

LUZHKOV ERA

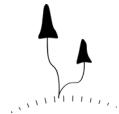
AGING OF CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURE – PRESERVATION AS DESIGN

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Introduction

My 90-s

It seems the 90-s are in fashion now. It's nice, though in fact my attitude to the last decades is dual. From one side, I look at this time as a professional, practicing architect; from the other, I am screening it through the prism of the personal experience of the first-hand participant of this epoch: I am thirty – "we've grown up together". Everything happened in the country directly touched me and my family and friends, what happened to Moscow, say, happened to my house, my district – hereof I've got this affection.

After all, the professional architect's attitude is the acquired knowledge supported by the society's judgment, and, of course, my own intuition. Exactly here the problems started, more precisely the alternating personality. The emotional affection to the 90-s, as a part of my past, differs from the opinion of my educated and sophisticated colleagues about the architecture of Moscow of that period. More often it is openly abused, particularly after the former Mayor "retirement". During the Mayor Luzhkov governing the criticism mainly came from the scanty intellectual elite, but after a number of publications and TV programs a considerable part of population joined them. The post-Soviet architecture was considered to be a compromise; most probably it is the result of complicated socio-political and economic conditions, than an artistic phenomenon.



My family, 1995

Liquid Russia¹

After the USSR breakdown the ideological emptiness appeared and instead of the disappeared socialist values – "*labor, justice, equality*" – rapidly appeared new ones – "*profit, property, democracy*". At the same time the necessity appears to build the material world, so despised in the Soviet years, nearly from scratch. The community rushed to praise the comfortable capitalist world.

"I conceive that the most important achievement of the last 20 years was the historically unprecedented leap from the economics of deficit to the consumer society."²



From the economy of deficit...



...to a society of consumption

To my opinion, the last 20 years clearly broke into two phases.

The post-Soviet Russia is rapidly changing exactly till the financial crisis of 1998. In the first decade the Western model of development has been used, including *democracy, free market, private property, personality priority*, but the dreams of happy **capitalist future have been replaced by the capitalist present**. There always have been the doubts that we were going the wrong way – not our own! – but nowadays it is proved by the crisis, and we have to "*restructure*" again. Despite the radical nature of changes in the society, the Moscow appearance is changing insignificantly, and new construction is being perceived enthusiastically as a long-awaited renewal after the time of a damp.

The crisis becomes a turning point, and the revolutionary strategy of the first decade is being replaced by the strategy for stability: the exposure of the corruption

¹ The title of the chapter is inspired with the book "Liquid Modernity" by Zigmunt Bauman

² Auzan Alexander. Institutional economics for dummies.// Esquire, May 2011.

schemes, the social policy, and the development of the future growth strategy. The visibility of civilized development is being created. The selective re-habilitation of the Soviet past took place and the admission of a number of its “*objective*” advantages, including the high level of science and military complex development.

There is an opinion that “not always adequate” (especially in the last years of the Presidency) president Yeltsin and the persons manipulating him under the code name “The family” are responsible for the hard economic consequences of the first decade. If the first period built the future, denying the Soviet state past, the second goes ahead turning back. The wild capitalism and the conditional democracy exist in a strange way with the ghosts of the past in the hierarchic system of the governance. A combination of the enforcing chain of command and selective re-habilitation of the past makes an interesting impact on the Moscow architectural heritage. Under the lee of the idea of saving the historical environment the city is rapidly destroyed due to new massive construction of the so called “*contextual buildings*”. Many historical buildings are being demolished by the will of the city Mayor to be revived as “*nearly identical*.³” It’s appropriate to recollect here the phenomenon of the cycle of change of the cultural paradigms in Russia, described in Vladimir Paperny thesis (“Culture 2” publication). If one can look through this prism, the uniqueness of the 1990-2010 period is that two cultures – vertical and horizontal replace each other within a short period of 20 years. The time is shrinking, the events are being compressed.

The Capital and the Mayor

Moscow became a kind of a model of all – and for all! – country. The city appeared to be inseparably tied with the name of Yury Michailovich Luzhkov, who has occupied the Mayor position since 1992 up to 2010. The fact that after 20 year of his ruling he was removed from the position – retired, officially closes the entire epoch of the Capital city history, but bears the symbolic meaning as well. The Mayor firing proves the fact that his time has passed and the rigid vertical chain of command shows a strong dislike for such persons.

Yury Luzhkov was assigned to his position in 1992 instead of Mayor Gavriil Popov. As it was said, the “manager” replaced the “Politician” - it was necessary to introduce a proper order and to build a new life after the “interlunation”. His image changed during the entire governing period, as the state changed and Moscow itself. The Chairman of Mosgorispolkom (the Moscow city government) in the Soviet times, a member of CPSU till its last day, Moscow deputy Mayor, economic executive Mayor, - politician, - businessman, - exile.³

Starting with the city clean-up he switched to the large-scaled projects of the revival of the “Moscow of bygone days”, the way he saw and understood it, and then he made a bold push for Russia, but was defeated in big politics and remains within the borders of his town, where ruled like an actual owner. The corruption level has grown immensely during his times: it was the system made of labyrinths of interconnections and private interests, the fight against from outside was useless. At the same time, the schematically primitive social policy, performed by Luzhkov, brought to him popularity among pensioners and low-income population group as a part of budget funds was really distributed for the additions to pensions, benefits and bonuses.



