To See a Crowd: Pictorial Intelligence and Architectural Maneuvers of the Soviet Avant-Gardes

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Crowd Representations

Fueling revolutionary ideas as it erupted in intense outbursts, the modern urban crowd has lent impetus to political ideals definitive of modern political thought. It is in the wake of the 1848 massive uprisings across Europe that Marx' and Engels issued the Communist Manifesto. Even in its 'quieter' moments, the mass crowd inspired Fourier's arcades, and Baudelaire's *flânerie*.

In terms of social constitution, the modern urban crowd was diverse as it was exclusive. Workers dominated its nineteenth century multitudes, yet many such workers themselves came from diverse backgrounds of immigrants, alienated peasantry, multiple ethnicities and endemic vagrancy. To no small measure, this medley, impoverished and disempowered, stigmatized the crowd – more than its premodern ancestry – as irrational and unpredictable: *une foulle*.[1] It also retarded its capacity for developing its self-consciousness as an ingredient in a 'class'[2]. Between its clearly emancipatory role and its unpredictable internal dynamics, the modern crowd assumed the quality of a riddle which was to accompany it thereafter.

This defines one fundamental property of the modern crowd of significant impact on the definition of its architectural problem for Soviet architects: it was a mass perceived, and conceived, from an 'alienating distance'. Customary tools of cultural representation were largely 'external' to the mostly illiterate crowd, if not altogether alien to it. As E.P. Thompson has noted,[3] workers left little recorded documentation (written, drawn, …etc) through which to understand their development, let alone to articulate measures of self-awareness as one coherent class, defined positively through common interests rather than merely against bourgeois otherness.

Indeed, throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, formalized descriptions of the modern crowd in historiography, sociology, psychology and literature were dominated by accounts from 'without'. Hence, the modern crowd's early twentieth century move from its 'indigenous' urban setting and into the building-artifact was, historically and logically, attached to the crowd's search for its innate identity and self-consciousness. Architectural space and aesthetics became bound to the crowd's own potential to generate symbolic forms drawing on the mass of bodies as material for form-giving and for generating inter-subjectivity.

The contention is that for architects to address such radically new demands of the crowd design problem, a parallel revolution in visualization was indispensable. A new visual regime had to be evoked before (or in the course of) any critical thresholds of conceptualization were attained. For artists and architects alike, this meant two distinct challenges. For one, to generate a new system of co-visibilities that lends more emphasis to intra-crowd visual dynamics, than to external

ones overlooking it. Second, addressing such conceptual problems depended on elaborating a novel set of pictorial conventions derived from internal crowd 'co-visibilities'.

The Panoramic Tradition

What pictorial traditions[4] of crowd representation Soviet artists and architects inherited evolved from pre-revolutionary practices in Russia, as well as from a turbulent nineteenth-century Europe - but whose roots extend further back in history. In 'Mass Panorama'[5], Jeffrey Schnapp cites Abraham Bosse's 1651 frontispiece to Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan*, as the earliest such modern representation [Fig.1]. In size and composition, the king's body overwhelms the crowd. Among similar but later portrayals are the American evangelical and military-photographer Arthur Mole's various photographic tableaux from the early twentieth century.

According to Schnapp, the modern crowd's late eighteenth-century representation was thrown into new light with aesthetic formulations of the sublime. Evocations of the Kantian sublime conventionalized an 'apprehension distance' between observer and crowd: from the safety of which the crowd's overwhelming immensity, incessant movement and emancipatory exhilaration - can all be experienced while guaranteeing the observing-subject's rationality. Thence, crowd representations became nested in visual conventions of the Panoramic Tradition, which manifested itself early on in Diorama buildings of late eighteenth-century France and Britain. Here the observer was situated in a central location, encircled by *trompe l'ouiel* of crowds.

A few features are of prime importance here in describing the dynamics of this visual device in its formative origins: a) an apprehension distance, safe from an overwhelming force; coupled with b) an elevated viewpoint commanding a perspectival or foreshortened scene with a foreground, middle-ground and background; c) a frame cropped to maintain the illusion of endless continuity of the scene inspiring sublimity. The sublime impact was the outcome of an apprehension of awesome vastness: the overwhelming instigator of sublimity being splayed out against c) an unbounded silhouette *or horizon line* – an association to a yet larger, sublime entity.

