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The Return to the Origins: Rural Inspirations in Artists' Colonies in Hungary and Russia

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In 1972, the British architectural historian Joseph Rykwert (born 1926 in Warsaw) published a book called *Adam's House in Paradise: The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History*. Its principal theme is the reconfiguration of the Vitruvian myth of architecture's origins in the wooden hut.

The return to origins is a constant of human development and in this matter architecture conforms to all other human activities. The primitive hut – the home of the first man – is therefore no incidental concern of theorists, no casual ingredient of myth or ritual. [...] In the present rethinking of why we build and what we build for, the primitive hut will, I suggest, retain its validity as a reminder of the original and therefore essential meaning of all building for people: that is, of architecture. It remains the underlying statement, the irreducible, intentional core, which I have attempted to show transformed through the tensions between various historical forces¹.

Rykwert's book is not a systematic history of an architectural type, but the history of a primordial vision of humanity. He begins his story at its end with Le Corbusier's analysis of a primitive temple, moving back in time via Gropius' Sommerfeld house to Vitruvius, and concluding with a discussion of Jewish ephemeral architecture, particularly the hupa, as the nearest equivalent to the human pre-house in paradise, circling from the story of Corbusier's modular to the "house of Adam". Following the Renaissance tradition, Rykwert presents the human being as the measure

¹ J. Rykwert, *Adam's House in Paradise: The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History*, New York, 1972, p. 192

of all things and the centrepiece of the universe. Unlike the model foreseen by Vitruvius, the proto-house described by Rykwert was not based on its functions. Rykwert instead conceived of it not as a shelter against the weather, but as a space to be interpreted in terms of his own body and at the same time an exposition of the paradise concept therefore setting himself at its centre.² The British art historian Ernst Gombrich reacted angrily to this book, calling it a “romantic and almost whimsical essay” in a 1973 piece in the *New York Review of Books*. He attacked Rykwert for preferring “suggestive allusion” to “systematic presentation,” by which he meant that Rykwert had produced a mere “cluster of associations” instead of an academic monograph.³ Gombrich had similar doubts about the views of Josef Strzygowski, his former teacher in Vienna, who claimed, for instance, that the “Indo-Germanic” wooden architecture of the Scandinavian and Eastern European “North” was the original predecessor of European stone architecture.

The title of these architectural meditations is attractive. It is pleasant to think of Adam, the perfect man, living in a perfect house in Paradise. Not a primitive hut to be sure, but a well-appointed residence with plenty of labour-saving devices for Eve. Alas, like so many other pleasant fantasies this one must be heretical. Adam no more had a house in Paradise than Eve had a dress. In those balmy regions, the perfect pair before the Fall were in need neither of shelter nor of garments.⁴

Despite this critique, other scholars are still inspired by Rykwert’s little book. He encourages the use of interdisciplinary methods, connecting elements of ethnography, linguistics, material and religious studies to architectural history. He also turns history on its head, presenting the blockhouse Sommerfeld, which Martin Gropius built in 1921 for a Berlin timber merchant, no longer as an innovative icon of expressionist architecture opening the first Bauhaus phase, but as a link in a chain of tradi-

² Ibid., p. 190.

³ E. H. Gombrich, Adam’s House in Paradise, in *Reflections on the History of Art. Views and Reviews*, ed. by R. Woodfield, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1987, p. 147–151, here 149 (first published as “Dream Houses”, *The New York Review of Books*, 1973 11 29).

⁴ Ibid., p. 147.



1. Allegoric image of Vitruvian's "primitive hut" by Charles Eisen. Frontispiece of the second edition of Abbé Laugier's *Essai sur l'architecture* (1755)

tion leading back to the architectural forms of antiquity.

In both Rykwert's and Strzygowski's works, the term "primary" appears in conjunction with the term "primitive hut". J. Strzygowski wrote: "The house of wood was the *primary construction technique* of the Indo-Germans. The world / of their architecture / has been lost due to this 'perishable' nature."⁵ In his influential monograph on wooden architecture, Konrad Wachsmann also regarded the timber dwelling as a primordial architectural form: "Blockhaus shows the primary material of wood at its most pure."⁶

Rykwert's argumentation goes back to Abbé Laugier, who superimposed a Rousseauian reading onto the constructivist-evolutionist model

of Vitruvius (human beings need shelter; tree trunks turn to pillars; the canopy becomes the frieze as is shown in the frontispiece of the second edition of Laugier's book (fig. 1).

