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Kuznetsov and Bukhara, 1913



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Saratov-born Pavel Kuznetsov came to the fore within the competitive politics of the Russian avant-garde through his leadership of a group of Symbolist painters that made its début at the 'Blue Rose' exhibition in Moscow in the early spring of 1907. The lyrical landscape painter Sergei Vinogradov later recalled:

"The... exhibition of the Blue Rose was a sensation in the Moscow art world. And it was put together with such an exceptional refinement of beauty, the like of which had never been seen before. The exhibition was fragrant with flowers, an invisible orchestra played quietly and sensitively, the beauty of tender, soft colours in the paintings, the extremely well-dressed, beautiful crowd of people, the small size of the catalogue on the cover of which was a pale blue rose by Sapunov – delicate, faded – everything was so harmonised, bewitching, so of a piece and full of joy...."¹

The group was supported by the largesse of the magnate Nikolai Riabushinsky, and promoted in his journal, *The Golden Fleece*, and its associated exhibitions, until his bankruptcy in 1909. The following year the abrupt withdrawal of his generous patronage was followed by the equally sudden rejection of Kuznetsov by the critics: "here is an artist who has irrevocably perished", wrote Sergei Makovsky, a former enthusiastic supporter.²

To assuage his bitter sense of rejection, Kuznetsov turned his back on the disappointments of Moscow. He ran off to the provinces to spend time with his close friend and collaborator, Aleksandr Matveev, on their significant commission to oversee

the decoration of the house and grounds of Novyi Kuchuk-Koi, Iakov Zhukovsky's villa overlooking the Black Sea between Simeiz and Foros.³ Sketches, plans and models were drawn and constructed at the ceramics workshop of Piotr Vaulin at Kikerino, near St Petersburg, where Matveev rented studio space over a number of years (1907-1912), (1 •).



1 • Aleksandr Matveev (left) and Pavel Kuznetsov (right) in Kikerino, c. 1912-3, with Kuznetsov's 1912 portrait of the sculptor on the wall behind.

In addition Kuznetsov often visited his family in Saratov and, on one occasion, in 1908 or 1909, ventured across the Volga

to the steppe that extended on the opposite bank from Pokrovskaia Sloboda⁴ as an unbroken plain, eastwards towards the northern shores of the Caspian Sea. In her pioneering study of Kuznetsov, Alla Rusakova⁵ discussed at some length the date of Kuznetsov's first summers on the steppes with, as he called them, the Kirghiz, now collectively known as Kazakhs. The only evidence of a date is the appearance of his first works depicting the "Kirghizian Astrakhan steppe" at the World of Art exhibition in Moscow that opened at the end of November 1911.⁶

Kazakhs traded in Saratov. Kuznetsov had seen them as a child. Their camels and yurts could be seen on the Astrakhan steppe not too far distant from the city, and now became the subject of Kuznetsov's tempera studies, such as *Camels on the Steppe* of 1909. It is from these early exploratory journeys that he developed a passion for the life of the Kazakhs. He idealised their quietly assured customs, far from the skirmishes of the avant-garde in Moscow and St Petersburg, and from memories of the harsh rejection of his Blue Rose symbolism.

Kuznetsov recalled, in a later undated autobiographical sketch:

"From Sokolovaia Hill [in Saratov]... I could see the Volga, with her powerful current, and the endless expanses of her steppes, beginning from the farther shore. And these mysterious distant places drew me to seek the meaning of a world of nature that could be discovered there, of the people living there. What a distinctive way of life awaited me.

"My desire to find out was so strong that, finally, taking my brother with me, I crossed the Volga and, taking a train, went as far as Talovka station, where we transferred to a cart and travelled a hundred miles, way into the steppes.

"In a settlement I got to know the local Kirghizian doctor, a graduate from Kazan University, and discovered that it was possible have a *koshara* (yurt)⁷ constructed for oneself on the steppe among the Kirghiz, to live their way of life and to wander with them across the steppes.

