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**Conserving the Past in Soviet Cities**

**By**

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### **Acknowledgment**

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Nearly all of the largest and most important cities in the USSR predate the Soviet period, despite an active program of town building since 1917.

With the development of the Soviet command economy and the coming of town plans intended to shape the urban geography of the country to a degree never previously experienced, it became necessary to consider what should be done about this inheritance from previous times. Much of the legacy clearly had no place in the new city of socialist man, or indeed in any modern city; its replacement has been merely a question of the availability of resources. That old and inadequate housing should be replaced as soon as opportunity allowed was an obvious and general view; no one argued over the need to modernize the weakly developed urban infrastructures. Even more urgent, especially in Stalin's view, was the need to replace small-scale, antiquated industrial enterprises and workshops with large, modern factories.

Changes of other inherited features were less obviously pressing, but also were less easy to deal with. This was particularly true of street patterns of the past, which tend to be one of the most enduring traits of any town. Despite the opening up or widening of central squares such as Red Square and Square of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the October Revolution (the former Manezh Square), and the straightening and widening of streets such as Tverskaia, now Gor'kii Street, the street pattern of central Moscow still closely reflects the ring and radial pattern of pre-revolutionary, indeed largely medieval, times; in the oldest inner city areas, the Kitai Gorod, parts of the Belyi Gorod and Zamoskvorech'e, many of the alleys display their medieval provenance in their names as much as in their form. Leningrad's street pattern also reflects the regularities of eighteenth-century town planning.

The central squares and radiating main streets, laid out in the plans which Catherine the Great required of all her towns, are frequently the principal features in the inner areas of many regional centers of European Russia.

A major legacy of the pre-Soviet period comprised the buildings of architectural merit and historical interest. It was a bequest of great richness and variety; towns were rare indeed that could offer no treasure in stone, brick, or wood, no building associated with the events of history. More than any other aspect of the relationship between the past and the plan, the question of what to do with this inheritance has evoked controversy and more than one change in attitude over the whole period since 1917.

In the debates of the early Soviet period on the nature of the forthcoming socialist city, few of the participants paid serious heed to the pre-existing fabric of the town, even though the revolution and the civil war had only rarely caused it more than superficial damage. Since society was to be changed in all its aspects, it was usually assumed that the past had no relevance, that such symbols of outmoded concepts and social relations as churches and palaces should indeed be rejected. The city of the future would start afresh, based on new principles and constructed from the start. There were some exceptional individuals who envisaged incorporating at least some of the major historic buildings into the planned utopias. A.V. Shchusev, architect of the Lenin mausoleum and, with I. Zheltovskii, compiler of the first paper general plan for Moscow in 1923, preserved much of the historic city and gave special attention to saving buildings of historic and artistic value. These included ensembles of buildings, to be surrounded by a controlled zone of height restrictions (Kirillov, 1976, p.217). But such exceptions were rare.

If the dreamers of new societies in new settings of work and residence mostly ignored the past, the men of action did not. Lenin, the realist, was more sharply aware of the role of heritage in social consciousness. As early as October 5, 1918, a decree from the Council of People's Commissars (*Sovnarkom*) was issued with the aim of encouraging the protection, study, and popularizing of the treasure houses of art and antiquity in Russia (Ratiia and Dogina, 1952, p.177). It proclaimed, "Citizens, do not touch even one stone, protect the monuments, the old buildings ... all this is your history, your pride." Also in 1918, the Collegium for Museum Affairs was transformed into the Department of Museums and the Preservation of Ancient Monuments (Berton, 1977, p.199). A second decree in 1921, signed by Lenin, sought to protect nature, gardens and parks linked with architectural objects (Ratiia and Dogina, 1952, loc. cit.).

Igor Emmanuelovich Grabar', the painter and art historian, became head of the new Department of Museums. Before the revolution he had been a key figure in the architectural revivalist movement, and his interest in traditional Russian architecture and art had led him to edit and contribute significantly to the six-volume History of Russian Art. In 1910 he had been involved in the foundation of the Society for the Defence and Preservation in Russia of Monuments and Ancient Times (Berton, 1977, p.198). The roots of this group can be seen in the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings, founded in Britain in 1877 by William Morris, the poet, novelist, and painter. Morris, who was a socialist, had considerable influence on Russian liberal and revolutionary thought in general and in particular on Prince Petr Kropotkin, who was an admirer and supporter of Ebenezer Howard and his concept of the Garden City (Starr, 1976, p.231).

Grabar' now began energetically to undertake the work of conservation, including the tasks of listing buildings of architectural merit and repairing them. He himself acknowledged the influence of Morris and in 1923 traveled to London to visit officials at the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings. But Grabar' parted company with Morris's views in a fundamental way that has influenced Soviet ideas of architectural preservation ever since. Morris followed the views of the British art critic John Ruskin in holding rigidly that the contemporary generation had no right whatsoever to touch the creations of the past, the "monuments of a bygone art, created by bygone manners that modern art cannot meddle with without destroying" (from Morris' Manifesto for the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings). Such monuments belong to past and future generations; they should be preserved from destruction, but under no circumstances should they be restored. In this, Morris echoed the magisterial pronouncement of Ruskin that restoration "means the most total destruction which a building can suffer, a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed. Do not let us deceive ourselves in this important matter: it is impossible, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture.... that spirit which is given only by the hand and eye of the workman, can never be recalled" (Ruskin, 1889, p.194).