Fig.1 Abraham Bosse, frontispiece to Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan,* 1651

Later variations witnessed shifting emphasis. Early cinema generated its own response to crowd sublimity. Crowds were customarily captured in the 'long shot': a sequence shot from a distance using a still or panning camera equipped with a normal-view or a wide-angle lens. 'Long shots' emphasize detachment; they preempt spectator involvement, and are often used to establish a judgmental tone in film narrative. No less significant is how a 'long shot' portrays the viewed crowd against the horizon.

Yet the Panoramic Tradition of crowd representation had its most widespread impact during the first half of the twentieth-century within the print-centered public sphere. Preserving the dual impressions of sublimity and rational distance, Fascist Italian propaganda-artists manipulated crowd imagery, as in panoramic assemblages portraying Hitler's 1938 visit to Mussolini's Napoli. [6] Besides editing gaps in crowd scenes (using airbrush techniques), assembling the individually-shot photographs into panoramas involved studied distortions. Made up of a set of photographs taken in the round, the tiles' warped assemblage splayed the configurations of urban-squares and significantly "pull[ed] the horizon line forward".[7] Moreover, ships occupying the harbor in the background were effaced to guarantee the crowd's unmediated depiction against the sky-line.

Immersion

Implicitly, Soviet artists were charged with finding 'seeing' conventions alternative to those posed by the Panoramic Tradition. From a position of *immersion* in the fervor of revolutionary activity, issuing from a will to integrate into a classless society or from the fear of being perceived as counterrevolutionary intelligentsia, the Soviet avant-garde sought to lower the viewing point as well as to collapse the distance of viewing.

Immersion was, in some crowd descriptions, quite literal. Propaganda posters from the 1920s and early 1930s demonstrate the dual acts of lowering point-of-view and fragmentation of the observed crowd. Drawn from a low viewpoint (in fact, almost as an elevation), a poster[8] celebrating the second five-year-plan [Fig.2] shows the organized crowd parading to an oversized, emblematic Lenin's gesture, diagonally ascending the drawing-surface. The massiveness of the crowd comes across not through exposing its vastness from above, but as affected by layering its marchers, banners, rigs and building structures into the depth of the drawing-surface. Moreover, while depth is suggested by layering in an almost orthogonal manner, depth is also given by the marchers' alignment not in perspective but in oblique projection. Perspective is discarded; the viewer 'moves' along up with the marchers and the five-year plan.

Another poster by artist-propagandist Gustave Klucis (1895-1938) displays different aspects of the Soviet artists' innovative crowd-representations. Palms array together in one ensemble along the diagonal of the rectangular poster against a red background, intermingling with faces within the created mass. Palms and faces layer densely atop each other to create the 'feel' of being in a crowd defined by fragments and layered depth, not perspective. Moreover, layering fragments acts to invert normative foreshortening. The larger palm occupies the background, while progressively smaller palms layer on top and 'closer' to the viewer. Faces progress inversely, enlarging from the centre towards the corner; bigger faces are 'closer' to the viewer.

Fig.2 [Artist unknown]; Propaganda poster, early 1930s

Hence, integral to this *immersion* are a number of pictorial properties. A significant pictorial property is suppression of the perspectival viewpoint and foreshortening; layering was deployed as a device to generate alternative visual readings of depth. Immersion also came with a fragmentation of the visual field, which in turn effects defamiliarization, exploited in cinematic devices such as the 'close-up' by Vertov and Eisenstein. The ambiguity of cropped, zoom-in frames generates a state of heightened visual alertness to pictorial properties of shape, color, light and shadow which prevents submission to the image as a *notion*. Again, Rodchenko exploited such devices along with unfamiliar viewing angles to resist commodity fetishism in several works; self-awareness in front of a work (even advertisement) maintains the viewer's critical sensibilities. This self-awareness was frequently enhanced by endowing crowd-pictorials with a certain compositional surface-tension constructed from alignments and shape-relations. Tense surface order engenders a sense of *presence* in the observer, which is rendered more emphatic in depictions with close-up human-figures such as Rodchenko's 1928 Vaughn Lumberyard photographic series, where a precarious nearness to a body makes an observer inadvertently aware of his/her own body.[9] Fronting the backs of lumberyard workers at odd angles, Rodchenko's photographs evoke a strong *presence* for the viewer – as an overlooking eye, but also as a body hovering against the photograph's surface, looking over the worker's shoulders. Here, photography's conventional 'point-of-view' becomes in a sense embodied - 'kinestheticized'.[10]