We read in Laugier:

La petite cabane rustique je viens de décrire, est le modèle sur laquelle on a imaginé l'architecture [...] Considérons l'homme dans sa première origine sans autre secours, sans autre guide que l'instinct naturel de ses besoins. Il lui faut du repos.... Il aperçoit un forêt qui lui offre la fraîcheur des ombres; il court se cacher dans son épaisseur, et le voilà content.⁷

⁵ J. Strzygowski, *Der Norden in der Bildenden Kunst Westeuropas. Heidnisches und Christliches um das Jahr 1000*, Wien, 1926, p. 100.

⁶ K. Wachsmann, *Holzhausbau. Technik und Gestaltung*, Berlin, 1930, here Basel/ Boston/ Berlin, 1995, p. 30.

⁷ M.-A. Laugier, *Essai sur l'architecture*, Paris, 1753, p. 8–9 (Chapitre Premier: Principes généraux de l'architecture).

According to Rykwert, “Laugier’s little hut had been built on Rousseau’s river bank”.⁸

The American Henry David Thoreau occupies a central place in this list: in his work *Walden, or the Life in the Woods*, published in 1845, he advocated a retreat into nature, having himself withdrawn to Walden Lake, near Boston.⁹ There he lived self-sufficiently in a self-made hut for two years, two months and two days. His book brought a new kind of lifestyle – suburban retirement – into fashion. Rigorous studies have shown that Thoreau was intimately involved in “current dialogues on the villa, the rustic, and the reform of domestic architecture”.¹⁰

The *Lebensreform* movement

In Thoreau’s own lifetime his book remained nearly unnoticed, but its popularity around the turn of the century was all the greater for it. In Germany alone, translations appeared in 1897, 1905 and 1922. One of his devotees, the musician Georg Levin, even took the name Walden for his pseudonym, becoming the famous expressionist publisher Herwarth Walden (the idea came from his wife, the poet Else Lasker-Schüler). This surge in popularity is not surprising, coinciding as it did with the rise of the *Lebensreform* movement, which called for a focus on life itself as the source of renewal and regeneration. However, Rykwert’s book does not address this issue.

The ideas of the *Lebensreform* communities blended the critique of civilisation with new ideas of hygiene and methods of healing associated with names such as Knopp’s treatment and nudism. Wood especially was said to have many healing properties. The famous *Co-operative*

⁸ J. Rykwert, op. cit., p. 49.

⁹ H.-D. Thoreau, *Walden, or the Life in the Woods*, Boston, 1854.

¹⁰ See W. Barksdale Maznard, Thoreau’s House in Walden, *The Art Bulletin* 1999 12 08, p. 303–325. For the architectural context see: A. Moravánszky, Die Entdeckung des Nahen. Das Bauerhaus und die Architekten der frühen Moderne, in *Das entfernte Dorf. Moderne Kunst und ethnischer Artefakt*, ed. by A. Moravánszky, Wien, 2002, p. 95–124; *Vernakuläre Moderne. Grenzüberschreitungen in der Architektur um 1900. Das Bauerhaus und seine Aneignung*, ed. by A. Aigner, Bielefeld, 2010.



2. *Casa dei Russi*, Monte Verità, Ascona.
Ca 1910

Vegetarian Colony Monte Verità in Ascona attracted many truth-seekers from Europe, among them a number of Eastern European intellectuals, pacifists and downshifters. The modest log cabin *Casa dei Russi* (a domicile of Russian students) preserved in Monte Verità is an example of this aspiration to a humble and healthy life (fig. 2). The architectural historian Nils Aschenbeck saw this plain and functional reform architecture as foreshadowing the building principles of modernism.¹¹

Against this backdrop, fin-de-siècle artists and intellectuals discovered rural settings to be sites of escapism that fostered their creativity.