Grabar' tried to avoid the word "restoration," saying that "our main care must be directed not to restoration, but to repair, and the very word 'restoration' in our days is largely anachronistic" (Grabar', 1969, p.380). Under the guise of "repair" he undertook what Ruskin and Morris would undoubtedly have regarded as restoration, notably on the Sukharev Tower in Moscow, built by Peter the Great for his School of Mathematics and Navigation. He justified this activity in his 1920s essay "Restoration in Soviet Russia": "One



must not forget that there is restoration and restoration, and if Morris struggled against 'restoration' in inverted commas, against unfounded and undocumented reconstructions, then scientifically based restoration does not meet opposition" (Ibid., p.379). One must have grave reservations as to whether Morris would have agreed with this modification of his views, but it is certain that the attitude expressed here by Grabar', accepting the supremacy and virtue of science in validating restoration, has been the bedrock of subsequent Soviet thought on the matter.

Grabar' departed in still another way from the Morris principle that the past cannot be touched; for him not all the past heritage was sacrosanct. "Without tearing down, the town cannot grow. It is necessary to remove the old and give place to the new, but all this must follow a strictly worked out plan, accompanied by maximum guarantees with the aim of saving everything historically and artistically valuable" (Ibid., p.359). In pursuit of this double objective of making room for development, while saving the worthwhile, Grabar' approved the destruction of the bell-tower of the Kazan' Cathedral on the Red Square in order to widen the square, justifying it on the grounds that the tower was a vulgar nineteenth-century accretion and thus its removal would leave the seventeenth-century church in its pristine state. This was exactly the attitude of those British architects, members of the Cambridge-based Camden Society, who had provoked Ruskin and Morris to their condemnations of interference with historic buildings. But once again, a principle was being enunciated that has remained widespread in Soviet approaches.

In the short run, however, the ideas and the work of Grabar' went for very little. By the late 1920s, preservation was giving way to wholesale destruction of architectural treasures. Not only the bell-tower, but the whole of the Kazan' Cathedral, was pulled down,

as were the Sukharev Tower and the Golitsyn Palace, both of which had been devotedly restored by Grabar'. Hardly surprisingly, Grabar' resigned in 1930, and the Central Restoration Workshops, of which he had been director, were closed. Significantly, his paper on restoration exists in three manuscript versions from the 1920s, but was published only in 1969.

Throughout the 1930s vandalism continued on a massive scale, with the demolition of thousands of major buildings across the country and countless lesser ones. Losses in Moscow included the Iverskie Gates to the Red Square and the huge nineteenth-century Saviour Metropolitan Cathedral. In the latter's place was planned a 300-meter Palace of the Soviets, topped by a 75-meter statue of Lenin; this was never built, and the site is now occupied by a vast open-air swimming pool. Even the unique Cathedral of St. Basil the Blessed on Red Square came very close to being pulled down in 1936. Altogether, approximately half of the 520 churches in Moscow were lost (Daniloff, 1983, p.66).

The damage was not only in the removal of buildings; those left standing were converted to other uses, generally as a temporary measure while awaiting clearance. They received no maintenance or repair, and crude and careless adaptations were made to fit them for their new functions as workshops, warehouses, offices, or residences. Serious deterioration of their fabric was allowed to occur.

This extirpation of the architectural heritage continued until the Second World War. The war itself contributed to further destruction and damage, including the loss of more than 3,000 buildings and monuments (Ibid.). But at the same time, it brought about a change in the government's attitude. In a desperate struggle to survive, Stalin called on patriotism, rather than *partiinost'* (party loyalty), and on the symbols of the Russian past.

Religious practices were once more permitted and a small number of churches were saved when their upkeep became the responsibility of their congregations. Victorious tsars, including Peter the Great, were now admitted to the Soviet pantheon; his statue by Falconet, The Bronze Horseman of Pushkin's poem, was carefully protected throughout the siege of Leningrad. The cultural achievements of the Russian past were also emphasized. In 1943, at the height of the war, the Soviet Union established an Architectural Committee, with a Chief Directorate for the Protection of Architectural Monuments (Ratiia and Dogina, 1952, p.185); a year later the Central Restoration Workshops were re-opened, and Grabar', by then 73 years old, became its scientific director.

The re-awakened pride in the national heritage strengthened in response to the German invaders, who blew up or burned buildings in a deliberate effort to destroy that heritage. The Russians refused to accept this robbery of their past, in exactly the same way as the Poles refused to accept the leveling of Warsaw's Old Town after the 1944 uprising. When the war was over, the Soviet government began the process of restoring the ruined buildings. In most instances, this involved not simply repair or heavy restoration, but large-scale building of facsimiles of what had formerly existed. Scrupulous care and the meticulous use of documentary and all other historical evidence has been applied to the task, with results which in their striking visual splendor do much to promote the tourist trade in such towns.

Among the buildings in which work first began on the huge task of restoration from nothing more than burnt-out shells were the summer palaces ringing Leningrad - Peter the Great's palace at Petrodvorets, with its famous cascade of fountains and pools running down to the Gulf of Finland, the palace at Pushkin, designed by Rastrelli for Elizabeth and much

developed by Cameron for Catherine the Great (Fig. 1), and Brenna's palatial hunting lodge at Pavlovsk. In each of these cases, although the walls could be repaired and restored, there had to be wholesale re-creation of totally destroyed roofs and interiors, including painted ceilings, frescoes, moldings and the like. In Leningrad itself, many of the eighteenth-century palaces of the nobility -- such as the Elagin and Iusupov palaces, churches such as that at Smol'nii, and other public buildings that had suffered severely from shell-fire and bombing -- underwent similar heavy restoration or reproduction.