Important clues for immersion and co-visibility also came from contemporary avant-garde theatre, especially Vsevolod Meyerhold's, which presented the crowd's synchronic space to architects as one of 'reciprocal staging'. Rather than having a position outside the crowd from which viewing it provides the only rational position, emphasis shifts to co-visibility or mutual-seeing. This meant the elimination of physical distinctions between the physical environments of stage and auditorium: no height differential, no contrast in lighting conditions, even dissolving specialized functional use for both sides as either performance or spectating.[11]

Within this innovative field of 'fluctuating seeing', new biases emerged. In stipulations to architects regarding his new theatre building, Meyerhold posed the problem of performance-spectatorship as a plastic, three-dimensional display. The more two-dimensional the stage presents itself to spectators, the more removed it becomes, and more dependent upon 'reading' in terms of painterly qualities. For Meyerhold, the two-dimensional proscenium stage precluded clear, sustained observation of the 'biomehanics' of actors' bodies which he advocated not only as a style of acting, but as a kinesthetic language of mass communication rooted in labor-aesthetics.

Meyerhold carried the distinction further by characterizing this three-dimensional viewing as specifically axonometric-like in nature[12]. One fundamental difference between axonometrics and other conventions of three-dimensionality is the distortion each introduces. While perspective distorts all sides and aspects of a space - the front-view of a single vanishing point excepted - axonometric views leave the *plan* of such a space unchanged. As the device which best captures configurational relations *between* objects and human-figures in space, the plan poses itself as a more 'objective' device, as far as spatial conception is concerned.

The Soviet Architects Respond

An emerging tradition of immersion – with all its subtleties - thus constituted the main thrust of the artists' resistance to the Panoramic Tradition, and acted as an underlying scaffold for architects' interventions. Yet one cannot assume that architecture drawings simply copied theatrical, painterly or photographic compositions or even conventions. Rather than mere customization, 'frameworks of seeing' undergo translations across disciplines of thought and practice, and are thereby reformulated. An obvious example addresses a central concern here: the depiction of crowds. Pervasive in modern architectural drawings is a striking disinterest in illustrating the human-figure. Particularly, projective drawings eschew body depictions. As Robin Evans has indicated, drawing the human-body within competing graphic systems proved a prime challenge, as different methods generated variant effects of the body's dynamic nature.[13]

Things are rendered more complex by fundamental distinctions within architectural practice between spatial design moves and pictorial intelligence. While functionally connected, they remain incollapsible onto each other. The main pragmatic objective of architectural graphics is to describe spatial and formal transformations. However, the pictorial retains some distinctness in the thought-process, partially as part of the ambiguity of representation itself. To uncover the 'framework of seeing', therefore, one has to seek a different set of clues. In architecture, graphic conventions act indirectly; with similar indirectness their impact should be sought.

Simultaneously, it is perhaps a fortuitous collusion of history that architectural drawing of the early Soviet period was asking of itself questions similar to those posed by revolution to society: questions of subjectivity (individual vs. collective), point-of-view, depth and background, and material production. Not surprisingly, Soviet architects of the time repeatedly advanced a plethora of drawing techniques questioning established graphic conventions (for example: Lisstizky's *Prouns*, Ioganson's and Rodchenko's *constructions*, Leonidov's gouache-drawing technique). Architectural experimentation proceeded in its graphic and its spatial fields, in quasi-independent tracks.

Fig.3 ARU's (Union of Architect-Urbanists) submission to the Palace of Soviets Competition, Phase I, 1931; three-dimensional drawing.

Hence, realizing the thorny complexity involved, I will examine an architectural drawing as an exemplar of what early Soviet avant-garde architecture evolved as conventions of visualizing crowds. ARU's (Union of Architects and Planners) three-dimensional drawing [Fig.3], submitted as part of Phase I of their Palace of Soviets entry (1931), will be dissected as the primary artifact of evidence, buttressed by arguments from other graphic experiments mentioned above.[14]

As a rare specimen of its kind in depicting crowds, ARU's three-dimensional drawing provides an exceptional opportunity to examine Soviet architects' explicit intentions when depicting crowds. Simultaneously, the ways in which the drawing addresses its non-crowd components (such as buildings, ground, sky, and urban elements) as well as graphic technique, reveals much about how other drawings address similar graphic problems in relation to undepicted crowds.

