very much like to test the effectiveness of *trompe l’oeil* in baroque paintings. The need to emphasize the effect of light in order to obtain a relief forces to build a composition from black, and not from light. Therefore, the effects of *plein air* are not suitable, as they are too gentle”⁴⁸².

Thinking over his order, the artist very quickly abandoned the original sketch, made on April 23, 1935 in the form of a flat colored field with figures, and by September settled on the form of an illusionistic ceiling, traditional for artists of the 17th-18th centuries (perhaps the very theme of the night carnival was unconventional). But, unlike Andrea Pozzo or Giovanni Battista Tiepolo for example, Lanceray does not set himself the task of deceiving the viewer: on the morning of September 12, 1935, the artist “suddenly realized

that this was still a picture, and not a panorama that claims to be an illusion; therefore, one should not hopelessly look for a real gap into the sky, but only - “wow, how high!” Therefore, I return to what I thought and wrote about - to the error of the Kazan ceiling: the vanishing point inside the picture is terribly ungrateful, and narrows, and belittles. I resolutely take it out of the frame”.

The artist makes experiments with a central circular and oval composition, as well as with a mixed center, but «stopped at the symmetrical arrangement of architecture [with thirteen vanishing points – P.P.], because the ceiling is so large that it is impossible to cover it with one glance [16x8 m. at 12 m. height of the picture above the floor – P.P.]; the colorful spot is so extensive that it is necessary to take into account the effects of “carpeting”, and then the order and symmetry of the spots, in addition to the plot, will be more important than the actual requirements of the plot itself, which, if the entire perspective is shifted to one side, could be more interesting; to put it simply – then there would be no need to throw back columns and figures like that, the plot could be shown more “humanly”. Uncle Shura [Alexandre Benois] is absolutely right that in general there is always a little bit of deceit in the plafonds, a little anti-artistic. But the trouble is that, having already taken on such a task, one wants to achieve possible credibility, illusion and that's what I'm struggling with right now. To get this multi-storey, depth of plans! This is where the skills and techniques of the old theatrical decorators would be very useful... But all the art of many recent decades was not at all interested in this. Even among pure impressionists, the transmission of distance and depth is far from illusory; it is conditional, as in Japanese engraving. And after them, everything went towards the decorative plane quite frankly. And the most “right-wing” of us were not particularly interested in this depth».⁴⁸³

The artist really managed to achieve a sense of depth: “a simple and cheerful deception of old people, for example, Tiepolo”⁴⁸⁴, whose work Lanceray appreciated only in 1936. Using perspective, light and color, the painter gives four basic depth plans. The first is the corner cornices of the balconies, arising from the real cornices of the hall itself, with

⁴⁸² Letter from E.E. Lanceray to Z.E. Serebryakova dated January 27, 1934. Private collection.

⁴⁸³ Letter from E.E. Lanceray to Z.E. Serebryakova dated February 6, 1936. Private collection.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid.

somewhat shaded figures one and a half height. It is here that gymnasts, carpets, lush garlands are placed. The second is formed by bridge crossings with brightly lit noisy processions with full-length figures (110 cm), with sculptures of horses. The third tier consists of four arches resting on high pillars, illuminated by the bluish-lilac light of the moon and placed in *sfumato* colossal statues of a worker, a Red Army soldier, a collective farm girl, and a student. In the gaps between bridge crossings and arches - a bluish-blue sky with beams of searchlights and fireworks stars; “Besides, moonlight. The sky is northern, pale, greenish”⁴⁸⁵.

In September 1935, Lanceray began to assemble a sketch of the ceiling, and throughout the first half of 1936 he painted a large sketch in 1/5 life size (153x315; canvas, oil), now located in the Museum of Russian Architecture named after A.V. Shchusev. Working on the sketch, on July 7, the master “established that the foreground figures should be illusory (as far as possible), like the balcony cornice, and therefore, brightly lit from below and of natural color, i.e. without tone and general shadow, evening light, etc.”⁴⁸⁶. On July 11, Eugene happily wrote to his sister Zinaida in Paris about the approval of the ceiling sketch by a commission consisting of the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Moscow Council N.A. Bulganin, Milbart, architects A.V. Shchuseva, L.I. Saveliev and O. A. Stapan. Bulganin gave more comments: “I don’t understand, if it will be realistic? More flowers, youth and beauty”⁴⁸⁷. The artist himself, judging by the letter to his sister, was more interested in the difficulty of conveying the impression of diversity: “To tear the second plan from the first [...] I now think of making the very first plan illuminated from below from the real hall. Make sharp shadows, light from below, natural colors, without tone, without “evening”; and what is higher, further – to write already in the yellow, evening light”⁴⁸⁸.

Only in March 1937 did the artist and his assistants (V.A. Seleznev, V.K. Kolenda, S.N. Bushinsky, P.M. Kuzanyan, N.I. Lvovsky, Ya.R. Kogan, Aleksandrovsky and the artist's son architect Yevgeny Evgenyevich Lanceray) began to work on the painting in

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁶ Diary entry of E.E. Lanceray on July 7, 1936.

⁴⁸⁷ Diary entry of E.E. Lanceray on July 12, 1936.

⁴⁸⁸ Letter from E.E. Lanceray to Z.E. Serebryakova dated July 11, 1936. Private collection.

tempera (egg-oil) on ten canvases (“I draw the models myself; draperies are helpers; Kolenda builds and draws the perspective”), which were removed from their stretchers and glued to the ceiling already in July. Part of the scaffolding was removed on July 10, and completely on July 22. “Schusev is happy. I am pleased with the variegation, elegance; but what I wanted – perspective, going up-- did not work out at all”⁴⁸⁹. That's why the plafond was finally registered on the spot only by October 31, 1937.

The painting was created in active cooperation with the chief architect of the building, who expressed his opinion not only about the composition, but also about the color effect of the ceiling: “I started with a full southern, dark blue night, but Shchusev is afraid that it will be hard; the whole hall is white, with blue or green (lapis lazuli and malachite) pilasters. It looks like it's smart, but I'm terribly afraid if it will be clear”⁴⁹⁰.

The plafond is in harmony with the architecture of the central hall. Shchusev himself speaks of this in his letter to Lanceray dated November 3, 1937: “For my part, as the author of the architectural volume of the hall where your painting is located, I am very happy with the combination of our work and I believe that Moscow's council did the right thing in approving your excellent work”.

“On the 1st [November] came N.S. Khrushchev and N.A. Bulganin; the plafond was accepted without any enthusiasm, but nevertheless it was accepted” (E. Lanceray's diary entry). The year 1937 was very difficult both for Russia in general and for art in particular: the workshop of monumental painting at the Architectural Institute was liquidated, there was some cooling in the attitude of the authorities towards Shchusev, Zholtovsky, Korin.

Despite the statements of Yuon, Grabar and Deineka “that the ceiling is an obsolete form” (diary entry for July 19, 1938), it is the “People's Festival” in the Moscow Hotel that can be called one of the fundamental works in the creation of the “style of the country”. In 1935, in his autobiography, the artist writes: “I see that the issues of perspective, a broad, but correct transfer of form, light and color, should not only be thought out on sketches, but checked on the realized paintings. Only as a result of a series of searches and experiments

⁴⁸⁹ Diary entry of E.E. Lanceray on July 10, 1937.

⁴⁹⁰ Letter from E.E. Lanceray to Z.E. Serebryakova dated February 6, 1936. Private collection.

and happy discoveries can the artist create the style of the era that is expected and that should happen”⁴⁹¹.

While working on the ceiling of the hotel "Moscow" by the spring of 1937, E.E. Lanceray developed a theory of a different understanding of form in impressionism and academism. About this theory, he wrote letters to the painter Alexander Fedorovich Gaus (June 9) and to his sister Zinaida Serebryakova (May 24): «My desire is from impressionism of spots to large local tones. I reject the position (often put forward) “the form is transmitted by color”; I affirm that the form is transmitted by chiaroscuro, the impression of the uniform color of the object should dominate; passion for colorful mosaics, for a reflex painted in a different color, distorted the colorful proportionality. But the greatest difficulty for us (for me) is to be satisfied with one color (for example, for the color of the body) ...

I recall the lessons of Zionglinsky: “forget that you are writing a person, a face, write as if in front of you a flower” ... And the majority does not draw a form (as a conscious volume), but only lines and flat plans of spots of shadows and halftones. I see in this a deep and characteristic sign of the art understanding of the last almost seventy years. The era of impressionism and individualism, perhaps, has already exhausted itself. Now the plot must again come to the fore; and since the plot is then knowledge, instead of impression; new academism»⁴⁹².

Despite the reaction of the functionaries, the plafond on the abstract theme of the national festival became one of the fundamental works in the creation of the “style of the country”. Such triumphant symbolic compositions, glorifying the victory of socialism, were in great demand in the pre-war era.

In the autumn of 1937, Lev Bruni (for the auditorium) and Alexander Deineka (for the restaurant) began to work on illusory plafonds for the Central Theater of the Red Army; they were carried out in 1939–1940.

Under the influence of Lanceray's plafond, such artworks as *The Taking of the Winter Palace* by P. Sokolov-Skalya, as well as illusory plafonds by V. Shcherbakov, R. Sturua, L. Feinberg, have been created since 1939, in particular by his students. The artist

⁴⁹¹ *Autobiography of E.E. Lanceray*. 1935. Private collection.

⁴⁹² Letter from E.E. Lanceray to Z.E. Serebryakova dated May 24, 1937. Private collection.

himself continued to look for various solutions for plafond compositions, taking into account the experience of his previous works.

On February 14, 1940, he participated in a closed competition for a new plafond of the **Bolshoi Theatre**. By May 26, the artist created a sketch of a spatial solution with a clear appeal to the masters of the 18th century: “I am composing the ceiling of the Bolshoi Theater”, Lanceray writes on March 29, “and am very drawn to the 18th century, to Tiepolo, justifying myself by the style of the hall”. And next he added: “I think that baroque is still the highest development of a sense of decorative rhythm. The rhythm is not symmetrical (Renaissance), but asymmetrical, but the most delicately developed and balanced”. Even later, in 1944, Lanceray continued to appreciate Tiepolo: “Think about Tiepolo's understanding of space, compared, for example, with Veronese; as far as the latter, despite striving, is still flat. It would be possible to build the history of painting as a conquest of depth, panorama... And a parallel flow – decorative and flat (despite the themes of the plot)»⁴⁹³.

Taking into account the prevailing point of view of the spectator facing the stage, Lanceray makes a semantic emphasis on the lower half of the ceiling and brings the perspective vanishing point back, beyond the picturesque field, which made it possible to avoid sharp angles.

According to the terms of the competition, “the apotheosis of the art of the fraternal peoples of the USSR” was to be depicted. In several picturesque plans that go into depth, the artist depicted the arts united by the opera house: rhythm, facial expressions, vocals, classical and folk music, dance, and literature. Here, on two large columns, he placed strongly prominent allegorical statues of muses, and behind them – the images of Lyudmila, Prince Igor, Tatiana, Herman, Lisa.

Despite the fact that B. Bekhterev and V. Yakovlev competed with the artist, and presented promising compositions, and V. Favorsky, V. Fedorovsky, L. Bruni and P. Williams, who chose ornamental planar solutions, on June 2, 1940, the jury (Shchusev,

⁴⁹³Diary entry of E.E. Lanceray for November 1, 1944.

Grabar, Mukhina, Ioganson) have chosen Lanceray for the project (“2nd choice – Fedorovsky”).

Alexandre Romm, in an article about the sketches of the ceiling, wrote: “The style of this ceiling is the personal style of E.E. Lanceray, familiar from the old sketches of the painting of the Kazan railway station. But this is also the traditional style of post-Renaissance monumental painting. This is precisely how plafond painting was understood in the time of Tintoretto and Tiepolo. In contrast to the flat and archaically strict style of V.A. Favorsky, this style is deep, spatial, extremely free and picturesque. As an echo of the Baroque, it goes well with the architecture of the hall”⁴⁹⁴.

By April 1941, “the theater will need a new chandelier, harlequin and even a curtain”, the artist wrote, anticipating a big job. But on April 6, "A.V. Shchusev spoke about the decision of the Committee of Arts not to write a new ceiling for the Bolshoi Theatre". The sketch itself was kept in the Bolshoi Theater Museum and was lost during the war.

Interestingly, already during the war, Lanceray returns to the idea of “soaring figures”, which was actively worked out even before the revolution. On October 19, 1942, he writes, “thank God that I didn’t have to paint the ceiling of the Bolshoi Theater – it’s too complicatedly conceived; in the ceiling, however, it will always be falsely taken from all points of view, except for one: all verticals will lie, which will not be on a vertical wall, even if in perspective reduction. It would be necessary to make a pattern in a circle and plots in the corners, without architecture. Soaring figures would be nice. The idea of the Nosovsky’s ceiling would have been good, but then it hadn’t really been invented yet”.

Lanceray continues to work on wall compositions: as early as May 25, 1935, he was offered a commission for a large panel for the end wall of the **Main Reading Room of the Lenin State Library**. By August 8, the artist made a sketch in which he used the dimensions and format of the proposed panel (5.8 x 17.6 m with side protrusions down 2.3 x 3.5 m; at the same time, the master asked to increase the length to 19.6 m). It depicts a solemn semicircular colonnade, and in front of it are masses of people (artists, working

⁴⁹⁴Romm A. (1940), “Sketches of a new plafond for the auditorium of the Bolshoi Theater”, *Architecture of the USSR*, no. 9, p. 52.

youths, doctors, chemists, engineers, peasants, workers, military men) surrounding the monument to Lenin. At the same time, in order to focus the attention of viewers on the central part of the mural, the artist introduces the image of six fairly massive columns in the foreground.

The commission was constantly in limbo and was never carried out due to the incompleteness of the interior decoration. However, the artist worked on sketches intermittently until 1940. “5th [June 1936] renewal of this order, which I considered already melted”; August 20, 1937 - “thinking up a new plot for Leninskaya”; September 4, 1939 - “began to really write in the Lenin Library”; January 16, 1940 - “worked in the library. Terribly doubt the correctness of the idea”.

As early as September 1936, Shchuko and Gelfreich persuaded the artist to take up sketches for five coffers of the library's front staircase. Their theme is “Working in the Library Arms with Knowledge and Energy for Later Life”, and they were executed, like the painting in the Memorial Hall of the Academy of Arts, in two tones (under the sculpture). By January 1940, the artist, together with Kolenda, also created cardboard for the office of the library director.

In the last five years before the war, Lanceray took part in major projects, the purpose of which was to exalt the Soviet system at the national and international level. From June to September 1936, he creates a draft design for the competition for the design of the interior of the Soviet pavilion at the World Exhibition in Paris in 1937, and in June-November 1938 he sketches a mosaic frieze for the hall of arts at the World Exhibition in New York. The theme of solemn processions was used.

A huge project that foreshadowed the synthesis of monumental arts was the planned construction of the **Palace of Soviets**. Lanceray formulated his thoughts on the creation of a school of monumental art, which would find application in a grandiose construction project, in his memorandum to the “special design department” on August 17, 1936 ⁴⁹⁵. The artist spoke in favor of “supporting and stimulating the early creation of a school of applied art, such as the former Stroganov Encouragement of the Arts and Stieglitz. There are no such

schools now, and the need for applied art artists is great even now and will grow every year”. But in the first place, the artist put the organization of an “exhibition of monumental painting, built on the principle of contracting, like the organized exhibition “Industry of Socialism” and “Military”. The exhibition would be made up of large, detailed sketches on certain topics, of life-size fragments, of copies of some of the classic murals”.

The academician saw the main goals of such an exhibition in summing up what was done in 1917–1937, in identifying possible shots, and also in predicting the future paths of monumental art: “for this, [we need – P.P.] the retrospective department, so that one could start from ...; the beginning of the museum of monumental painting” (memorandum dated December 22, 1936). The exhibition was organized only in 1946. Lanceray was the chairman for its preparation, but it opened after the death of the artist – in November 1946 in Kazan.

The construction of the Palace of Soviets itself was suspended several times. For the first time, due to the arrest and execution of the head of construction, V.M. Mikhailov, on September 26, 1937. On July 19, 1938, the artist notes in his diary “a vague desire to get involved in the work on the Palace of Soviets. By the way: they had a meeting last night, in construction”.

The new head of construction, engineer A.N. Prokofiev, invited the artist to develop sketches for the annular couloir of the Great Hall, on July 26, 1938.

From March 9, 1939, the artist served as a consultant in the Design Bureau. Active work was launched to create a special art workshop and attract craftsmen. In the created extensive workshop (on Lenivka Street), original paintings or life-size cardboard were to be executed, there should have been a photo laboratory and props storage: “Taste and flair will easily allow us to avoid excessive naturalism, since we have more understanding of the tasks of monumental painting work on the form. And the clarity of understanding of form is the basis of monumental painting, and especially with a realistic approach.” “Showed his manner of working with tempera in the workshop of young artists of the Palace of Soviets” (December 9, 1939).

⁴⁹⁵RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. D. 74.

Among the candidates for muralist for the Palace of Soviets, Lanceray indicated N.M. Chernyshev and his students, Goncharov, Rublev, S. Gerasimov, Deinek, Pimenov, Williams, Saryan, Yakovlev, Korin, Grabar, Yuon, Kabuladze and some others. But not everyone managed to work fruitfully. In this regard, Lanceray's words about Pavel Kuznetsov are interesting: "in the Palace of Soviets, where he was invited by Iofan (these are all ... - "left", former "formalists", - of course, our opponents in the soul; but the wind is not the same, and they vis a vis are silent about us...) so, after all, in the end, and there they were convinced that he could do nothing; this is a child of art, he feels something obscure, but sweet: somewhere, something will come out bright and beautiful, and thank God..." (from a letter to I. Charlemagne, December 18, 1940).

In an explanatory note for E. Lanceray's *Painting of the Circular Couloir*, he proposes the plot of a huge procession, executed in fresco, tempera or encaustic, with a conditional bright background, a flat interpretation of the figures and a high point of view.

In creating the sketch itself, Lanceray adhered to his method "from the conditions of the place to the plot", which, of course, extends not only to the plot, but also to the technique and style of painting. In this case, it corresponded more to ornamental searches than to experiments in the field of illusory painting: "The character of everything is a frieze carpet, a pattern, and not a picture; but this is not a carpet, neither a mosaic, nor a majolica (the carpet is intimate for the hall of the square; the mosaic is already very expensive and long in execution; the majolica is "cheap") ... artistry, artistry, accuracy to the original - in the sense of line - expression, shade colors are bound to suffer. In the material made by the hand of the artist - fresco, tempera, encaustic - this will be preserved" (note "Painting of the circular couloir", stored in the RGALI⁴⁹⁶).

The interpretation of the figures and of the background were supposed to be rather flat: "The background... is clearly conventional - red, orange or otherwise, but does not "depict" either the earth, or the sky, or the landscape... The interpretation of the figures is flat with a slight shading and emphasis on the folds of the draperies. The color of the clothes is intense, with a clear fabric pattern, the predominance of light colors".

⁴⁹⁶ RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. No. 74.

Even the point of view of a long procession is chosen unusually high for all of Lanceray's work: "The figures of the procession are drawn as if visible from above, that is, each figure standing behind is higher and only slightly smaller than the one in front of it. Therefore, groups of figures descend, as it were, in clusters from under the upper edge of the frieze. The procession begins behind the main sculpture (behind the presidium) in rows of armed workers; little by little the groups acquire a peaceful festive character; different peoples. Approaching the intersection of the longitudinal axis, the pace of movement slows down and the figures turn from the profile to face the viewer. In the center opposite to the presidium there is a large picture with a slogan, on the sides of its figures personifying the sciences and arts".

However, even in this work, the artist retains his commitment to baroque art. Along with the carpeting and ornamentation of the entire composition, the artist's craving for baroque diagonal lines of marching groups, banners and plant motifs is preserved. On March 29, 1940, he talks with Yuon and Rabinovich about decorativeness: "Yuon: The Renaissance is stable, vertical, "assertion"; Baroque is diagonal, "dynamic". Socialism must use both principles, since socialism is the final "affirmation", but it also contains the "dynamics" of labor... I feel that I am completely incapable of such conclusions... But I think that baroque is still the highest development of feeling decorative rhythm. Rhythm is not symmetrical (Renaissance), asymmetrical, but the finest varied and balanced". And, indeed, "in most of the frieze, a certain diagonal orientation of the general lines, a group of marching ones, the inclination of banners, the orientation of plant motifs" is clearly emphasized.

Due to the war, Lanceray's sketches, like the building itself, were not realized. But the stylistic principles he worked out especially for the Palace of the Soviets were continued by P. Korin in his layout and sketches of the *March toward the Future* mosaic of 1947.

The artist, however, was very worried about his "agreement" to work on the "correct" topics, exalting "joyful socialism". He was far from communist ideals but turned out to be sort of hostage to Stalinist politics. Being experienced as a muralist for 30 years, he

had to show loyalty to the authorities and consent to official stories. Ceramic panels were made at the Komsomolskaya metro station, the plafond of the restaurant of the Moskva Hotel, sketches for the design of the circular couloir of the Great Hall of the Palace of Soviets, a sketch of the plafond of the Bolshoi Theater, and the painting of the vestibule of the Kazansky railway station. In February 1945 he was awarded the title of People's Artist of the RSFSR.

But Lanceray sadly observed the changes in Russia, the growing political and cultural disunity both within the USSR and in relation to other countries. In Russia, the generation of the “old formation” artists⁴⁹⁷ was replaced by artists of a new ideological orientation. The pressure of the Soviet system increased, in Western Europe the general popularity of modernism overshadowed realistic tendencies. In a letter to his sister Z.E. Serebriakova to France, back in 1930, he complained: “What is done in art is very depressing; here is one extreme, and in Paris it is another”⁴⁹⁸.

4.4. A series of panels by Zinaida Serebryakova for a villa in Belgium

Analogies of monumental painting of E. Lanceray from the 1930s can be very productively sought in the art of countries with totalitarian rule (Germany, Italy, Spain). Particularly useful in this regard will be comparisons with neoclassicism in Germany that took shape in 1924-1925, where the Mother's House and the House of War Invalids are decorated with Santagata frescoes “heroizing the people of war” (Kolpinsky, 1934, p. 186), or where Arthur Kampf creates his paintings on the themes of ancient mythology, but with modern overtones.

No less interesting are some similarities with the somewhat modernized work of the artists of the Novecento Italiano group, founded by Mussolini's friend Margherita Sarfatti.

⁴⁹⁷ In the second half of the 1920s, B.M. Kustodiev, V.D. Polenov (both in 1927), G.B. Yakulov (1928), S.P. Diaghilev, I.S. Ostroukhov (both in 1929), A.Ya. Golovin, A.E. Arkhipov, I.E. Repin, N.A. Kasatkin (all in 1930). From the generation of E. Lanceray in the USSR in the 1930s: painters S.V. Malyutin (until 1937), V.K. Baksheev, M.V. Nesterov, V.N. Meshkov, V.K. Byalynitsky-Birulya, I.E. Grabar, K.F. Yuon, graphic artist A.P. Ostroumova-Lebedeva, engraver I.N. Pavlov.

⁴⁹⁸ Letter from E. Lanceray to Z.E. Serebryakova on February 1, 1930. Private collection.

But for Mario Sironi, Alberto Savinio, Achille Funi and the sculptors Arturo Martini and Marino Marini, who participated in the Fifth Milan Triennale of Decorative Arts in 1933⁴⁹⁹, the main thing was not in the classical form of their works, but in the concept of *romanità*, emphasizing the continuity of fascist Italy from the Roman Empire (Fraquelly, 1995, pp. 131-132)⁵⁰⁰. Giorgio de Chirico ("*Italian Culture*"), Achille Funi ("*Italian Athletic Games*") and Massimo Campigli ("*Mothers, Peasants, Workers*") presented their frescoes at the triennale, Gino Severini presented his mosaics. At the same time, even the neoclassical works of De Chirico and Funi were created with a significant influence of modernism.

In December 1933, Mario Sironi, Massimo Campigli, Carlo Carrà and Achille Funi published the "*Manifesto della pittura murale*" (Manifesto della pittura murale), which put forward the idea that "artistic traditions, mainly of a decorative, monumental and stylistic nature, with all their power might contribute to the birth of the fascist style"⁵⁰¹. They put forward the idea of a style "both ancient and new", based on austerity and harmonious composition, associated with the "art of pagan and Christian Rome", with the "spirituality of the Renaissance" rather than with the "pomp of the great Venetians". Mario Sironi, in an article "*Architecture and Art*" in 1935, wrote about the dangers of the "excessive spiritual self-confidence" of the avant-garde and called for cooperation between the architecture of rationalism and figurative painting⁵⁰².

In Italy, in the 1930s, in the spirit of Mantegna and the old Ferrara masters, frescoes were created by Achille Funi (murals in the Church of the King Christ, Cristo Re, architect Marcello Piacentini, 1933–1934), mosaics by Ferruccio Ferrazzi (in the church of Santa Annunziata in Sabaudia, 1935). Mario Sironi, a member of the Plastic Values group, continued to use the techniques of modernism (the fresco "*Italy between art and science*" at the University of Rome, 1935; the fresco "*Corporative Italy*" in the People's House in Milan, 1936). Large projects in the field of monumental decoration were the works on the implementation of the Palace of Justice in Milan (1929-1947, decoration of the second half

⁴⁹⁹ *V Triennale di Milano. Catalogo ufficiale*. Milano: Casa editrice Ceschina, 1933.

⁵⁰⁰ Fraquelli Simonetta (1995), All roads lead to Rome, *Art and power. Europe under the dictators. 1930-45* / ed. By E.J. Hobsbawm, D. Elliott. London, pp. 131-132.

⁵⁰¹ Sironi, Carrà, Campigli (1933), Manifesto della pittura murale, *La Colonna*. I. № 12.

⁵⁰² Sironi M. (1935), Architettura e arte, *Il Popolo d'Italia*. 8 gennaio.

of the 1930s), – the mosaics in the halls of the Court of Appeal by Mario Sironi, frescoes by Carlo Carra, reliefs and statues by Arturo Martini. The murals by Achille Funi in the Palace of the Municipality of Ferrara (1934–1937) were created on the basis of neoclassical tendencies and knowledge of Italian painting of the 15th century.

But, perhaps, the artist closest in style to Lanceray in the 1920s-1930s. was his sister Zinaida Serebriakova. The elder brother has repeatedly noted her skill and even some of the advantages of her painting over his own: “My main drawback, destroying everything, is pettiness, lack of breadth... Zina has such breadth... this is what talent is” (diary entry by E.E. Lanceray dated March 30, 1931). Or: “Now I see my main defect in the fragmentation of forms and contours, something that dad has, but which Zina does not have. This fragmentation, “nervousness” is, in part, the pursuit of movement, awe, which Zina is not looking for; but it is necessary through these searches for movement, and having found it, further to find simplicity, breadth of form and contour; and only then will I move away from illustration and begin to approach the monumental painting” (diary entry by E.E. Lanceray dated June 10, 1931).