In the immediate post-war period, the revived patriotism and conscious efforts to increase the sense of national pride continued and were linked strongly with the "cult of the personality." A work published in 1952 titled Save Monuments of Architecture declared, "In order to help the state protect for long centuries the cultural treasures, the patriotic pride and glory of the Soviet people, it is essential that each Soviet citizen is imbued with love for the history of his country, for its ancient monuments" (Ratiia and Dogina, 1952, p.3). In 1948 Stalin issued an order concerning measures to improve the protection of cultural legacies and considerable funds were made available. An All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Restoration was set up. By 1952, almost every republic had its restoration workshops (Ibid., p.179).

This connection between national self-esteem and the conservation of the architectural heritage has continued through most of the post-Stalin era. Considerable efforts have been made to arouse popular interest in the task and to encourage the man-in-the-street to take part in preserving the country's legacy of art and architecture. Indeed, the new Soviet Constitution in 1977 laid down in Article 68, "Concern for the preservation of historical monuments and other cultural values is a duty and obligation of citizens of the



Fig. 1. The restored facade of Rastrelli's Summer Palace at Pushkin (formerly *Tsarskoe Selo*).

USSR." In 1965, the All-Russian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments was established. It now claims over thirteen million members across the USSR (Daniloff, 1983, p.67). The Moscow branch alone has 800,000 members, or one in ten of the entire population (Baldin, 1986, p.35). Members play an active role in the work itself. The Moscow branch in 1984 organized 180 days of voluntary work on Saturdays and Sundays, a total of 11,500 man-days, on 52 projects (Ibid., p.36). Not least among the contributions made by members is the identification of buildings, interiors, and works of art that stand in need of preservation.

The emphasis on national prestige has meant that considerable attention has been paid in the first instance to the restoration of the Kremlin in Moscow, as seat of government. Although the Kremlin had suffered no significant loss of the fabric of its buildings due to war damage, there had been much neglect in regular maintenance. Over the period since the Second World War, gradually all the churches, palaces, towers, and walls have been repaired, repainted, regilded and the stonework touched up.

Work on the Kremlin continued even in Khrushchev's time, but in all other respects his administration ushered in a second period of vandalism and destruction. He had scant respect for the historical relics of bygone times and in consequence between 1959 and 1964 there was a further large-scale removal of old buildings. Fortunately, his fall from power in 1964 brought about an immediate change of policy. One of the first beneficiaries of a more enlightened attitude was the row of churches and secular buildings on Razin Street in Moscow's medieval trading quarter, the Kitai Gorod, which were due to be pulled down to make way for the giant *Rossia* Hotel. They included the churches of St. George on Pskov Hill, built in 1657; St. Barbara, in late eighteenth-century classical style; and the cathedral

church of the Znamenskii Monastery, dating from 1679-84. These were now reprieved, heavily restored and incorporated into the general development ensemble (Fig. 2); so too was the fifteenth-century church of "The Conception of St. Anna, which is in the corner" on the other side of the hotel, its quaint name deriving from its location in the angle of the former walls in the extreme south-east corner of the Kitai Gorod.

The 1960s and 1970s saw an increase in tourism, which brought precious supplies of hard currency. Gradually it was realized that historical buildings were high on the list of things that tourists wished to see and as a result the two decades saw the tempo of restoration stepped up and spread across the country. The years leading up to the 1980 Olympic Games were a period of exceptionally busy activity. Among the more notable buildings of central Moscow, heavily restored in the 1970s, were the seventeenth-century "Moscow baroque" style churches of the Trinity in Khokhovskii Alley (1676-82), Trinity in Nikitiny (1635-53) and St. Nicholas in Khamovniki (1676-82). In the east central Bauman District of the capital, one of the smallest districts by area, there are no less than 72 buildings in government conservation (*Gorodskoe...*, 1986, No. 3, p. 27).

Exceptional examples of restoration on a grand scale are found in the so-called "Golden Ring" of historic towns around Moscow, at distances conveniently managed by day-excursion coaches - Zvenigorod, Yaroslavl', Suzdal, Vladimir, Rostov Velikii (which suffered massive damage in a 1953 hurricane) and Zagorsk. All were places of first-rank importance in medieval times and both Suzdal and Vladimir had preceded Moscow as Russia's capital (Fig. 3). Zagorsk has the largest and most important monastery, that of the Trinity and St. Sergius, still functioning as such in the USSR. All these towns have complexes of kremlins, cathedrals, churches, convents, and monasteries, now resplendent with color and gilding, to