The artists' colonies they founded promised a turn away from the city towards wild nature, freedom, sexual emancipation, and ideas of community and reform. The idea of a "healthy" living environment was integrated into the aesthetic agenda of these artistic settlements, with the primitive hut in its rural environment broadly regarded as a fulfilment of a humble, sane life in harmony with nature. Inspired by the artists' colony of Monte Verità during a stay in Locarno, the philosopher Ernst Bloch conceived his extensive catalogue of utopias, *The Principle Hope* (*Das Prinzip Hoffnung*, 1938–47), which captured an essential contradiction between the artistic perception of "landscaped nature" in the modern era,

¹¹ N. Aschenbeck, *Reformarchitektur: Die Konstituierung der Ästhetik der Moderne*, Basel, 2016.

which he associated on the one hand with a “naïve” (in Schiller’s sense) approach to landscape as an assemblage of “forests, mountains, and stars of light,” and on the other with the contemporary, rational and pragmatic (or as Bloch put it, “mechanical”) appropriation of nature. This “pastoral gaze” appeared to him to be simultaneously archaic and romantic, “pre-capitalist in a capitalist age.”¹²

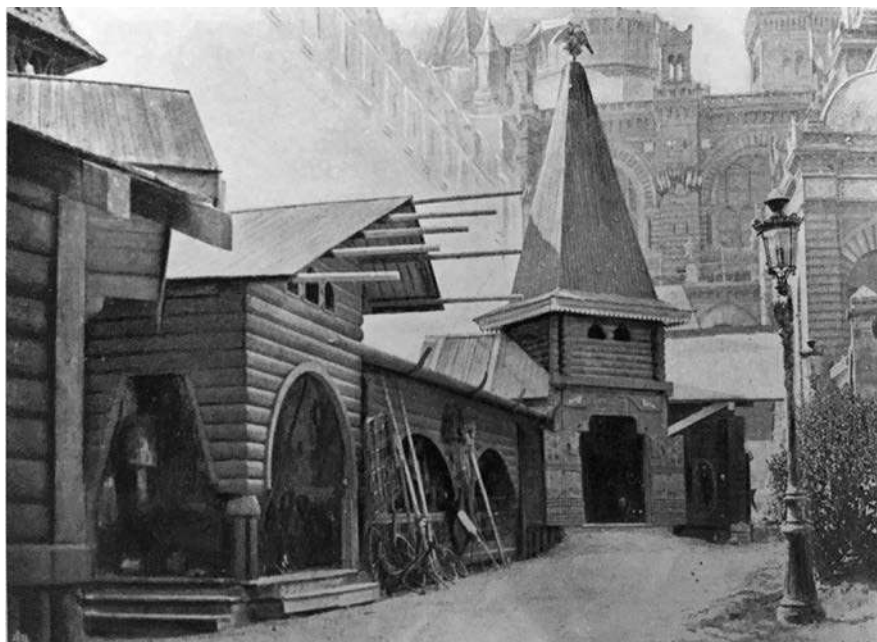
Periphery on Display

Nowhere was the contrast between the archaic and progressive so obvious as at the World’s Fairs, exemplified by The Paris *Exposition Universelle* of 1900. This exposition combined the exotic visual style of colonialism with the internal exoticism of peasant culture on the peripheries of Europe’s large empires. The Finnish pavilion (The Grand Duchy of Finland then being an autonomous part of the Russian empire), designed by Eliel Saarinen, was built in the style of a Finnish country church. Saarinen lived in Finland with his colleagues Armas Lindgren and Herman Gesellius at Hvittrask, a settlement with reformist aspirations. Visitors noticed a certain commonality among the Hungarian, Finnish and Russian designs oriented to a peasant tradition, and some even spoke of a “Hungarian-Slavic union.”¹³ These fashionable trends resulted from a certain spirit shared among artists.

The Russian pavilion devoted to the Transsiberian Railway, complete with a simulated wagon ride through Siberia with changing views of Russia in the windows, was a particular hit. It presented a contrast with the pavilion of Russian Periphery, designed by the architect Robert Meltzer as a combination of the Kremlins of Moscow and Kazan that created

¹² E. Bloch, *Das Prinzip Hoffnung*, vol. 1–3, Frankfurt a. M., 1985, here vol. 2, chapter 33–42, p. 1079.