In a letter dated May 24, 1937, the artist writes to his sister: “You understand (in the sense of rendering) the shape of objects so broadly, coherently, wholeheartedly. I have two of your works hanging on the wall in front of my table, and just recently, I was talking about drawing and painting techniques with a friend, an artist from Kharkov, - he says: - “Yes, after all, this is a broad, classical understanding of the shape of the human body that you need!” - pointing to your things”. The same words can be attributed to the beautiful, but, unfortunately, unrealized because of the war with Germany, sketches of the murals of the Kazan station with allegories of Asian countries (stored in the State Tretyakov Gallery). The intended “compositions” by Serebriakova for the Moscow mansion of M.K. Morozova by the architect I.V. Zholtovsky (9, Mertvy pereulok) was never achieved (letter to her husband in May 1916).

In 1924, due to a shortage of art materials and a lack of commissions, Z. Serebriakova, on the advice of her uncle Alexandre Benois, left to work in Paris. Having remained in France, Serebriakova found herself in an antagonistic artistic world: not by

ideology, as it was in Russia, but by different values in art. In a letter to her daughter in Moscow dated 29th of December, 1946, she notes that “I would even like not to write about contemporary art here at all. Everything is so ugly... So I live in the past (but no one here understands and cherishes it either)”. Serebriakova was especially irreconcilable with abstract trends in painting. In August 1964, she answered a question from V.P. Knyazeva about her attitude “towards the most important phenomena of the latest French art and the main schools and trends”, and she responded: “My attitude is the most negative - for me the very name “art” is inapplicable to abstract, wild daub... and I also love recent French art very much, that is "Impressionists"! And I even appreciate the early period of Picasso very much ... But I don't consider the current obscene nonsense to be art”.

E. Lanceray evaluates somewhat more gently the modern French painting (specifically, Cezanne): “both the density of writing, and the width, and the etude (without a deliberate stylish composition) tempt me very much ... and I would very much like to approach this side myself. There is only one thing I can't digest, that is a stupid deformity, a disfigurement of the body; and the nonsense of drawings made with the left foot” (letter of E. Lanceray to Z. Serebriakova dated February 14, 1925).

The decorative talent of the artist remained unclaimed for a long time: “All winter I have no work, and not a single thing was sold at the exhibition” (from a letter to E. Lanceray dated April 2, 1933).

However, back in 1928, in Belgium, Serebriakova met Baron Jean-Henri de Brouwer, who not only offered trips to Marrakech and Fes (in exchange of works he would choose from those made in Morocco), but also commissioned the design of his villa under construction, Manoir du Relais in Pommeroeul, near Mons, in the south of Belgium, in 1934⁵⁰³. Sketches have been in development for over a year. Finally, in 1936, the panels themselves were executed with eight nude female figures. As the artist herself wrote to her children in Moscow, four panels with figures standing in niches “should be placed between the windows and depict the career of Brouwer: Justice with scales (because he is a lawyer),

⁵⁰³ A series of panels was acquired in 2007 by the owners of the Moscow gallery Triumph and exhibited at the exhibition "*Zinaida Serebryakova. Nudes*" in the Russian Museum (St. Petersburg).

Flora (since he has floriculture), 3) Art (because he loves art), 4) Light (because he is the director of electricity and gas plants), etc.” (December 24, 1936).

Opposite are four panels with reclining figures symbolizing the places associated with the activities and possessions of the Brouwers: Flanders, Morocco, India and Patagonia. The images on this series of panels inherit the principles of Renaissance plastic art, including the works of Michelangelo. On December 17, 1936, Zinaida went to try on the panels at the villa, but seeing the disproportion of the interiors, she took them back to Paris. The second time the panels were brought on April 7, 1937 and attached to the walls, but some modifications were required on the spot. The geographical maps behind the lying figures were written by the son of Zinaida, Alexandre Serebriakov.

Interestingly, if in her genre paintings of the pre-revolutionary period depicting peasant life, Serebriakova willingly speaks of “love for the work of Russian artists of the 18th–19th centuries – especially for A. Venetsianov, one of the realist artists closest to her” (Savinov, 1990, p. 47), then during the period of monumental and decorative work, she especially notes her love for Rubens: “Rubens is my adored artist”⁵⁰⁴, “how wonderfully mixed [in his works] pathos, sensuality, joy from all the wealth of the earth!”⁵⁰⁵

Serebriakova sent photographs of the panels to her brother Eugène in Moscow, and he liked them very much: “all of yours are very good ... But, if you look in more detail, then *Justice* seems to me to be the most folding figure. This panel is especially elegant and richly filled with all the simplicity, stinginess, so to speak, decorations, attributes ... Less successful is the figure with the attributes of the arts; some stiffness in movement, in the legs... Of those lying down, I like the one turned to the right, with a jug; and I would put the first number (from those lying) – with ears. I envy you that you can convey the body so simply, so flexibly, broadly and completely. And I come out petty, motley, broken” (letter dated May 24, 1937).

Eugène Lanceray more than once offered his sister to return to Russia: “Would you like to return with Katyusha [her daughter Catherine] to us? You, your art is very much

⁵⁰⁴ Letter from Zinaida Serebryakova to her children Tatyana and Evgeny dated December 20, 1936. Private collection.

⁵⁰⁵ Letter from Zinaida Serebryakova to her daughter Tatiana dated February 21, 1936. Private collection.

needed here. I am certain of it and I say this on the basis of repeated conversations with many architects who expressed regret that you are not here. The combination in your compositions of a realistic interpretation of forms and plot, plus your inherent decorative pathos, prettiness and, as it were, solemnity - this is something that is difficult to find, and so necessary” (letter of December 12, 1935). However, Serebriakova replies that she no longer feels “in herself the strength (and I always had not so much faith in myself) to make such a decision”.

Thus, the socialist regime of the 1930s. allowed Lanceray's neoclassical talent to develop, albeit within strictly regulated limits, while Serebriakova was forced to earn almost her entire life in democratic France with portraits and landscapes. “Here is one extreme,” Lanceray wrote, “and in Paris it is another”⁵⁰⁶.

Alexandre Serebriakov (1908-1995) continued his mother's decorative quests, creating beautiful watercolors of interiors, and after the Second World War, working as an artist in the reconstruction of houses and apartments⁵⁰⁷.

4.5. Allegorical panels *Peace* and *Victory* at the Kazansky railway station

The monumental Lanceray’s artworks for the restaurant of the Kazansky railway station in Moscow that were undertaken in 1932–1934 have been depicted in the previous chapter of this thesis. More than ten years later, in 1945-1946, large murals *Peace* and *Victory* in the vestibule of the Kazansky station were created by Eugène Lanceray and they were his last monumental artworks.

Back in 1913, in line with neo-Russian tendencies, A.V. Shchusev had invited N.K. Roerich, B.M. Kustodiev and I.Ya. Bilibin. He proposed to Roerich to create two large compositions in the vestibule under the Suyumbeki tower, designed after the Syuyumbike tower of the Kremlin of Kazan, on the themes of the fight against the Tatars: *The Battle of*

⁵⁰⁶ Letter from E. Lanceray to Z.E. Serebriakova dated February 1, 1930. Private collection.

⁵⁰⁷ More information about the artwork of Alexandre Serebriakov is in the album *Paris. Alexandre Serebriakoff* (Pavlinov, 2017a).

*Kerzhents*⁵⁰⁸ and *The Capture of Kazan by Ivan the Terrible*. Sketches were approved almost simultaneously with the start of construction in 1913; special niches with rounding were designed in vestibule. In 1914, Orest Karlovich Allegri in St. Petersburg began to paint canvases based on Roerich's sketches⁵⁰⁹. In February of the same year, I.E. Grabar suggested A.N. Benois as director of the paintings in the waiting room of class I and II, where the connection between Europe and Asia on the territory of Russia was supposed to be illustrated. Benois, in his turn, in autumn of 1915, invited for this artwork his nephews Eugène Lanceray and Zinaida Serebriakova, as well as M.V. Dobuzhinsky. But work progressed slowly. And on October 1, 1916, Lanceray, who was working on a large plafond *The Triumph of Russia Connecting Europe with Asia*, wrote to his uncle: “All commissions for painting the Kazansky Station collapsed due to a “misunderstanding of the main employees of Moscow-Kazan railway roads”⁵¹⁰. Due to the onset of the 1917 revolution and the nationalization of the railways, even the finished panels were not placed in their places. The first phase of the construction of the station was completed only in 1926.

In the 1920s and early 1930s, both neo-Russian and neoclassical tendencies in culture were not welcomed. Shchusev several times tried to resume work on the station murals (in 1923, 1926, 1927), but each time, due to cost savings and the unwillingness of the management to see the old allegories, the work stopped before it really started. Only after the Decree of the Council for the construction of the Palace of Soviets of February 28, 1932, the situation in architecture began to change, as well as in the fine arts. As A.V. Grigoriev, Chairman of the Union of Soviet Artists, wrote to E. Lanceray: “historical events take place on the artistic front. We are on the threshold of the rise and flourishing of art –

⁵⁰⁸ A similar composition by N.K. Roerich has already depicted on the curtain for the musical intermission of the opera N.A. Rimsky-Korsakov *The Legend of the Invisible City of Kitezh and the Maiden Fevronia*, which was staged in 1911 at the Chatelet Theater in Paris during a tour of the troupe S.P. Diaghilev.

⁵⁰⁹ A sketch for the *Sich at Kerzhents* is kept in the State Russian Museum (1911; tempera on cardboard; 52.5x70). The panel itself has not survived. The sketch for *The Capture of Kazan* is kept in the National Art Gallery of Armenia (1913 or 1914; tempera on paper; 83x78). The completed panel, which was kept in the former Academy of Arts in Leningrad, in 1930 by order of the rector of the Leningrad Institute of Proletarian Fine Arts, F.A. Maslova, was cut into canvases for students.

⁵¹⁰ Letter from E. Lanceray to A.N. Benois dated October 1, 1916. OR GRM. F. 137. Unit 325.

the Party has taken up this task”⁵¹¹. A turn to the classics began in its various regulated manifestations.

Only in the summer of 1932, work on the murals at the Kazansky railway station resumed. Of the artists of the pre-revolutionary project in the USSR, only E. Lanceray continued. On July 3, in Tiflis, the architect G.I. Lezhava gave him a letter from A.V. Shchusev: “we need a sketch of the middle ceiling and all the small ones with your cutting, plots and deadlines”⁵¹².

As a result, Lanceray and his assistants created an ensemble of 21 panels on canvas for the restaurant hall. On January 21, 1934, under the leadership of N.M. Korina, they completed their gluing to the walls and ceiling. The central panel *The Feast of the Unity of the Fraternal Peoples of the USSR* became the first Soviet ceiling with the illusory effect of "breaking into the sky" in the spirit of the Italians of the 17th-18th centuries. A.V. Shchusev called the works at the Kazansky railway station "the first Soviet painting" and noted that they reflected "great maturity and incessant growth, due to the era and its themes" (Shchusev A.V. 1934, p. 20).

Then in 1932, A.V. Shchusev planned to start painting in the Sumbeki tower. On November 11, the architect “persuaded [the artist - P.P.] to take an order for 2 large [8x8 m - P.P.] panels by May 1934! (in the Sumbeki tower)”⁵¹³. But at that time the artist was busy with the décor of the restaurant of the station. On July 11, 1937, the architect suggested again “painting two landscapes in the Sumbeki tower”.

Finally, on May 7, 1939, E Lanceray together with his assistant Nikolai Ilyich Lvovsky, signed an agreement with the head of the Moscow-Passenger Station of the Lenin Railway A.I. Popov to create two picturesque panels (*Lenin in the Revolution* and *Stalin in the Revolution*) on canvas measuring 8x9 meters by May 1, 1940.

Since the summer of 1939, the artist began the work and already on December 25, the commission approved thematic sketches in 1/20 size. The theme of the first of them was

⁵¹¹ Letter from A.V. Grigoriev to E. Lanceray on May 13, 1932. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 90. L. 1.

⁵¹² Letter from A.V. Shchusev to E. Lanceray, received July 3, 1932. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 153. L. 2.

⁵¹³ Entry in the diary of E. Lanceray. November 11, 1932. Private collection.

the revolution of 1917 with the main episode *The Capture of the Winter Palace* (the moment when the struggle began), the second - *Stalin and the entire Soviet people after the adoption of the Stalin Constitution* (variant titles were "Festival on Red Square on the occasion of the adoption of the Constitution of the USSR in 1936", "Stalin on Red Square - Creator of the Constitution of the Peoples of the USSR", "Stalin in the Revolution. Friendship of Peoples", "People's Day", "Peace and Labor Day"). It depicted I.V. Stalin and members of the government against the backdrop of the Red Square. In the demonstration were people of different ages and nationalities and a group of children with flowers. As a variant of the location of the scene – the Palace of Soviets.

But Lanceray was far from communist ideals⁵¹⁴. He turned out to be a kind of hostage to Stalinist politics. Being an experienced muralist for 30 years, he had to show loyalty to the authorities and consent to official topics for art, which became more and more sugary joyful. In 1938, his brother, the architect Nikolai Lanceray, was arrested for the second time on trumped-up charges of espionage (he was sent to Kotlas, then to Vorkutlag) and Eugène wrote letters to the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs L.P. Beria and the Supreme Prosecutor of the USSR, justifying the need for Nikolai to do architectural and artistic work, similar to those that he performed before. Perhaps the letters had an effect – in August 1940, Nikolai was transferred to the prison in Moscow⁵¹⁵. In March 1941, in a personal letter to Beria, A.V. Shchusev asked about the architect Lanceray, but after the start of the Great Patriotic war, Nikolai was transferred to the Saratov prison, where he died due to exhaustion in May 1942.

Eugène Lanceray delayed the work as much as possible. On April 18, 1940, he wrote: "I became interested again in the station – *Revolution* <...> I constantly think about Kolia [his brother Nikolai]". The news of political events was also distressing. On June 23, the artist stated: "France capitulated <...> Universal admiration for Hitler". Fascist tendencies were on the rise. On October 29, Eugène Lanceray together with D.B. Savitsky visited V.I. Mukhina to examine her sketches for the statues of *Motherland* and *Fighter* (a

⁵¹⁴ "Here I now have sketches for the Palace of Soviets hanging on the wall. And I am sick of the "rejoicing proletarians of all countries", diary entry by E. Lanceray dated June 26, 1943.

⁵¹⁵ "I am writing to Beria again; They don't let Kolia out, because the situation is already too ugly" (a diary entry by E. Lanceray dated April 20, 1941).

Red Army soldier with a sword) for the Rybinsk reservoir. And on February 20, 1941, he wrote: “The plots of the Palace of Soviets are dead boredom and falsehood, how can one be inspired by them...”

Viktor Kolenda (1872–1945) and N.I. Lvovsky helped Lanceray with his large sketches 1/5. Only on November 28, a commission with the participation of A.V. Shchusev, V.M. Nikiforov, the Head of the Department of Painting and Graphics of the Glaviso of the Committee for Arts, V.A. Sidyakin, the secretary of the party organization of the Moscow Passenger Station of the Lenin Railway, and other representatives of the station accepted the working sketches: *October in 1917* (three moments: a meeting in Smolny, the beginning of the people's movement and a general panorama of the square in front of Zimny) and *Festival of Nations*. They noted: “The artist did not sufficiently express the joyful mood on some faces, which should correspond to the general solemn moment <...> The banner with the portrait of V.I. Lenin must be done more rigorously”⁵¹⁶. It was decided to “ask the Main Department of Fine Arts Institutions to clarify the personal place of each figure from among the government, in accordance with the general idea of their location in this composition”. The artist himself wanted to completely redo the composition *Revolution*⁵¹⁷.

In both sketches, the central part of the composition stands out: Lenin, Stalin, Dzerzhinsky in the first and party leaders headed by Stalin in the second, but their color and style solutions are different. The gloomy night landscape with crimson banners and spotlights is opposed by bright, saturated colors of festive dresses, bouquets and slogans⁵¹⁸. The artist even hesitates “between a colorful carpet and a bas-relief” (diary for October 1943) and through an article by V.N. Lazareva in the magazine *Iskusstvo* (1940, no. 1, pp. 127–144) he refers to the work of Piero della Francesca: “what simplicity, breadth and

⁵¹⁶ *Minutes of the commission for the acceptance of working sketches for paintings for the Kazansky railway station, academician of painting E. Lanceray with the brigade*. November 28, 1940. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 23. L. 17.

⁵¹⁷ “The difficulty of working on the *Revolution* deprives me of faith in myself” (Diary entry of E. Lanceray dated April 10, 1941).

⁵¹⁸ The sketch *Feast of the Peoples* is preserved in the Rostov Regional Museum of Fine Arts (1941; paper on plywood, watercolor, gouache; 126x102).

therefore grandiosity, monumentality in the contour line, in all understanding of the form, though still flat”⁵¹⁹.

But the bas-relief principle still wins: “very energetic modeling of the foreground figures, a clear and shallow division into plans and a gradual, but quick transition to a planar, silhouette interpretation of both groups and individual figures”⁵²⁰. The artist wrote on October 29, 1940: “My current position on the composition: a bas-relief at the heart of the composition; parallelism of plans; development of each form, silhouette, pose”.

On May 6, 1941, the commission (V.M. Nikiforov, director of the Tretyakov Gallery A.I. Zamoshkin, artists M.S. Saryan, F.F. Fedorovsky and the senior inspector of the Department of Painting and Graphics of Glaviso R.Ya. Bogorad) proposed to include in *Friendship of Peoples* portraits of candidates for members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks – M.A. Voznesensky, G. Malenkov and A.S. Shcherbakov⁵²¹.

On May 25–26, an employment contract was drawn up for the execution of the templates *Friendship of Peoples* and *October 1917* by June 20 and painting on the spot by October 1⁵²². On June 4, the sketches were approved by the architect N.A. Milyutin (1889–1942) who was a participant in the capture of the Winter Palace. On June 5, canvas (400 m, paper, zinc and casein) were purchased.

On June 12, E. Lanceray wrote to Kuznetsov, the head of the political department of the Leninskaya railway, a statement inviting him and I.F. Babaitsev, the head of the railway, to visit his studio apartment on 20 Markhlevsky Street to inspect the sketches⁵²³. Just two days before the start of the war, on June 20, the railway authorities arrived and approved the sketches for two panels for the vestibule of the Kazansky station.

The beginning of the war cast aside hopes for an early implementation of the sketches. On June 22, Lanceray wrote: “Well, here comes the war <...> With Nikolai Ilyich

⁵¹⁹ Diary entry of E. Lanceray dated February 6, 1943.

⁵²⁰ Diary entry of E. Lanceray dated September 25, 1943.

⁵²¹ *Minutes of the meeting of the commission of the Main Directorate of Fine Arts Institutions allocated for the approval of sketches of panel paintings on the topic: “October 1917” and “Friendship of Peoples”, made by academician E.E. Lanceray and artist N.I. Lvovsky.* May 6, 1941. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. № 23. L. 20.

⁵²² RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. № 23. L. 21–22.

[Lvovsky - P.P.] we decided to continue working on the station for the time being, but, of course, there is no interest anymore – all this is useless... ”⁵²⁴. On June 24, Lanceray was offered by the Art Committee "to sketch a poster on a patriotic theme”⁵²⁵.

Work on sketches for the station stopped. On July 15, it was from this Kazansky railway station that a museum train evacuated artworks from the Tretyakov Gallery to Novosibirsk.

Eugène Lanceray refused to be evacuated in August 1941. Until January 1943, he lived with his family mainly at a dacha in the village Peski, near Kolomna, and made several short stays in Moscow for up to 10 days each.

The artist wrote that he "wants to work from nature (at the military front)"⁵²⁶. He did not because of his age, but he did not want to leave for the rear either. In January-July 1942, the artist composed sketches for the cover of an album *Artists of Moscow - to the Front* and for the layout of the collection *The Great Patriotic War*. Since March, he has been painting on canvas the picture *The Defeat of the German Heavy Battery*, for which he went to see German guns in the Central House of the Red Army. And since April, by order of Hudfond, a series of paintings *Trophies of Russian weapons*, consisting of five historical paintings: *After the battle on Lake Peipsi (After the Battle on the Ice)*, *Fighters at captured guns (1941 near Moscow)*, *Evening after Borodino (Night after the battle of Borodino)*, *On the Kulikovo field*, *Peter after Poltava (Poltava victory)*. The series, completed by October, was exhibited on November 7 at the large exhibition *The Great Patriotic War* in the Tretyakov Gallery⁵²⁷, and placed instead of the evacuated exhibits. On March 19, 1943, the artist received the USSR Stalin Prize of the 2nd degree for this series. As he wrote in his autobiography, “the

⁵²³ RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. № 23. L. 23.

⁵²⁴ Diary entry of E. Lanceray, June 22, 1941.

⁵²⁵ The artist refused to create posters: «It is a blessing that I have the opportunity not to look for work and not to draw “heroism”» (diary entry, September 15, 1941). Irakli Moiseevich Toidze, the student of E. Lanceray at the Academy of Arts of Georgia (1902-1985), already in the first month of the war created a poster *The Motherland Calls!*, in which he painted a female image from his wife Tamara.

⁵²⁶ Diary entry of E. Lanceray, January 29, 1942.

⁵²⁷ 255 artists exhibited. Among the exhibited works: *Fascist flew* by A.A. Plastov, triptych *Alexander Nevsky* by P.D. Korin. At this time, E. Lanceray was thinking more optimistically. On November 19, 1942, he wrote in his diary: “What everyone is interested in is whether there will be changes after the war; the majority [thinks] no, it will be worse if they win. I'm usually the only one hoping for evolution and descent on the brakes”.

award of the Stalin Prize changed the structure of my thoughts and moods – both faith in myself and hope for the future appeared” (Lanceray, 1944). And after the exhibition at the end of 1943, the series was transferred to the collection of the Tretyakov Gallery.

After a trip with A.V. Shchusev to survey the destruction of the city of Istra and the New Jerusalem Monastery (September 21-25, 1942)⁵²⁸, the artist soon returned to panels at the Kazansky railway station. "Big dreams about Lenin and the Revolution – it seems that one could give good fiction"⁵²⁹. On October 28, he wrote to his wife about his passion for the *Revolution* panel. However, sketches (3x2 m) with many figures, too detailed in composition and coloring, could not correspond to the purpose of the station vestibule. The artist understood this and redid it many times⁵³⁰. But already on March 5, 1943, he wrote down: "I have long abandoned my damned Kazan sketches". By September, he finally "left both Kazan sketches, having lost all hope of finishing them". "The sketches conceived and with such difficulty still unfinished are no good!", he wrote with regret⁵³¹.

Nevertheless, on September 24, having visited Kazansky twice, E. Lanceray made a very important observation to determine the scale: "We must proceed not from the size of a living person on the plane of the picture, but take the projection of a living person on the plane of the panel, a person who is in sight and close, and therefore it is his dimensions that will be felt as reality , not a person standing somewhere near the wall. Another thing is in the ceiling"⁵³².

In November, E. Lanceray went on a business trip to Tbilisi for a month, and upon his return to Moscow, he never returned to the sketches of the Kazansky station⁵³³. After

⁵²⁸ Eugene Lanceray created a series of views of the ruined city, and then developed the artwork for the book by A.V. Shchusev «*Project for the restoration of the city of Istra*» (Moscow, 1946).

⁵²⁹ Diary entry of E. Lanceray dated October 19, 1942.

⁵³⁰ "I am tormented by the Red Square. Somehow, I completely lost faith in my ability", wrote E. Lanceray on January 28, 1943. "With difficulty (that is, rather, slowly) I conquer the color, the paint of Red Square; I begin to grope for the principle of the last distant plan", the artist wrote on February 6, 1943.

⁵³¹ Diary entry of E. Lanceray dated September 25, 1943.

⁵³² Diary entry of E. Lanceray dated September 25, 1943.

⁵³³ Only in April 1945, for two weeks, did the artist put together a new sketch for *October 1917*: "I fight over the faces of the bottom row in Oct. 17" (diary entry April 22, 1945). It was probably then that was created the sketch stored in the State Research Museum of Architecture named after A.V. Shchusev (1945; paper, cardboard, pencil, gouache, tempera; 98.8x84).

receiving news of his brother's death in a Saratov prison, his attitude to power became even more negative⁵³⁴.

Nevertheless, back in February 1943, the artist suggested that the Committee for Arts under the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR write a triptych *War and Peace*. On April 24, a day after the surrender of the 6th Army of the Third Reich, he received an official commission for a 3x2 meter triptych⁵³⁵. The left composition (*Mobilization*) was supposed to depict mobilization during the first period of the war, in the center was *Artillery battle in the forest*, on the right were image of children peacefully playing on a gun. Sketches were created. It is interesting that already in February 1943 the artist was thinking about *Peace*, but then at the level of the literary program he was "fictional, stilted and dead... Well, we'll see"⁵³⁶.

Due to the difficulty during the war to think over the right-wing composition *Peace*, the artist postponed the end of work on the triptych to the autumn of 1944. But it was never completed⁵³⁷. However, the theme of *Peace* soon found its embodiment.

On February 7, 1945, Eugène received a letter from the head of the station, A.I. Popov, demanding that by May 1, two panels for the Sumbeki tower of the Kazansky railway station, commissioned back in 1939, to be completed. Lanceray "considered his great luck" not writing a panel because of the war⁵³⁸. "Since lunch, I have been tormented by inventing how to replace the previous sketches. And now - 11 o'clock in the evening - I found it out, it seems. I take the figures of *Peace*, *Victory* from the composable sketch; as if it would be possible to make something that has long been dreamed of from them", the artist wrote that day.

⁵³⁴ «An idiotic regime, very convenient only for an insignificant handful and fed up gepeushniks [workers of GPU (State political administration) – P.P.], and in part, for "amusers"», wrote E. Lanceray on 28 July 1944.

⁵³⁵ "Tomorrow I am submitting an application to the Committee about the desire to write a triptych *War and Peace*" (diary entry February 3, 1943). On April 24, 1943, the artist received a commission from the Main Directorate of Fine Arts Institutions of the Committee for Arts under the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR to create a triptych *The Great Patriotic War* by March 1944. (Government order. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 25. L. 1).

⁵³⁶ Diary entry dated February 3, 1943.

⁵³⁷ «I'm compiling my *World*, I very much doubt the "good taste" of such an undertaking», wrote E. Lanceray in diary on February 2, 1945.

⁵³⁸ Diary entry of E. Lanceray dated 7 February 1945.