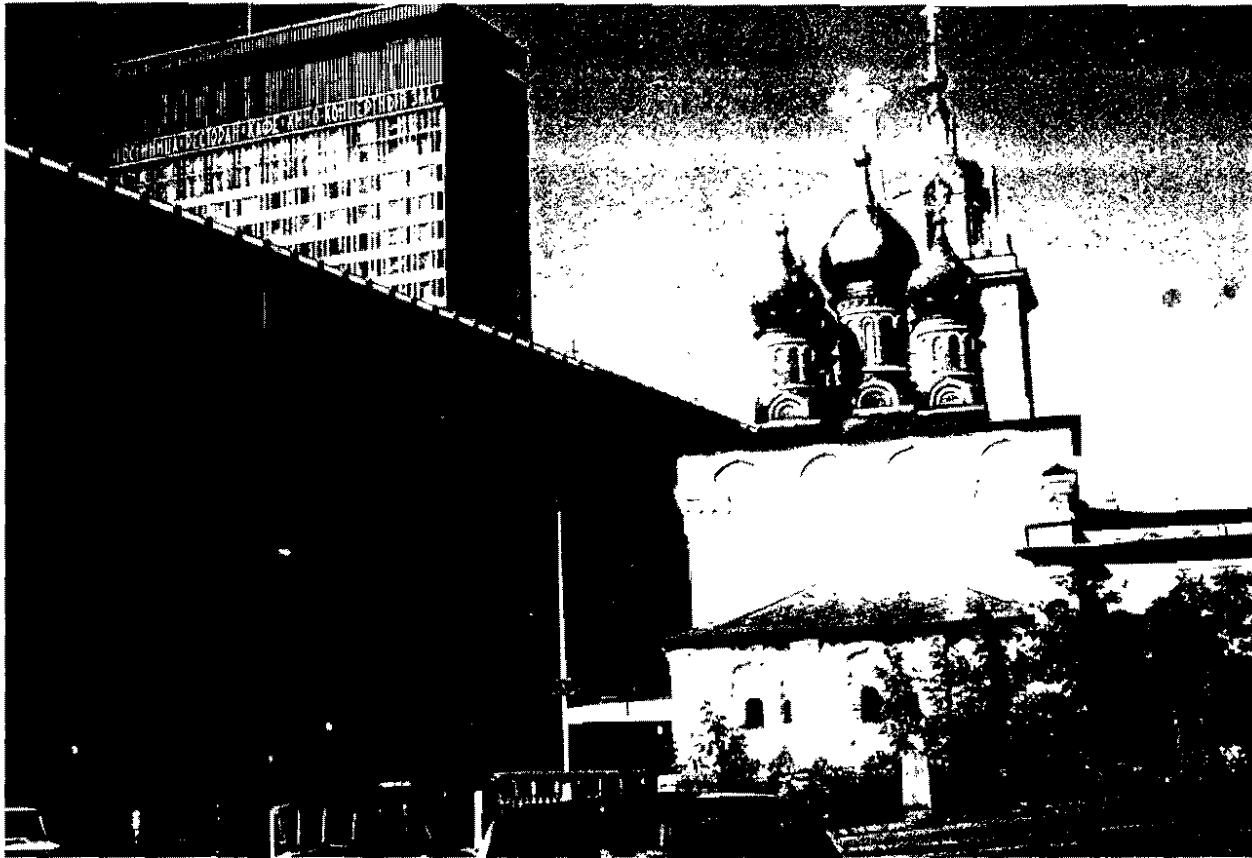


Fig. 2. The church of "St. George on Pskov Hill," on Razin Street, Moscow; built in 1657 and saved from destruction and restored in 1964.