"Their way of life and their dress – extraordinarily colourful and harmonious, using the full brilliance of colours, – the cleanliness and transparency of the air with its mirages, camels (the majestic swans of the steppes), herds of horses kept for koumiss,⁸ sheep, the multi-coloured carpets of the *koshara*, the ingenuous and hospitable people living by a natural husbandry, all of this was so unexpected, surpassing all my expectations, and gave so much material for art, that I came here on five occasions, one after the other, and wandered for a long time with this astonishing people in this wonderful, fantastic country. These people have a great feeling for colour, paints and dyes, and use them to decorate their itinerant way of life. The passion and love of poetry, inherent in a people living exclusively in nature and sensitive to it first and last, has given rise to their wandering poets, who, travelling by horse from one settlement to another, from one yurt to another, read and sing their epics."⁹

In response to the new subject matter Kuznetsov elaborated a new painterly style and a richer palette, a solid here and now, but with a poetic warmth, yet retaining his tendency to idealise, to synthesise impressions, to maintain a generalising distance from the subject. The "here and now" was stressed in his response to the question *Where are we going?*, a compilation published in Moscow in 1910.¹⁰ In his symbolist manner he declared that "art is free; it calls for spirits aflame, the enthusiasm of the perception of beauty". At the same time he rejected pictures made "simply to decorate the dining rooms and boudoirs of those who are bored and talk about art for want of anything better to do", instead, art must have a social purpose: "the art of painting must be linked with the feeling of the working man." If he was to be dismissed by the Makovskys of this world at least he could find solace in evoking the day-to-day life of the ordinary people of the Astrakhan steppe.

Yet, like his fellow Russian artists of the avant-garde, Pavel Kuznetsov was besotted with the work of contemporary French painters, which he had seen in Paris in 1906 and, later, in the collections of the Ivan Morozov and Sergei Shchukin in Moscow. He was particularly taken by work of Henri Matisse, whose paintings and drawings featured in exhibitions of *The Golden Fleece*, even, in 1909, hanging alongside those of Kuznetsov. Matisse visited Moscow in the autumn of 1911 living and working in Shchukin's mansion on Znamensky pereulok.¹¹

Of particular interest is Matisse's *Still Life with Blue Table Cloth*, now in the Hermitage in St Petersburg, but originally in Shchukin's collection, (2 •) Matisse's obvious delight in the colour and texture of textiles, the richness of their decorative value for a painting of objects that lose their materiality in colour and form, was an effect that Kuznetsov used in his Kirghiz interiors and in the still lifes he began to produce in 1912-13.



2 • Henri Matisse, *Still Life with Blue Table Cloth*, 1909, Oil on canvas, 88.5 x 116, cm. Hermitage, St Petersburg



3 • *Woman Sleeping in a Koshara*, 1911, Oil on canvas, 66 x 71 cm. State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow

Both Matisse and Kuznetsov were well acquainted with the art of the East, in the case of Matisse with that of North Africa, that he visited in 1906 and 1911-12, and of Kuznetsov with his sojourn in the Astrakhan steppes, their art a synthesis of Occidental Modernism and Oriental Quietism.

Marina Loshak, who was appointed director of the Pushkin Museum in Moscow in July 2013, had earlier curated an exhibition at the Proun Gallery, Moscow, in 2010, entitled *Pavel Kuznetsov: A Journey to Asia*. The idea of the exhibition occurred to her in 2005 when visiting the Metropolitan Museum in New York, where she saw the exhibition Matisse: The Fabric of Dreams His Art and His Textiles.

“I was struck by the fact that textiles overwhelmed Matisse... that is, the textiles were more important and more significant artistically than the works of a single one of the best artists of the twentieth century. From that moment I wanted to carry out a project on this theme. And it seemed to me that Kuznetsov was precisely that artist who could become the focus of our attention. His work is beautiful but, in keeping with our theme, textiles also made their mark on his work, they were so powerful, so beautiful that they were able to break down any sense of creative unity. And when you look at these works, you ask yourself, my God who are these completely unknown [artists]? Matiushin hadn't yet come on the scene, nobody knew about research into colour, there was no experience....These works could only come out of artists with an inner sense of peace, of harmony.”¹²

Kuznetsov exhibited with the World of Art from 1902 to 1907, after which his loyalties were to The Golden Fleece until it

folded in 1909. Following two years in the exhibition wilderness, his break with Symbolism and his first journeys to the Astrakhan steppe, he once again began to show work with the World of Art in Moscow, recommencing in November 1911. It was there that he displayed his first Kirghizian paintings, including *Woman Sleeping in a Koshara*. (3 •) The Symbolist critic Aleksandr Koiransky described this work “as one of the most perfect, most harmonious things in the exhibition.”¹³ The work was not otherworldly, like his symbolist paintings, or his decorations for the frescoes of Kuchuk-Koi, but solid, not fantasy, but reality, yet it also displayed an exotic colouration quite new for Kuznetsov, stemming from his love of Kirghizian textiles, that paradoxically both subsumes the human figure and at the same time elevates it into a magical world of harmony and peace.