A few days later, the artist, nevertheless, suggested to the leadership "a triumphal procession, the return of the Red Army, as they did in the old days"⁵³⁹, but A.A. Rybnikov and A.V. Shchusev were persuaded to take the originally conceived plots: the allegorical image of *Peace and Victory*⁵⁴⁰. Already on February 13, the artist suggested to A.I. Popov to complete the paintings measuring 10.05x9.7 meters with figures 7 meters high by October 1, 1945. Shortly after the creation of the first sketches, on February 26, by decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, the 69-year-old artist was awarded the title of People's Artist of the RSFSR.

At the end of his life, the artist in every possible way promoted the use of allegories in monumental painting. On April 19, 1945, his article "On monumental painting" was published in the newspaper *Soviet Art*, which caused a long discussion. In it, he called for the use of generalizing plots known since antiquity, for example, from ancient mythology, suggested using more the method of the poetic metaphor and the "second order" of images (emblems and allegories): "The desire to raise the significance of the plot, to separate it from everyday life, everyday life led the art in times of great flourishing to the widespread use of allegory <...> Pushing the limits of narrowly understood realism, often turning into naturalism, seems timely to me – especially now, when the scope of historical events requires their diverse and majestic embodiment" (Lanceray E.E. 1945a, p. 3). Eugène even mentioned the evolution of the image of the Madonna in the art of the Renaissance⁵⁴¹.

The artist fulfilled his long-standing dream of depicting a female allegory, which he thought about back in the early 1930s in Kharkov: "Like I was working on Kharkov painting, dreaming – if that work was only for me, then I would paint one woman 6 meter

⁵³⁹ Diary entry for February 12, 1945.

⁵⁴⁰ E. Lanceray used his principle "from the conditions of the place to the plot" (diary entry around April 13, 1940), which, of course, extended not only to the plot, but also to the technique and style of painting.

⁵⁴¹ Back in 1939, in the note "*Painting of the Circular Couloir*", the artist wrote: "Taste and flair will easily allow us to avoid excessive naturalism, since we have more understanding of the tasks of monumental painting than clarity in working on form. And the clarity of understanding of form is the basis of monumental painting, and especially with a realistic approach" (RGALI. F. 1982).

high - Demeter - surrounded by wealth and joy of life (animal, bodily: fruits and flowers, etc.)”⁵⁴².

On April 5, the artist took the sketches for review to the Directorate of Exhibitions and Panoramas under the Committee for Arts. And already on April 24, the topics were approved by the head of the Main Directorate of Fine Arts Institutions of the Committee for Arts, P.M. Sysoev ⁵⁴³. The allegorical image *Peace* was to be embodied in a 7-meter figure of a woman in a raincoat with a child on one arm and a laurel branch in the other. *Victory* was initially conceived by the artist in the form of Pallas Athena⁵⁴⁴, but in mid-May (after the signing of the act of surrender), at the insistence of A.V. Shchusev and G.I. Kadagidze, the head of the Ryazan railway, the sketches turned into a warrior in chain mail, a helmet and a cloak ⁵⁴⁵. Instead of a machine gun, which was required by the administration, the artist added a sword and a spear twined with laurels, with which the warrior tramples on banners with a swastika.

In a letter to a friend, I.A. Charlemagne, in Tbilisi, the artist wrote that “he was afraid of the interpretation of the plots that could have frightened and that they could have said “here is the Mother of God with baby Jesus and St. George with a pike”, but everything went well” ⁵⁴⁶. On May 12, the artist took sketches to show them to A.V. Shchusev, who had recently returned from his trip to Bulgaria and Romania. And already on May 18, sketches in 1/5 size were approved by the head of the Ryazan railway.

Since the end of May, E. Lanceray painted fragments of large sketches in the size of the paintings. On June 27, he tried to develop the staging of figures using a mannequin, but

⁵⁴² Diary entry for May 8, 1933.

⁵⁴³ RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 23. L. 28.

⁵⁴⁴ In the article "On monumental painting" E. Lanceray wrote: “The theme *Victory* can be expressed in the form of a fighter with a machine gun. But you can also depict *Victory* in the form of a woman in military armor, in a raincoat, with a spear and a wreath in her hand. I think that in the second version the desired image will be personified more beautifully, more solemnly” (Lanceray E.E. 1945a, p. 3).

⁵⁴⁵ On May 17, 1945, the artist wrote in his diary: “Today, the director of the Ryazan railway looked at my sketches - they agree, but they insist on a man for *Victory*”.

⁵⁴⁶ Letter from E. Lanceray to I.A. Charlemagne, 7 November 1945. Archives of the artist's family.

soon switched to working with sitters (P.G. Rukavishnikov and N.F. Karyakina), constantly looking for the best staging and angles⁵⁴⁷.

The artist could choose the optimal composition thanks to his knowledge of classical art. His opinion was also important for museum workers. On September 6, 1945, he visited the State Museum of Fine Arts named after A.S. Pushkin: «I looked at the trophy paintings brought from the Dresden Gallery - all such famous, familiar things from reproduction [...] I especially liked: Poussins (and a wonderful little Degas stood nearby), Fetti, Crespi, Dolci (unexpectedly), Ricci, two of the four Veroneses, “*Ganymede*” and “*Feast at Amman*” by Rembrandt, Holbein, landscape by Rubens, Jordaens, Piazzetta, Watteau, Lorrain ... Vermeer ... And Titian, Giorgione (celebrities!), *Sistine* “did not touch”. And Correggio is simply disgusting»⁵⁴⁸.

July 6, A.I. Popov signed an agreement on the execution of paintings no later than November 1, 1945 (the estimate was made by M.S. Aranovich). Scaffolding was erected in August, then the walls were covered with lime-cement plaster with Lyubertsy sand. In September-October, the artist spent a lot of time at his dacha in the village Peski, near Kolomna. In the workshop on the second floor, he worked on a large (3.5x3 m) sketch for *Peace* in tempera on canvas, developing new tasks for himself: “Looking back, a number of tasks seem to me great stages and achievements, when compared with the first samples -, hands, a child, garlands, foliage around and even flowers on the ground”⁵⁴⁹. The artist worked with rapture but was self-critical: “It will be a week that I am sitting here alone <...> I have almost finished the *Peace* and I don’t know what defects in the composition will be revealed on a large scale. Here I think - fragmentation, diversity. Until the last day, I work with pleasure that I got to such a plot”⁵⁵⁰.

On October 24, E. Lanceray and his son returned to Moscow with sketches, according to which, the very next day, A.E. Poryvkin and P.G. Markov began to make

⁵⁴⁷ “Today I copied the child’s head on *Victory* and began *Victory* with Terra-di-Sienna”, wrote E. Lanceray on August 24, 1945.

⁵⁴⁸ Diary entry for September 6, 1945.

⁵⁴⁹ Diary entry for September 19, 1945.

⁵⁵⁰ Diary entry for October 15, 1945.

cardboard templates⁵⁵¹. The artist himself completed large sketches: on December 5, he painted feet for *Peace*, and then worked hard on *Victory*. “After small “thematic” sketches approved by the customer, I made large “working” ones 3.25 meters high, and now I have finished drawing the cardboards in the required size for *Peace*”, wrote E. Lanceray to the artist V.P. Belkin in December 1945⁵⁵².

The artist began to work directly on the walls with the composition *Peace*. On December 22, the wall was “split into cells”, and in the following days the drawing was transferred (“powdered” the cardboards), starting with doves, heads and hands. Due to the delay in the delivery of materials, E. Lanceray began to write much later than expected.

The issue of painting technology was of great interest to the artist, he talked a lot with restorers and painting technologists⁵⁵³. In May, he opted for the technique of painting with silicate paints with magnesia (with the addition of potash liquid glass) on dry plaster⁵⁵⁴, which allows making some refinements on the spot.

The scaffolding progressed slowly. On January 2, 1946, E. Lanceray “enlarged the face and worked on the child's head”⁵⁵⁵. Finally, in April 1946, a female image with a child was painted (on April 12, “finished clothes, started clothes under his feet”) and the artist

⁵⁵¹ Viktor Kolenda, chief assistant of E. Lanceray on the paintings since 1934, died on February 27, 1945. Since July, Alexey Poryvkin and Pavel Markov helped the artist. As well as an engineer M.S. Aranovich (“organizer and manager”), artist E.P. Protopopov and carpenter L.F. Titov. The walls were prepared by V.V. Chernov. Since October M.V. Popov was engaged in stucco gypsum cartouches, rosettes and cornices. “These days, Popov was making a cartouche for the *Victory* with us,” wrote E. Lanceray on December 5, 1945. Molding, casting and installation of cartouches in April 1946 was carried out by the mechanist Pyotr Shershnev.

⁵⁵² Department of Manuscripts of the Russian Museum. F. 118. Op. 1. No. 80. L. 34v.

⁵⁵³ On May 15, E. Lanceray in a letter to A.I. Popov asked to assist him in the delivery of Keim's paints from Germany. On May 22, the artist wrote: “I had Peganov and Chernov about the technique, then Winner”. It was V.V. Chernov who suggested using silicate paints. For 150 square meters of wall, he proposed using 50 kilograms of a composition consisting of 25 kg of liquid glass and 25 kg of paints (including 16 kg of pigments and 8–9 kg of magnesia needed to obtain silicate paint).

⁵⁵⁴ On May 28, 1945, E. Lanceray wrote a letter to Professor Isaac Kitaigorodsky, director of the Institute of Glass, with a request to make 15 kilograms of liquid glass. Because of the delays, the glass was not prepared at that time. Already on October 25, the artist gave an order for the manufacture of 40 kilograms of potash liquid glass to Lidia Ivanovna Ivantsova, who then handed it over in portions to the Laboratory of Finishing Works of the USSR Academy of Architecture on Bolshaya Ordynka (house 27a). The paint was ready only by December 19th.

moved on to monochrome compositions on the sides of the woman, reflecting a peaceful life (Science, Art, Family, Rest, Labor at the machine and Labor in the fields). The last action was the bronze medal with the inscription USSR, small rosettes between small compositions and the inscriptions of the republics on the woman's cloak. By May 4, the *Peace* panel was freed from scaffolding.

E. Lanceray did not write about the association of the woman from the composition *Peace* with the image of Russia (or the USSR), but this allegory suggests itself and it was developed by subsequent artists. In 1947 M.V. Babenchikov wrote in an article about the artist: “the figure of the Woman Mother rises proud, confident and majestic in its peace – a symbol of the prosperity of the Soviet Motherland and the triumph of peaceful labor” (Babenchikov M.V.1947, p. 19).

This theme was continued in the mosaics *Peace in a whole World* by P.D. Korin on the platform of the Novoslobodskaya metro station in Moscow (1951; in the 1960s, the profile of Stalin, to whom the child reaches, was replaced by a dove) and *Peace to the World* by artists V.A. Voronetsky and A.K. Sokolov at the Avtovo metro station in Leningrad (1955). In both cases, the woman is depicted with a child and with a golden background, which for some could evoke images of the Mother of God with the Christ Child. The leadership (including N.S. Khrushchev) probably did not like this, and since 1955 the monumental images of the Motherland were created without a child.

Unfortunately, the implementation of *Victory* took even more time, more than a year. The sketch with the image of a warrior was finally approved by the head of the Ryazan railroad, G.I. Kadagidze, on August 15, 1945, but until the end of the year the artist reworked the image. In January 1946, scaffolding was set up. But due to the slow preparation of the walls and the priority of *Peace*, they were able to complete the composition on the wall only in the second half of the year. On May 29, Lanceray wrote to

⁵⁵⁵ “Painfully stuck on the head of the *Peace*” (diary entry on January 30, 1946); “Finally, the head of the *Peace* seemed to be established” (February 20, 1946); “I am tormented at work - by the hugeness of my face” (March 25, 1946).

A.N. Benois to Paris: “For a year now, I have been almost exclusively busy with two huge panels for the Kazansky station. They are very hard for me and I often despair”⁵⁵⁶.

On April 12, 1946, E. Lanceray asked the new director of the station, I.D. Chertovskikh, to petition the USSR Council of Ministers for the allocation of 50 books of gold leaf with a total weight of 156 grams to cover the frame⁵⁵⁷. And on May 5, after removing the scaffolding from the wall with the composition *Peace*, the artist began to draw a cardboard of the head of *Victory*. Only on May 18 the plastering of the wall was completed. In the 20th of May, the artist developed sketches of a naked warrior to clarify movements and proportions⁵⁵⁸. From the end of May to July 12, with the help of P.G. Markova, he created all the cardboards, except for the head, on which the artist continued to work. The figure itself could still be changed. So, on July 22, Sergo Kobuladze, a student of E. Lanceray from the Tiflis Academy of Arts, proposed to “put” the warrior on both bare legs and make his knees higher for harmony. But the experienced artist refused such “iconic” and “archistatic” type.

Due to a two-month delay, V.V. Chernov with vinyl chloride primer to *Victory* on the wall started only on August 3⁵⁵⁹. On August 5, E. Lanceray began to write the left hand of a warrior, and Markov and Protopopov – leaves. Among the artist's working notes for August: “10. I write with both hands, ribbons, leaves”, “15. Laid his head. E.P. Protopopov - started the inscriptions”, “20. It's like he found his head. Silver 8 inscriptions made”, “29. Markov began the profile of Stalin”⁵⁶⁰. On the sides of the warrior, the names of ten cities associated with the victories of the Soviet army (from Moscow to Berlin) were written in gold letters. The artist was very worried about the correctness of the drawing, angle,

⁵⁵⁶ Archive of the Benois Family Museum (Peterhof).

⁵⁵⁷ In addition to gold, aluminum was used for the silvering effect.

⁵⁵⁸ Diary entry on May 21, 1946: “I am working on the naked *Victory*, over my legs, in oil on tracing paper. I realize the importance of the naked, not only as a formally necessary mass, but also for a real understanding of movement, proportions, harmony”.

⁵⁵⁹ “The ground on the night from the 2nd to the 3rd is finally done. Vinyl chloride resin, acetone - solvent. Although it wasn't enough again, and there was still work to be done downstairs, and on the 3rd morning, together with P.G., Genya Protopopov, and then Poryvkin, we clicked on the cages and powdered our hands, and today on the 5th we began to write. The ground is really comfortable. The lighting is terrible - daylight is weak, and the light bulb knocks down”, wrote E. Lanceray on August 5, 1946.

⁵⁶⁰ RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 23. L. 74v. In the time of N.S. Khrushchev profile of I.V. Stalin was replaced by the profile of V.I. Lenin.

proportions, the correspondence of the strength of tones. In his work on the murals, he accumulated all his knowledge and experience from the 1900s: “This work, and the theme, and style of almost a lifetime!”⁵⁶¹

The working conditions were very difficult. On August 5, A.E. Poryvkin fainted and he went to work only on the 15th. On August 20, the artist wrote: “unprecedented heat, thunderstorms and showers at night, cloudless day (morning). I work at the station, drenched in sweat! On September 5, on the day of his 71st birthday, the master who was going to work had a stroke and on September 13 he died. The image was completed (4% of secondary details) by his son Evgeny, Poryvkin and Markov, who painted 25% of the shell, legs, earth and a banner with a swastika, two city names and dates”.

The male image of *Victory* also influenced the development of such monumental works by E. Lanceray. Interestingly, in the *Warrior-Liberator* for Treptow Park in Berlin in 1949, Evgeny Vuchetich, instead of a Kalashnikov assault rifle, also depicted a sword. And in the mosaic panel under the monument to A.A. Gorpenko depicted *Mother with a child*. These themes of almost medieval heroics and self-sacrifice were in the air. Almost simultaneously with Lanceray, Matvey Manizer came to the image of a warrior in chain mail and with a sword in 1945 in the plaster project of the Monument to Russian Soldiers (1945).

In general, E. Lanceray greatly influenced the national monumental art of the post-war decade. Since 1939, when he was mentoring young artists of the Palace of Soviets, he planned and organized an exhibition of monumental painting, which, due to various difficulties, opened in Kazan already in November 1946, after his death.

The next generation of artists closely studied the painting of E. Lanceray, including its central plafond of the hall-restaurant of the Kazansky railway station measuring 10x7.5 meters depicting the *Feast of the Unity of the Fraternal Peoples of the USSR* (1933–1934). The theme of the festive procession of the workers of the Soviet Union was repeated by the artist in the plafond of the hall of the restaurant of the Moskva Hotel in 1935–1937. Here, the illusionistic effect of a breakthrough into the sky was enhanced in the spirit of the

⁵⁶¹ Diary entry August 31, 1946.

Baroque Italian masters (Andrea Pozzo, Giovanni Battista Tiepolo and others). This plafond on the abstract theme of the national festival has become one of the fundamental works in the creation of the “style of the country”. Such triumphant symbolic compositions glorifying the victory of socialism were in great demand in the 1930s-1950s. Since 1938, Lanceray himself has been developing this theme in the design of the circular couloir of the Great Hall of the Palace of the Soviets. The couloir was supposed to be located around a pylonade with 32 powerful marble pylons. The hall itself, about 100 meters high, was designed for 21,000 people plus the presidium. The stylistic principles developed by the artist specifically for the Palace of Soviets were continued by Pavel Korin in his layout, sketches and fragments of the March to the Future mosaic of 1940–1946.

Under the influence of the plafonds by E. Lanceray in 1946, G.O. Rublev and B.V. Jordansky created the ceiling *Victory Holiday* in the auditorium of the Palace of Culture⁵⁶². Just 10 days before his death, Lanceray went to see it and wrote down in his diary his strict opinion about the plafond, about its sweetness, "delightfulness of delight, candy", weakness of the drawing, misunderstanding of the angle and inconsistency of tones in the plans. Following this, in 1949, a large ceiling *Hymn of the Soviet Union* was created in the auditorium of the House of Culture of the First State Bearing Plant in Moscow (painters V.A. Konovalov, M.F. Kirichek).

After sketches by E. Lanceray to the paintings of the plafond (470 square meters) of the auditorium of the Bolshoi Theater on the theme *Apotheosis of the Arts of the Peoples of the USSR* (1940)⁵⁶³ and the Moscow City Council Theater (1944)⁵⁶⁴, in which he tried to use

⁵⁶² On March 27, 1945, the development of the ceiling was watched by E. Lanceray: “Even with the drawing, they cope very poorly, although V.F. Bordichenko and Pokrovsky work with them”. On May 9, 1945: «I went, as I agreed, to look at the cardboard ceiling of Rublev-Iordansky [...] For me, the purely “correct” theme is unacceptable, disgusting (which, of course, I officially approve). All these “girls” and “guys”, “fighters”, “collective farmers” are disgusting in their tenderness» (diary entry May 10, 1945). On September 3, 1946, E. Lanceray traveled with G.O. Rublev to watch his and B.V. Jordan’s ceiling in the Metrostroy club.

⁵⁶³ On June 2, 1940, E. Lanceray won a closed competition to paint the plafond and harlequin (however, the Arts Committee abandoned the project in April 1941).

⁵⁶⁴ On commission from D.N. Chechulin, by December 1944, a sketch of the central ceiling was created in 1/5 of the size, but due to non-payment of the fee and the lack of a decision by the Moscow Council on the overhaul of the theater, the business stopped and the sketch was returned to the artist in December 1945.

general humanitarian symbols and allegories, round plafonds of the theater were created in Ulan-Ude (1948-1952, Rublev and Jordan), in other theaters and sanatoriums of the country.

Probably under the influence of the 9-part ceiling in G.A. Tarasov house in Moscow conceived by E. Lanceray (1910–1911), E. Golikhin and A. Mikhailov created the ceiling *Equestrian Festival* at the Moscow Hippodrome (1955). In general, in 1946–1956, dozens of picturesque plafonds with scenes of holidays and the effect of a high sky were created: in theaters, stations, clubs and Palaces of Culture in Moscow, Tallinn, Azbest, Ulan-Ude, Chiatura, Karaganda, Sochi, Odessa, Nizhny Tagil, Shcherbakov, Stalingrad and other cities of the USSR.

Eugène Lanceray himself, in the murals *Peace* and *Victory*, which completed his creative path, set an example for many young artists, he spoke openly about the priority of general humanitarian values expressed by allegories over political values expressed by the stilted tools of socialist realism. It was precisely because of this, that, without losing optimism, he was ready for arrest after finishing the panel at the Kazansky station.

His soul lay in other more abstract allegories, in landscapes, the dacha village Peski and the Caucasus. In 1943-1944, he created two versions of the abstract symbolist triptych *Lake Gok-Gol in Karabakh* (1943-1944)⁵⁶⁵. Initially, in the center, he planned to depict a herd of horses near a lake located in the mountains on the territory of Azerbaijan, near the city of Ganja (in 1935-1989 – Kirovabad), which the artist visited back in 1930, and on the left side - an old shepherd. But already at the end of May, he came up with a new idea: in the central part, instead of horses, the lake itself is depicted in the spirit of the heroic landscapes of Poussin, and in the right composition a scene is shown that goes back to the ancient Greek idyll – a shepherd with sheep. On the sketch of the central composition, rewritten into a completed picture by January 1945, he depicted himself with an easel against the backdrop of a blue lake⁵⁶⁶.

⁵⁶⁵ On December 29, 1942, the artist was commissioned by the Production of painting department of the Moscow Association of Artists to create a triptych for the Great Patriotic War fund on the theme *Gek-Gel Lake in Karabakh* by April 15, 1943 (Instruction. RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 25. JI. 4). The triptych measuring 2x1.5 meters was to be painted in emulsion tempera.

⁵⁶⁶ The painting is stored in the Nikolaev Art Museum (Ukraine).

4.6. The teaching activity of Eugène Lanceray

The teaching of drawing and painting occupied an important place in the life of E. Lanceray⁵⁶⁷. He taught at the School of Painting and Drawing of E.S. Zarudnaya-Kavos (great-granddaughter of the architect Albert Kavos) and A.M. Yazikova in St. Petersburg. In 1913–1915, together with M.V. Dobuzhinsky, A.P. Ostroumova-Lebedeva, V.I. Shukhaev and A.E. Yakovlev – in the New Art Studio of Princess Maria Dmitrievna Gagarina (nee Princess Obolenskaya; 1864-1946), which was organized in memory of her father-in-law, President of the Academy of Arts G.G. Gagarin in the premises of the Academy in St. Petersburg. G.S. Vereisky, V.A. Milashevsky, D.I. Mitrokhin and others considered himself as his students.

In Dagestan, in Temir-Khan-Shura, from October 1918 to June 1919, he taught "drawing courses" with lectures at a women's gymnasium. In January 1919, together with Khalil Musaev (Khalil-bek Musayasul), Lanceray organized evening Drawing courses with weekly lectures on the history of art⁵⁶⁸ – the first art school in Dagestan, where the future sculptor Khas-Bulat Askar-Sarydzha, painter and graphic artist Muetdin-Arabi Jemal studied. Due to financial difficulties, the courses lasted a little over a month, but the master continued to participate in the creative destiny of his students. The courses themselves became the basis of professional art education in Dagestan.

Presumably in the fall of 1919, Eugene and his brother Nikolai Lanceray could teach in Nakhichevan-on-Don at the Art school named after M.A. Vrubel, opened by the efforts of the sisters of the sculptor Magdalena and writer Marietta Shaginyan in the former house of

⁵⁶⁷ In his autobiography of 1944, E.E. Lanceray wrote: "Finally, I gave a lot of time and work to teaching drawing and painting: in Leningrad (in the 1910s), at the Tbilisi Academy of Arts (from 1922 to 1934), at the All-Russian Academy of Arts (in Leningrad in 1934-37) and in particular at the All-Russian Academy of Architecture (from 1934 to the present). Among the most interesting students, perhaps, I can name – G.S. Vereisky, Kabuladze, Japaridze, Bletkin, Jamal and Askerov; and young architects who have graduated and are graduating from the Institute of Postgraduate Studies" (RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. No. 1. L. 2-2v.).

⁵⁶⁸ An advertisement describing the courses was published in the newspaper "*Dagestan*" on November 22, 1918 (No. 10). E. Lanceray gave three lectures on prehistory and the art of Assyria.

the manufacturer Iskidarov on Lev Tolstoy Square. The artists M.S. Saryan, N.V. Dosekin, S.M. Agadzhanian, A.K. Ovanesov and others also taught there.

In March 1921, in Tiflis, E. Lanceray was enrolled as a teacher of graphics and composition at the Drawing School of the Caucasian Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts, and he also joined the commission for the creation of an art institute⁵⁶⁹. At the First republican conference of artists in Tiflis on May 25, they discussed the draft charter of such an institute. Lanceray was awaited also in Petrograd for the post of professor of the painting faculty⁵⁷⁰. In the first half of December, he was invited to teach at the VGHPM in Tiflis and wrote about it to A.P. Ostroumova-Lebedeva⁵⁷¹.

E. Lanceray was happy to join the ranks of the founders of the Tiflis Academy of Arts. On February 16 and March 2, 1922, he attended organization meetings with D.I. Shevardnadze⁵⁷². The Professor of Art History was G.N. Chubinashvili, the Vice-Rector

⁵⁶⁹ “In the evening at Grinevsky’s talking about the school” (from a diary entry on March 23, 1921; private collection). “I participate in the commission for the creation of a high art school here. And so my trip to the centers [Moscow and Petrograd – P.P.] to inform each other would be very useful. Especially if there are any plans to create here a branch of the Academy – the Villa Medici. From a letter from E. Lanceray to his uncle Alexandre Benois, March 28, 1921 (OR GRM. F. 137. No. 326). On the same day, the artist wrote to I.E. Grabar: “If you have some kind of broad plans, say, about creating somewhere in the south a branch of the academie - the Villa Medici - or something else – I could answer” (OR GTG. F. 106. No. 7040. L. 2).

⁵⁷⁰ In the spring of 1921, the Petrograd State Free Art and Educational Workshops were reorganized into the Academy of Arts with a new charter and curricula. M.V. Dobuzhinsky, O.E. Braz, K.S. Petrov-Vodkin and other professors of the old generation taught there. On September 27, 1921, the rector of the academy, architect Andrei Evgenievich Belograd (1875–1933; student of Leonty Benois), signed a letter with an invitation to E.E. Lanceray to Petrograd: “The Academy of Arts, notifying you about your election by the Presidium of the Council of the Academy, at its meeting of August this year, to the position of professor of the Faculty of Painting, invites you to immediately come to occupy the designated position at the Academy” (RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. No. 13. L. 1). But due to the difficulty of wintering in Petrograd and expensive train tickets, Lanceray refused the offer. Soon the Academy of Arts was renamed into the Higher Artistic and Technical Workshops, and in 1922 – into the Higher Artistic and Technical Institute, with the rector sculptor V.L. Simonov.

⁵⁷¹ “Since last week, I have also been invited to teach at the Higher State Arts Industrial Workshops - simply in a small local drawing school” (letter dated December 18, 1921; OR RNB. F. 1015. No. 685. L. 1v.). VGHPM were created instead of the closed school of the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts. The workshops are located in the former Arshakuni mansion (22 Griboedova Street), built in the 1850s with interiors in the spirit of neo-baroque and Moorish style and rebuilt by architect S. Kldiashvili in 1902. Lanceray received the opportunity to work there already in November 1921. “In the evening, I paint a large landscape on Griboedovskaya with enthusiasm. Convenient”, he wrote in his diary on November 24 (private collection).