¹³ R. Houzer, National Internationalism at the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle, in *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, vol. 12, no. 1 (Fall-Winter 2004–2005), p. 55–97, here 45; Id., *Textiles, Fashion, and Design Reform in Austria-Hungary before the First World War*, Burlington u.a., 2015; T. Schwitzer, Hungarian Self-Representation in an International Context: The Magyar exhibited at International Expositions and World Fair, in *Art, Culture and National identity in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, ed. by M. Facor and Sh. L. Hirsch, Cambridge, 2003, p. 160–185.



3. *Village Russe* at the Paris *Exposition Universelle*. 1900

the exotic effect of an oriental empire. Next to it, on the Quai d'Orsay, sprouted the wooden *Village Russe* (fig. 3), an artisans' pavilion designed by the architect Ivan Bondarenko and the painter Konstantin Korovin.¹⁴ Visitors admired the folk art manufactures of the Abramtsevo and Talashkino artists' colonies, and one of the exhibits, a set of wooden nesting dolls (*matrioshka*), won a bronze medal.

Searching for Origins: Hungary

At the turn of the century, artists founded several colonies in rural Hungary, including Gödöllő, Szolnok, Nagybánya (now Baia Mare in Romania)

¹⁴ G. Malkowsky, *Die Pariser Weltausstellung in Wort und Bild*, Berlin, 1900, p. 31.

and others. At this time, interest in the primordial and original roots of culture was associated with ethnographic studies that involved some artists. The Transylvanian region of Szekerland (Székely) near Kalotaszeg (now Tara Călatei in Romania) was commonly seen as traditional area with “authentic” folk practices, an authentic area with “true” folk traditions. The architect Ede Toroczkaí Wigand studied the region’s peasant huts to design villas for his clients, artists and art lovers. This trend of Hungarian folk design was apparent in István Medgyaszay and Sándor Nagy’s *The Artist’s Atelier*, shown at the World Expo in Milan in 1906. The open, unadorned space was full of light and featured folk art elements like woodcarving and plain furniture. Carved wooden pillars and a woven curtain separated its area into a “sacred” space for art and a “profane” space for family life.¹⁵

Gödöllő was an artists’ settlement in the spirit of *Lebensreform*. As seen in the photographs, it promoted a healthy lifestyle of activities such as swimming naked and doing winter sports, and encouraged women to free themselves from corsets and don peasant dresses instead. A textile mill produced carpets and fabrics inspired by the folk tradition.

Their contacts with the arts and crafts movement in England were particularly formative. Walter Crane and Charles Robert Ashbee visited Budapest and Gödöllő, and had admirers and attended expositions in Hungary.¹⁶

The Hungarian artists were also in touch with Finnish colleagues, and the Finnish national painter Akseli Gallen-Kallela (who decorated the Finnish pavilion in Paris mentioned above) visited them in Gödöllő and was a like-minded figure in many ways. At the turn of the century, a Finnish artistic community took root on the shores of Lake Tuusula, not far from Helsingfors (Helsinki). The painter Pekka Halonen installed himself and his family there permanently in 1902, constructing a spacious house inspired by the regional tradition of rustic wooden architecture (fig. 4). Boasting numerous windows, it was perfectly suited to the needs

¹⁵ K. Keserü, *Decorative Arts and Sources of Architectural Symbolism, The Journal of Decorative Arts Society 1850 – the Present*, 1987, no. 11: The European Connection, p. 21–26, here p. 22.

¹⁶ A. Szczerski, *Views of Albion. The Reception of British Art and Design in Central Europe, 1890–1918*, Bern, 2015, p. 323–372.



4. Pekka Halonen's house at Tuusula Lake, Finland. 1902

of a painter. Other artists followed, among them the composer Jean Sibelius, whose *Ainola house* became a center for intellectual encounters.

In Hungary as in Finland, the search for creative rejuvenation through regional identity was part of a national emancipation movement that emerged on the peripheries of the large continental empires of the Habsburgs and the Romanovs – a trend oriented to subverting the dominance of the titular nations. The Finnish artists chose a region Karelia associated with the epos “Kalevala” as the site of their longing for authenticity and inspiration, whereas the region Székely in Transylvania was such place for the Hungarian reformers.