A year later he showed nineteen Kirghizian works with the World of Art, by which time he was acknowledged as both an artist who had hit a new stride and who had shifted most assuredly from an ethereal Symbolism to a celebration of Russia's “East.”

In June and July 1912 Kuznetsov had sufficient funds to travel deeper into Central Asia, to Tashkent, Samara and Bukhara, to “the region of sun-originating painterly sounds.”¹⁴ In an article of 1923 he wrote:

“Grasslands spread and radiate across the steppe; the entire space is covered with flowers and smells sweetly; with each breath of wind masses of feather-grass seed-heads roll across the landscape like waves in the sea, but a noiseless, brilliant, joyful and multi-coloured sea, like an eastern carpet.

“From one district to another, from one yurt to another, wandering on horses and camels, poets read old, traditional verse, passed down from one generation to another, or they extemporise, singing of man, wild beasts, the sky, birds.

“Their whole culture, beginning with religion, customs and costume, and ending with poetry, drifts slowly here from Bukhara and Samarkand and, it may be, with contemporary winged machines, the vast space of the steppe, extending into the distance from the far shore of the Volga from Saratov, could be transformed into a luxuriant miracle-working region.

“The most unexpected impressions came together in my mind the further I penetrated into the heart of the country, to form a single summation of beauty: from the steppes to the mountains, from the mountains, with their snake-like, winding, garrulous rivers to the lowlands, with splendid fruits, the forever whispering, blossoming orchards, from the tender peach trees to the unexpected, sturdy-trunked tree-giants, accommodating a complete teahouse in one hollow.”¹⁵

Kuznetsov became particularly enamoured with the Tadjik city of Bukhara.



4 • *Bukhara. By the Water Basin*, 1912-1913
Oil on canvas, 73.5 x 87.7 cm.
A. F. Chudnovsky Collection, St. Petersburg



5 • *Khan's Harem*, 1912-1913. Oil on canvas, 80 x 97.5 cm.
State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg

“For us Russians, the unique colour of everything I saw there filled me with new emotions, and gave me a new approach to painting, dictated by the surrounding reality. The tea-house and its visitors, sitting on bright cushions in colourful, iridescent robes, drinking refreshing aromatic tea; the reservoirs, water basins, reflecting this whole scene as in a mirror; the powerful trunks of the spreading plane trees. I was overwhelmed by their unexpectedness.

“I would visit bazaars with their remarkable examples of ceramics, the little bird markets with proud peacocks spreading their golden-emerald tails, like gigantic fans, in the sun; baskets with fruit and vegetables; quite different peoples, with golden and brown faces, with slanting, thin-slit, beautiful, almond-shaped eyes; animals, acrobats, jugglers, animal trainers – everything clamoured pulsated, seethed...”¹⁶

He later recalled: “I always felt, that behind the external noise of the bazaar and the clamour of bargaining, there existed some second stratum of life – quiet, serious and profound.”¹⁷

When Kuznetsov showed the nineteen paintings from the Kirghizian Suite associated with the Astrakhan steppe at the World of Art Exhibition in Moscow in November-December 1912, and in St Petersburg in January 1913, the critics were enthusiastic. Sergei Makovsky, recently so harsh, welcomed Kuznetsov’s change of spirit, from the degeneration of “a sick theosophical affectation” to an “indisputable renaissance” through the novel Kirghizian landscape.¹⁸ Aleksandr Rostislavov claimed that Kuznetsov’s contribution to the exhibition was second only to the vast wall of sketches for the theatre by Nikolai Roerikh.

Natalia Goncharova emphatically underlined the significance of the East for Russian art in her preface to the catalogue to her solo exhibition in Moscow in the autumn of that same year, 1913.