⁵⁷² Dmitry Shevardnadze (1885–1937), artist, studied at the Munich Academy of Arts, and lived in Tiflis since 1916. He participated in the organization of the National Gallery in 1920 and the Academy of Arts of Georgia in 1922.

was Professor of Architecture G.A. Sarksyian. Four faculties were formed: painting, graphics, sculpture and architecture. E. Lanceray was invited as a professor of drawing. In the "*Sheet for the distribution of salaries to the administration, professors and employees of the Academy of Arts of Georgia for the month of March 1922*" among the teachers, he is listed first⁵⁷³. On April 22, he became a member of the council of professors, whose secretary was O.I. Schmerling. The official opening took place on May 14 and already from May 15 to 17, entrance exams were held.

In the first years, it was necessary to solve problems not of a program-methodological nature, but of an economic nature, for example, with heating and glazing. So, on October 27, 1924, the artist wrote in his diary: "The beginning of classes at the Academy - the students gathered, by 10 and the professor, but no glass, no stoves, no firewood" (archive of the artist's family). And on April 13, 1925, the Academy was even closed due to non-payment of tax on the house owned by Arshakuni. But after a scandalous meeting of students on the 15th, it was reopened.

Nevertheless, the free teaching of previous years with full-scale classes was replaced by the development of programs. Lanceray, who taught painting and drawing, defended the need to preserve the classical form of education with seminars, tests and exams, because of which he entered into confrontation with other teachers (Nikoladze, Shevardnadze, etc.)⁵⁷⁴. On January 29, 1925, he joined the commission for the reorganization of the Academy,

⁵⁷³ Extract from the list of employees of the Academy of Arts for March 1922. State Archive of the Contemporary History of Georgia. F. 141 (RABIS). Op. 1. Unit 70. L. 1. After E. Lanceray, are indicated: professor of drawing head of pedagogical courses N.V. Sklifasovsky, Dean of the Faculty of Painting B.A. Fogel, professor of painting G.I. Gabashvili, Dean of the Faculty of Sculpture Ya.I. Nikoladze, professor of sculpture G.M. Khmelevsky, master of stone carving N.D. Agladze, Dean of the Faculty of Architecture, Professor and Librarian A.N. Kalgin, Dean of the Faculty of Graphics O.A. Charlemagne, professor of lithography O.I. Shmerling, master of lithography S.I. Bykov, professor of applied arts O.Kh. Adzhamova, professor of painting E.M. Tatevosyan, professor of history G.F. Grinevsky, professor of ceramics B.G. Shebuev, professor of anatomy A.G. Natishvili and political literacy lecturer A.N. Mezhebovsky. In total, 18 people (with the rector and vice-rector).

⁵⁷⁴ From the diary entries of E. Lanceray: "From 5 at the Academy, I spoke out against Shevardnadze, with a proposal to introduce some kind of program (tests)" (June 21, 1924); «Council of professors at the academy; disputes about my program; rather, Nikoladze's "noble indignation" at the backwardness of the "seminary", etc.» (October 23, 1924; archive of the artist's family). On June 19, 1925, a new meeting was held on the program of the Faculty of Painting.

chaired by the representative of the Rabkrin (People's Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection) Abeshel. Then the attacks were repelled.

The artist was invited to professorial positions in other cities of the USSR: in October 1925 and in September 1927, he was invited to the Odessa Polytechnic School of Fine Arts⁵⁷⁵; in September 1926 – to teach watercolor and book graphics at the graphic department of the Leningrad Higher Artistic and Technical Institute (LVKhTI; former Academy of Arts)⁵⁷⁶, but he refused each of these offers. He liked the teaching staff and greater freedom in creating his own educational programs in Tiflis more⁵⁷⁷.

More time and effort E. Lanceray gave to the Academy. Since 1925, the almost daily workload had been increased by the introduction of evening drawing classes. On November 14, 1925, he began to teach decorative composition, creating the prototype of a monumental workshop. The artist attracted students to work on competitive tasks. He often went with them to practical plein-air classes (for example, to the Zedazensky Monastery in June 1925). General academic life was also active: professors attended lectures of their colleagues that interested them, they participated together with their wives and children in common holidays and annual costume balls. So, on January 30, 1926, at a ball at the Academy, Eugène Lanceray was dressed in a Japanese robe, and his wife Olga Lanceray in a turban and an oriental outfit.

It is not surprising that in the autumn of 1926, E. Lanceray was elected dean of the Faculty of Painting. Among his students became famous: Tamara Abakelia, Pyotr Blyotkin, Iosif (Soso) Gabashvili, Anastasia Dandurova, Ucha Dzhaparidze, Sergo Kobuladze, Dmitry

⁵⁷⁵ At the suggestion of the rector Tkachenko to take the position of professor of the head of the workshop of monumental painting or printing art, the artist recommended instead of himself A.F. Gaush from Sevastopol. Letter from the Board of the Odessa Polytechnic institute of September 5, 1927 and a draft of E. Lanceray dated September 25, 1927 RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 1. Unit 13. L. 3-3ob.

⁵⁷⁶ D.I. Mitrokhin wrote to P.D. Ettinger on October 2, 1926 from Leningrad to Moscow: "I received E. Lanceray. He is greatly invited to our graphic department, to be a professor. He refused" (Mitrokhin, 1986, p. 148).

⁵⁷⁷ As Lanceray (1936e, p. 2) wrote himself in his article "It's time to flourish" in *Soviet Art*, "a number of professors and artists of the older generation rallied around the Academy. Along with Gabashvili, Tatevosyan and Nikoladze, there were the Leningrad professor Charlemagne, who writes these lines, Grinevsky, Severov and others. Together with the young painters Gudiashvili, Kakabadze, the sculptor Kandelaki and the artist Shevarnadze, they devoted themselves entirely to the revival of the fine arts of Soviet Georgia".

Nalbandyan, Kornely Sanadze, Nina Tamamsheva ⁵⁷⁸. In 1922, Muetdin-Arabi Dzhemal came from Dagestan to Tiflis to learn from Lanceray. Seeing the potential of the student, Lanceray sent him in 1923 to the Petrograd VKHUTEIN, but in 1924 he returned and in 1928 graduated from the painting department of the Academy of Arts of Georgia.

Eugène Lanceray generously shared his observations and professional skills with students. The main thing that he instilled in his students was love for nature. He formulated his position in those years as follows: “I am interested not so much in the picturesque of what we see, I don’t think at all about the subjective attitude, the search, the transfer of my impressions (and this, perhaps, is my weakness and, in any case, not my “modernity”), but I am exclusively absorbed by the object itself, by the person, by the detail of his costume, his characteristics, his individual traits. In a word, in front of nature – I reject any "stylization" ⁵⁷⁹. Many art historians pay tribute to Lanceray's great contribution to the development of academic art education in Georgia⁵⁸⁰.

The artist also had private students. So, from January 1924 he gave drawing classes to Vera Wart-Patrikova (1897–1988), and in 1925 to Miss French. But perhaps his main students were his children – his son Eugène (1907-88), who became a painter, engineer, architect and book graphic artist, and his daughter Natalia (1909-94), who became an architect.

The teaching activity at the Academy of Arts of Georgia took a lot of time and effort from the artist, but he felt in this his vocation and was appreciated by students. Work at the Academy, which was one of the best art educational institutions in the USSR⁵⁸¹, turned out to be one of the main reasons that the artist did not move to Russia for a long time. As dean

⁵⁷⁸ E.E. Lanceray recommended to P.I. Neradovsky the student N.G. Tamamsheva, daughter of the famous doctor G.I. Tamamshev, in a letter dated July 5, 1928: “A student of the Tiflis Academy, N. Tamamsheva, one of my most talented students in painting, is fulfilling her dream of seeing the art galleries of St. Petersburg, and now let me recommend her and ask you to let her see the Museum even if the Museum turns out to be partially closed” (OR GTG. F. 31. No. 835. L. 1.).

⁵⁷⁹ From a letter to I.V. Evdokimov to Leningrad, on February 17, 1925 (RGALI. F. 1246. Op. 3. No. 251. L. 5ob.-6). On November 28, 1924, Lanceray wrote in his diary: "It is strange that more and more I find interest only in realism" (archive of the artist's family).

⁵⁸⁰ I.A. Urushadze wrote: “The role of Lanceray in the education of national art bodies is invaluable” (*Fine Arts of the Georgian SSR*. Album. Moscow: Soviet Artist, 1957. P. 9).

⁵⁸¹ Y.I. Tugendhold (1927, p. 5), in his article about the Moscow exhibition “The Art of the Peoples of the USSR”, singled out “a number of national and regional art schools: the Tiflis Folk

of the Faculty of Painting, he knew about all the reforms and tried to defend the classical elements of art education, which since the late 1920s. have been revised. The influence of party bodies on academic education in Georgia increased in 1927, as I.A. Charlemagne wrote to P.I. Neradovsky: "Now some pressure has begun on our Academy, and this circumstance greatly complicates the work and tires terribly, but also occupies all the imagination"⁵⁸². In the next letter in July-August 1928, Charlemagne wrote: "We are all reforming here and reforming our little Academy"⁵⁸³. On November 16, 1927, Lanceray wrote in his diary: "Yesterday at the Academy, a meeting of the deans – again feuds between Nikoladze and Kandelaki, again talking about teaching in Georgian language"⁵⁸⁴. At the end of November, because of layoffs, T.S. Andronikov, A.I. Tsereteli, S.R. Tsutsunavu were fired from the Academy. Inspections were carried out every year⁵⁸⁵. In December, the People's Commissariat of Education appointed a commission to inspect the Academy. At the same time, Charlemagne proposed organizing an art college at the Academy for teaching applied specialties.

In September 1928, Lanceray drew up a new program for the Faculty of Painting, and in October his workload was halved. He was then teaching painting (9 hours a week), drawing (6), decorative arts (2), etching (1)⁵⁸⁶ and a new subject which was paint technology (2 hours a week). The feuds and intrigues about which the academician wrote in his diary were especially upsetting: "I am becoming more and more hostile to Kakabadze and Kandelaki, who are actively for "reforms" - undermining one or another"⁵⁸⁷. He also wrote to his brother about the career nature of intrigues: "Here in the Academy are all

Studio, the Georgian Academy of Arts, Baku College, Erivan College, Vitebsk College, Kyiv Art institute, etc."

⁵⁸² Letter from I.A. Charlemagne to P.I. Neradovsky dated December 15, 1927. OR GTG. F. 31. No. 1759.

⁵⁸³ Letter from I.A. Charlemagne to P.I. Neradovsky in the summer of 1928. OR GTG. F. 31. No. 1752.

⁵⁸⁴ Archive of the artist's family.

⁵⁸⁵ Around June 16, 1929, the artist wrote in his diary: "On Saturday [from June 15 - P.P.] again called to the Academy (some Moscow commission [conducts] a survey of universities)". Archive of the artist's family.

⁵⁸⁶ The request of the Tiflis Academy of Arts to the Georgian Art Department to approve E. Lanceray as head of the etching workshop (January 1928). State Archive of the Contemporary History of Georgia. F. 87 (Academy of Arts of Georgia). Op. 1. Unit 12. L. 19. And dated September 19, 1928, a record was preserved about the release of the room for the class of E. Lanceray.

⁵⁸⁷ Diary entry, February 18, 1928. Archive of the artist's family.

words, intrigues and meanness. They haven't attacked me yet, but Charlemagne is already being persecuted, someone wants to take his place"⁵⁸⁸.

Under the influence of supporters of "production art" in 1928, the ideas of denying the easel painting were put forward, instead of which applied forms of creativity (printing, art industry) were put forward, as well as monumental art, "which would be the simultaneous property of the collective, and not the individual owner, which would become an indispensable part of the collective life and recreation of the working people" (Gaponenko, 1931, p. 9). This anti-easel theory did not pass by the Academy of Arts of Georgia, the dean of the painting faculty of which in 1926-30 was E. Lanceray. He shared his impressions in a letter to A.P. Ostroumova-Lebedeva on October 11, 1929: "Here, the anxiety about the "purge" turned out to be in vain for the time being <...> In Moscow, I was in VKHUTEIN looking at the work of students; they work quite normally – they paint from nature, nature-morte; I spoke with P. Kuznetsov <...> He envied that the Leningrad Academy intercepted from them the idea of destroying the department of easel painting..."⁵⁸⁹ The artist expressed his attitude to the upcoming changes in the teaching system with the proposal to preserve easel tasks in the form of sketches and portraits, but also to introduce ornamental and stylistic exercises and establish a research circle on the technique of wall painting on October 17, 1929 at a general meeting painting department, about the preparation for which Ostroumova-Lebedeva also wrote: "It would be necessary to consider the type of report on the topic of the benefits of art, as opposed to the hype about engineers, the technicality of photography – this is within the walls of the Academy..."⁵⁹⁰.

V.V. Beridze (1975, p. 45) saw the situation as follows: "The question was raised about the complete elimination of the teaching of easel painting, the graphic faculty was turned into a printing department, the training period was reduced to 4 and even to 3 years (at the ceramic and printing departments), theses were abolished". Lanceray himself wrote a speech for the October 1929 meeting about the possible abolition of easel painting classes:

⁵⁸⁸ Letter from E. Lanceray to N.E. Lanceray dated December 10, 1929. OR GRM. F. 38. No. 16.

⁵⁸⁹ OR RNB. F. 1015. No. 685. L. 16–17.

⁵⁹⁰ Letter from E. Lanceray to A.P. Ostroumova-Lebedeva, dated October 11, 1929. OR RNB. F. 1015. No. 685. L. 17v.

“I return to people who feel a “kind of illness” for painting: they will continue to paint, and no decrees can change anything in that”⁵⁹¹.

In February 1930, the Academy was renamed Higher Artistic and Technical Institute of Georgia (VKhUTEIN), and in the summer after the first official graduation of diploma students, it was completely liquidated as an independent educational institution.

The collapse of classical education in Tiflis prompted Lanceray to look for work in Russia. He asks relatives and friends to find him a work. “More and more we are thinking about returning to the north: it has become bad at the local Academy (but where is it better?!). On occasion, “probe the soil” - regarding me...”, he wrote to his brother Nikolai in Leningrad⁵⁹². In a letter dated March 23, he asked D.N. Kardovsky to find him a place of “artistic and pedagogical work”: “Of course, first of all (yes, and perhaps, “only”) I would like to be invited to Vkhutein”⁵⁹³. Moreover, after friction with the director of the Tiflis Academy, A.I. Duduchava, also due to the dismissal of E.M. Tatevosyan and N.N. Chernyshkov, the artist resigned from the post of dean and member of the Board⁵⁹⁴: “Here I was the dean of the Faculty of Painting, but after some friction with the director, I refused...”⁵⁹⁵.

Lanceray remained to live and teach in Tiflis until 1934, although in December 1930 he gave his morning hours classes to D.N. Kakabadze. Together with other professors and students of the abolished Academy in October 1930, he was enrolled in the Faculty of Fine Arts of the Pedagogical Institute of Georgia, created after the abolition of Tiflis State

⁵⁹¹ Diary entry for October 16, 1929. Archive of the artist's family.

⁵⁹² Open letter from E. Lanceray to N.E. Lanceray, dated March 25, 1930 (Benois Family Museum. No. 2002-ar.).

⁵⁹³ Letter from E. Lanceray to D.N. Kardovsky dated March 23, 1930. OR GTG. F. 101. No. 102. L. 1v. In the same letter, the master writes about the seven-year experience of being a professor and about his love for Georgia: “Finally, I felt that I had spent too much time in Tiflis, although apart from various worldly considerations, I still like both the city and the country”.

⁵⁹⁴ The artist wrote a statement on January 27, 1930: “I ask you to release me from the post of dean of the Faculty of Painting and a member of the Board of the Academy from February 1 of this year”. Rector Duduchava wrote a resolution to “satisfy” on February 20. Central State Archive of Contemporary History of Georgia. F. 87. Op. 3. No. 231 (Personal file of E. Lanceray at the Academy of Arts of Georgia). L. 1. As dean of the Faculty of Painting, Lanceray was replaced by the younger artist D.N. Kakabadze.

⁵⁹⁵ Letter from E. Lanceray to D.N. Kardovsky, dated March 23, 1930. OR GTG. F. 101. No. 102. L. 1v.

University⁵⁹⁶. But the courses themselves took place in the same building on Griboyedov Street. The independent Academy of Arts was reopened only in 1933, when the artist was already aiming to work in Russia.

A new surge in teaching activity occurred in connection with the Lanceray's arrival in Moscow in 1934. Back in August 1933, the deputy director of the Leningrad Academy of Arts invited him to take up the position of professor with the possibility of obtaining additional leadership work⁵⁹⁷. In March 1934, a second proposal was made by the acting director of the All-Russian Academy of Arts in Leningrad, I.I. Brodsky, and by People's Commissar of Education A.S. Bubnov, and this time the artist agreed⁵⁹⁸. But the Moscow Council proposed in May, at the request of Lanceray and with the support of A.V. Shchusev and other leading architects, an apartment in the center of Moscow, which tipped the scales in favor of the capital.

Nevertheless, on September 11, 1934, Lanceray was enrolled in the faculty of the Institute of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture in Leningrad, together with A.M. Lyubimov (since October 1 he was Lanceray's deputy), V.N. Yakovlev and P.M. Shukhmin. Until June 1937, he led an individual workshop at the painting department and supervised

⁵⁹⁶ “Both I.A. [Charlemagne – P.P.] and I continue to serve, teach, in the local (now former) Academy, now the Faculty of Fine Arts of the Pedagogical Institute of Georgia” (from a letter from E. Lanceray to D.N. Kardovsky dated March 28, 1931. OR GTG. Fund 101. No. 103. L. 2).

⁵⁹⁷ “The Directorate of the Academy of Arts, considering together with the People's Commissariat of Education [People's Commissariat for Education – P.P.] highly demands your participation in the training of artistic personnel, invites you to take the position of professor at the Academy of Arts teaching painting and drawing. The load is normal, professorial - 360 hours in a year <...> If you agreed to move to Leningrad, you might have an apartment provided. In this case, we could also talk about some administrative and managerial work: for example, management of educational part. If it is impossible to move to Leningrad for permanent residence, we could give you the right to work on short trips, approximately 2 weeks in Leningrad, 2 in Moscow. Paying for travel at our expense”, – from a letter from acting Director of the Academy of Arts to E. Lanceray, dated August 13, 1933. Scientific archive of the Russian Academy of Arts. F. 7. Op. 3. No. 216. L. 10.

⁵⁹⁸ Letter from I.I. Brodsky to E. Lanceray, dated March 4, 1934, was transferred to Moscow with B. Safronov: “People's Commissar for Education A.S. Bubnov instructed me to address you with a persistent proposal on his behalf to take part in the work of the All-Russian Academy of Arts”. It is stored in the scientific archive of the Russian Academy of Arts (F. 7. Op. 3. No. 216). E. Lanceray wrote to A.I. Tamanyan from Tiflis to Erivan, on April 6, 1934: “I agreed to be a professor at the Academy in Leningrad, and since I was promised an apartment at the Academy, we are thinking of moving to St. Petersburg – we assume in July. And so Olga and I talked about the fact that we need to say goodbye to you – will it be possible to get to the Caucasus from so far soon!” (private collection).

graduate students (aspirants)-painters. By order No. 40 dated April 22, 1935, “for consultation and chord lessons in composition” E.E. Lanceray's usual professorial workload of 360 hours was increased on another 76 hours⁵⁹⁹. April 9, together with V.P. Belkin, he led a conversation with students on the topic "How to build a composition". The master was very popular with students. But in the summer of 1937 he refused to teach in Leningrad, since it was very tiring to work on short trips.

An additional argument in favor of moving to Moscow, and not to Leningrad, was an invitation to teach drawing and painting at the All-Union Academy of Architecture. While still in Tiflis on April 11, 1934, Lanceray compiled and sent to the head of the educational department of the Moscow architectural institute (MAI), architector I.V. Rylsky, "an Explanatory Note on the Teaching of Drawing and Painting at the Academy of Architecture", in which he substantiated the need for students to perform sketches of a naked body, plaster figures, buildings, objects from the universal art from Assyrian heads to cubist sculpture, as well as painting still life with oil paint or tempera: “The goal of teaching drawing is to develop the ability to consciously and methodically analyze the visual impression of the observed object and draw features on paper that can convey the proportionality, volume and stability of the object <...> indicating the general masses of shadows, not asking for the complete blurring of “gypsum” <...> In painting lessons, still life, multi-colored fabrics and simple objects will be the main object with the requirement to establish a general tonality, mutual relations of color and light-force; without finishing the details”⁶⁰⁰.

In early August 1934, Lanceray finally moved from Tiflis to Moscow. On August 26, the dean of the graphic faculty of the Moscow Polygraphic Institute came to visit Evgeny Evgenievich and on behalf of K.F. Yuon persistently invited to teach at the new Moscow Institute of Fine Arts. Due to lack of time, the master refused⁶⁰¹.

⁵⁹⁹ Scientific archive of the Russian Academy of Arts. F. 7. Op. 3. No. 216. L. 12.

⁶⁰⁰ RGALI. F. 1982. Op. 2. No. 15. L. 1.

⁶⁰¹ In September 1939, I.E. Grabar invited E.E. Lanceray to be the head of the workshop of monumental painting at the Moscow Art Institute. But due to work in the workshop for the construction of the Palace of Soviets, Lanceray was forced to refuse (letter to Grabar dated September 12, 1939, OR GTG. F. 106. No. 7052).

However, already on August 5, the painter was admitted to the Postgraduate Institute of the All-Union Academy of Architecture for the post of head of the watercolor department (soon renamed the painting department)⁶⁰². April 29, 1935, the Higher Attestation Commission of the All-Union Committee for Higher Technical Education under the Central Executive Committee of the USSR with chairman G.M. Krzhizhanovsky approved Lanceray in the academic rank of professor in the department "Painting". In 1936 the department of painting was merged with the drawing department and renamed into the department of graphic disciplines (since 1939 - Department of Fine Arts). Since 1939, Lanceray was a member of the Academic Council of the Academy.

The artist was impressed by the method of in-depth study of outstanding architectural monuments by graduate students: in the 1st year - antiquity and the Renaissance, in the 2nd year - domestic ones. In 1939, the Department of the History and Theory of Architecture was formed (since 1940 – a faculty).

The artist developed the postgraduate student's compositional and plastic skills, the ability to analyze an object artistically, instilled mastery of various visual techniques (working in watercolor, gouache, tempera, oil and pastel if desired), developed visual memory and techniques for depicting objects on architectural objects in postgraduate students. He set up still lifes (one per month), taught to copy watercolors, organized additional evening optional classes in free art workshops in etching (teacher Yu.I. Gershtein) and modeling (S.S. Alyoshin). Architectural drawing (details, ornaments, interiors, landscapes, including from memory) was taught by the deputy head of the

⁶⁰² Until 1938, the Institute of Postgraduate Studies was headed by the Academic Secretary of the Academy G.M. Ludwig. Then – by V.A. Feoktistov. In the 1940s – by Ya.A. Kornfeld. Regulations on postgraduate studies were developed by the architect G.B. Barkhin. Painting was led by E.E. Lanceray and V.K. Kolenda, then joined by L.A. Bruni; drawing was taught by D.N. Kardovsky, P.V. Malkov, A.M. Solovyov. The training period was three years. Already in May 1934, 24 people were admitted to the main faculty and 18 people to the faculty of architectural improvement (FAA). Among the acceptance tests were: drawing, watercolor, clausura and draft design. By 1940, 69 graduate students had graduated from the Institute. In total, by the summer of 1941, 165 people were studying at the institute. The training took place in house 24 on Pushkinskaya street. The archives of the Institute were destroyed by a bomb in the yard wing in 1941. In 1948, after the closure of the Institute, the Postgraduate Department was established. Opochnikskaya A.I. (1986), "From the history of Soviet architecture science. All-Union Academy of Architecture", *Soviet Art History*, no. 20, p. 282.

department, architect V.V. Korchagin. Studio drawing (heads and figures of a person from life or from plaster) – P.V. Malkov, who also worked in the evening drawing studio.

Lanceray taught watercolor painting and created his own program: “Working with nature is the most fruitful way for an artist (including an architect) to join a deep understanding and feeling of past art and find a concrete embodiment of new forms. Nature has always been and will always be the source of ever-renewing art”⁶⁰³. It was E.E. Lanceray added to the program a portrait drawing of the head and figure of a person.

Many graduate students had to be taught “to focus on a general understanding of form, light, color, i.e. develop in them the ability to see, mark and convey what the artist needs”, but it will also be useful to the architect. Lanceray paid special attention to chiaroscuro, which "is a means of revealing the three-dimensional form and mutual position of objects, and with this the architect will deal in an incomparably greater degree than with the actual colors"⁶⁰⁴. At the same time, only four to five graduate students in the first year had a good command of watercolor (it can be assumed that among them were V.S. Andreev, K.K. Bartoshevich, A.I. Popov-Shaman, V.M. Taushkanov, G.K. Yakovlev). Most had an approximate skill, for some "uncertainty in handling the material was reinforced by more sophisticated aesthetic constructions – a legacy of the previous period of artistic education" (the artist hinted at modernist searches with a refusal to convey the volume of objects).

Also E.E. Lanceray singled out the skills of building a "large form" ("cutting") through the awareness of the forms of the model, "the patterns of reduction that go deep into the surfaces of objects". "The strict pattern of these abbreviations - perspective - was found by European art in the 15th century, and the analyzing and creative process of drawing based on it is the conquest of European art of the 16th-17th centuries”⁶⁰⁵.

After the autumn viewings of 1935, the Academy of Architecture magazine singled out works based on drawings and watercolors by graduate students of the Faculty of

⁶⁰³ Lanceray E.E. (1935), Introduction to the painting program, *Academy of Architecture*, no. 1–2, p. 75.

⁶⁰⁴ Lanceray E.E. (1935), Watercolors and drawings by graduate students. Watercolor, *Academy of Architecture*, no. 5, p. 26.

⁶⁰⁵ Lanceray E.E., Korchagin V.V. (1940), On the installations of the department of graphic disciplines, *Academy of Architecture of the USSR. Collection of works*. Issue 1. Moscow: State Architectural Publishing House of the Academy of Architecture of the USSR, p. 191.

Architectural Improvement Burov, Vlasov, Kessler, Mordvinov and Sobolev. For good study, "in the fall, graduate students of this faculty were sent abroad to study classical architectural monuments in the field and to collect materials on dissertation topics [...] in Vienna, Paris, Rome, Venice, Florence, Naples and Athens"⁶⁰⁶.

Postgraduate students of the main faculty in 1935 created six projects (plans and prospects) using the brigade method, and then projects for the main pavilions of the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition⁶⁰⁷. Unfortunately, they were almost never implemented.