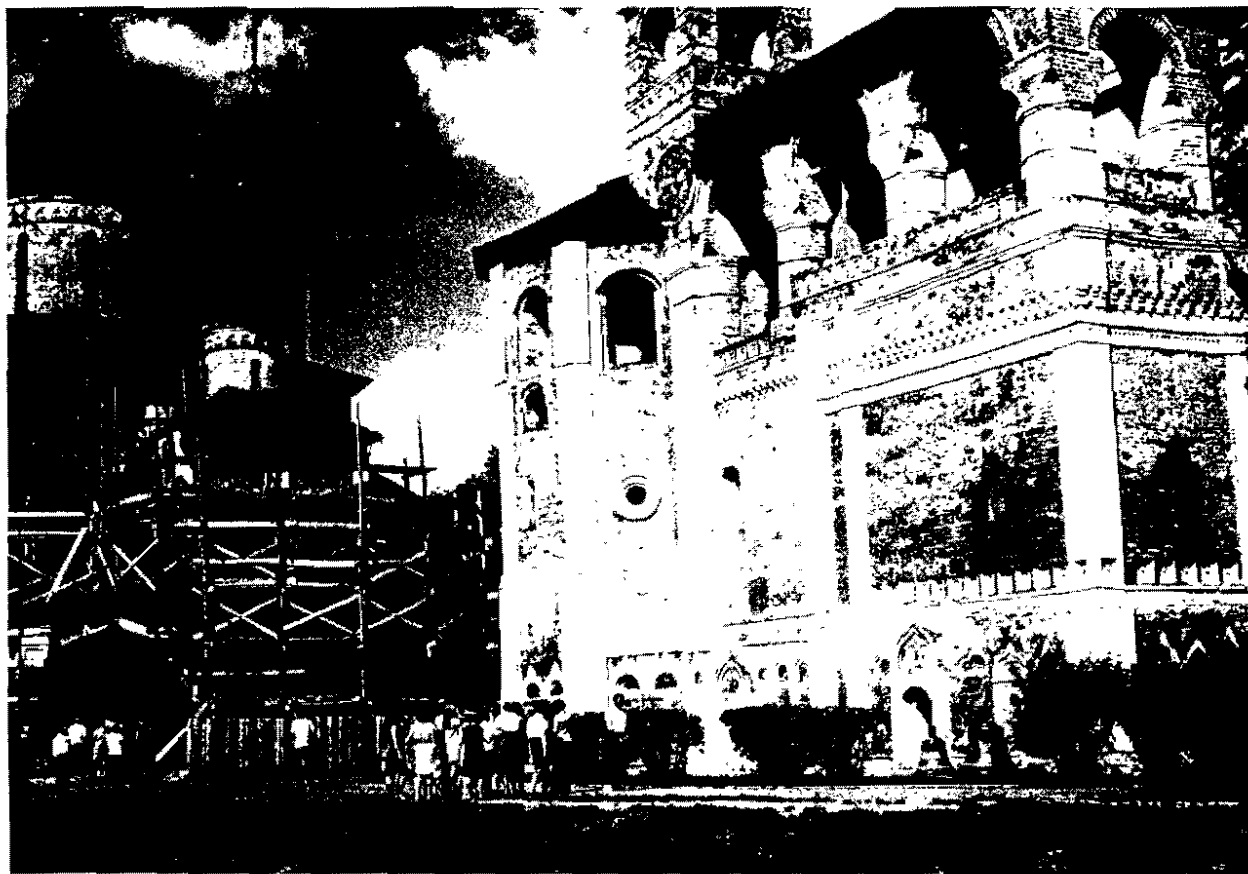


Fig. 3. Restoration work in progress in 1978 in the Spaso-Efimievskii monastery, Suzdal.

a degree unlikely ever to have been seen in medieval times. With the exception of Vladimir, with its range of industries, and the large textile town of Yaroslavl', these are all very small centers today and tourism is now by far their most important economic activity.

The commencement of restoration swiftly followed the opening up of towns to foreign visitors further away from Moscow, particularly in the ancient cities of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus. At Samarkand, the three medressas surrounding the Registan central square, together with the Gur Emir, Tamerlane's tomb, and the necropolis of Shakh-i-Zinda were all repaired; one of the minarets of the medressa of Ulug Beg was restored to an upright position from a perilous slant, and all the buildings were refaced with mosaics of colored tiles made from the same raw materials and by the same techniques as in the time of Tamerlane (Fig. 4). The most recent achievement has been the nearly total rebuilding of the great mosque of Bibi Khanum, which had been reduced by time and earthquake to a few precarious ruins.

The case of the Bibi Khanum mosque illustrates a growing trend in the Soviet approach to restoration. As more and more surviving buildings are repaired, there are ever more frequent examples of the creation of what are largely, or even wholly, facsimiles. An example is provided by the *Angliiskoe podvor'e*, the "English court", in Moscow on Razin Street (Fig. 5). The original building had been used to house the English merchant-ambassadors in the sixteenth century; it was wholly rebuilt in the late seventeenth century and largely destroyed by the fire of 1812. On little more than some stone-work foundations, incorporated into later buildings, a replica of the sixteenth-century building has been erected. Since no plans or architectural drawings from the period exist, one can only wonder how far informed imagination played a role in the project.