“I realised the great significance and value of the art of my country – and through it the great value of the art of the East.... I shake the dust from my feet and leave the West, considering its vulgarising significance trivial and insignificant – my way lies towards the source of all the arts, to the East.... I am opening up the East again, and I am certain that many will follow me along this path.... Our age is a flowering of art in a new form – a painterly form. And in this second flowering it is again the East that has played the leading role. At the present time Moscow is the most important centre of painting... The West has shown me one thing: everything it has is from the East.”¹⁹

Goncharova went on to point out the significance of the East in the work of Matisse, of Gauguin, and the relationship of Russian icon painting to the art of the pre-Muslim Middle East. As if to give a firm grounding for Goncharova’s remarks it was icons that claimed Matisse’s attention when he visited Moscow in 1911, an acquaintanceship he had already made through the Russian section at the Salon d’Automne in Paris in 1906, where Kuznetsov also showed his work.

In 1913 Aleksandr Shevchenko, in his manifesto proclaiming Russian Neo-primitivism, asserted that:

“We are striving to find new ways forward for our art, but we do not reject the old completely, and of its previous forms we



6 • *Rain in the Steppe*, 1912
 Tempera, graphite, gouache on board, 50x 70.5 cm.
 State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg



7 • *The Spell*, 1912, Tempera, 72 x 75.5 cm.
 State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg

recognise above all the primitive, the magic fable of the old East...primitive art forms – icons, *lubki*, trays, signboards, fabrics of the East, etc. – these are specimens of genuine value and painterly beauty.... We, like the primitivists, and like Eastern artists, consider the most valuable and most productive work to be that which is guided by impression.... The word primitive points directly to its Eastern derivation, because today we understand by the term a constellation of Eastern arts – Japanese art, Chinese, Korean, Indo-Persian, etc. In our school this term points to the character of the painting (not the subject), to the means of execution, and to the employment of the painterly traditions of the East.... Russia and the East have been indissolubly linked from as early as the Tartar invasions, and the spirit of the Tartars, of the East, has so taken root in our lives that at times it is difficult to distinguish where a national characteristic ends and an Eastern influence begins.... The whole of our culture is Asiatic.”²⁰

These, and many other references to the significance of the East in Russian art of the avant-garde, appeared more recently in Anton Uspensky’s preface to the catalogue of *Day Dreams of the East. The Russian Avant-Garde and The Silk of Bukhara*, an exhibition held in the *Kunstkamera*, St Petersburg, in 2006.²¹

In the summer of 1913 Kuznetsov travelled once more to Bukhara and the hills and mountains to the south of Samarkand.

In Bukhara he met a “professor of painting”, who introduced him to his students and to the brilliantly coloured local tradition of painting, reminiscent of aspects of Russian and Ukrainian folk decoration. Bukhara was a centre for the production of Persian miniatures, originally created in the Herat

style by Persian artists seeking sanctuary during a period of unrest in the region in the 16th century. It was this style of work that was being taught by his host. Kuznetsov later recalled:

“The students’ day would usually begin with simple work about the house and the mixing of paints, which were brought from India in the form of particularly hard minerals, which were very difficult to grind down. In Bukhara I had not expected to meet an artist-painter with his own tradition, passing it down to a whole generation of students. Meeting this artist, who charmed me with his openness, his benevolent trust, involuntarily made me recall my old friend Peter Savvich Utkin. The crystal clarity of his soul always stood out for me from amongst our generally ill-disposed generation of artists.”²²

Kuznetsov persuaded the professor and some of his students to accompany him on an excursion into the hills:

“On the flat roof of a tea-house I listened to conversations about the mysteries of Eastern wisdom; the green Indian tea refreshed, intoxicating grape-honey put me to sleep, the massage baths gave me exceptional energy, good spirits and vitality; mutton pilaff satisfied the craving for food and the Bukhara mountain air, saturated with the scent of musk, together with the contemplation of colour-rich splendour and harmony, brought human existence to a state of paradisiacal felicity, and it seemed to me that I was beginning to penetrate into the secret of Eastern consciousness....

“My companions and I pushed on along a narrow path on swaying donkeys to a tea-house on a precipice above a river,



8 • *Holiday*, in *Avtolitografii v kraskakh*, 1923
30.8 x 22.2 cm.



9 • *River*, in *Avtolitografii v kraskakh*, 1923
30.8 x 22.2 cm.

where we settled ourselves for the night on the flat roof tops beneath a clear, penetratingly starry sky, and in my mind I was carried to the Volga steppes with their Buddhists, fire-worshippers, poets, artists, wise men, camels, birds, sheep, patterned textiles, and this was one culture, whole and indivisible, full of the calm, contemplative mystery of the East.”²³

This visit, in particular, inspired a mass of charcoal drawings, sketches, studies and paintings. Many of the drawings were published in three series of lithographic prints in 1923,²⁴

of which the coloured lithographs in *Gornaia Bukhara* are particularly striking.