In 1936, the number of graduate students admitted to the main department of the Institute of Postgraduate Studies was reduced to ten⁶⁰⁸, although 63 people submitted documents, and 37 people took part in the tests from August 1 to 9. For architectural design, the chairman of the commission was I.V. Zholtovsky, on the history of architecture – A.G. Gabrichevsky, according to the drawing and watercolor – E.E. Lanceray (members of the commission are also P.V. Malkov, A.M. Soloviev, L.E. Feinberg, B.V. Kolenda). Due to the small number of graduate students, Lanceray could devote more time to each and supported them in every possible way in their studies. In February 1939, he wrote an article in the catalog of the exhibition of summer works of a 3rd year graduate student I.G. Gainutdinov, paint in the Crimea (Bakhchisaray, Chufut-Kale, Kerch, Stary Krym, Feodosia, Chersonesos). The exhibition was held within the walls of the Kazan Institute of Municipal Construction Engineers. In watercolor drawings of monuments, the master urged architects to pay attention not only to the transfer of volume, color, space, features of building technology, but also to the elements of harmony (shapes, proportions, decoration) inherited

⁶⁰⁶ Results of the first academic year, *Academy of Architecture*, 1935, no. 5, p. 6.

⁶⁰⁷ The start of work on the design of the exhibition was initiated by the Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (signed by Stalin and Molotov) of February 17, 1935 "On the organization of the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition in Moscow." Construction began in 1936, but by August 1, 1937 they did not have time to finish and the chairman of the Main Exhibition Committee M.A. Chernov was arrested and shot. Since 1938, many pavilions have been completely or partially rebuilt. Chairman of the Architectural and Art Council of the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition E.E. Lanceray advocated the need for monumental painting in the pavilions. The exhibition was opened only on August 1, 1939.

⁶⁰⁸ In 1936, the following graduate students entered the main department of the Institute: P.S. Kasatkin (Moscow), V.A. Ashastin (Leningrad), I.N. Khalin (Leningrad), S.A. Troshin (Moscow), B.I. Primak (Kharkiv), A.P. Ershov (Leningrad), B.I. Krivoruk (Leningrad), M.G. Gainutdinov (Kazan), N.G. Umansky (Moscow), M.I. Rzyanin (Moscow). *Academy of Architecture*. 1936, no. 6, p. 29.

from era to era. “These works [of Gainutdinov – P.P.] are also interesting for their content, those monuments of bygone times, which, for all the colossal difference between eras and our worldview, still keep the constant values of beauty, to understand the essence of which and learn its laws is necessary stage for the further development of architecture”⁶⁰⁹. Lanceray singled out “simple and at the same time so elegant forms of fountains. This is the same Turkey, where the echoes of the Italian Renaissance and European art of the XVII-XVIII centuries are so well combined”⁶¹⁰.

E.E. Lanceray improved the program in painting and drawing. “Painting in watercolor begins with a still life. Next stage: interior, architectural monuments, architectural landscape”⁶¹¹. Painting was led by E.E. Lanceray and V.K. Kolenda, then joined by L.A. Bruni; drawing was taught by D.N. Kardovsky, P.V. Malkov, A.M. Solovyov. However, in 1938, the curricula were revised in the direction of increasing design classes and reducing auxiliary disciplines. According to the program of 1934, at the main faculty, out of 3,600 hours (for three years), 38.9 percent were to be devoted to design, 508 hours to drawing, 168 to watercolors, 44 to etching, 84 to sculpture. After the 1935 adjustment, 45.4 percent of the time was devoted to architectural design, and only 13.2 percent to drawing and watercolor. Already at the end of the 1930s, out of 3756 hours, 70 percent were devoted to architectural design, to history and theory of architecture - 338 hours⁶¹², foreign languages - 324 hours, all fine arts - only 228 hours (four times less than in 1934). The subject "Dialectical and historical materialism" was introduced (228 hours). The leadership of the Institute even talked about the possibility of canceling the studio drawing of a person, but E.E. Lanceray convinced to keep this hours. He also introduced the decision to introduce albums for daily sketches.

⁶⁰⁹ I.G. Gainutdinov. *Catalog of the exhibition of summer works of 1938*, article of E.E. Lanceray. Kazan, 1939. P. 6.

⁶¹⁰ I.G. Gainutdinov. *Catalog of the exhibition of summer works of 1938*, article of E.E. Lanceray. Kazan, 1939. P. 6–7.

⁶¹¹ Postgraduate Institute of the Academy of Architecture of the USSR, *Reports of the Institute of Postgraduate Studies. USSR Academy of Architecture*. Issue. 1. Moscow, 1940. P. 52.

⁶¹² Lectures on history of art by M.V. Alpatov, V.D. Blavatsky, N.I. Brunov, O.F. Waldgauer, A.G. Gabrichevsky, A. K. Dzhivelegov, V.P. Zubov, A.I. Nekrasov, V.V. Pavlov, I.N. Sobolev, etc.

The works of graduate students were exhibited at the reporting autumn exhibitions, the best ones were selected for the Museum of Architecture. In the spring, teachers exhibited their work (in 1940 there were 6 people at the department).

In June 1939 he was the chairman of the diploma commission of the Kyiv State Art Institute. In September, the dean of the painting faculty of the institute, Mikhail Andreevich Sharonov, invited him to Kyiv for consultations on the tasks of monumental art, but, alas, Lanceray did not find time for this and recommended Yuon.

The free brochure “Admission conditions and test programs for applicants to the Postgraduate Institute of the Academy of Architecture of the USSR”, published in April 1941, states that “persons under the age of 40 with a higher architectural education and work experience in the specialty of an architect of at least 2 years”⁶¹³. Acceptance tests were to begin on 14 July. In addition to tests in architectural design (five days of classes from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.), in a foreign language (English, French or German), in the history of architecture (a short written essay and oral tests), and in the basics of Marxism-Leninism, tests were supposed to be drawing from living nature, taking into account the construction of a three-dimensional form, the correct transmission of proportions, movement and character of a person⁶¹⁴. It required a 5-hour drawing in charcoal, pencil or sanguine, as well as two half-hour sketches the size of half a sheet of whatman paper.

In October 1941, the leadership of the Academy of Architecture of the USSR, some academicians, staff and graduate students left for evacuation to Chimkent. Yevgeny Evgenievich Lanceray stayed with his family in Moscow, and in the winter he lived in a dacha in the village of Soviet Artist in the Kolomna District.

The resumption of the work of the Postgraduate Institute in Moscow took place in September 1943. On September 15 Lanceray was again approved as the head of the department of fine arts. December 25, 1944 – January 9, 1945 acceptance tests were held in

⁶¹³ *Admission conditions and test programs for applicants to the Postgraduate Institute of the Academy of Architecture of the USSR*. Moscow, 1941. P. 1. (circulation 600 copies).

⁶¹⁴ *Admission conditions and test programs for applicants to the Postgraduate Institute of the Academy of Architecture of the USSR*. Moscow, 1941. P. 6.

architectural design, in drawing⁶¹⁵, in the history and theory of architecture and art, in a foreign language and in the basics of Marxism-Leninism. In 1945, 23 more people were accepted. Ya.A. Kornfeld headed the Institute in 1944–1945. In total, from 1934 to 1946, Lanceray taught painting to more than 200 graduate students, many of whom became famous architects.

Under the influence of Lanceray, a whole school of muralists who worked in realistic style was formed. We can remember the works of U. Dzhaparidze and R. Sturua in Georgia, the illusory plafonds of G. Rublev, B. Iordansky, L. Feinberg and many others. But, perhaps, the best student of the artist was his son, Eugène Lanceray the young (1907–1988). He not only helped his father in the murals of the Moscow Hotel, the Kazansky railway station, not only completed the Victory panel in 1946, but already in the 1950s., he created murals for the Yaroslavl and Kursk railway stations in Moscow and the railway station in the city of Armavir-2, and from 1951 to 1954 he was the chief artist of the Silk Breeding pavilion at the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition.

However, already in 1955, after the well-known resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union “On the elimination of excesses in design and construction”, the plane-ornamental direction of painting again entered the artistic arena. As Favorsky (1962, p. 43) wrote: “Now I observe that architects want a flat monumental painting that would preserve the wall, almost without offering it any new qualities”.

⁶¹⁵ Examination was held on December 30, 1944, by E.E. Lanceray (Chairman), A.M. Solovyov, L.A. Bruni, D.B. Savitsky and V.A. Feoktistov.

CONCLUSION

Summing up some results of the performed research, it can be noted that French, Italian, German and Polish origins of E.E. Lanceray, as well as trips of his relatives (N.L. Benois, from 1840) and friends (K.A. Somov, in 1890 and 1894; etc.) to Western Europe had influenced on the artist's interest in the European cultural heritage, including the heritage of the Renaissance and Baroque periods.

In the 1890s, the young artist was more interested in the Middle Ages, the culture of knights, then he was captured by Symbolism and Art Nouveau, with elements of impressionistic technique. But the study of the Western European (primarily Italian) classical and baroque artistic heritage of the 14th – 18th centuries, his trips to Italy (in 1899 and 1907) formed the basis for the transition of E. Lanceray by the end of the 1900s to Neoclassicism (in variants of Neo-Renaissance in the mansion of G.A. Tarasov in Moscow and Neo-Empire in the hall of the Imperial Academy of Arts in Petrograd) and later to attempts of Neo-Baroque style (projects of the plafonds for the house of E. Nosova and for the Kazan station).

Detailed research on the Italian influence on Eugène Lanceray was only possible with a close stylistical analysis of a large body of his artwork. But also in reverse: knowledge of the Lanceray's commitment to Italy and to classical art helps us to authenticate, to determine the meaning and significance of his artwork. The pieces of art from 14 museums and many private collections were attributed.

For example, I found a sketch “Café de France” in a private collection, which was not yet attributed to the artist (see ANNEX 3a). After a stylistical, technological and contextual analysis, as well as a comparative study with the artist's other similar sketches, performed to attribute this particular artwork and identify its date and meaning, no doubt was left. Eugène Lanceray's authorship and date (1907) of this artwork becomes all the more evident when one considers the Italian influence on Lanceray's artwork depicted in this thesis.

The artist continued to work in the spirit of realistic painting using neoclassicism (the scenery of William Shakespeare's tragedy *Julius Caesar* in Maly Theater in Moscow, 1923). In the second half of the 1920s, the master used elements of modernism in graphics,

scenography and monumental painting, but the basis of his artistic vision was realism and a deep knowledge of the classical foundations of art in composition, anatomy, transmission of dimensions and space, color and light.

In the early 1930s, the artist quickly became in demand in USSR as a unique master who worked in the neoclassical and neo-baroque styles from the late 1900s. Despite his internal detachment from socialist didactics and pompous heroism, in 1930s – 1940s he realized a lot of projects in monumental, theatrical and book projects.

In the first half of the 1930s, both in Germany, Italy, France, and Russia, pure neoclassicism in architecture and painting was still rare. Often it was combined with post-constructivism, with elements of art deco or "monumental style".

In the second half of the 1930s, despite the regular persecution of the authorities on neo-baroque, E. Lanceray was increasingly attracted to baroque art with its dynamism (unrealized projects for Palace of Soviets and ceiling of the Bolshoi Theater). Since 1936, Lanceray showed interest in Tiepolo (plafond of the restaurant hall in the Hotel "Moscow"). The use of baroque diagonal lines in the design of the circular couloir panel in the Palace of the Soviets.

Before the Great Patriotic War, in connection with the development of sketches for painting in the vestibule of the Kazansky railway station, E.E. Lanceray even turned to the experience of French neoclassicism with its heroic pathos. In mid-December 1940, he and his wife traveled to the Arkhangelskoye estate near Moscow: "There are two huge Tiepolos, one is very good, but very damaged, will be restored; Van Dyck. But I was interested in the academic paintings of the school of David. This is where we need to turn our attention now. The pathos of heroism. Of course, the style needs to be reworked. Clarity, rigidity even, licking even. But everything is saved by drawing and fiction! What a drawing! What an ability to stand firmly on your feet, proudly! And the intricacy of the composition"⁶¹⁶.

Over five decades, the seminal work of E. Lanceray in his artistic endeavors has put a definite work on the esthetic culture of the pre-war II soviet society.

⁶¹⁶ Letter from E.E. Lanceray to I.A. Charlemagne from Moscow to Tbilisi on December 18, 1940. Private collection.

Technically, his artistic trajectory has been quite unique, on compassing a wide array of styles, going through evolutive transitions each time. Eugène Lanceray moved away from “vignetting” and impressionism, and found that neoclassical language, which, thanks to the realistic searches of the 1920s, already in the early 1930s, became very popular and was one of the main elements in the creation of socialist realism in painting.

One notable endeavor, striking with its novelty in those decades, has been to vigorously developing the monumental painting for which he was the only artist in USSR, and which was in great demand to complement the forceful construction projects of the newly born Soviet country.

Socio-culturally, E. Lanceray artistry has impacted almost all strata of the socialist society through the widest possible range of fields of application.

Being a personality of the Renaissance universal type, he did not limit his creative interests to easel and monumental painting, book and magazine graphics, but also successfully worked for theater and cinema, used various printing techniques, created sketches for objects made of porcelain, stone and glass, was a teacher, a fine connoisseur of antiquities, took an active part in the artistic life of numerous fields of art, thus reaching out to many audience.

Politically, E. Lanceray achieved a “tour de force” performance in practicing applied arts through times of violent political turmoil in the country. He made Socialist Realism emerge out of a misty political dreamer and spread over the USSR, without ever been at any moment a militant, neither ideologically nor politically. Being faithful to himself only, i.e. to his own artistry, he managed not to be disloyal to the country nor to the power, and this no matter the whirls and twists of the regime and its governments. When all is said and done, E. Lanceray actually exercised the Shakespearian words of wisdom resonating in the admonition of Polonius to his son Laertes:

“This above all: to thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man”⁶¹⁷.

List of abbreviations and conventions

GIM - State Historical Museum.

GRM - State Russian Museum.

GTG - State Tretyakov Gallery.

DMII - Dagestan Museum of Fine Arts named after P.S. Gamzatova.

OR GRM - Department of Manuscripts of the State Russian Museum.

OR GTG - Department of Manuscripts of the State Tretyakov Gallery.

OR RNB - Department of Manuscripts of the Russian National Library.

RGALI - Russian State Archive of Literature and Art.

⁶¹⁷ Shakespeare W. The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark. Act 1. Scene 3.

List of archives and libraries

Archival and manuscript department of the State Central Theater Museum named after A.A. Bakhrushin (Moscow). F. 422 (S.A. Mirsky).

Archive of the Benois Family Museum (Peterhof).

Archive of the State Museum of Theatre, Music, Cinema and Choreography of Georgia (Tbilisi).

Archive of the State Hermitage. F. 9. (A.N. Benois).

Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporane (ASAC; Venezia).

Biblioteca della Biennale di Venezia.

Biblioteca della Casa di Carlo Goldoni (Venezia).

Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (Venezia).

Central State Archive of the Republic of Dagestan.

Department of Manuscripts of the State Museum of Fine Arts named after A.S. Pushkin (Moscow). F. 29 (P.D. Ettinger).

Department of Manuscripts of the State Russian Museum. Funds 38 (N.E. Lanceray), 71 (I.M. Stepanov), 117 (F.F. Notgaft), 133 (K.A. Somov), 137 (A.N. Benois), etc.

Department of Manuscripts of the State Tretyakov Gallery. Funds 3 (A.P. Langovoi), 4 (documents of personal origin), 31 (P.I. Neradovsky), 39 (G.I. Chulkov), 101 (D.N. Kardovsky), 106 (I.E. Grabar), 111 (L.S. Bakst) and others.

Department of Manuscripts of the National Gallery of Armenia. Funds 5 (R.G. Drampyan), 57 (E.M. Tatevosyan), etc.

Department of Manuscripts of the Russian State Library (Moscow). F. 420 (N.E. Dobychina), etc.

Department of Manuscripts of the Russian National Library (St. Petersburg). Funds 54 (E.F. Gollerbach), 1015 (A.P. Ostroumova-Lebedeva), etc.

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Manuscript Department of the Institute of Russian Literature of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Pushkin House; St. Petersburg).

Russian State Archive of Economics (RGAE). Fund 293 (USSR Academy of Architecture).

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Russian State Historical Archive (St. Petersburg). F. 789 (Imperial Academy of Arts).
St. Petersburg Archive of Literature and Art.

Scientific archive of the Russian Academy of Arts (St. Petersburg).

State Archive of the Contemporary History of Georgia. Funds 87 (Academy of Arts of Georgia), 141 (RABIS), etc.

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ANNEX 1.

Short biography of Eugène Lanceray, key dates

Eugène Lanceray [Evgeny Evgenievich Lanceray] was born on August 23, 1875, in Pavlovsk near St. Petersburg.

His great-grandfather was Napoleon's army officer Paul Antoine Lanceray, a participant in the Russian campaign of 1812, who remained in Russia and married Olga Karlovna von Taube (1796–1876), a baroness from the Baltic Germans. His grandfather was a railway engineer Ludwig Lanceray (1815–1869), who married Eleonora Antonovna Yachimovskaya (1824–1856).

His parents were the sculptor Eugène Lanceray [Yevgeny Alexandrovich Lanceray] (1848–1886) and the artist Ekaterina [Ekaterina Nikolaevna] (née Benois; 1850–1933), the granddaughter of the confectioner Louis Jules Benois (1770–1822), who came to St. Petersburg after the French Revolution in 1794 and in 1808 became the head maître d'hôtel of the Empress Maria Feodorovna. Ekaterina née Benois' father was the chief architect of the Peterhof Palace Administration, Nicolas Benois [Nikolai Leontievich Benois] (1813–1898); and her mother was Camilla Cavos [Camilla Albertovna Cavos] (1828–1891), daughter of the architect of the Mariinsky Theater, Albert Cavos (1800–1863), and granddaughter of the composer Katarino Cavos (1775–1840).

Eugène Lanceray had a younger brother, architect Nikolai Lanceray [Nikolai Evgenievich Lanceray] (1879-1942) and four sisters – Sophia, Ekaterina, Maria and Zinaida (in marriage Zinaida Serebriakova; 1884-1967).

The future artist spent his childhood and youth in Pavlovsk, in the Benois House in St. Petersburg, at dachas in Kushelevka, in Pietil near Vyborg, in Bobylsk and Martyshkin (between Peterhof and Oranjenbaum), near Terioki station (Rayvolovo; modern Roshchino in the Vyborg district), and in Neskuchnoye estate in the Kursk province (now part of Kharkov region, Ukraine) which was bought by his father in 1884.

After an early death of his father, he studied at the Second Classical Gymnasium in St. Petersburg. A significant influence on the formation of Eugène's aesthetic views was exerted by his parents, his mother's brothers (the architect Leonty Benois and the artists

Albert and Alexandre Benois), as well as his father's friends, the journalist V.S. Rossolovsky and epy sculptor A.L. Ober.

From 1891 he traveled around the Russian Empire (a trip to Wilmanstrand in Finland); in 1893, with Leonty Benois, he traveled to the Yaroslavl and Vladimir provinces; in 1896 – with Rossolovsky to the Ufa province; in 1903 – to the Pskov and Kyiv provinces; in 1911 – to the Crimea. In 1902, together with Leonty Benois, he traveled along the Chinese Eastern Railway to Manchuria and Japan.

In 1892-1895 he studied at the Drawing School of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts in St. Petersburg (among his teachers were I.F. Zionglinsky, E.K. Lipgart, N.S. Samokish, E.A. Sabaneev). From 1893 he published his drawings.

In 1894 he made his first trip abroad (via Warsaw and Vienna to Switzerland and Paris).

From October 1895 to May 1899, he studied in Paris: at the private Academies of F. Colarossi and R. Julian (since January 1897), py studied anatomy and art history at the School of Fine Arts (École des Beaux-Arts).

In 1897 he visited Brittany, in 1898 – Bavaria, the Czech Republic, Normandy, in 1899 – Italy (Rome) and England (London), in 1900 – Paris and Versailles.

Since 1898, he participated at exhibitions and was a permanent contributor to the magazine *World of Art*; since 1900, he was a member of the artistic group *World of Art* (since 1910 – its founding member; in 1913-1916 – chairman of its Committee), a member of the Union of Russian Artists (1903–10), of the Society of Architects-Artists (since 1906), of the Northern Circle of Fine Arts Lovers (since 1909), of the Association of South Russian Artists (since 1913).

Since 1901, he created scenery for performances (the ballet *Sylvia* by L. Delibes). He designed exhibitions, many magazines and books (he was one of the first in Russia to use a single page layout), created posters. Master of landscape, historical and everyday genres, portrait, still life, interior. He also worked in a small format (bookplates, publishing and postage stamps, signs of societies, diplomas, memos, addresses, delegate mandates, exhibition posters, etc.). Since 1906, he developed monumental panels (the Great Moscow Hotel, 1906; the Ya.E. Zhukovsky's dacha in the Crimea, 1908-1911; the G.A. Tarasov's

mansion in Moscow, 1910-1911; and others) and murals (buildings of the Academy of Arts in Petrograd, 1915).

In 1904, he married Olga Konstantinovna Lanceray (1881–1967), the daughter of Konstantin Dmitrievich Artsybushev, director of the board of the Moscow-Arkhangelsk Railway. They made a honeymoon trip to the Caucasus and Crimea. They lived on the Vasilevsky Island in St. Petersburg and in the estate of Ust-Krestishche in the Kursk province.

In 1907 – a trip to Italy (incl. Rome, Sicily, Venice, etc.).

From the end of 1911 to 1916, he was in charge of the artistic part of the cutting factories in Peterhof and Yekaterinburg, the porcelain and glass factories in St. Petersburg. He was teaching at the School of Painting and Drawing of E.S. Zarudnaya-Cavos and A.M. Yazykova, and in the New Art Workshop of Princess M.D. Gagarina.

In the summer of 1912, he traveled to Chechnya, Dagestan, and Transcaucasia (nowadays Georgia and Azerbaijan) to collect art material for the design of the L.N. Tolstoy's book *Hadji Murad*.

October 29, 1912, recommended by I.E. Repin and V.V. Mate, he was awarded the title of Academician of painting.

In December 1914 – March 1915, he was on the Caucasian front of the First World War as a military artist-painter (Kars, Olty, Arkhave; nowadays territories of Turkey).

In the autumn of 1915, he was elected a full member of the Imperial Academy of Arts (in place of K.E. Makovsky), and a member of the Council.

In November 1917, he moved with his family to Temir-Khan-Shura (nowadays the city of Buynaksk) in Dagestan.

From October 1918, he was teaching drawing at the women's gymnasium.

In July 1919 he visited Baku; in August – Neskuchnoye estate.

In September 1919 he moved his family to Rostov-on-Don, where he worked as an artist in the propaganda department under the government of the Armed Forces of South Russia (White movement). In January 1920 he left for Novorossiysk.

In March 1920 he sailed to Poti in Georgia, settled in Tiflis, where he worked at the Museum of Georgia (1920-1922); was one of the first professors of drawing and painting at

the Academy of Arts of Georgia (1922–1934; Dean of the Faculty of Painting in 1926–1930); since 1925 he was a member of the Caucasian Historical and Archaeological Institute (KIAI).

With artistic and ethnographic tasks, he made more than forty travels on his own and as part of various groups of students, friends, employees of the Museum of Georgia, KIAI, Armenkino: in Georgia (to Kakhetia, Adjara, Imeretia, Guria, Meskheta, Lower and Upper Svanetia, to the monasteries of Mtskheta, David Gareji, Shio-Mgvime, Zedazeni, Betani), Dagestan (along the valleys of the Avar Koisu and Terek rivers), Armenia (to Zangezur, Lori, Lake Sevan, Echmiadzin and Garni) and Azerbaijan (to Lenkoran, Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic, Kurdistan district and the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh, to the Ganja district).

He made two 4-monthly business trips: in 1922 to Angora in Turkey and in 1927 to Paris. Between 1922-1932 he visited Petrograd (Leningrad) six times, stopped several times in Moscow.

In 1931-1932 he created the monumental paintings *Crimea* and *Caucasus* on the walls in the lobby of the Workers' Palace in Kharkov.

In 1933 he was awarded the title of Honored Artist of the Georgian SSR.

On June 17-19, 1934, he made a series of flights along the route Rostov-on-Don – Armavir – Mineralnye Vody – Makhachkala – Tiflis.

From August 1934 he lived in Moscow. He was an employee of the Postgraduate Institute of the All-Union Academy of Architecture, teaching drawing and painting to architects. In April 1935, he was approved as a professor at the Department of Painting. Since 1936, he headed the department of graphic disciplines.

In 1939 he was elected a member of the Academic Council of the Academy, renamed the Academy of Architecture of the USSR.

From September 1934 to June 1937, he led an individual workshop at the Faculty of Painting and supervised post-graduate painters at the Institute of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture in Leningrad.

Since June 1934, he was a member of the Moscow Regional Union of Soviet Artists (since 1938 – Moscow Union of Artists; chairman of the section of monumental painting). Since 1944 he has been a member of the Art Fund of the USSR.

He created the panels (1933-1934) and paintings (1945-1946) of the Kazansky railway station, the sketches of majolica panels *Metrostroevtsy* of the Komsomolskaya metro station (1934-1935), ceiling of the restaurant of the Moscow Hotel (1937).

Since 1937 – Chairman of the Artistic Council of the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition (VSHV).

Since March 1939 – consultant at the Design Bureau of the Palace of Soviets.

Between 1934-1945 he published more than forty articles on his work and on issues of art education and monumental art. He created sketches of scenery for stage productions of the play *Woe from Wit* at the Maly Theater (1938) and the ballet *The Young Lady Peasant Woman* at the branch of the Bolshoi Theater (1945).

In the autumn of 1936, he rested in Alupka, in 1938 – in Yuryevets-on-Volga; in November-December 1937 and December 1943, he visited Georgia; in 1939 – Frunze (Kirghiz SSR) and Kyiv (Ukrainian SSR). Since 1939, he spent the summer months (as well as the winter of 1941/1942) at his dacha in the Soviet Artist Cooperative in the village of Peski, near Kolomna (c. 100 km from Moscow).

In 1943 he was awarded the Stalin Prize of the second degree. Holder of two Orders of the Red Banner of Labor (1943, 1945). In 1945 he was awarded the title of People's Artist of the RSFSR.

He died on September 13, 1946 in Moscow. He was buried at the Novodevichy cemetery.

The artist's works are kept in more than 70 state museums and archives in 10 countries, and in many private collections.

His children are: Eugène Lanceray [Evgeny Evgenievich Lanceray] (1907–1988), architect, painter, book graphic artist; and Natalia Lanceray [Natalia Evgenievna Lanceray] (1909–1994), architect.