The Russian Pastoral in the Abramtsevo Circle

Abramtsevo, originally an aristocratic estate with a large park, is set in a scenic location on the upper bank of the Vorya River some 60 km north-east of Moscow, on the path of pilgrimage to the religious centre of Sergiev Posad. This *lieu de mémoire* of Russian culture, once the home of the Russian Slavophile Sergei Aksakov, had been acquired by the wealthy Mamontov family. Like his father, Savva Mamontov was in the railway business. He built the picturesque Yaroslavl station in Moscow and was also a shareholder in the Transsiberian railway. Abramtsevo was not too far from a new railway line connecting with Sergiev Posad and Yaroslavl, and was thus, like Gödöllő, easy to reach. An amateur singer and sculptor himself, the younger Mamontov belonged to the emerging generation of Russian merchants and industrialists supporting Russian culture.

In the 1870s and 1880s, the establishment of the institution of *artists in residence* required structural changes to the estate, and an artists' village composed of timber huts in the peasant style grew up in the vicinity. Its first construction was a workshop for sculptors, designed in the form of a rustic house by the architect Viktor Gartman and built in 1873. However, like in the Halonen's house on Lake Tuusula, a large window distinguished this artist's studio from the original peasant *izba* (fig. 5). The second building, the sauna or *Teremok* (1877), was designed by the architect Ropet (the pseudonym of Ivan Petrov) to accommodate guests. Ropet drew heavily on local traditions: it was richly decorated with wooden ornaments made by local craftsmen (fig. 6). Both Gartman and Ropet were specialists in the Neo-Russian style. As in the rest of Europe, artists in Russia developed a newfound national vernacular through their works, with a great deal of artistic licence and eclectic fusions.

As early as 1886, Elisaveta Mamontova founded a carpentry workshop for peasant boys in Abramtsevo. Originally a philanthropic project preceded by a school and a hospital in a nearby village, it soon grew to be more. Inspired by the contemporary trend of visual ethnography and an interest in ancient Russian art, and imbued with the spirit of the popular propaganda of the *peredvizhniki* – artists – this lady of the house and



5. Atelier House in Abramtsevo, architect Viktor Gartman. 1873



6. House *Teremok* in Abramtsevo, architect Ropet. 1877



7. Elena Polenova. Sketches for a Cupboard for Abramtsevo Factories. Ca 1885

her family members began systematically collecting folk art from the surrounding villages. The area was famous for its crafts, which were mostly the work of woodcarvers and turners but also comprised textile art.

At first, Mamontova tried letting peasant craftsman work on their own but found the results disappointingly crude in their simplicity. As



8. Cupboard with columns. Ca 1885. Abramtsevo workshops

had been done in the arts and crafts movement, which was well covered in Russian print media, she then proceeded to update high-quality traditional crafts with the help of professional artists.¹⁷ One of them in particular, the artist Elena Polenova, created the designs that allowed the manufacturing business to take off (figs. 7–8), once the carved wood furniture of Abramtsevo became very fashionable among urban elites.

¹⁷ *Abramtsevo. Chudozhestvennyi kruzhok, zhivopis', grafika, skulptura, teatr, masterskie*, ed. by G. I. Sternin, Moskva, 1988; W. Salmond, *Arts and Crafts in Late Imperial Russia*, Cambridge, 1996, p. 15–45; p. 115–43; E. Paston, *Abramtsevo. Iskusstvo i zhizn'*, Moskva, 2003; R. R. Blakesley, *The Art and Craft Movement*, London, 2006, p. 161–70.

Visitors to Marianna Werefkin's home in Munich admired the artfully carved ornamental Abramtsevo furniture she had brought from Russia to Germany.¹⁸

The community's utopian potential crystallised around the project of a church. The small white-painted brick Christ Saviour church was designed jointly by painters (first draft), a professional architect (Pavel Samarin) and amateur artists who decorated it with regional flower motifs and painted patterns. It expressed a wish to create a work of art with a special kind of spiritual force that would work simultaneously for the people and for the elites. In the end, however, it became a private chapel for the Mamontov family. The poet Rainer Maria Rilke, who visited Abramtsevo together with his friend Lou Andrea-Salomé on his first trip to Russia in spring 1899, was deeply impressed by the spirit of this church and the whole artistic atmosphere in Abramtsevo.