After his productive summer in Bukhara Kuznetsov developed his sketches and studies into paintings for the World of Art exhibition, which opened in St Petersburg in mid-November 1913, moving on to Moscow at the end of December.

The group of paintings shown by the Russian “orientalists”, in particular those of Sarian and Kuznetov, impressed the critic Koiransky:

“Both artists draw their inspiration from the East and, at times, there is quite a considerable, though nevertheless specious, similarity between them. On closer examination the difference becomes clear: Kuznetsov gazes at the East; Sarian looks out from the East. Kuznetsov seeks, in the motifs and landscape of Bukhara, pleasing qualities, related to his delicate, polychromatic gift; his eye rejoices in the light blue, delicate quality of the vast steppe, the spring colour of the mountain valleys; he interprets the uniqueness of a foreign way of life as something exotic, studying detail and pattern.”²⁵

Largely as a result of his “gaze” at the East, at the end of 1913 Kuznetsov received a commission, with Nikolai Roerich and Boris Kustodiev, to design frescoes for the Kazan Station in Moscow. Although Kuznetsov’s designs were not, in the end, selected by Aleksandr Benois, the project co-ordinator who had never been a supporter of Kuznetsov’s work, two tempera-on-canvas sketches survive – *Asian Bazaar* and *Gathering the Fruit*.²⁶ The figures are Eurasian, Biblical yet contemporary, the modelling dependent upon a patterning of colour rather than light and shade, weight or drape. We are reminded of the debt Russian seventeenth-century frescoes owe to wall paintings of the Caucasus and Central Asia, of the debt Kuznetsov owed to the Saratov icon studio of his father, to the carpets of the Kirghizians of the steppes, to the “tapestries” of Borisov Musatov. Through these image-memories Kuznetsov underlined the continuity between eastern and central Russian cultural sources and their essential links with Asia.

Kuznetsov’s activity in 1913 emphasises, in retrospect, both his central place in Russian Eurasian thinking, still current in Russian art historical discourse,²⁷ and the particular poignancy of all Russian art and criticism in 1913, the last year of peace before the Russia, and Russian Central Asia, that was, became caught up in the maelstrom of war and revolutions. The specific Eurasianism of Kuznetsov and Sarian was quite different to the more excited form it took after the Revolutions of 1917, as exemplified in the writings of Nikolai Trubetskoi and his fellow Eurasians in *Iskhod k Vostoku*, 1921;²⁸ the one was utopian, whilst the other tended towards a dystopian messianism. The

beginning of the end of Kuznetsov's utopian East was heralded by the inclusion of a selection of the Bukhara images in a show at the Lemercier Gallery in Moscow in February 1915, "in support of the Belgians suffering from the war", after which they were to rise once more, and for the last time, like a forlorn fire-bird, in the coloured lithographs of 1923.