His grandchildren are: Andrei Georgievich Voloshinov (1935–1976), Maria Georgievna Kruchinina (born in 1938), Ekaterina Evgenievna Lanceray (born in 1952) and Evgeny Evgenievich Lanceray (born in 1953).

ANNEX 2.

**Genealogical tree (graphic) of the artistic dynasty Benois-Lanceray
(incl. Italian roots of Eugène Lanceray)**

ANNEX 3.**Examples of an artwork attribution, dating, expertising
for inclusion in the present research
and in the Catalogue raisonné of E. Lanceray's artwork**

In this thesis were used artworks located in museums and private collections. In some cases, artworks were found without any author attribution or date and place information.

In these cases, meticulous expertising work has been carried out, both artistical, technical and contextual analysis. Below, are examples of conclusions of such analysis.

A) *Esquisse for the panel for the Café de France* (see chapter 3.2)

July 1907. Tempera on canvas, 77x170. Inscription in Cyrillic on the stretcher:

“Pan... 1907”. Private collection.



The work is performed in the technique of tempera painting on canvas, characteristic for the artist. Conservation state is good. Artistic materials and signs of their aging do not contradict the date of creation.

The study of the expertized work was carried out by the method of comparative stylistic analysis with the reference works of E. Lanceray using bibliographic and archival materials.

From a letter from E. Lanceray to his brother N. Lanceray, on August 4, 1907: "I began to paint the panel recently – I was writing the final version at home".

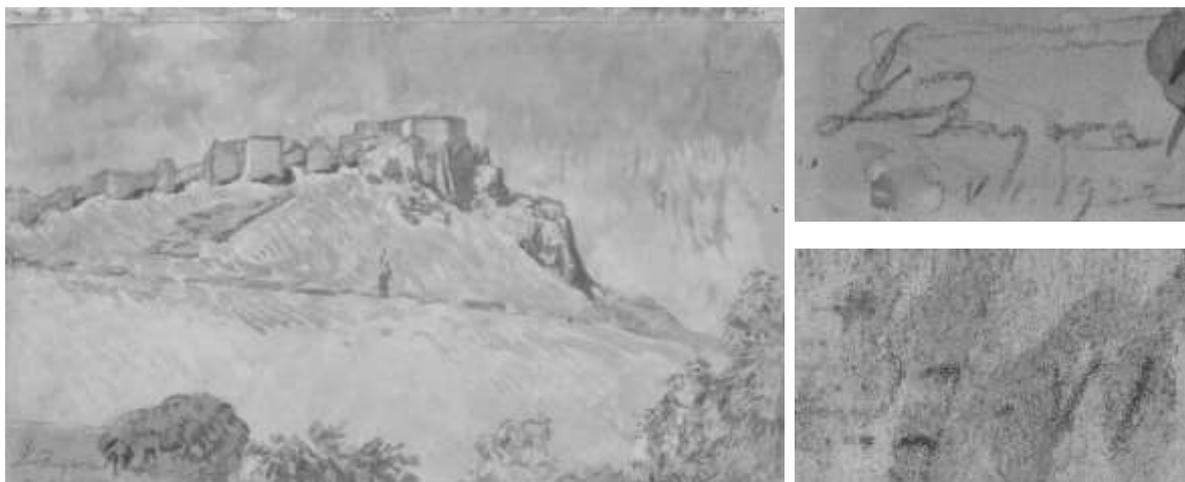
From a letter from K.A. Somov to A.P. Ostroumova-Lebedeva, on August 20, 1907: "At the end of July, quite unexpectedly, Zhenia [Eugène] Lanceray arrived in St. Petersburg, having received a commission to paint a fresco for the newly opened cafe on the Nevsky. Commission *tour de force* – two weeks to make a picture of a few square arshins [1 arshin = 0,7 meter]. And he coped with this task. I saw the sketch and the beginning of the fresco itself. Very pleasant, in a European way...".

Information about the Cafe de France in St. Petersburg: in 1907, at the end of August, the Café de France was opened in a house near the Armenian church on Nevsky Prospekt; the interior design of the cafe was created by the architect A.I. Tamanyan with his friends, the architect V.A. Shchuko and artist E. Lanceray.



*Photo dating 1907 of the achieved panel in Café de France, St. Petersburg
(nowadays not existing)*

Unfortunately, time did not spare the wall panel itself which disappeared (here by its photo dating from 1907). The present sketch is the only found (private collection) artwork representing this disappeared monumental painting by E. Lanceray.

B) Citadel of Angora (see chapter 3.5)

1922. Paper, watercolor, graphite. 26x42. Inscriptions in Cyrillic “EL Angora VI. 1922” and “27.VI”. Private collection.

Types of research performed: stylistic, technological (microscope), macro photography, comparison with the artist's works from museums and private collections, work with special literature.

The signature (monogram) does not raise doubts about its authenticity. By the nature of the inscription, it has analogues among the standard signatures of Eugène Lanceray.

A comparative stylistic analysis with known E. Lanceray’s artworks revealed an undoubted similarity in compositional and color solutions, features of the author's stroke, texture details, as well as in the construction of space and volumes.

The artwork was created during the artist's business trip to Turkey in the summer of 1922. On May 30, together with diplomatic courier A.A. Bogun, he left Tiflis for Batum, then they boarded an Italian steamer to the Black Sea town of Ineboli in Turkey and on June 9 arrived by car in Angora. The artist actively studied architecture: ancient Roman and Byzantine ruins, Seljuk fragments, a citadel, city walls, a caravanserai, and numerous mosques. Especially with its majestic appearance, he was attracted by the ancient citadel, depicted by him from different angles (*Angora. Citadel*, 1922, paper, watercolor, whitewash, pastel, graphite pencil, State Tretyakov Gallery; *The Old Fortifications of Angora*, 1923, lithography, watercolor, private collection).

This view was created from the side of the former village of Kalaba. On June 27, E. Lanceray wrote in his diary: “At the dacha of the Foreign Trade, there is an aquarelle view of Angora. In the evening, a picnic – in the Cherry Orchards” (RGALI).

To achieve maximum expressiveness, the artist used different types of paper during the trip and combined a variety of materials (watercolor, pastel, sanguine, charcoal, graphite and lead pencils).

In 1936, this artwork was probably shown in Moscow at an exhibition dedicated to the 40th anniversary of E. Lanceray (in catalog No. 115 – *Angora Citadel*).

B) Lake Gyok-Gol. Mountain landscape with horses (see chapter 4.5)

1943. Tempera on canvas. 125x60. Private collection.



On the left: the artwork in question. On the right: sketch with inscription in Cyrillic “this is a sketch (without nature) for a painting being assembled. E.L. March 1943”, located in The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts.

The painting is in good condition. The aging of art materials is natural and corresponds to the specified time of creation.

Authorship of E. Lanceray is confirmed on the basis of analysis and comparison of the artwork with known artworks of the artist located in museums and private collections.

The artwork was done by E. Lanceray in his characteristic technique of tempera painting. The picture is the author's version, created during the writing of the triptych *Gyok-Gol Lake*.

In December 1942, E. Lanceray imagined a large three-part composition based on memoirs and sketches made in 1930, during his trip to Azerbaijan to Gök-Gol Lake [Göygöl, Gek-gel', Goygol, Blue Lake].

In a letter to the chief artist of the Armenian Drama Theater in Baku, Arsen Avanesyan, on June 19, 1943, E. Lanceray wrote: “Now I am busy with landscape for the exhibition *Our Motherland*. I took the theme of the Lake Gok-Gol in the mountains, over Ganja, where I was about ten years ago, but live impressions and several sketches have also been preserved. I take it somewhat decorative in the form of a triptych; on the side wings – a shepherd and a flock of sheep. I write, as always, in tempera” (private collection).

ANNEX 4. Documentary sources

Letter from E.E. Lanceray to A.N. Benois, from Siena to Paris, dated 9 April 1899. OR GRM. F. 137. Op. 1. № 315. L. 6. Published for the first time. On the reverse – a photo of Piazza Navona, Circo Agonale.

Dear Shura [Alexandre Benois – P.P.], I just have scolded Rome in three cards to my mother, but I'll tell you all about it, alas, soon from now. Arrived in Siena late last night after a full day's travelling, with transfers on back roads and stations, and all that we have already seen in the night has enlivened me after this wretched Rome. Even if it is not possible to admire the local Gothic, one can still read history, feelings in it, and may be in it more of the good Renaissance, which awaits us in Florence. Here (in Rome) one can see the boredom of oversized proportions. Let's go and have a look.

Your Zhenia [Eugène Lanceray – P.P.]

Letter from E.E. Lanceray to A.N. Benois, from Genoa to Paris, dated 14 April 1899. OR GRM. F. 137. Op. 1. № 315. L. 7. Published for the first time. On the reverse – photo “Veduta generale di S. Geminiano”.

Dear Shura [Alexandre Benois – P.P.], the closer you get to the end, the faster time flies away, and it is really not worth writing : the day after tomorrow, on Sunday evening, we will be in Paris! Siena is an awfully solid, typical city, but the cathedral is nothing and the facade is not even grandiose, but what is very interesting is a huge nave which was started next to the vaults of the side aisles, and then the houses squeezed into them, forming a street of the middle one. Florence and Pisa are terribly sweet. Nothing to write how sorry and annoyed we were at the transport who have deprived us from you and from your boxes. For this view [photo on the reverse of the letter – P.P.] don't begrudge me: we never saw it! Now we are in Genoa: clouds, dark and continuous rain....

Your Zhenia

Letter from E.E. Lanceray to K.A. Somov, from Siena to St. Petersburg, dated April 5, 1907 (new style). OR GRM. F. 133. Op. 1. № 239. L. 2. Published for the first time. On the reverse – photo of a fragment of a painting by Pinturicchio in the cathedral of Siena ("The Story of Fortune", 1504).

Dear Kostya [Konstantin Somov – P.P.], we're wandering and freezing – yesterday in Siena it was so damn cold! So we're in a hurry, to the south. Yesterday there was a celebration of the Madonna all day in the cathedral; we watched the cathedral as pilgrims, but today we'll see it with Baedeker as tourists. An impossible weather.

All the best. Your Zhenia.

Letter from E.E. Lanceray to A.N. Benois, from Rome to St. Petersburg, dated 5/18 April 1907. OR GRM. F. 137. Op. 1. № 323. L. 14. Copy in the archives of the artist's family. Published for the first time. On the reverse – photo of a fresco by Peruzzi "La Sibilla Tiburtina" (chiesa di Fontegiusta, Siena).

Dear Shura [Alexandre Benois – P.P.].

Siena is full of the name of Peruzzi (i.e. Baedeker!), and there is even a street named after him; but I have only seen two paintings, this one and the other of the altarpiece in the cathedral; I did not particularly like this one; the other is more beautiful. But both are, I think, rather ordinary. I'll see if there are any pictures of these or the others. And, in general, I am so far behind that I am still more moved by the [masters - P.P.] of Quattrocento than the others. However, at the Palazzo Vecchio I liked them all – Vasari, Pocheti and others. And the Bronzino carpets are absolutely crazy – in colours perhaps the most beautiful I've seen; of course time has helped a lot here. Yesterday, at Orvieto, I liked Signoreli very much; Pinturicchio, at Siena, is beautiful in the general effect of the hall, but as a poet of lines, I do not like it; meanwhile Signoreli is a whole well, positively quite cold. And today at the Vat[ican] Pinacoteca, unexpectedly, a Guercino: what a beautiful tone – green over black!

This time I am less interested in architecture and the Gothic in particular, and much more in painting. I understand Giotto and don't like B[eato] Angelico. In general, the deep

primitives, with some exceptions, do not interest me; the "funniness" is boring. Arrived here yesterday, I am now in a hurry to Sicily, and will stay longer on the way back. [...]

I shall be awfully glad if you write to Rome, poste rest. We shall leave here on May 1/15th (i.e. at the earliest).

Kisses tight, bow from Olia [Olga Artsybusheva – P.P.].

Your Zhenia

Letter from E.E. Lanceray to K.A. Somov, from Rome to St. Petersburg, dated 7/20 April 1907. OR GRM. F. 133. Op. 1. № 239. L. 3. Published for the first time. On the reverse – a photograph of a fragment of the mural painting of Le Sodoma (Giovanni Antonio Bazzi) in the bedroom at the Villa Farnesina in Rome ("The wedding of Alexander the Great and Roxana", 1519).

Dear Kostya [Konstantin Somov – P.P.], when we came to Rome and got your postcard sent from Petersburg, it came at the right time, so we went to your address and got a very nice room for 2 francs per person. We also had lunch in the restaurant you mentioned and were very pleased with it! Weather is not giving us much pleasure – it is raining, cloudy, cold, so we are going further to the south. But still, the air today in Borghese, after the rain is so.....!!!!... Wandering around all day; haven't drawn anything yet. Your Zhenia

Letter from E.E. Lanceray to K.A. Somov, from Syracuse to St. Petersburg, dated 20 April / 3 May 1907. OR GRM. F. 133. Op. 1. № 239. L. 4. Published for the first time. On the reverse – a photo of Caravaggio painting "The Burial of St. Lucia" (1608, the church of Santa Lucia alla Badia, Syracuse).

Dear Kostya [Konstantin Somov – P.P.]. I know I should have sent you something Greek from Syracuse, because you can't get rid of them (the Greeks) here – but I liked this postcard, and haven't seen the painting itself. The weather is lovely – the sea, the rocks and the museum with Greek vases – that's the best thing here. A bow from Olia [Olga Artsybusheva – P.P.]. Yours Zhenia.

Letter from E.E. Lanceray to A.N. Benois, from Venice to St. Petersburg, dated 25 May / 7 June 1907. OR GRM. F. 137. Op. 1. № 323. L. 15. Copy in the artist's family archive. Published for the first time.

Dear Shura [Alexandre Benois – P.P.], It's the last night in Venice, in Italy, and I feel so sad and lonely; such a good life, and so terribly sad that it is going away!!! And are those days irretrievable, will they never come back! It was not that it was so good here or so bad at home; no, one was beginning to long for home, one wanted to try and apply new impressions to work; one was getting tired of the temporariness, the haste of our stay, and sad that one more chapter of life was ending!!! That's old age!!! We met the ever-so-young and outspoken Jan [Tsionglinsky – P.P.], who took us in photography; we swam together at the Lido, we admired Tintoretto in St Rocco; Tintoretto reigns, I think, in Venice; I was much more fascinated by him than by Veronese or Titian...

I don't know if I will manage to be in Petersburg before the autumn. I haven't made up my mind yet. When exactly are you moving? We'll be in Vienna for three days – and then the village!!!

Big kisses, your Zhenia.

E.E. Lanceray's article "*Experience and Work*" (section "The Commonwealth of Three Arts") in the newspaper "Soviet Art" (1934, 17 December, No. 58, p. 3).

The existing relations between the architect and the artist have been worked out through practice for centuries, and therefore it seems to me not only unnecessary, but harmful to establish any norms or to regulate them.

Naturally, the architect has to understand, or rather, to imagine clearly what painting can and cannot give him, and vice versa the painter has to have a feeling for what should be done and how it should be done.

To interfere in someone else's field of art, however close or neighboring, can only intensify elements of amateurism and dilettantism.

I think that the role of polychromy, colour, pictorial ornament, mosaic, majolica, not to mention the role of picturesque paintings and panels, should increase every year along with the growth of the exterior and interior decoration of public buildings. The need for ornamental, artistically and newly understood works is felt, I think, by architects very keenly. Whole regiments of ornamentalists would find a grateful field of action if they were to create new motifs of decoration, corresponding to our new interests, realising them artistically and intelligently weaving them into the rhythm of lines and forms that builders create.

And I would like here and in this more modest sphere to see the same rigorous, the same refined demand for this work as in the large thematic paintings: the rigour of the drawing, the delicate selection of colours, etc. It seems to me that not much has been done in this field - it is either rut or hackwork that reigns here.

We see another situation in pictorial painting. In this area for several years has been conducted a large and interesting work in search of a monumental style and the order of its theoretical definition and application of those theories in the execution of a number of monumental paintings.

The questions of the application of painting in public buildings, the questions of style and, in particular, the interpretation of the forms of reality, are to me, of course, extremely interesting and important, also they are very difficult, requiring great justifications, a mass of reservations and explanations. For example, a seemingly simple and clear statement that the choice of the theme, the interpretation of it, must be different for premises such as railway stations or theatres, with their permanently flowing mass of spectators, and for premises with a more permanent structure, such as schools or sanatoriums.

It would seem clear that in the second case, the interpretation of the theme should be calm, without the sharpness of movements, positions, color combinations ... But how many reservations, how many exceptions can be made to such a simple provision!

Even more specific and difficult the position that a monumental painting compared to the easel painting should be more common, synthetic, calm ...

Of course, Masaccio is monumental, but Veronese cannot be denied a monumental-decorative task of unparalleled magnificence!

The only way to solve these most interesting and difficult tasks for us painters is experience and labour. And here the tremendous construction of the USSR provides all the possibilities and hopes for the development of true great art in us.

One would like to advise young artists entering the ranks of monumentalists: less engage in theory, less "solving" the problems of "space", "wall", "dynamics", and more deeply, sincerely get down into their subject and the living reality, easier admire the works of art of past centuries, love them, but do not get caught up in them.

E.E. Lanceray's article in the column "Masters of Art about the Moscow Underground" in the journal "Art" (1935, No. 4).

I quite share the general overall satisfaction with the interior design of the metro stations.

I can't get into a parsing and analysis of each station individually.

Very effective, opulent and ornate are stations "The Palace of Soviets", "Komsomolskaya Ploschad", and a very good "Biblioteka Lenina", one of the best, despite its simplicity. "Red Gate" and "Okhotny Ryad" are also beautiful, with their candelabras.

It seems to me that the general character of the epoch, the style, has already been outlined.

It's not just a matter of assimilating "heritage" any more, but of reworking this heritage and, as a result, there is already something of our own.

That is why I think there is no need to rush into some other system, it is better to work together to refine the proportions, to draw the profiles. There has to be a consistent, successive work in this direction; this work is long, not so striking, but it is necessary in order to forge a real style. This is what the rapidly changing styles - the "fashions" of the previous period - lacked - they all somehow faded prematurely, losing faith in themselves, in their rightness. And this is something we should not have.

E.E. Lanceray's article "*Painting and its surroundings*" in the collection "Issues of Art Synthesis. Materials of the First Creative Meeting of Architects, Sculptors and Painters" (Moscow: OGIZ - IZOGIZ, 1936, pp. 90-94).

Over the past three years I had to do three paintings: one in Tiflis, one in Kharkov and one in Moscow. I think that by sharing my personal experience, by talking about my approach to these works I am making my contribution, contributing to the accumulation of that collective experience which creates the style of our era.

Of all the varieties of painting, monumental painting is first and foremost a product of collective labour, as it is carried out by several people and is intended for a mass audience. There is a need for common techniques.

I will try to trace the process of my work from the moment I receive an order and determine the external surroundings for my future painting. The more precise and varied the assignment, the easier it is to work. When a given space is given in a given place, given light, given subject, it's easier for me as an artist to concentrate on revealing the subject. Getting on with the composition I try to imagine it as a known, logically expressed action of a given scene, a given plot. This leads me first of all to aspire to an arrangement of objects and figures in their logical connection in space, i.e. perspective correctly. Then it leads me to expression of volume, relief, convexity. The next step is the need to express form in light and shadow. All of this leads me to the solution of an in-depth, non-planar composition.

I do not want to claim that it is the only way I like it, but it is my technique.

Color and colours are suggested to me by the subject and are not a separate special task, so I will not say anything about this aspect of 'invention', it is determined by itself. But here are the peculiarities of monumental painting I noticed when making a painting: when you create a painting from life, all your attention is concentrated on what is being shown within the frame. You stay inside the frame. When I made my first few sketches, this habit of easel painting also made itself felt, despite the fact that I knew the locations, surroundings, distances, dimensions, etc. I thought too much about the painting itself and cared little about its relationship to its surroundings.

Now I see that the attention of the muralist must first of all be directed at the surface of the picture. One must be able to concentrate on the surface itself, that is, on how the picture will look on the wall, in other words, how all the conditions of light, space and the surrounding ornamentation will be reflected. In this inner sign, in this approach to the work, difficult to express in words, lies the secret of its connection with the surrounding objects.

This linking of a monumental painting with its surroundings may seem easy, but in fact it is as difficult as feeling and conveying the form. The right approach is achieved only as a result of much experience. The muralist sees his subject inside the frame. On the other hand, from the very first step of the composition the muralist has to link it with the impression received from the painting, as an object among other objects. Here one can raise the question, often debated in connection with the "piercing of the wall". It seems to me that a strong exaggeration is taking place. After all, it is very difficult to do this: the impression of the wall surface will always dominate and the challenge is not to avoid this disturbance of the flatness of the wall, but the rhythm of the lines, the rhythm of the composition, which should coincide with the style of the surrounding architecture.

But back to the process of 'making up a composition'. Approaching the subject realistically, I first of all encounter the question of the size of the human figure in the foreground. In the subjects I had to do, the question of the size of the figure was particularly important and essential, for the subjects themselves were realistic. I wanted to guess at a size that would not make the protagonists into either giants or dwarfs. I made one observation, which helped me a lot: I drew the life-size outline of a person on a white, unwritten wall and saw that the outline seemed extremely small and crushed. But when I copied the outline, that is filled with shape and relief, it turned out that it grew and became larger. And when I painted the ground in front of the man, pushing him to the back of the painting, he seemed even bigger. I see in it the possibility to enlarge the given contours, to move space apart as if by means of painting. This property of painting, I think, should be used.

One more observation: if a human figure painted at viewer level is raised higher, its size begins to appear larger, but after crossing a certain height limit from the viewer, it shrinks again. All these subtle shades of size, scale is an important problem in monumental

painting and can only be guessed after a number of repeated experiments. The experience of the old masters has been lost for many years, during which time almost no monumental paintings have been done.

I will not go into the question of composition, the relationship of individual figures, the formation of groups, etc., because they are so subjective, so differently resolved in each new work, that I feel wrong about any universally applicable formulas. Here the artist has to act intuitively.

Once the composition and proportions are established I proceed to work on the subject in kind. In my opinion, this stage is the most important one. We're used to 'reading' the picture rather than directly perceiving it as a simple impression of the objects. When I make a sketch myself or have my assistants make it, a series of observations in nature seem to be enough, but when they are transferred to a big surface the conventionality and unspoken nature of the observations are discovered at once.

We got used to the fact that such and such strokes represent greenery, such and such clouds, etc. Meanwhile monumental painting demands completeness and lucidity of every form. These kinds of innuendo, which are easy to go in an easel painting, in a monumental painting can not be allowed.

Observation of nature requires a lot of creative work, developing an objective approach to it, as subjective and too pointed approach to nature in a monumental painting will not be suitable.

This experience of studying nature has led me to the dream of creating a studio-laboratory that would enable muralists to perform studies from nature in the right surroundings. The studio should be set up like a film studio. The studio could be equipped with apparatus to amplify the movement of the fluttering fabric and mirrors to produce effects that would give great power and persuasiveness to the painting. The artist must be given the means and possibilities of modern technique. They will contribute to the power, the expression, the expressiveness of our monumental painting.

As far as the relationship between the client and the architect is concerned, I must say that it is not desirable to tie the architect to the work of the artist, sculptor or painter. This area must be independent. The architect must be able to feel his work and take full

responsibility for it. The imposition of an obligatory consultant removes responsibility and reduces the quality of the artwork. On the other hand, when the architect has already designed his building it is advisable for him to state what he wants as precisely as possible and to set boundaries when giving the assignment to the artist. Within these boundaries the artist must be given complete freedom, because he is more competent than the most experienced architect.

My observation has convinced me that the creative contact between architect and painter can only be developed through practical work on specific tasks.

Konstantin Yuon. Article “Anniversary exhibition of E.E. Lanceray” in the newspaper "Izvestia of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee" (1936, June 8).

Lanceray, by the nature of his talent, by the range of his skills, is a universal artist. <...> The range of its subjects extends from the myths of Ancient Greece and Russian historical plots to satirical and political drawings and paintings of the Great Proletarian Revolution. <...>

In the artistic heritage of the 18th century, in the architecture of old St. Petersburg, in all the classical art of Western Europe, Lanceray looked for materials to satisfy his thirst to give vent to his understanding of art and beauty. The baroque style of art, which especially attracted him, left its features on the character of many of his graphic works, as well as on some of his later monumental compositions; first of all, the plafond painting of the former Tarasov mansion (now the house of the Polish embassy) belongs here.

But this influence, to a certain extent, keeps him captive even now, despite the fact that his excellent painting of the Kazan station skillfully linked the baroque style with the Soviet theme. His fascination with angles, like the famous Venetian Tiepolo, sometimes takes on an almost sporty, but always equally masterful character.

Boris Ternovets. Article “*Plafon of E.E. Lanceray in the Moscow Hotel*” in the journal “*Architecture of the USSR*” (1938, No. 5, pp. 51–55).

The front white hall of the Moskva Hotel is decorated with a large plafond of academician E. E. Lanceray. We have the right to consider the completion of this work as an event in the life of our monumental and decorative art. E. E. Lanceray set and successfully solved the most difficult tasks of plafond painting, at the same time he solved it not in an eclectically imitative way, but creatively - in an original way. The work of Lanceray deserves all the more attention because the artist was in many ways a pioneer, because the traditions of plafond painting have long been cut short. It was necessary to rethink and solve a number of artistic problems.

The golden age of plafond painting, as a great decorative art, was the Baroque era. Italy in the 17th and 18th centuries we see the magnificent flourishing of this area of art: architecture makes extensive use of the assistance of painters, the walls and ceilings of palaces and churches are abundantly covered with magnificent paintings.

On the basis of the conquests of the great masters of the Renaissance, baroque artists deploy high technical skill in their decorative paintings; among them, they stand out especially for their virtuoso brilliance, the inspired imagination of Luca Giordano, Pietro da Cortona, Domenico Piola, Sabastiano Ricci and Tiepolo. The splendor of the paintings, the freedom with which these painters interpret their themes, the magnificent fantasy of grandiose apotheoses, the courage to build unprecedented architectural perspectives are truly incomparable. The arches and walls of the palaces and churches placed at their disposal are inhabited by the baroque artists with the magnificent world of images generated by their inspiration, clearly neglecting the traditional interpretation of religious, historical and mythological motifs. Pietro da Cortona creates the famous plafonds of the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, full of freedom, movement, jubilant life; Andrea Pozzo comprehends the “secrets” of perspective and, in his plafond in the church of S. Ignazio in Rome, creates an architectural composition in which the plausibility of illusory forms is so great that the viewer eventually loses the idea of where reality ends and the world of pictorial deception begins.