A peculiar play on depth, background and surface marks ARU's drawing. While a three-dimensional drawing, ARU's drawing defies perspectival conventions. Converging lines (resulting from the foreshortening of parts) do not meet at anything remotely resembling a vanishing-point or a horizon-line. For each fragment of the drawing, its associated set of foreshortened lines converge towards their own 'vanishing point'.

This deliberate denial of radial projection comes as an expected negative offering, given period associations of situated perspective with individualistic bourgeois mores. But even generic foreshortening also seems belied. Depictions of building-forms within drawing bounds exhibit no clear sense of foreshortening; forms do not significantly diminish in size as they recede in depth. Floor heights, especially in the background tower, remain too ambiguous to allow a visual comparison with their foreground counterparts.

This is strongly enforced by another effect, which begins to suggest the drawing's richness. This oversized drawing on light-brown paper does not distinguish between sky and ground. Had it been marked for material or grid, the ground would overwhelm the drawing, suggesting an overarching order. Indeed, if one removes the crowd figures (and

parked vehicles; Fig.4), the ensuing effect is that of objects hovering in near weightlessness. While layering somewhat demarcates the Mass Hall from a stair-structure infront of it, the tenuous relation between the two main building forms evokes heightened visual tension, which precludes reading building-masses as one coherent composition.

A 'horizon' – with all its associations - is negated from the graphic composition. Continuity of the background color precludes visual assignment of a horizon. As explicit is the lack of a silhouette line or skyline. Building edges do not contrast sharply or protrude from the sky background. Contrast this to a perspective drawing in Boris Iofan's winning entry for the Palace of Soviets Competition; here the whole scene is set against a strongly demarcated horizon and building silhouette which also serve to diminish Moscow's urban fabric in the background. While Iofan's perspective registers Moscow's skyline in order to overpower it, ARU's drawing detects no urban presence in the background although the site was in Moscow's center. No coherent reading of forms yields a comfortable center of foreshortening. The Panoramic Tradition's sublime associations are shed.

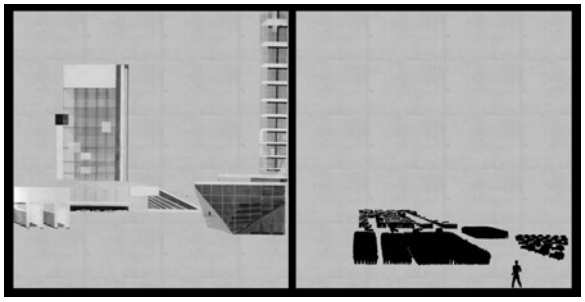

Fig.4 ARU's three-dimensional drawing; sense of depth.

Another inference from above observations forwards issues of the drawing's *background*. An overall effect of this drawing is 'forced shallowness', or a tension between the illusionary depth of the foreground forms and a background that 'advances forward', flattens out and seems vague and hazy. Depth evoked by foreshortened crowd formations (and the tentative layering of building- masses) competes with shallowness advancing from the graphic background. Rather than allowing the illusionary space of foreshortening (fragmented as it is) to completely overwhelm the drawing's impression, its 'graphic presence' is retained through the device of the continuous paper-color.

ARU's architectural drawing approaches the non-objective qualities of Suprematist paintings. The impression is one where unexpected (visual) rules of kinesthetics and gravity apply. Thus, this drawing should not be taken exclusively in terms of its 'object' properties. Much like a Suprematist painting, it is an arrangement of hovering planes – with color partaking in the effect through subtle variations of white and beige against the light-brown color of the drawing-paper. Besides the malleability of time-perception, generated by the shallow depth and the background's *ganzfeld*, another mutability is at work. Seeing the crowd in context of reduced gravitational effects, evokes kinesthetics as a category with which to visualize the crowd. Leonidov's drawing [for Narkomtiazphrom competition, 1934; **Fig.5**] bespeaks similar denials of weight and mass. It is against the unmistakable presence (even thrust) of the drawing's background – and not through its denial via illusionary space – that perceptions of depth are conjured.