The *matrioshka*, now known as the epitome of Russian folk art, is a product of cooperation between a professional artist and a folk craftsman. It was created in the 1890s at the Abramtsevo estate near Moscow. The author of this proto-matrioshka was the painter and architect Sergei Malyutin. He designed the doll together with a carpenter from the nearby timber workshop in Sergiev Posad. According to the legend, his model was a Japanese figure of a Buddhist god, which a guest of the estate had brought from Japan. The prototypes were displayed in a shop for "children's education" (which was owned by the Mamontovs' sister-in-law) and then offered for sale at the Petrovsky Passage in the centre of Moscow. They enjoyed particular popularity among wealthier customers. Once it was first demonstrated at the Paris World Fair of 1900, the *matrioshka* began a global career as a typically Russian artefact. It was mass-produced and reproduced in kitsch.

After the financial ruin of Savva Mamontov (in 1899–1900 he was wrongly accused of fraud and arrested) and the death of his wife in 1908,

¹⁸ *Marianne Werefkin. Von Blaue Reiter zum Grossen Bär*. Exhibition Catalogue. Städtische Galerie Bierigheim-Bissingen, Museen Böttcherstrasse, Paula Modersohn-Becker Museum, Bremen, 2014, p. 168–191, here p. 183, il. 205.

Abramtsevo ceased to be a centre of modern Russian art. By 1918, the estate had been transformed into a museum.

Another example of collaboration between artists and peasants emerged in Talashkino (1893–1914), where an artistic circle gathered around the princess Maria Tenisheva and the artisan workshops on her estate near Smolensk. Here too the emphasis was on crafts production involving local people. Like the Mamontovs, Tenisheva collected folk art and with those artefacts built up the stock of the *Museum of Russian Antiquities* (Музей русской старины) which she gave as a gift to the city of Smolensk. The estate's products had a very picturesque but syncretistic style clearly influenced by such individual artistic personalities as Nicholas Roerich and Sergei Malyutin (the inventor of the *matrioshka*). It combined pagan and Christian, organic and highly stylised elements in an ahistorical but beautiful and memorable picture.

Outlook

All the aforementioned examples of artists' communities shared reformist aspirations. They sought refuge from the crises of civilisation by creating pseudo-rural retreats for the summer months or even longer periods.¹⁹ Artists' communities were fashionable places and sacred spaces, national-affirmative while also critical-alternative. In this setting, a modest log cabin similar to Thoreau's house in the American woods became a model for a healthy lifestyle and proximity to nature. Living in the village encouraged the artists and intellectuals to study folk traditions, collect artefacts and do ethnographic research.

Adam Miłobędzki, in his in-depth study of the technology and semantics of wooden architecture, identified the regions of Central and Eastern Europe with the best preserved traditions of rustic architecture. Having examined the perception of timber architecture as a symbol of national identity and social progress, he interpreted the idea of going

¹⁹ M. Jacobs, *Good and Simple Life: Artist Colonies in Europe and America*, Oxford, 1985.

“back to the roots” as a motto for fashioning rustic architecture from wood and timber.²⁰

As in Abramtsevo, Talashkino and Tuusula, in Zakopane the timber architecture and crafts of the local population served as the orienting elements of a style and as a means to combat the disease of civilization.²¹ Like buildings in Abramtsevo, the Zakopane villas, based on the ideas of Stanisław Witkiewicz, were built by local craftsmen under the direction of professional architects and included elements of modern comfort. This was evident in the size of the villas as well as their spacious interiors and wide windows, features tailored to this newly developed type of house specifically for art lovers. The villas were tastefully decorated with hand-crafted furniture and textiles from the region.

It was, as David Crowley put it, a “hybrid style – both peasant and disguised historical”.²² It is plausible to assume that the “invented” folk style of the Abramtsevo circle was an inspiration for Witkiewicz, who had forged ties to Russian culture during his studies at the Academy of Fine Arts in St. Petersburg. Like Abramtsevo, Gödöllő and the Finnish artists’ settlements, the Zakopane artist community was characterised by a romantic fascination with the peasantry. The culture of the Górale region, like that of the Transylvanian Székely in Hungary and Karelia in Finland, was declared the epitome of authentically Polish culture. Its symbolic importance lay in its influence on all three parts – the Russian, the Austrian (to which Zakopane also belonged) and the Prussian – of divided Poland. The Zakopane style was not reserved for recreational timber architecture alone. Recalling the Abramtsevo style’s impact on Russian design, it put a national stamp on the urban architecture of divided Poland, from

²⁰ A. Miłobędzski, Architecture in Wood: Technology, Symbolic Content, *Artibus et Historiae*, 1989, vol. 10, no. 19, p. 177–206.