In contrast to Pozzo, the Neapolitan Luca Giordano plays with his plafonds almost exclusively with motifs of the human figure. The dry and somewhat variegated painting style of Pozzo can be contrasted with the sonorous, soft, velvety brush of Giordano. Genoa of the 17th and 18th centuries was also rich in Baroque decorations. Gregorio da Ferrari and Domenico Piola are the most prominent representatives of the Genoese decorative painting, the Palazzo Rosso is a magnificent monument in which their skill is most fully captured.

The work of Sebastiano Ricci, as it were, anticipates the emergence of a brilliant master of decorative painting - Giovanni Battista Tiepolo: Tiepolo completes all the previous development of Italian decorative painting. This is an artist for whom, it seemed, nothing was impossible, solving the most complex decorative tasks with exceptional freedom. The extraordinary lightness, naturalness and peculiar "realism" of Tiepolo's art are especially characteristic. Tiepolo's drawing is virtuoso. The light of his paintings is truly daylight, expressed by an incomparable range of silver-blue tones; the faces drawn by the artist amaze with their vital expressiveness; perspective constructions are impeccable and convincing in their plausibility. Ceiling painting is the brightest page in Tiepolo's work, where the specific features of his talent were expressed with special brilliance.

Along with Italy, monumental and decorative painting and, in particular, the art of painting plafonds, found its development in the Baroque era in France, Flanders, Spain, Austria, Germany and other European countries.

The collapse of feudalism, the coming to power of the bourgeoisie radically changed the nature of monumental art; The nineteenth century was the era of the decline of the monumental-decorative style; the energy and inspiration of innovators go into the field of easel painting; here the main problem of art is transferred. Of the great masters of the 19th century, only Delacroix was deeply fascinated by the tasks of monumental decoration and managed, despite the decline of this kind of art in his time, to create magnificent examples of "great painting" (his plafonds in the building of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, the plafond of the Apollo Gallery in the Louvre and the plafond in the Paris City Hall, which died in a fire).

The decorative painting of Baudry, Bouguereau and Cabanel is indicative of the deep fall of the art of the academic eclecticists of the 19th century.

Skillful visiting masters of decorative painting worked in Russia in the 18th and early 19th centuries (Valeriani, Torelli, Scotti, Quadri, Moderna, etc.); Let us also remember the plafond of the Russian master Shebuev for the conference hall of the Academy of Arts; in the second half of the 19th century, plafond painting was used more and more rarely, the artistic and production tradition was interrupted, the necessary technical recipe was forgotten. The restoration of this tradition is one of the tasks put forward by modernity.

Among Soviet artists, it is difficult to point out a master who would be more prepared to solve the most difficult problems of ceiling painting than E.E. Lanceray. Interest in monumental and decorative art runs like a red thread through Lanceray's entire creative life. He could never, like some of his senior colleagues in the World of Art, limit himself to easel painting and book illustration. Already in the pre-war era, E.E. Lanceray tries his hand at monumental decoration; in 1906 he made a decorative panel for the Big Moscow hotel, a work in many respects not yet mature, where the individuality of the author is little expressed; there was no certainty in the mural of the "Cafe de France" with its impressionistic reminiscences (the mural has not been preserved); much more interesting is the plafond of Tarasov's house in Moscow (1911).

The next stage was the work on the decoration of the Kazan station, which the artist began in 1914–1915. The painting of the Kazansky railway station was carried out, as is known, much later, in 1933, and the task of painting not only the ceiling, but also all the panels, hallmarks and medallions fell to the lot of E. E. Lanceray.

It should be noted that in the post-revolutionary years E. E. Lanceray worked and taught in Tbilisi. In 1932, the artist made two large panels measuring 5 x 3 m for the State Museum of Georgia. The year before, in 1931, the artist created two wall paintings (in

tempera on plaster) in the theater of the railwaymen's club in Kharkov. The themes of the paintings were the Crimea and the Caucasus.

Work on the plafond of the Kazansky railway station, forcing the artist to think over a number of fundamental ones for a plafond composition - about choosing a vanishing point, about the limits of admissibility of angles, about the role of lighting, about the method of interpreting form - and led him to those settings that he embodied in his last work on the plafond restaurant hall of the Moscow Hotel.

Lanceray was involved in the work on this ceiling by A. V. Shusev. Having concluded an agreement with the construction of a hotel in the autumn of 1935, Lanceray spent the entire 1936 on working out the composition, and only from 1937, when the composition of the ceiling was finally established, could he start drawing cardboard. The painting, painted in tempera, was completed during 1937; for the convenience of work, the plafond was divided into ten separate canvases stretched on stretchers; the drawing was applied to the canvas from the artist's sketches by himself and his assistants: E. E. Lanceray (the architect's son), V. A. Seleznev, V. K. Kalenda, S. N. Bushinsky, P. M. Kuzanyan, N. I. Lvov and P. G. Kogan.

In July 1937, the painted canvases were removed from their stretchers and glued to the ceiling by specialists; then, over the course of two months, Lanceray and Seleznev, using a high mobile ladder-tower, connected all the joints, coordinated all the colorful effects and prescribed the entire painting.

The intention of the authors of the architectural project was to give an architectural perspective solution for the ceiling in the spirit of Pozzo or Lebrun. This is how the ceiling is drawn on the interior design of the restaurant. We see the composition of the plafond of a pronounced architectural type, built on the principle of a single vanishing point, which led to a sharp perspective interpretation of architectural motifs.

Lanceray did not immediately find the compositional scheme of the ceiling. A number of sketches preserved by the artist show the direction of his searches; we see a

ceiling solution with a motif of a central circular composition, or based on a central oval composition; at the same time, the artist makes experiments in composition in which the center would be strongly shifted to the side. All these decisions, for one reason or another, were consistently rejected by the artist.

In the end, Lanceray stops at the principle of the central construction of the plafond, which best suits the architecture of the hall itself. He achieves in his paintings realistic credibility, in harmony with the balanced symmetrical composition of the ceiling. The Lanceray's plafond, as it were, destroys the ceiling of the hall and reveals a new colossal space to the viewer. The artist gives a deep perspective solution, trying to make a series of successively receding plans clearly perceived by the viewer. The closest of these are the corner cornices arising from the real cornices of the hall itself; the next - bridges thrown over the hall, and finally, arched ceilings resting on high pillars above. All this seemingly light and peculiar, despite its monumentality, construction is drawn to the viewer against the background of the night sky.

Considering that the restaurant hall will function mainly in the evening and at night, Lanceray refused to transmit on a daylight ceiling and settled on the effects of night lighting and artificial light. A number of advantages and difficulties resulted, as we shall see later, from this decision.

Lanceray chooses the night carnival as the theme of the entire composition. This theme allowed the artist, without breaking away from reality, to give a realistically justified and at the same time elegant, festive solution.

Upstairs, the sounds of a cheerful noisy celebration, the laughter and exclamations of carnival participants, the trumpet music of processions passing along the bridges, the whistling and crackling of rockets exploding in the sky, seem to be heard in the restaurant hall. We see the figures and faces of festively minded, smiling, calling to each other girls and boys, located on the balconies of the cornices; they gesticulate animatedly, play with carnival masks, carelessly give themselves up to the festive noisy around; gymnasts, seen from dizzying angles, are preparing to rush into space; a brave girl swings on a trapeze (her movement and angle were especially successful for the artist); carpets, lush garlands hanging from balconies, everywhere a play of bright festive dresses, a blush of cheeks, an

excited sparkle of eyes; on one of the balconies, carnival participants are dancing a lezginka. Noisy processions, lit by the fire of torches, pass, greeted by spectators, along the bridges hanging high above the hall; the bronze horses standing on pedestals near the bridges, with their impulse, their swift run, further enhance the revival and dynamics of the scene. Massive columns rise into the night sky, carrying the proud soaring of the central arches. At the junction of the arches, in the corners, there are colossal statues of a worker, a Red Army soldier, a collective farmer and a student. And even higher - the infinite depth of the night sky, against the blue background of which the beams of searchlights play and golden clusters of fireworks scatter. This is Lansere's thematic solution - a solution full of optimism, brightness, imbued with the joy of life.

A bold architectural and spatial construction gets life, its full sound in the play of color and light. The main colorful melody of the painting is a combination of golden-brown tones of arches and a blue-gray sky. It is animated and colored with luminous green, orange, red, yellow tones, conveying the light of lanterns hanging in the air, the glow of emblems, the smoky burning of torches and the brilliance of soaring fireworks. The figures of the foreground, located closest to the viewer, on the cornice balconies, are given somewhat shaded against the light; the bridges visible from below, along which the processions pass, are even more shaded. The terraces adjacent to the bridges, with groups located on them, on the contrary, are brightly lit, filled with a golden glow, like the columns rising above it. Finally, the four spans of the central decorative arches are muted in their sound, although they are sustained in lighter tones than the night sky. The soft, bluish-lilac light of the moon illuminates part of the arches and the figures of a collective farmer and a Red Army soldier standing nearby. All this diversity creates a rich and complex life of painting.

The main task set by the artist for himself was to expand the space of the hall; not content with a twelve-meter height, the artist seeks to give the illusion of an even greater height, erecting a complex, ascending architectural composition from a perspective. It can be admitted that complete luck crowned the work of the artist in this part of it. Growing up in a family rich in old artistic traditions, Lansere, like few painters, understands and feels architecture. His architectural fantasy is capable of resolving the most complex topics; the illusory architecture erected by Lanceray, as a continuation of the walls of the hall, does not

suppress, does not disturb the viewer with its grandeur, it is solved freely, harmoniously, the flight of its giant arches into the sky gives the viewer a sense of relief, resolution. We do not dwell here on the complexity of the perspective effects that the artist had to resort to. We will only point out, in order to give an idea of the difficulty of architectural and spatial construction, that the artist had to coordinate thirteen vanishing points. In fact, the huge area of the ceiling (16 x 18 m) created a number of difficulties that had to be taken into account in the composition. One of the essential points was the impossibility to cover the plafond, due to its large size, with one glance and the need for consistent movement when examining it; it should be taken into account that in the future, when the restaurant hall functions, the plafond will not be read by the viewer from one firmly fixed point in the center of the hall. All this necessitated the establishment of a plurality of vanishing points.

The same illusion of the depth of space was achieved by the artist with the help of lighting effects; here, the softening of the clarity of three-dimensional forms and contours, as they are removed, the introduction of the well-known "sfumato" are taken as the basis. By these means, the artist had to make it easier for the viewer to read the various plans of the composition, to assimilate their spatial remoteness. It must be admitted that with the general resolution of the task in the painting, there are places (albeit of secondary importance) where the aerial perspective is not expressed consistently enough, which sometimes causes a certain uncertainty in perception in the viewer.

General, dominant tone of the painting is blue-gray (the color of the night sky); it gives a beautiful decorative colorful surface in this light, front hall, echoing the blue, artificial marble, pillars (the color of lapis lazuli, somewhat sharp and blue tone) and green, malachite-like, columns; the latter divide the entire space of the hall into three parts: main, central, hall and two side ones.

The plafonds of these side rooms were painted by the artist Adamovich; the motif of the circle in the center of the ceiling is interpreted as a kind of canopy-tent; the artist set himself a different task here - to close, to limit the space. The murals are made in a somewhat dry, ornamental manner, contrasting with the picturesque style of Jlancepe. It seems to us that the capitals of the columns, a well-detailed design, should be oxidized to

look like bronze, as was originally intended; this would achieve a greater unity of the capitals with the columns and would create color spots interspersed with the ceiling.

Lanceray always in his decorative compositions proceeds from an image, from a linear and spatial-plastic solution to a colorful solution. He usually works out his compositions initially in the grisaille technique and only then starts looking for a color scheme; in his mind color can be separated from form; the latter is, so to speak, the essence, the basis of the composition. The color may also change significantly. This method of work sometimes leads the painter to some uncertainty of colorful solutions; to the well-known variegation, which partly suffers from real painting. Along with a very noble combination of discreet blue and golden-brown tones, the painting is colored with rather bright spots that convey various lighting effects.

It was impossible to completely avoid these moments, since the installation was taken to transmit the night sky and artificial light sources, but, of course, other combinations of lighting effects are conceivable, which, enlivening the grandiose picture unfolding before the viewer, would not create colorful variegation disturbing the viewer.

These criticisms do not interfere with the overall high rating of the ceiling. He, of course, fulfills his purpose - he decorates the hall, makes it richer, more ceremonial. Academician E. E. Lanceray is a talented, cultured master who is able to fruitfully perceive the lessons of tradition and, using the legacy of the past, pave new paths. The plafond of the Moskva Hotel is one of the milestones of the true movement forward of our art, its growing ability to solve complex artistic problems.

We must not forget that the problems of monumental and decorative painting, only touched upon during the first twenty years of the revolution, will come to the fore in the coming years as the main tasks in our artistic development. The country is growing gigantically, public buildings are being erected in large numbers - palaces of governments, buildings of councils, new theaters, institutes, etc., in which monumental and decorative painting will play an ever greater role. Along with wall painting, the most difficult task of monumental decoration - the creation of plafonds - will be increasingly posed. We must take

care of educating the cadres of monumental painters, of creating conditions that facilitate the work of an artist working on the difficult task of ceiling painting.

Now the artist, starting to work on the ceiling, faces a number of artistic and production difficulties, which he is forced to overcome with great effort and, to a large extent, "handicraft" order. Academician E. E. Lanceray persistently expresses the idea of the desirability of organizing a public workshop-laboratory equipped with all the devices of modern technology. Such a workshop would have to have a system of mirrors (to study angles), reflectors, spotlights, magic lanterns (to enlarge sketches), fans (to create artificial wind in order to study folds), stocks of costumes, fabrics and props, a darkroom, etc.

Such a richly equipped workshop would greatly facilitate the artist's work, especially during the period of initial searches and preparatory options, would save him from unnecessary waste of time, effort and material costs on ancillary technical part.

The very real prospect of a monumental decoration of a number of large buildings in Moscow in the near future (let us recall, for example, the completion of the construction of a number of large theater buildings), makes the need to create such a workshop especially urgent. It seems to us desirable that the All-Union Committee for the Arts should include its organization among its top priorities.

E.E. Lanceray's article "*Monumental Painting*" in "The Literary Gazette" (1939, 30 June, no. 36, p. 5).

The Palace of the Soviets in Moscow will be the greatest construction of our era. In the history of architecture there has never been a building of such creative scope and significance of theme.

The work on the design of the Palace of Soviets has advanced so much that now it has become necessary for all artists of the brush and chisel to participate directly in the final design of this grandiose monument of our era.

Paintings and sculptures will occupy an important place in the Palace of the Soviets. More than 30 thousand square metres of the entire building will be used for painting, 5 thousand square metres for majolica and 3 thousand square metres for mosaics.

The Great Hall of the Palace of the Soviets will seat 21 thousand spectators. And on the walls of the couloir encircling this majestic hall, which is more than 1/2 kilometre long, a monumental work (mosaic or fresco) is to be created which should reflect the theme of the triumph of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The Palace of the Soviets will make extensive use of frescoes and mosaics, woven carpets and stained glass, encaustic painting (wax paintings used in Pompeii; this form of painting is now being revived in our visual arts), etc.

It is clear that numerous teams of artists would work on every single large work.

In the history of painting we do not find similar examples in terms of approach to themes and grandiosity of size. Take, for example, one of the monumental paintings of the mid-16th century, Michelangelo's *The Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican. The wall, on which this fresco is executed, is 13 meters wide and 18 meters high in the chapel, so the size of the fresco is only about 200 square meters. While some of the paintings of the Palace of Soviets will be up to 500 square metres in size.

The painting of the Palace of the Soviets is intended to be monumental and decorative. The tasks of the composition of monumental and decorative paintings are, of course, different from those of easel paintings. Artists, remaining faithful to the principle of socialist realism, must in this work away from the usual understanding of the picture, to which we are drawn in the interpretation of this or that plot. The sheer size of the paintings will inevitably lead to a different approach to the subject.

The paintings of the Palace of Soviets will reflect major themes in a series of pictures: the history of labor and, of course, its apotheosis - the triumph of socialist labor; the history of the struggle of mankind for freedom and the conquest of a better future, beginning with the first revolutionary uprisings of peoples and ending with the Great October Socialist Revolution. Our artists will also have to create grandiose paintings in the three large foyers of the Palace of Soviets, paintings dedicated to the heroism of the Civil War, to the heroism of socialist construction and to the Stalinist Constitution.

From these cursory glimpses of future works one can understand the immensity and complexity of the task which the artists' collective thought faces.

We hope that the plenum of the board of the Union of Soviet Architects, as a result of the exchange of ideas of art workers from all sectors, will come to a common

understanding of the stylistic problems so that the grand monument of the Stalinist epoch, the Palace of Soviets, will find a resolution in a single work of art.

Draft of E.E. Lanceray's statement to People's Commissar of Internal Affairs Lavrentiy Beria of 14 July 1939. OR GRM. F. 38. № 21. L. 1-1v. (A pencil inscription dated from the 1960s on the file: "Do not give out to readers!"). Published for the first time.

My brother, Lanceray, Nikolai Evgenievich, architect-artist, 60 years old, Leningrad, was arrested in 1931 and sentenced to 10 years in a concentration camp on charges of espionage, but was left in Leningrad and in four years, in 1935 released without restrictions on rights, lived and worked in Leningrad. In June 1938 he was arrested again and till this time he is in custody.

For the second time, a most valuable worker – a necessary specialist – especially nowadays, when our construction industry is so flourishing, when the demand for artistic qualities is so much higher, he is being ruined. And our country is being deprived of a really useful man, because the investigation, without knowing or understanding either the man himself or all those around him, is seeking no matter what, to confirm its fantastic hypotheses.

My brother's project for a whole town of the All-Union Institute of Experimental Medicine (VIEM) in Moscow, chosen after a series of competitions and already under way, remains without due guidance from the author. The most valuable study on the history of our architecture, commissioned by the All-Union Academy of Architecture, remains incomplete.

Knowing your attention to artists (I lived in Georgia for more than 14 years), completely convinced of my brother's innocence, I dare to ask for a personal meeting.

E.E. Lanceray's autobiographical essay in the catalogue of the exhibition "V.N. Baksheev, V.K. Byalynitsky-Birulya, I.E. Grabar, E.E. Lanceray, V.N. Meshkov, I.N. Pavlov, K.F. Yuon" at the State Tretyakov Gallery (Moscow, 1944. pp. 39-47).

The year of my birth is 1875. I was born in Pavlovsk, near Leningrad. My father, an artist and sculptor, died in 1886 at the estate, which he acquired near Kharkov; our family lived there without a home for the last years of my father's life. Having lost my father at an age when study and artistic disciplines were out of the question, I inherited from him several traits which I would like to mention here: a passion for finding a true gesture in everyday life, movement, an interest in ethnographic description of depicted characters and, finally, a taste for the Caucasus. I saw romanticism and often heroism in the distant Caucasus (especially back then), in the appearance and life of its inhabitants, which is much more difficult to feel in our everyday environment. I also consider my "vignette" as hereditary - on the pedestals of his sculptural groups, my father often placed lovingly composed objects that corresponded to the subject.

After my father's death, my mother and I, the six children (I was the eldest), spent the winter in what was then St Petersburg, in the house of my grandfather, Professor of Architecture N.L. Benois. Both the life of my grandfather's crowded family and his flat itself were imbued with an interest in art. All the events of the artistic life of the capital were keenly discussed here, and the flat was filled with many first-rate works: a huge picture by Jordane hung in the dining room, a beautiful sepia by Guardi hung in my grandfather's study and Italian Renaissance bronzes stood in the hall; there was a rich library, mainly on architecture. My mother was a young artist who used to draw a lot and attended classes at the Academy; her advice about handling oil paints served me well. I owe my knowledge of watercolour techniques to my mother's elder brother Albert Benois who was so much loved by the public at that time. But the decisive influence on me, a boy, then a young man and, finally, already a professional artist, from the very first days of my life, my mother's younger brother, who was only five years older than me, then Shura, and later the well-known artist and art worker, leader of the "World of Art" circle, Alexandre Benois, shared the same roof. As the "Veniamin" of the family, as a spoiled grandmother, he was given the

opportunity to live very independently and, in particular, to subscribe to a lot of books and magazines from abroad. And I, as an artist, was formed in that environment of books, monochrome reproductions and foreign publications. I think it gave me both a free hand in composition and an ability to get into the spirit of historical styles (Western European), but on the other hand, it left me with a taste for colour, colorfulness in the background.

Members of the older generation of the family were supporters of the 'pre-reform' Academy of Arts, recognised mainly the art of the High Renaissance, and were admirers of Italian opera. The circle of friends of Shura Benois (of which I was then a junior and incomplete member) fiercely defended Wagner in music and Becklin in painting, admired the tour of Meiningentsev, read Zola, and later became fond of Beardsley and the magazine *Simplicissimo*. In parallel with the emergence of the world of hobbies books and "foreign" (for me, the boy - it was castles, knights, Landsknecht), a friend of my father, a sculptor-animalist A.L. Ober instilled in me a love for wildlife, animals, the "smell" of the earth. He taught me to treat with care the first sketch, the first idea of the work.

Since 1893, I began to learn to draw at the School for the Encouragement of Arts. My portrait class was taught by Ya. F. Tsionglinsky, an enthusiastic pioneer of Impressionism in Russia. For me the principles of painting he instilled were leading and indisputable for many years. <...>

In 1896, my mother, giving in to my requests and with the blessing of the whole Benois family, let me study in Paris. <...> We all tried to make the most of the vast artistic and historical treasures of Paris: museums, libraries, booksellers, architectural monuments and excursions. I drew a lot of decorative arts. <...>

In the spring of 1899, we all returned to Russia and took an active part in the "World of Art" magazine and exhibitions of the same name. For me, the 1900s were mainly occupied with graphic work and primarily for our magazine and for the publication of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, edited by Benois, entitled *Artistic Treasures of Russia*. My search for style had two directions - modernist, using vegetal motifs, and historical, which I followed from studying the XVIII century. I was also fascinated by Japanese engravings. By the way, I was lucky to visit Japan in 1902. In 1904 I got married and from that year on I began to spend a lot of time in the country, which I was generally

closer to than the other St Petersburgers in our circle. However, the subjects and subjects of my works in the early years of the twentieth century revolved almost exclusively around the eighteenth century. Several of my small pictures of that time were in fact illustrations, on which, however, I worked long, repeating the same subject over and over again: "Empress Elizabeth's Appearance at Tsarskoe Selo", "The Ships of Peter I" and others.

In 1906 my Moscow patron, Dr.I. Troyanovsky arranged for me to commission a panel for the restaurant of the Great Moscow Hotel; it was my first monumental painting. I did it in oil, I agonized a lot. But in the end, it turned out relatively well and thanks to the fee I received, my wife and I made a big trip to Italy the following spring.

My inclination towards decorative painting was then satisfied by fulfilling a series of commissions - for a café in St. Petersburg, then for one of the pavilions of the Building Exhibition. In 1910, a strong and decisive influence was exerted by the commission for the plafond by I.V. Zholtovsky for the Tarasov mansion in Spiridonovka. In the composition of the ceiling, I wanted to get closer to the dynamic "twist" of the entire structure in the character of Tintoretto, who I especially liked at that time. The frieze succeeded better than the plafond itself. This work was executed in oil, but I began to paint all my later decorative works in tempera. <...>

During the winter of 1914/15 I spent several months at the Caucasus front. In that same year, 1915, after I had finished painting one of the halls of the Academy of Arts library, I was elected a full member of the Council of the Academy of Arts to replace Konstantin Makovsky who had passed away. <...>

All the time I stayed in Tbilisi I was a professor in the Academy of Arts. In 1927, I was sent to Paris by the People's Commissariat of Education of Georgia, where I could learn about the latest trends in painting in Western Europe. Be it good or bad, I confess that neither Goghenism, nor Vangogism, nor Cezannism in my time, nor later Picassism and Cubism affected me ... <...>

In 1933 Alexander Shusev proposed painting the vault of the restaurant hall of Kazansky station. On completing the work, thanks to the support of a number of leading architects of Moscow, the Mossovet provided me with a flat and I moved to Moscow. <...>

As I tried to penetrate deeper and deeper into the essence of decorative-monumental painting, as I gained more and more experience in different pictorial solutions in this field I came to the conviction that in the process of his creative work the artist must especially remember that a mural is always a coloured pattern on the wall surface, whether it is a subject entailing a "wall break" or allowing outright "carpeting". But let these words not be understood as a manifestation of disregard for the subject as such. On the contrary, full expression of the idea of the picture, achievement of the greatest expressiveness in the development of the theme, is the most important duty of the artist.

But no matter how much you want to lead the spectator into the depth of the picture, you have to take into account the inertia of the material, of which the wall is made, and feel its surface. This is why one must never for a moment forget the so necessary property of a painting – its decorative, colourful patterning.

E.E. Lanceray's article "*About monumental painting*" in the newspaper "Soviet Art" (1945, 19 April).

A lot has been written about monumental painting. Here I would like to touch on the problems that concern me and which I am trying to solve in my painting.

They are the problems of decorativeness and allegory, the question of realism in monumental and decorative painting.

For me it is indisputable that realism as a fundamental principle of art was and remains the life-giving soil, the ground, the touch of which gave and gives art new and new forces.

But should the realism of monumental painting be equated with the notion of protocol precision, so that everything was "as it really was"?

The artist's creative process comes from the impressions received from outside, which are refracted in his consciousness into this or that image. But an artist can be guided by an idea or a mood, without a direct impulse from the external impression, then he looks for something in his stock of images, which would express his feeling to the fullest. The poet looks for rhyme rhythm, gradually filling it with words, answering to both sense and

consonance. In the same way, the artist fills the scheme of composition which appeared in his creative consciousness with more and more concrete images corresponding to his idea.

A part of the stock of images available to the artist is formed from impressions received directly from life. They are very important and valuable. Another part of the images are received by the artist, so to speak, second-hand, by succession, but they must not be neglected. They are valid insofar as a number of contemporary notions are firmly connected with these traditional images, and the artist makes use of the "familiar" image, the freer and the stronger he reveals his contemporary thoughts and feelings. We can see how the art of the archaic period grew, repeating the same type; the same can be observed in the art of the Renaissance, for example, in the evolution of the image of the Madonna, etc.

In my opinion, easel painting will make use of the images taken directly from life or as if from life, while monumental painting will make use mainly of the latter. And it should be noted that this "second order" of images, already by virtue of its origin and its passing from one generation to the next, carries with it a certain share of conventionality.

But even beyond this conventionality, monumental painting is inevitably linked to a number of other things that close the way to the depiction of life "in kind".

But it is these conventions, in particular the introduction of the emblems and allegories, which provide the artist with special opportunities, enriching the essential aspect of monumental painting - its decorative nature.

The approach to the composition is different here than in the easel painting; apart from the inexpediency of treating a picture in a mural as a cut-out frame from nature due to purely technical conditions, we can find here deeper reasons for composing in a different way. If an event is to be depicted on the walls of a public building and remains imprinted forever, the event is given a special meaning. And for the image to be significant, it must be elevated above the level of ordinary, everyday life, it must be moved to a distance so that its significance can be perceived, just as the enormity of mountains is perceived from a distance when they appear as a wall, a silhouette, and lose their materiality.