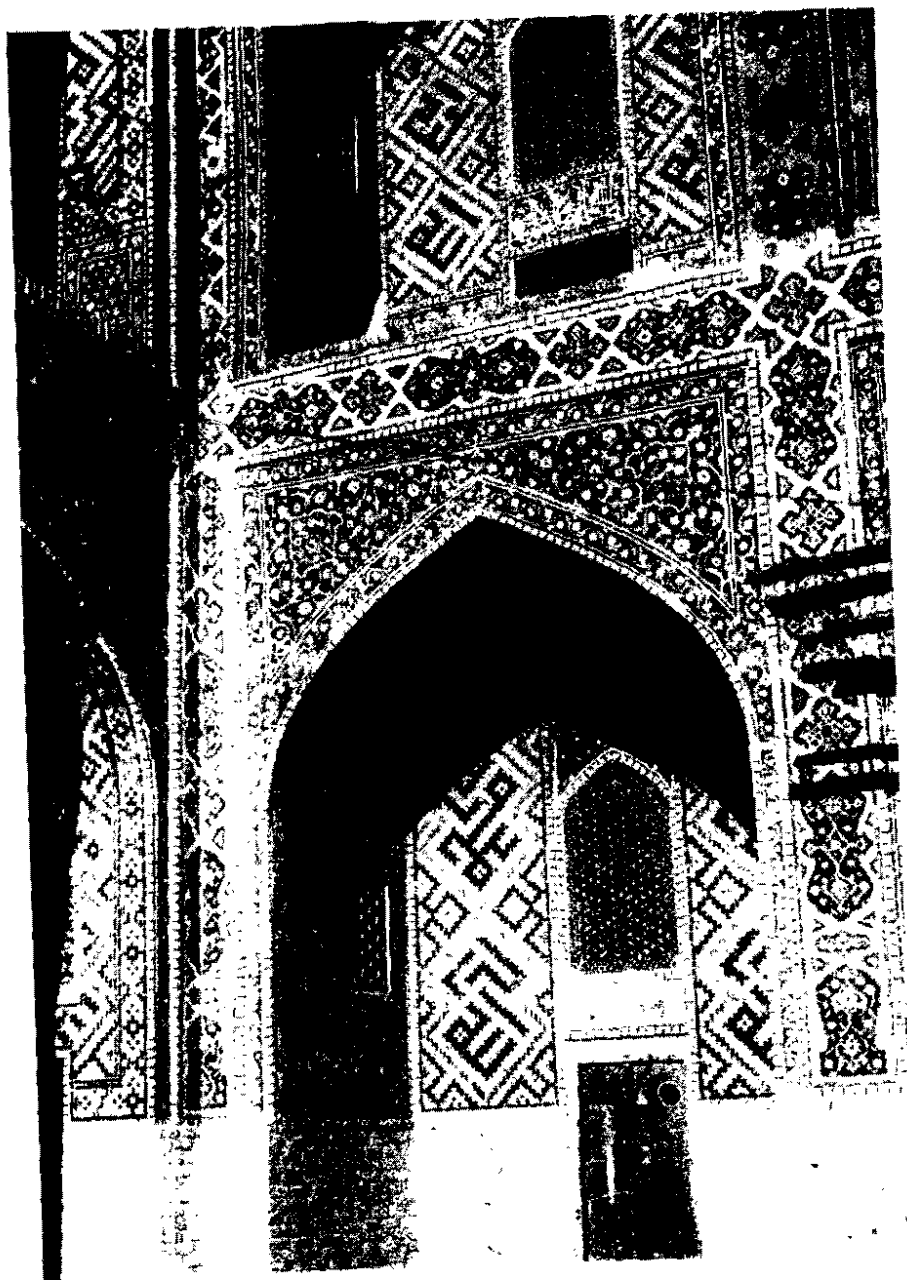


Fig. 4. A newly re-tiled corner of the Shir Dor medressa, Samarkand.



Fig. 5. The *Angliiskoe podvor'e*, the "English court", a recreation of the sixteenth-century building where English merchant-ambassadors were housed.

The USSR has yet to build its Williamsburg, but the trend is increasingly to the establishment of reproductions in a similar manner. Bauman Street in the eastern, pre-revolutionary working class district of Moscow consists of old buildings and houses, mostly of one or two stories. An earlier plan to pull them down and widen the street has been replaced by another to turn the street into a pedestrian precinct, on the lines of the Arbat, west of the Kremlin, which has already been pedestrianized. Any buildings of architectural merit will be saved and the rest will be cleared and replaced by shops and service establishments, in a style replicating the medieval "foreigners' quarter", *Nemetskaia Sloboda*, which once stood there (*Gorodskoe...*, 1986, No.3, p.27). It is worth noting that the most distant fort built by the Russians in their eastward expansion, Fort Ross in California, where only one original wooden hut has survived, has been recreated in replica by Americans.

In certain instances old buildings have been moved to new sites and thus preserved. For example, the sole surviving tower of the *ostrog* (wooden fort) at Bratsk was shifted to a new location, because its former site was submerged in water after construction of a dam on the Angara River. At Suzdal a museum of wooden architecture includes not only a number of wooden houses and mills, but also two wooden churches brought from elsewhere. Several republican capitals, notably Riga and Tbilisi, have open-air ethnographic museums, containing re-sited examples of vernacular architecture from various parts of the republics.

One noteworthy feature of the 1970s and 1980s has been the formal designation of certain towns as "historic." These towns range in size from Moscow and Leningrad to small towns with little other than their ancient buildings, such as Suzdal, Mtskheta, the old capital of the Georgian kings, and Kargopol'; in the RSFSR alone there were 115 towns so designated in 1973 (*Gulianitskii*, 1973, p.200).

Frequently, modern inner city redevelopment has taken place with little or no regard to the scale of existing historic buildings and streets. This has led to considerable protest, notably in Moscow over the Palace of Congresses within the Kremlin (dubbed at the time *stiliag mezhduboiarami* - "lout amidst the nobility"), the *Rossia* Hotel covering almost half the ancient Kitai Gorod quarter, the new *Inturist* Hotel behind the pre-revolutionary National Hotel and, above all, the line of giant high-rise office and apartment blocks along the new Kalinin Prospect, which was driven through one of the older parts of inner Moscow. To control further disproportionate developments of this kind, whole streets and even quarters within historic towns are nowadays set aside as conservation areas, in which modern buildings are prohibited, or very strictly controlled, especially as to height.

The entire center of Leningrad has been protected in this manner and its eighteenth-century skyline has been maintained. In Moscow, nine such areas were set up in 1973, including Zamoskvorech'e. This area of old houses and churches directly across the Moskva River from the Kremlin is associated with a number of artists and literary figures, including Chekhov, Ostrovskii, Esenin, and Akhmatova. Another conservation area is Kropotkin Street, where almost all of the buildings predate the Revolution. This area has an array of classical buildings, including the Tolstoy home, now a museum, and the Khrushchev-Seleznev house, now the Pushkin Museum; both were designed by Grigor'ev in 1814 and 1822 respectively. Yet another designated area is the pedestrianized Arbat. Four former mansions and surrounding estates of the crown or nobility, now within Moscow, are designated as conservation parks - the former Sheremet'ev estate at Kuskovo, Kuz'minki (once the Golitsyn estate), Kolomenskoe, and Tsaritsyno. The unfinished palaces of Tsaritsyno, incidentally, were designed first by Bazhenov and then by Kazakov for Catherine

the Great, who voiced her displeasure with both.

Minsk has two such areas, the "Upper Town" in the center, where most of the very few surviving historic buildings in that much-destroyed city are to be found, and the Calvary cemetery, with its nineteenth-century gate, to the west in Frunze District. In Irkutsk, several city blocks in the center, consisting of one and two-story wooden buildings in the typical pre-Revolutionary Siberian style, have been put under conservation orders. Yet another instance covers much of the old town in Tbilisi, where there has been considerable restoration of old houses in traditional Georgian styles. Thought is given to protecting the panoramic views of protected downtown areas in Georgia, where many of the oldest cities of the USSR are located (Baburov, 1977, p.5).