The drawing's fragments and negated horizon-line induce a further effect. It is as if the drawing's observer moves up-and-down as well as sideways in order to shift into 'correct' viewing positions. Not unlike a Cubist painting, the drawing surface simulates a moving observer, viewing from multiple points-of-view. But while the Cubist painting fragments the viewed object to a large degree, and pronounces – quite explicitly - sensations of motion and fragmentation, this drawing masks its motion and fragmentation effects. Distancing the fragments from each other contributes to diluting the distortions and the collage effects that result from juxtaposing fragments. Distance, especially in this relatively large drawing (46.5"x46.5"), mitigates sharp effects.

Moreover, an interstitial surface-order governs the square drawing field, binding the drawing-fragments into a tense unity that barely masks its fragmentation. Employing lines and alignments from the depicted shapes and alignments, the drawing's square surface is meticulously subdivided into near-harmonic proportions. This barely-visible order is

brought to an effect of 'surface-tension'. That same line, which depicts the background mass' platform-top and aligns with that of the foreground building platform as well, represents, on one hand, a flagrant flouting of perspective drawing, but on the other hand, a confirmation of deliberate intention. This alignment can only be from a very specific height and viewpoint – a non-generic position. Far from being an isolated decision, the angle at which the edge of the foreground chamfered mass only slightly touches the edge of the background atrium, is again a non-generic viewpoint that partially hides the horizon-line. Another tense alignment relates the Small Auditorium's lower edge to the uppermost line of the cluster of marchers in dark uniforms. The two largest, darkest shapes, with the sharpest contrasts to background-color, are aligned in a tense relation; inclined in the same direction, the two oblique quadrants induce a sense of dynamism across the surface. Besides pronouncing the presence of the drawing's background, its 'surface' is also evoked – if rather obscurely.

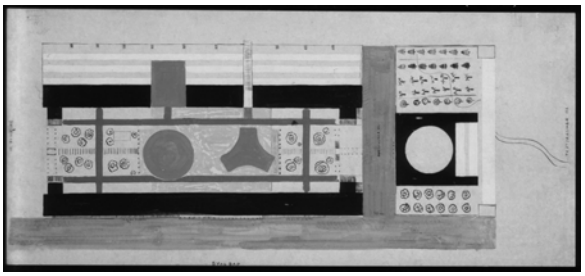

Fig.5 Ivan Leonidov, Narkomtiazphrom Competition, Moscow 1934 (unexecuted)

Seeing Crowds in Architectural Drawings

Hence, the 'framework of seeing', as graphically reformulated by ARU within the confines of an architectural drawing, may be summed up in four components. The crux of this reformulation asserts that, instead of addressing problems of crowd visualization through representational narratives of immersion, co-visibility and shifting attention, ARU formulated the 'framework-of-seeing' through graphic conventions involving the drawing-viewer's subjectivity in the subtle visual and kinesthetic sensations which a drawing evokes. Thus, this design-drawing serves to re-orient viewers' senses, and as a subtle instigator of psychological sensations in preparation for the design act.

First, the architectural drawing's customary function as a representational device for formal and spatial transformations is shared (even overshadowed) by another function. In its graphic construction, the architectural drawing comes to *exemplify* qualities of that space; it turns its attention to evoking sensations and constructing perceptions inherent in the described-space's psychological charge.

By standing in relation to its observer in ways similar to how the space relates to its own observer, the architectural drawing comes to inflict its own presence primarily through tensions evoked by (mis)alignments and juxtapositions. The drawing promotes *presence* itself as a design issue; it comes to demand that the juxtapositions between bodies or artifacts be acknowledged and addressed. This is the second component of ARU's graphic reformulation.

Third: Effectively, the drawing scaffolds a regime of 'shifting attention' by preventing the eye from settling into a resolved composition. While not too pronounced so as to utterly dissuade viewing, the technique of masked graphic tensions urges eyes to 'move along' - to continue moving across the drawing surface without resting anywhere specific.

Before discussing the fourth component of the 'framework of seeing', two related questions beg themselves. What design strategies may such graphic conventions scaffold? Implied in this question is another: what is the *nature* of that 'scaffolding' - what relationships obtain between the drawing's graphic conventions and the properties it scaffolds in physical space?