This example shows how the peculiarities of mural painting, the technical possibilities of more or less flat interpretation coincide with the high fundamental task of

revealing the great historical content (and this content always bears images of genuine monumental art).

The historical course of the development of painting has led to an understanding of the picture as an image of a phenomenon, one in a place and in a time. In monumental painting this framework can be widened, and if showing a story unfolding in a time sequence seems to us an obvious archaism, the inclusion of episodes in different places into one compositional whole, a kind of compression of them, seems to me quite acceptable.

A still painting looks from a single point of view, like a certain window into nature. A monumental painting is often to be "read", considered in parts, from one place, sometimes without looking at the whole painting.

Monumental painting appeals to the mass viewer, who is more inclined to look at and "read" the picture.

Therefore, an important section of decorative art is the so-called emblematics. This section was lavishly developed at the Agricultural Exhibition, but artists used only inanimate objects and a very limited choice of them.

And we would like to see in our monumental and decorative painting a vivid, expressive emblem – an allegory.

Take the Victory theme (as a single figure) as an example. You could have a soldier with a machine gun. It is also possible to depict "Victory" as a woman in armour, wearing a cloak, carrying a spear and holding a wreath in her hand.

I think that in the second version the desired image is embodied more beautifully and solemnly. And for the fighters themselves such a "Victory" will be more impressive.

How much more grateful and stronger from the decorative side of such a solution, and therefore more effective!

It is worth recalling that the desire to raise the significance of a subject, to detach it from everyday life and routine led the art of the time of great boom to wide use of allegory, to depict a similar event but already "canonized", in order to magnify and thereby confirm the historical significance of a contemporary fact. This is how the Greeks resorted to their myths, how the Renaissance made use of ancient history.

I am far from wishing for a general return to such a "false-classical" interpretation of historical fact. But pushing the limits of narrowly understood realism, which often turns into naturalism, seems to me timely - especially now, when the scope of historical events demands their diverse and majestic embodiment. But it is clear that the artistic fixation of real events with a full characterisation of the epoch and its heroes will remain the most important task of painting. And by the way, one cannot help but regret that those same brilliant epochs of art - antiquity, Renaissance - represented by their best masters did not pay attention (except for portraits) to realistic immortalization of events, contemporaries of which they were!

Much can be said about the conditions and conventions of monumental art. The question of domestic characterisation, or rather the rejection of it, requires particular discussion; I would only mention a splendid example of such a solution - the monument to Peter Falconet.

But, one must ask, would we go beyond the limits of realism with such a broad understanding and such an interpretation of our modern subject matter? I think not. Even if an artist draws images not from real life to express his subject, he stays true to life in every image, because only when he understands and follows the laws of reality (anatomy, perspective, justified colour) the viewer's perception will be vivid, strong and convincing.

In my example of "Victory" the woman must be strong and majestic, full of resolute and energetic movement. The colours must be vivid and expressive. Wouldn't that be the artist's healthy realistic feeling, wouldn't that be realistic art, solemn and ornate, worthy of our time?

Konstantin Yuon. Brief description of E.E. Lanceray (1940–1950s; published in: K.F. Yuon on Art. Vol. 2. Moscow, 1959. P. 255).

Among the works of contemporary artists, the art of E.E. Lanceray stands out for its high artistic culture.

A sense of the plastic, a sense of the characteristic, and a sense of the artistic-monolithic accompany all his creations; they sound in every touch of his brush or pencil on canvas and paper.

His monumental murals, as well as his easel and book art, equally breathe a high sense of beauty.

By the nature of his talent, prone to decorativeism, and by high artistic culture, Lanceray is related to the masters of the late Renaissance; this is the grandeur and pathos of his art.

Lanceray's works in painting, theatrical, decorative and book art are distinguished by a rare compositional inventiveness.

Lanceray has the golden hand of a master and the eyes of a true painter, architect and decorator.

ANNEX 5. Reproductions of Lanceray's artwork

Illustration for chapter 1



1. Eugène Lanceray. 1912.

Illustrations for chapter 2



2. Catterino Cavos. Lithography. 1830s. Paris.



3. Cosroe Dusi. *Portrait of Alberto Cavos*. 1849.



4. Mariinsky theatre. St. Petersburg. 1849, 1859-1860. Architect Alberto Cavos.
Postcard of the beginning of 20th century.



5. Nicolas Benois. *Palazzo Farnese. Caprarola*. 1840s. Russian National Library

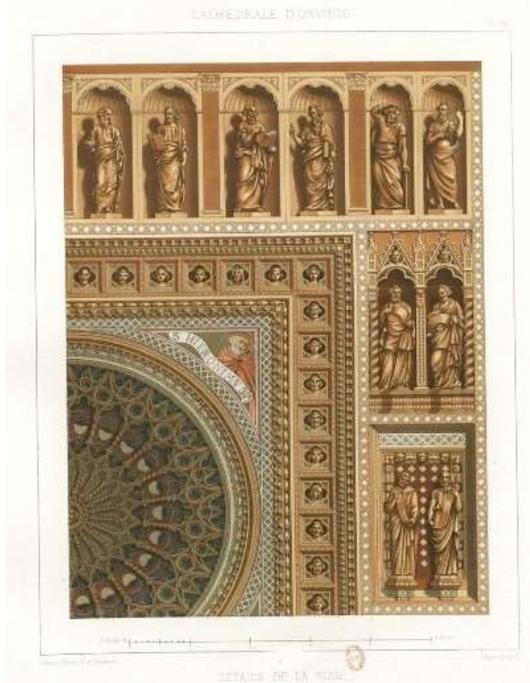


6. Nicolas Benois. *Monastery San-Lorenzo near Orvieto*. 1843. Russian National Library.

7. Vasily Sternberg. *Nicolas Benois in Rome*. 1840.



8. Nicolas Benois. *Scuola di San-Marco in Venice*. 1841. Russian National Library.



9. Monographie de la cathédrale d'Orvieto by N. Benois, A. Resanoff et A. Krarau. 1877. Paris.

10. Leonardo da Vinci. *Madonna Benois*. C. 1478-1479. State Hermitage.



11. Alexandre Benois. *Rialto bridge*. 1912. Private collection.



12. Zinaida Serebriakova. *Assisi*. 1932. Museum of Benois Family. Peterhof.



13. Alexandre Serebtiakov. *Masquerade ball in Palazzo Labia*. Venice. 1951. Private collection.

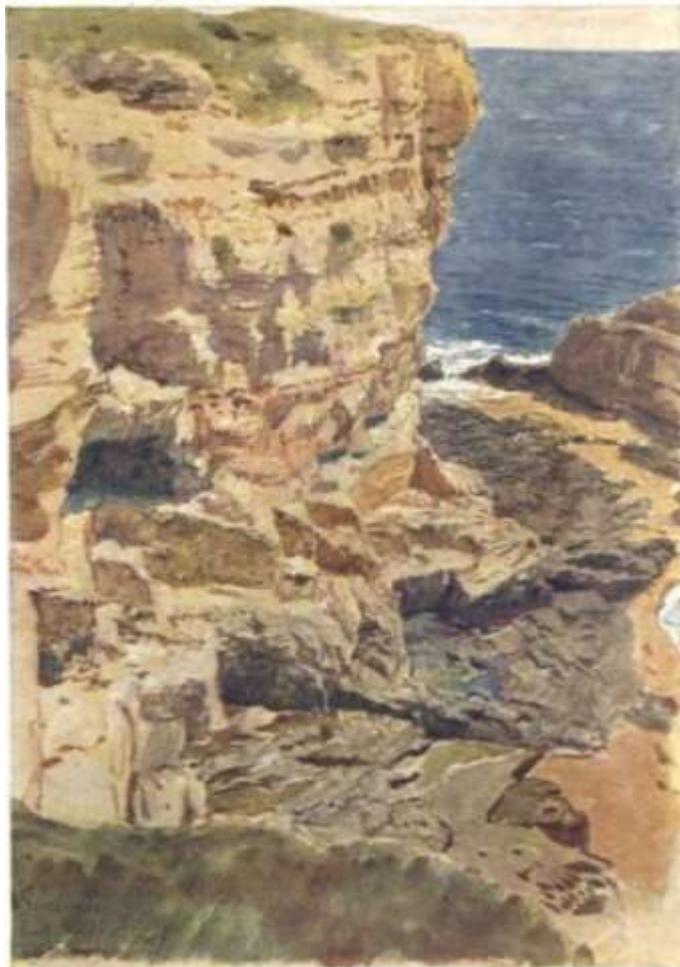


14. Nicolas Benois (1901-1988). Scenery sketch for *La Gioconda*. 1952.



15. Eugène Lanceray and Olga Konstantinovna Artsybusheva. 1904.

16. Konstantin Somov. Portrait of Eugène Lanceray. 1907. State Tretyakov gallery.



17. Eugène Lanceray. *Syracuse*. 1907. State Tretyakov gallery.

Illustrations for chapter 3



18. Eugène Lanceray in his studio in St. Petersburg. 1912.

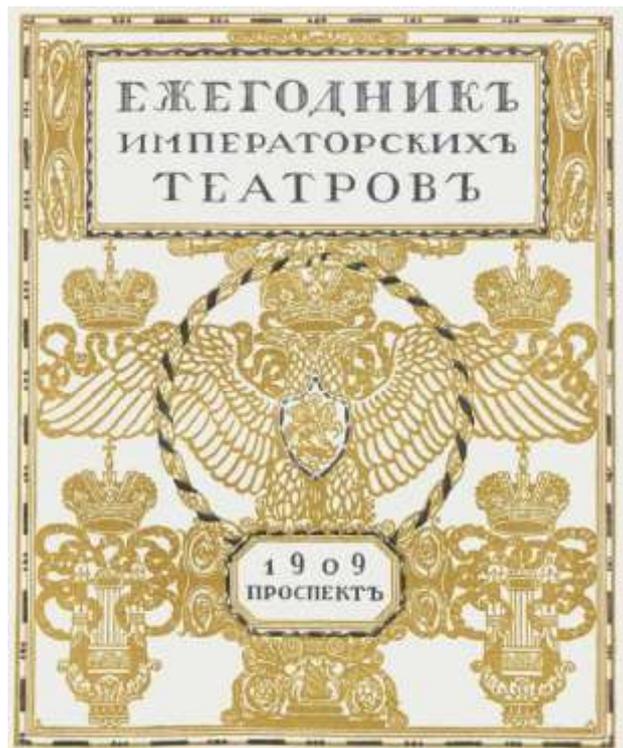


19. Eugène Lanceray. Cover and title page of the magazine *World of Art*. 1901.



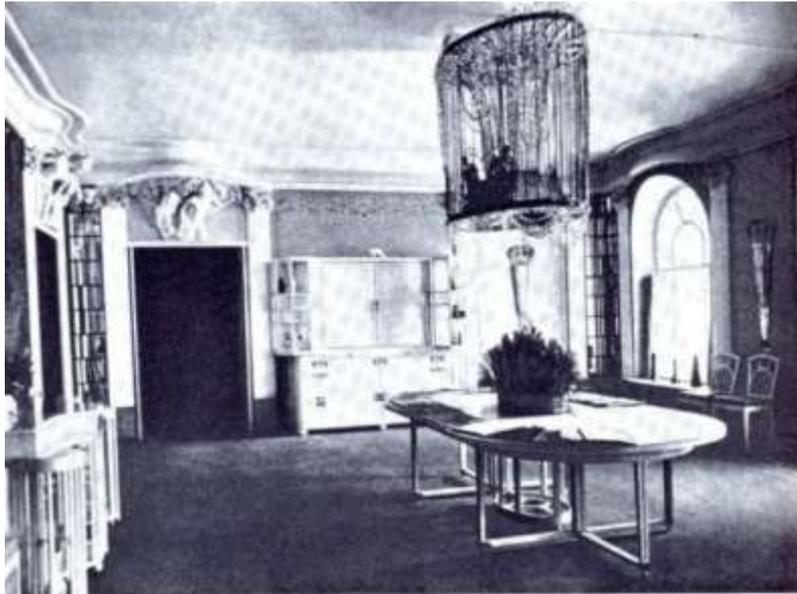
20. Eugène Lanceray. Sign of the exhibition *Contemporary Art*. 1902.

21. Eugène Lanceray. Stamp of the the magazine *Golden Fleece*. 1905.



22. Eugène Lanceray. Cover of the *Yearbook of the Society of Architects Artists*. 1906.

23. Eugène Lanceray. Cover of the *Yearbook of the Imperial theaters*. 1909.



24. Dining room. Exhibition *Contemporary art*. St. Petersburg. 1903.



25. Letter of Eugène Lanceray to Alexandre Benois about monumental panel in the *Big Moscow hotel*. 1906.



26. Eugène Lanceray. *Twilight. Dancing Nymphs and Fauns*. 1906. Paper on canvas, tempera. 27x145 cm. State Russian Museum. Author's photo.



Общій видъ зала „Café de France“ въ С.П.Бурге.
А. П. ТАМАНОВЪ и сотр. съ В. А. ШУКО, Архит.-Художн.

27. Interior of *Café de France* in St. Petersburg with Lanceray's panneau. 1907.



28. International building and art exhibition in St. Petersburg. 1908. On the left – E. Lanceray's panel *Knowledge*.



29. Eugène Lanceray. Ceiling of the White Hall of G.A. Tarasov's mansion in Moscow. 1910–1911. Author's photo.



30. Eugène Lanceray. Fragment of the ceiling of White Hall in G.A. Tarasov's mansion in Moscow. 1910–1911. Author's photo.



31. Eugène Lanceray. Painting of the Memorial Hall of His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich in Academy of Arts. St. Petersburg. 1915. Author's photo.



32. Eugène Lanceray. Painting of the Memorial Hall of His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich in Academy of Arts. St. Petersburg. 1915. Author's photo.



33. Eugène Lanceray. *The Triumph of Russia Connecting Europe with Asia*. Sketch of plafond in restaurant hall of Kazansky railway station in Moscow. 1916. Museum of architecture named after A.V. Shchusev.



34. Eugène Lanceray. *Peoples of Russia*. Frieze for the building of the Board of Moscow – Kazan railway. 1916–1917. Tempera on canvas. 130x720 cm. State Tretyakov gallery.



35. Eugène Lanceray. Scenery sketch for Shakespeare's tragedy *Julius Caesar*. 1923. Museum of Maly theatre, Moscow.



36. Tragedy *Julius Caesar* by W. Shakespeare. Maly theatre, Moscow. 1924.



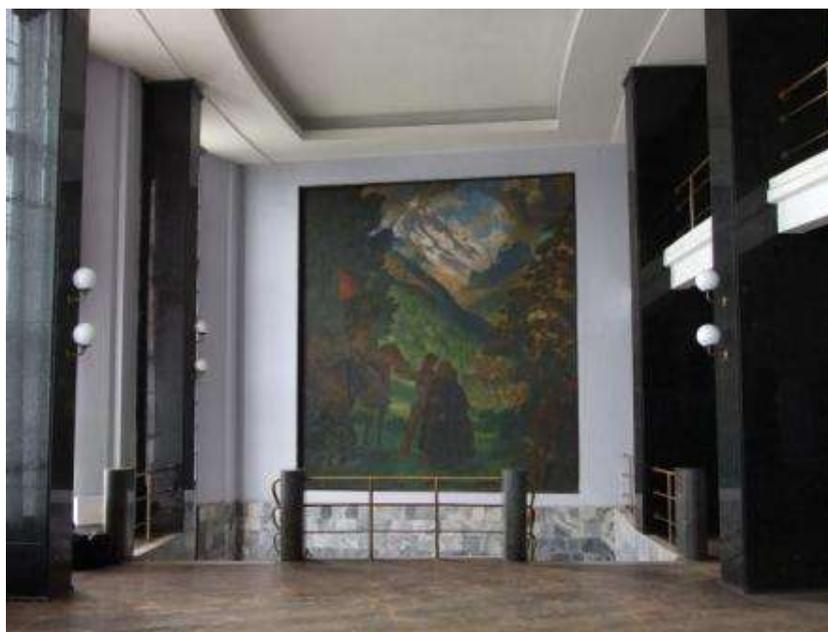
37. Eugène Lanceray. *Macbeth in front of a military tent*. Scenery sketch for non realized stage of Shakespeare's tragedy *Macbeth*. 1928. Museum of the Georgian theatre of Kote Mardzhanishvili, Tbilisi. Author's photo.



38. Eugène Lanceray. *Medival care in Georgia under the tsar and Sovet power*. Painting on canvas for the People's Commissariat of Health of Georgia. 1927. 134x204 cm. Not preserved (?)



39. Eugène Lanceray. *Railways unite workers of all countries*. Sketch of wall painting for the Palace of culture of railway workers in Kharkov. 1930. Sandretti collection, Italy.



40. Foyer of the Palace of culture of railway workers in Kharkov with Lanceray's wall painting of 1932. Author's photo (2012). Damaged by rocket on 18th August, 2022.

Illustrations for chapter 4



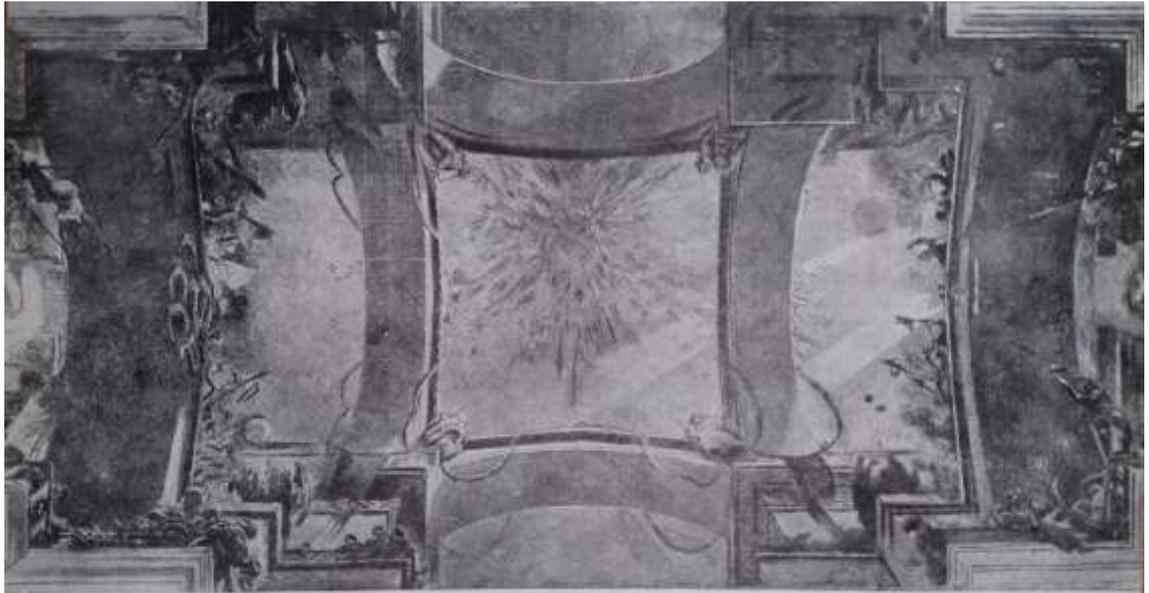
41. Ceiling of the restaurant hall of Kazansky railway station in Moscow. Series of paintings on canvas by Eugène Lanceray. 1933–1934. Author's photo (2000s).



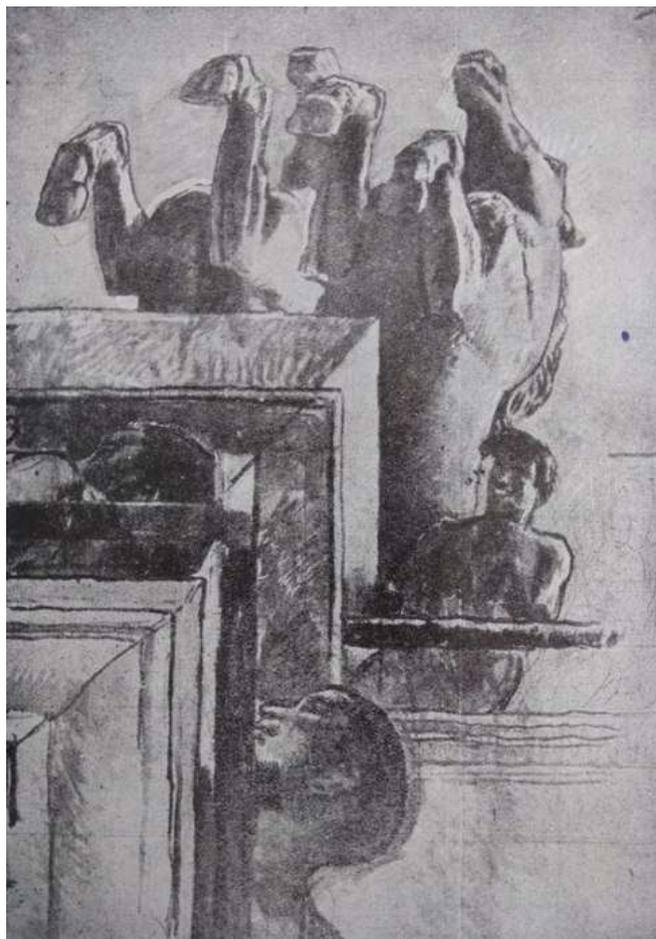
42. Eugène Lanceray. *Feast of the Unity of the Fraternal Peoples of the USSR*. Central plafond of the ceiling of the restaurant hall of Kazansky railway station in Moscow. 1933–1934. Author's photo (2000s).



43. Eugène Lanceray. Central plafond of the restaurant in hotel *Moscow*. 1937. Hotel was demolished in 2004.



44. Eugène Lanceray. Sketch 1/5 size of a central plafond of the restaurant in hotel *Moscow*. 1936. 153x315 cm. Museum of Architecture named after A.V. Shchusev.



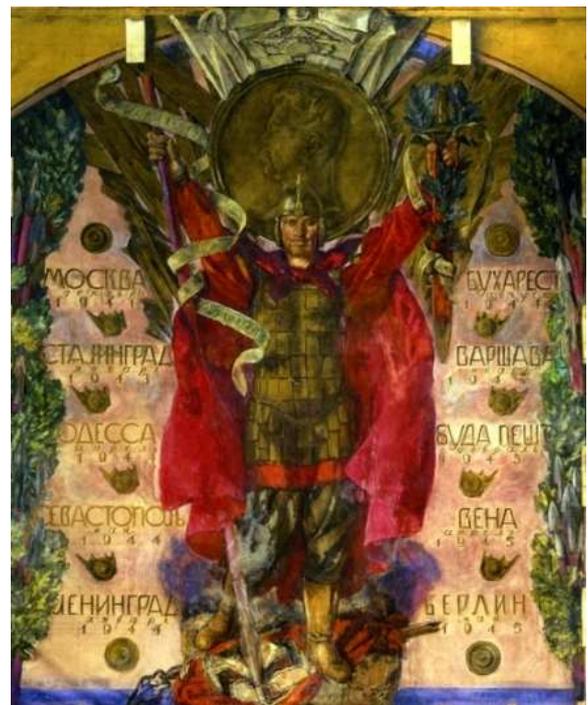
45. Eugène Lanceray. Sketch for a central plafond of the restaurant in hotel *Moscow*. 1936.



46. Eugène Lanceray. Sketch for a new plafond of the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow. 1940.



47. Zinaida Serebriakova. Painting for villa of baron Jean-Henri de Brouwer in Pommeroeul, Belgium. 1936–1937. Private collection.



48. Eugène Lanceray. *Peace and Victory*. Sketches of wall painting. 1945. State Russian Museum.



49. In the workshop of the Palace of Soviets. 1934. Eugène Lanceray – on the left.



50. Eugène Lanceray with students of Georgian Academy of Arts. 1929. Private collection.



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DICHIARAZIONE SOSTITUTIVA DELL'ATTO DI NOTORIETA'

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Io sottoscritto Pavel Pavlinov
nat ... a Mosca (prov.) il 11/07/1976
residente a Mosca in via Levitana n. 20
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Eugène Lanceray and Italy: the influence of
the classical heritage
Dottorato di ricerca in Storia delle Arti
(in cotutela con)
Ciclo XXXIV
Anno di conseguimento del titolo 2023

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Estratto della tesi di dottorato

Studente: Pavel Pavlinov

matricola: 956478

Dottorato: Storia delle Arti

Ciclo: XXXIV

Titolo della tesi: Eugène Lanceray e l'Italia: l'influenza del patrimonio classico

Estratto:

La tesi è dedicata al famoso artista russo Eugène Lanceray (1875–1946), di origine prevalentemente francese e anche italiana, che studiò arte a San Pietroburgo e Parigi e fu uno dei membri dell'associazione "Mir iskusstva" (Mondo dell'arte). Lo scopo della ricerca è identificare l'influenza del patrimonio classico (antico, rinascimentale) e barocco dell'Europa occidentale (principalmente d'Italia) sulla formazione della maniera artistica di Lanceray in particolare e della scuola russa di pittura neoclassica all'inizio del XX secolo e negli anni '30 in generale. Il secondo capitolo è dedicato ai contatti culturali fra la Russia e l'Italia dal XII alla metà del XX secolo, agli antenati di Eugène Lanceray in Italia (la famiglia Cavos), ai viaggi in Italia dell'artista stesso (nel 1899 e 1907) e dei suoi parenti dal 1840 al 2020. Il terzo e il quarto capitolo analizzano la grafica di libri e riviste, la pittura monumentale, la scenografia del maestro, la sua attività pedagogica nei periodi Prerivoluzionario, nel Caucaso e a Mosca, in vista delle tendenze neoclassiche in Italia, Germania e Francia e tenendo presente contesto ideologico.

The thesis is dedicated to the Russian artist Eugène Lanceray (1875–1946), who had mainly French origin and also Italian roots, who studied art in St. Petersburg and in Paris and was one of the members of the association "World of Art". The aim of the research is to identify the influence of the classical (antique, renaissance) and baroque Western European (mostly Italian) heritage on the formation of features of Lanceray's creativity in particular and of the Russian school of neoclassical painting in the beginning of XXth century and in 1930s in general. The second chapter is devoted to cultural contacts between Russia and Italy from the 12th to the middle of the 20th centuries, to Eugène Lanceray's ancestors in Italy (the Cavos family), trips to Italy by the artist himself (in 1899 and 1907) and by his relatives from 1840 to 2020. The third and fourth chapters analyze book and magazine graphics, monumental paintings, scenography of the master, his pedagogical activity in Pre-revolutionary, Caucasian and Moscow periods, compared to neoclassical tendencies in art of Italy, Germany and France, and taking into account the ideological frame.

Firma dello studente