This admirable development should help prevent the overwhelming of historic buildings by grossly disproportionate modern buildings, such as the huge *Rossia* Hotel, which overshadows the churches on Razin Street, or the tower blocks of Kalinin Prospect, which hang threateningly over the small seventeenth-century gem of St. Simon Stylites church (Fig. 6). Yet the policy presents its own problems, as exemplified in central Bukhara in Uzbekistan. The old town is almost totally free of twentieth-century buildings; amidst the mosques and medressas, the blank, mud walls of traditional houses line the maze of alleys, most of which are too narrow to permit motor vehicles. Cupola bazaars span the major road intersections. The whole town center is a living museum, but it is scarcely possible to provide the inhabitants with a standard of living appropriate to the late twentieth century in these conditions, and gradually the people who once lived there, especially the younger generation, are moving out to the new blocks of flats on the town outskirts; the living museum is slowly, but apparently inevitably, dying. At Khiva, also in the Uzbek republic,



**Fig. 6.** The church of St. Simon Stylites, 1676-79, now a mineralogical museum; in the background a high-rise building on Kalinin Prospect.



the old town is now but an empty museum located several kilometers from the modern town of Urgench.

As the number of buildings undergoing conservation has grown, the question has emerged of finding contemporary, non-harmful uses for buildings designed for other purposes. In at least one case, an historical complex of buildings has been restored to something close to its original purpose: in 1988 the Danilov monastery, one of the ring of medieval monasteries which guarded the southern approaches to Moscow and which nowadays lies deep within the city, was handed over after heavy restoration to the Moscow patriarch as his religious headquarters.

A certain number of buildings have been converted appropriately into museums. Some commemorate individuals who once lived there, such as the Pushkin and Tolstoy museums on Kropotkin Street in Moscow or the wooden house of the exiled Decembrist Prince Trubetskoy in Irkutsk. The palace of Ostankino in northern Moscow, built entirely of wood in *trompe l'oeil* fashion by the serfs of Prince Sheremet'ev, is a museum of serf art, although this skirts round the fact that the palace was designed by the Italian architects Quarenghi and Camporesi.

Others have become specialist museums; the Novodevichii and Donskoy monasteries in Moscow are museums of architecture, for which their own buildings provide the most striking exhibits. Similarly, the Church of the Trinity in Nikitini, built in 1628-1653, is a museum of seventeenth-century architecture and painting. Rather less appositely, the seventeenth-century Church of St. Simon Stylites on Moscow's Kalinin Prospect is a museum of mineralogy. Greatest of all the Soviet museums is the former Winter Palace in Leningrad, the whole of which has become the Hermitage Art Gallery, which previously was

only a small part of the palace.

Some other uses are not wholly inappropriate. The lovely Pashkov House, dating from 1785-6 and perhaps the finest creation of the architect Bazhenov, was later the Rumiantsev Museum and is today part of the Lenin Library. The Moscow classical style house on Vorovskii Street, which Tolstoy used as the model for the Rostov home in War and Peace, is the headquarters of the Writers' Union. Other latter-day functions are less related to previous uses. The thirteenth-century Church of the Virgin in Metekha, Tbilisi, is now a theater; the house built in a highly fanciful revivalist style in 1894 for the wealthy Morozov family is now the House of Friendship for the reception of foreign delegations. The classical house behind the Lubyanka Prison on Moscow's Dzerzhinskii Square is the Reception Hall of the KGB.

Even when lessees are found for the restored buildings, problems have arisen over the occupiers' infringements of the strict conditions laid down in the terms of the lease. There is an urgent need to tighten controls, especially against sub-letting (Baldin, 1986, p.36). When the Rosmonumentisskustvo Association took over the rental of the Simonov monastery in south-east Moscow from the "Saturn" factory, it found the buildings in an appalling state of ruin and the site overgrown with weeds; 150 tons of rubbish had to be cleared (Gorodskoe..., 1986, No.4, p.39).

One-fifth of the historic buildings in Moscow continue to be used as warehouses, small workshops, eating places, or service establishments, although the proportion used for dwellings is down from thirty to five per cent. Clearly, it is the general intention that restored historic buildings should no longer be used for residence; in Moscow's Zhdanov District the people living in its thirty-five historic buildings have all been moved out. After

the buildings' restoration, it is intended that they should be used for cultural purposes (Gorodskoe..., 1985, No.12, p.19). Over the city, up to eighty per cent of the historic buildings are in the occupation of cultural, educational, or administrative organizations. Local authorities do not usually include in their estimates sums for the upkeep of historical buildings and are therefore not ideal tenants (Baldin, 1986, p.36).

The increased tempo of restoration has meant that corners have sometimes been cut. Thus concrete has been used to replace limestone lions at the gates of several Moscow buildings, (Gorodskoe..., 1985, No. 6, p.23). In general, however, in the task of salvaging ancient buildings, the Soviet restorers have followed closely the principles laid down by Grabar' - the reliance on a scientific approach using all historical evidence of the former appearance, use of proper materials and techniques, and every modern scientific method of carrying out the work. But in doing so, they are following, even if unconsciously, those precepts of the Cambridge Camden Society in nineteenth-century Britain, which Ruskin and Morris attacked with such vehemence. The Ecclesiologist, the journal of the Camden Society, stated that, "To restore is to revive the original appearance ... lost by decay, accident or ill-judged alteration" (quoted in White, 1962, p.159). This is precisely the line taken by the Soviet specialists - the removal of accretions of later periods as false, "ill-judged alterations," in order to recreate a perceived or imagined original state.