To address the first question, a few examples argue for a strong drawing-cum-space connection. Ideas of shifting attention in drawing find their counterpart in alike spatial maneuvers to construct a field of view where the eye is prompted to continuously roam. Early glimpses of this are evident in the Vesnins' 1922 entry to the Palace-of-Labor Competition. Displacing the functional center of attention from the hall's geometric fulcrum, the Vesnins assertively de-emphasize the latter through using an elliptical plan, and by indicating the ellipse's 'middle' center only via the apex of the trussed roof. Later developments evolve more dynamic modes of shifting attention. In ARU's submission to the Palace of Soviets Competition, as well as in

earlier works by Ladovski, a linear performance space extends an exterior parade ground into the synchronic space of assembly, while splitting the spectators into two main opposing stalls. Facing each other while also overlooking the stage between them, this arrangement affords the potential of audience members to scrutinize each other while simultaneously watching performers. The configuration here embeds simultaneous, multiple foci. I*t inscribes attention onto a line instead of a point* or *even an array of points.* This arrangement also begins to favor spatial arrangements which emphasize the frontal display of spectator's bodies to each other, while affording axonometric views of the performance area.

Here**,** the relationship between graphics and space is primarily analogical. The mode of shifting attention that the drawing promotes does not suggest, let alone structure, the specific modes of attention in the Vesnin's, ARU's or Ladovski's entries. One evokes the other (mutually), but does not offer a scaffold of notations, or even visual techniques, from one to another.

Another kind of scaffold involves the transfer of some visual techniques. In a related chain of effects, the drawing's graphic tensions and discontinuities suggest sensations of discontinuity in space. ARU's spatial configurations structure a field of co-visibilities that is uneven, not unlike the fractious graphic view captured in the drawings. ARU's visual field is designed to be irregular, through using a collage of close-ups and distant views ('deep shots'). In ARU's design for the parade ground, as marchers walk down the curvilinear ramps then up again, they open a rather unexpected gap in the visual field. The visual field of the parade ground is also fractured by placing the sharp triangular forms of the Small Auditorium along its side. The building's oblique edges and surfaces generate sudden breaks and transitions in the visual field, whereby, again, close-ups and deep views are juxtaposed. This affords a stronger sense of attention and presence. With pronounced presence comes a sustained alertness in the observer (of both drawing and space). This theme, in turn, finds other manifestations in the design scheme: such alertness also marks the experience of marchers in ARU's parade ground, where slightly curved surfaces preempt the moving-body from resting into unconscious rhythms. The connection here is more than analogical.

In other words: the drawing-as-an-exemplar works here by offering devices to be employed in conceiving of co-visibilities in space and its sensations of empathy.

There is a third and final way through ARU's drawing scaffolds design strategies – which, I posit, also indicates the fourth component of the 'framework of seeing'. If one re-examines ARU's three-dimensional drawing closely, one reaches the conclusion that the drawing is actually more concerned with depicting the negative volume inhabited by the crowd, rather than the physical buildings. Rendering artifacts using techniques of gouache and water-color on colored paper, building-surfaces somewhat dematerialize – shapes consolidating a tangible, corporeal mass disintegrate as the lines con-firming them are rendered secondary by the unevenness of the color next to the line. The spatial volume is the object of depiction, not the physical masses.

This observation casts in a new light the Rationalist Nicolai Ladovski's statement that space is the "fundamental 'material' of architecture"[15]. This is a statement of design intent, rather than a metaphoric play - a re-orientation of emphasis. Ladovski, and the Rationalists in general, turned their attention to space in two related ways. First, they literally addressed the negative volume forged by masses, which is the conventional notion of space. Second, they also tackled space in its modernist sense as the force-field of emotional effects conjured by building masses (their shapes, kinesthetics, …etc) – effects which, in the Rationalist doctrine, may be gauged and rationalized into an economy through formal manipulations.

What ARU's three-dimensional drawing thus depicts is that space (as volume *and* as effects) among the building masses. It is the 'space' (in Ladovski's terminology) rushing towards the building or artifact, and, due to the evoked sense of presence, which the drawing-observer also occupies. It is reaching into, rather than extending out of, the 'space' of the drawing. It is the field of the observer's perception engaging the artifact in physical space, and the artifact through the drawing space in graphics. (Particular emphasis on frontal views, in the Rationalists' drawing

archive from the early 1920s, may also be cited to support this argument).