Footnotes

- [1] Sergei Vinogradov, "O vystavke 'Goluboi rozy', talante N. P. Riabushinskogo i 'Prazdnika roz' v ego Kuchine (iz moikh zapisok)", *Segodnia* (Riga), 7 April 1936, 4.
- [2] Sergei Makovskii, "Khudozhestvennye itogi", *Apollon*, 7 (1910), 32.
- [3] The district is now known as Parkovoe in the Crimea.
- [4] There was no bridge across the Volga at Saratov in the early 20th century. Pokrovskaiia Sloboda was renamed Engels in 1931.
- [5] Alla Rusakova, *Pavel Kuznetsov* (Leningrad: Iskusstvo, 1977), 89-90.
- [6] A single work, entitled *Kirghizian Children*, was exhibited with The Golden Fleece in Moscow in 1909 (no. 34), but his could have been painted in Saratov.
- [7] A yurt is the moveable home of the steppe nomads, constructed of a lattice framework on which are placed sloping struts to form a round roof. The final conical frame is covered with thick felts, held in place with ropes that are tied at the base to heavy stones. The inside is decorated with wall hangings, vividly coloured carpets and cushions, often in great profusion.
- [8] Koumiss is fermented mare's milk, a staple of the nomads' diet, with valuable medicinal properties. It was sold on the streets of Saratov when Kuznetsov was a boy.
- [9] Pavel Kuznetsov, *Avtobiografiia*, Manuscript in TsGALI, fond 2714, ed.khr. 93, ll. 25, 26.
- [10] "Kuda my idem?", *Nastoiashchee i budushchee russkoi intelligentsii, literatury, teatra i iskusstv. Sbornik statei i otvetov* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Zaria, 1910), 96.
- [11] See in particular Iurii Rusakov's important article "Matis v Rossii Osen'iu 1911 roda" published in *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha*, XIV (Leningrad: 1973), 165-184, based upon Rusakov's paper at a conference, dedicated to the 100th anniversary of Matisse's birth, held in the Hermitage in September 1969.
- [12] <http://www.infox.ru/afisha/show/2010/12/13/asia_travel_print.phtml> 14 August 2013
- [13] Aleksandr Koiransky, "Vystavka 'Mir iskusstva'", *Utro Rossii*, 6 December 1911, 2.
- [14] "Pavel Varfolomeevich Kuznetsov (1878-1968). Pis'ma. Kuda my idem? Iz vyskazyvani. Iz vospominanii", in *Mastera iskusstva ob iskusstve*, ed. A.A. Fedorov-Davydov and V.N. Grashchenkov, 7 vols (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1970), VII, 463.
- [15] Pavel Kuznetsov, "Ot Saratova do Bukhary", introduction to *Avtolitografii v kraskakh* (Moscow-Petrograd, 1923).
- [16] Pavel Kuznetsov, *Avtobiografiia*, Manuscript in TsGALI, fond 2714, ed.khr. 93, l. 27.
- [17] O. Voronova, "Pravda i krasota", *Iunost'*, 6 (1979), 81.
- [18] Essem [Sergei Makovsky], "Moskva. Vystavka 'Mir iskusstva'" in *Russkaia khudozhestvennaia letopis'*, 18-19 (1912), 249.
- [19] Natalia Goncharova, preface to the catalogue of her solo exhibition in Moscow, August-October 1913, In *Mastera iskusstva ob iskusstve* (1970), 487-90. Also in John E. Bowlt, Editor, *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902-1934*. New York: The Viking Press, 1976, 54-60.
- [20] Aleksandr Shevchenko, *Neo-primitivism: Its Theory, Its Potentials, Its Achievements* (Moscow, November 1913), but dated June in the text. Translated by John E. Bowlt in *Ibid*, 45-48.
- [21] <http://uspensky.narod.ru/v_storonu_asia.html>
- [22] Pavel Kuznetsov, "Ot Saratova do Bukhary" in *Avtolitografii v kraskakh* (Moscow and Petrograd, 1923). An exhibition with this title was held in the Kuznetsov Museum in Saratov, associated with the Radishchev Museum in the city, from 17 November 2012-16 January 2013.
- [23] *Ibid*.
- [24] Pavel Kuznetsov, *Turkestan*, autolithographs (Gos. Izdatel'stvo: Moscow-Petrograd, 1923) and *Turkestan*, second series of drawings (Gos. Izdatel'stvo: Moscow-Petrograd, 1923), *Gornaia Bukhara*, coloured autolithographs (Moscow: Mospoligraf, 1923).
- [25] Aleksandr Koiransky, "Mir iskusstva" *Utro Rossii*, 21 December 1913, 5.
- [26] *Asian Bazaar* and *Gathering the Fruit*, both tempera on canvas, 45 x131, formerly in a private collection, Moscow, now in the collection of the Tretyakov Gallery.
- [27] See Viktoriia Voskresenskaia, "Khudozhestvennaia 'naturfilosofia' P. K. Kuznetsova i M. Sar'iana pervoi poloviny 1910-x godov: ideal'no-utopicheskoe mirostroenie", *Gos. Institut isskustvoznaniia, elektronnyi retsenziruemyi zhurnal*, 3:2012. <<http://sias.ru/magazine/vypusk-3/istoriya-i-sovremennost/589.html>>, 6 September 2013.
- [28] *Iskhod k Vostoku* [Exodus to the East] (Sofia: Tipografiia "Balkan", 1921), translated, with other material, as *Exodus to the East* (Idyllwild: Charles Schlacks: 1996).