In a recent work on restoration in Leningrad, the authors write, "Accumulated experience in individual cases has permitted, not only the reconstruction of the destroyed, but also the revelation of the original form of the monument and thus the resurrection of long-lost features of the Leningrad townscape" (Kedrinskii et al., 1983, p.310). A classic example of this is displayed by the former Kunstkamera on the north bank of the Great

Neva, today the Anthropological Museum. Originally designed by Matarnovi and built in 1718-1734, only thirteen years later in 1747 it was damaged by fire and the upper part of its tower was destroyed. When restoration was carried out in 1947, two centuries later, the original tower was replaced, together with rustication and many details of the original facade, all on the basis of old documents and drawings.

The "false," which must be removed, may include not only additions of later periods, but also features that are perceived as inappropriate in a socio-political sense. This applies especially to monuments of wooden architecture, which tend to be seen as popular or folk art. One work devoted specifically to the restoration of wooden buildings lays down the principles definitively, if less than succinctly:

Before deciding questions of renovation of actual losses, one must decide questions of stratified depositions; that is, one must thoroughly investigate which in the existing conglomeration of multifarious elements are genuine, authentic and most valuable, which are accidental or neutral, and which are false, borrowed or foreign, which came hither from another world of aesthetic ideals, from another non-popular, artistic culture, which enveloped the authentic architecture of the monument with alien decorative orders and which do not possess intrinsic merit.

In short, before starting renewal of losses, one must precisely define what indeed must be renewed, what must be religiously preserved and carefully restored, what may be retained temporarily, or with certain reservations, and what not only must not be saved and even less restored, but on the contrary must be removed as alien and destructive of the authentic form of the monument" (Opolovnikov, 1974, p.7).

The Ecclesiologist would have applauded such an approach. Morris would have termed it "scrape," as opposed to his own "anti-scrape" views.

This search for a perceived original perfection of national or folk architecture has engaged the strongest support during the 1980s from the unofficial Russian nationalist society, *Pamiat'*, "Memory". The society's sinister qualities include a chauvinism, indeed at times an hysterical xenophobia, which embraces enthusiastically the principle of ridding

buildings of "alien" additions, advanced in the quotation above, in order to recreate an imagined "golden age" of national expression, unsullied by other cultures. Fortunately, the work of restoration is not primarily in the hands of such extreme proponents.

So far, industrial archaeology remains one area of conservation that has attracted little attention. In part the view of Soviet industry as the forward, cutting-edge of economic development has led to the removal of old plant and buildings; at the same time, intense pressures to meet ever higher plan targets has often led to the continuation in operation of antiquated factories. As a result of this second case, there are still buildings to be saved, but the emphasis on rapid introduction of advanced technology in the *perestroika* program may well mean that time to do so is running out. So far, almost the only examples of industrial preservation are the wooden wind and water mills, saved in museums of wooden architecture or ethnography.

In the more traditional aspects of architectural preservation too, despite the good work achieved, much still remains to be done. In Yaroslavl' Oblast, over half the 750 historic monuments are in need of repair (CDSP, 1986, 38 No.46, p.13). The unique collection of wooden ecclesiastical architecture at Kizhi Pogost' on the shores of Lake Onega, including the Preobrazhenskii Church, is but the best known of a series of wooden structures throughout the north, which are suffering from grave neglect and failure to carry out restoration work. Despite a resolution from the RSFSR Council of Ministers in 1980 on the preservation of historic monuments, by 1985 only 18 out of 202 wooden historic buildings in the Karelian Autonomous Republic have been repaired (CDSP, 1986, 38 No.24, p.26). In Moscow, the building of a new Metro station is threatening the foundations and stability of the Pashkov House.

However, the ministerial resolution is itself evidence of deep concern. Equally, the necessity incumbent on the present-day Soviet town planners to make due accommodation for the historic heritage and to blend it with new developments is generally recognized. "In the architecture of their buildings, in the laying out of their streets and squares, [towns] embody the links of time; they delight by the union of old and new. It is mindless to drown the voice of history in them, to wipe out the imprint of past eras .... Town planners must manifest genuine art, in order that on the road to the future of the town, they do not waste the impressive heritage of the past" (Lappo, 1987, p.223). A Georgian writer puts it in even stronger terms: "It is fundamentally abnormal, if the architectural and urban heritage is seen as an obstacle for planners, instead of being seen as a "genotype" of compositional development and continuity" (Baburov, 1977, p.8). A questionnaire carried out in Kaluga found that architectural monuments played an important role in people's perceptions of the social significance of urban core areas (Bakshteyn et al., 1986, pp.92-93).

Nowadays, money is available for conservation work and action is being taken. In 1986, a Soviet Cultural Fund was established, with Academician D.S. Likhachev as chairman of its board, to promote national culture and national consciousness of cultural heritage; its responsibilities include restoration of historic buildings (CDSP, 1986, 39 No.46, pp.12-14). Certainly, in the Soviet city as it approaches the end of the twentieth century, restored or facsimile buildings of past eras form a vividly colorful and varied element in a townscape only too often monotonous, an element usually appreciated by native and visitor alike as giving cultural depth and aesthetic richness.

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