Endnotes

[1] The term comes from the title of one of the early major works on crowd psychology by the Frenchman Gustave Le Bon: Psychologie Des Foules (1895), which is 'politely' translated into the more neutralized The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind; London: T. F. Unwin, 1896 (5). Note also the feminine gender association with its nineteenth-century connotations.

[2] Rosenberg, William G., 1988. Identities, Power and Social Interactions in Revolutionary Russia; in *Slavic Review*, vol. 47, no. 1 (Spring 1988), pp.21-8

[3] E.P. Thompson, 1966. *The Making of the English Working Class*. New York, Vintage Books.

[4] Literary representations also abounded. A whole lineage may be traced in psychology and psychoanalysis from Gustave Le Bon's *Psychologie Des Foules*, through Freud's *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* to Elias Cannetti's *Crowds and Power,* where irrationality and suggestibility were theorized and institutionalized in modern sociology and psychology as defining characteristics of the crowd. Baudelaire's account of the voyeuristic *flaneur*, and Benjamin's later elaborations trace another thread of crowd representations in literature. Compared to Hugo's disgruntled and revolutionary crowd of workers, Gogol describes how the elite coalesce in the public space in *The Nevsky Prospect*, 1811 – in yet another strain of representational distinction based on class. Significantly, Hugo's account of the insurgent crowd in *Les Miserables* seems to belie this irrationality; but his was an exceptional look at the crowd from 'within'. Although the main account in this paper focuses on pictorial traditions, literary representations are a constant background presence.

[5] Schnapp, Jeffrey T., 2002. The Mass Panorama, in *MODERNISM / modernity*, 9(2), the Johns Hopkins University Press; pp. 243–281.

[6] Schnapp 2002, The Mass Panorama,

[7] "[P]ulling the horizon line forward" is Schnapp's assessment in The Mass Panorama; 2002). Published photos resolution and quality are too poor to qualify that, but I think that since the height and angle of photography has not changed across the different photos, "pulling the horizon line forward" means: while assembling the individual shots of the panorama, instead of collapsing the different points from which each is taken (supposedly one point!) onto each other they combine into an invisible line or a more complex shape. The effect is that the actual scene itself seems 'flattened'!

[8] Artist unknown.

[9] Dickerman, Leah. The Propagandizing of Things in *Aleksandr Rodchenko*, edited by Magdalena Dabrowski, Dickerman & Galassi. New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1998; p.85. Rodchenko's photographs were originally published in *Daesh'*, 1929.

[10] This pictorial immersion seems akin to the Italian Futurists' allocation of a work's viewing point within the movement – as part of the experience of movement that describes the work.

[11] Relevant Literature on Meyerhold's wok includes:

Braun, Edward 1995. *Meyerhold: A revolution in theatre*, London, Methuen.

Leach, Robert,1989. *Vsevolod Meyerhold*, Cambridge University Press.

Law, Alma H.& Gordon, Mel, 1996. *Meyerhold, Eisenstein, And Biomechanics: Actor Training In Revolutionary Russia*, Jefferson, N.C. : McFarland, c1996.

[12] Khan-Magomedov, S., 1987. *Pioneers of Soviet Architecture*, NY: Rizzoli.

[13] Evans, Robin (1995). *The Projective Caste Architecture and its Three Geometries*. Cambridge, Mass. MIT Press; pp.123-178.

[14] The drawings examined from hereon were obtained from:

Cooke, Catherine, 1983. *Russian Avant-Garde Theories of Art, Architecture and the City* London: Academy Editions and Architectural Design.

Cooke, C., & Kazus, I., 1992. *Soviet Architectural Competitions 1920s-1930s,* London: Phaidon Press Ltd.

Other references include:

Kiaer, Christina, 2005. *Imagine No Possessions: The Socialist Objects of Russian Constructivism*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press.

Khan-Magomedov, S., 1987. *Pioneers of Soviet Architecture*, NY: Rizzoli.

Sheehan, T., 2002. Wittgenstein and Vertov: Aspectuality and Anarchy, *Discourse*, 24(3), pp. 95-113.

Von Geldern, James, c1993. *Bolshevik festivals, 1917-1920*; Berkeley: University of California Press.

[15] Nicolai Ladovski, quoted in Khan-Magomedov 1993, *Pioneers*, p.189.