²¹ On the Zakopane spirit and its sources, see the article of Katarzyna Chrudzimska-Uhera in this volume. See also: Id., *Stylizacje i modernizacje. O rzeźbie i rzeźbiarzach w Zakopanem w latach 1879–1939* [Stylisation and modernisation: On the woodcarving and woodcarvers in Zakopane 1879–1939], Warszawa, 2013.

²² D. Crowley, *National Style and Nation-State*, Manchester-New York, 1992 (chapter: Stanisław Witkiewicz: Champion of the Zakopane Style); Id., Finding Poland in the Margins: The Case of the Zakopane Style, in *Journal of Design History*, 2001, vol. 1, no. 2, p. 105–116.



9. Stanislaw Witkiewicz with the model of the *House under the Firs*, 1899.
The model was made for the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris, 1900

Lwów to Warsaw. In Poland as in Russia, textiles and furniture with folk ornamentation were fashionable features of the modern interior decor favoured by noble and bourgeois families. Like the replicas produced in the workshops of Abramtsevo and Talashkino, the wooden model of the *Villa pod Jedłami* was displayed at the Paris World's Fair of 1900 as part of the presentation of the multinational imperial concept of the Habsburg Monarchy.

The enchanted “pastoral gaze” (Bloch), formed in the rural artist colonies and directed at peasant communities, saw beyond their poverty and deprivation to discern harmony between art and life in peasant lifestyles, a harmony these artists believed modern society had abandoned. In

pictures, artists are often dressed in well fitted, colourful peasant clothes (fig. 9). Sometimes photographers posed them next to actual peasants who usually look reserved and tense, demonstrating a clear distance between their own look and the artists' extravagant appearances. Regardless, attempts to revive home production and appropriate not only folk art but also the folk way of life were artistically and sometimes even commercially successful. In successfully combining naïve illusion with commercial skill and especially creative talent, as well as a keen sense of the "zeitgeist", these courageous dropouts from society seem to have internalized Rainer Maria Rilke's demand in his Sonnets to Orpheus: "*You have to change your life*".²³

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²³ Cited from the poetry of Rainer Maria Rilke in *Archaischer Torso Apollos* [The archaic torso of Apollo] (1908). After Rilke's second trip to Russia in 1900, on which he visited Leo Tolstoy in Yasnaya Polyana, he settled in the artist colony of Worpswede in Northern Germany. He emphasized his affinity for Russia by wearing a sort of Tolstoyan garb with eccentric red boots that he had bought during his journey to Kazan.

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Grįžimas prie šaknų.

Kaimo įtakos Vengrijos ir Rusijos dailininkų kolonijose

Santrauka

Straipsnyje aptariama valstietiška architektūra, visų pirma kaimiška pirma, kaip kai kurių Rytų Europos menininkų kolonijų estetinių ir ideologinių programų modelis iki Pirmojo pasaulinio karo. Teigiama, kad miesto civilizacijos ydų kritika, paveikta *Lebensreform* idėjų ir Tolstojaus moralinių imperatyvų, turi būti suvokta kaip reikšmingas šių menininkų gyvenviečių elementas. Šiame kontekste kukli valstietiška rąstų trobelė buvo suvokiama kaip sveiko gyvenimo harmonijoje su gamta vieta ir įsikūnijimas. Tyrinėjant Vengrijos kaip Habsburgų imperijos dalies ir Rusijos monarchijos (įskaitant Suomiją) menininkų kolonijose sukurtą architektūrą ir dizaino dirbinius, straipsnyje analizuojama meninė vaizduotė, pagimdyta etnografinių studijų ir maitinama moralinio imperatyvo gelbėti liaudies meną, atsidūrusį industrializacijos keliame pavojuje.