Liquid Russia. Mix of two cultures



Mayor Gavriil Popov with president Boris Yeltsin



New mayor Yury Luzhkov...

³ The official biography of Y.Luzhkov, http://www.bfs.ru/libs/lid_683.html

Luzhkov was the ambiguous but undoubtedly bright personality. He is a representative of the first generation of the media politician, celebrity politician, businessman politician, populist politician. His image was created on simple, people-transparent patterns: peaked cap, honey, broom. His income, his private life are discussed in the press and community even after his resignation. His personal activities have changed the Moscow panorama in such a way, that more than one generation of historians will examine what had happened.

Luzhkov, I might say, loved culture, particularly the theatre, music and sculpture. But namely, the architecture became his passion with the lapse of time. The Mayor resolutely changed the city space, guided by his personal taste. The mixture of democracy with the “owner” ideology which came from the past epoch enabled him to modify Moscow so radically by the will of one man, one personality. It’s worth noting that the Mayor’s private taste matched the taste of the population sweepingly coped the joy of the new material values. Love to the renewed, understandable, positive and “antique” – the authorities and population of Moscow are united here. His statements about the advantages of the replica before the original made him a reputation of a boor⁴, and a number of the alien projects in the historical environment – a reputation of the enemy of Moscow heritage admirers. The Luzhkov’s personal participation in projects’ decisions practically made him a founder of a new stylistic trend in architecture. “The Luzhkov style”, as critics called it, is the synonym of the kitsch, tastelessness, bluntly commercial architecture which reminds the stylized decoration. Does such architecture have a chance?

Why

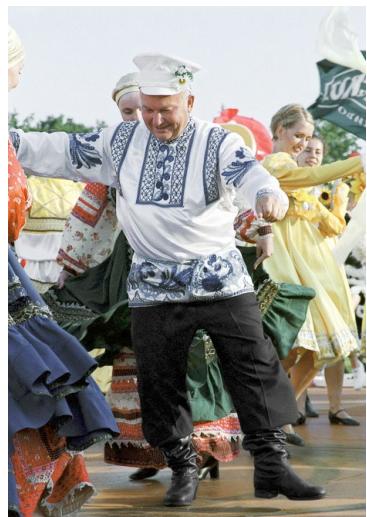
How could we treat the “architectural consequences” of the 90-s? What will happen in 30-40 years, when many buildings, built in the 90-s will physically break down? What of the currently erected will be perceived as a valued historical heritage in the future?

Many contemporaries, and in the first turn, professionals think that the architecture of these years is simply disreputable to exist further. During the project preparation I’ve talked to two experts in contemporary architecture and preservation of historical sites, Grigory Revzin and Natalia Dushkina, and they have the same opinion: “*the absence of the subjects of preservation*”, “*physical frame is unable to exist over 50 years*”, “*juvenile culture extruding the old objects*” - the “heritage” of this time is doomed to disappear. More over, by the opinion of N. Dushkova, “*the demonstrative demolitions*” of Luzhkov’s era heritage could serve as a good warning for architects. Such a thing should never occur again.

To prove that architecture of those times has no value is rather simple. It is really not novel, socially insignificant and made of casual materials of low quality as a rule. But there is the esthetically valuable architecture and there is another. It is architecture which is linked with the events. In the world history there are extraordinary moments, and the USSR collapse is one of them. In my project I’d try to prove that the architecture of the last 20 years is extremely important as a witness of Moscow modern history. The disappearance of such heritage is the disappearance of recollections.



...as a worker...



...as a dancer...



...as a wizard!

⁴ Maslov M., Ivanov V. What is may be more precious to the Muscovite - phantom or copy? // <http://old.sob.ru/issue3044.html>

Prehistory

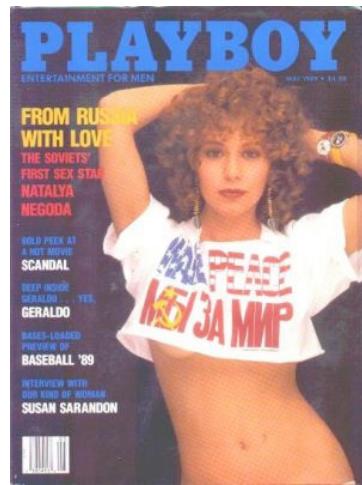
It seems to be, that all it happened not long ago, but much of it has already been forgotten. Numerous events of the first years of Perestroyka invoked the irreversible process of the *country transformation*. The TV-bridge in 1982 was first attempt to enter into dialogue with the West, permission for the self-employment and publicity in 1987, the first party elections in 1989, the fight to abolish the 6 Article of the USSR Constitution on the CPSU ruling role, the law on the freedom of confessions in 1990, all this “acupuncture” changes the society structure.

The complicated mutation of the socialist society reflects the city and architectural mutations like in the looking-glass.

To me, the *transformation of the building complex at Turgenevskaya square* seems to be the convincing example of such mutation. The construction of the Soviet modernism epoch (F.Novikov, 1967-1993) accumulates the stylistic elements of the entirely different architecture (D. Solopov, 1993-1998). The new author adds the geometric volumes with the “actual” elements and changes the complex’s facades in order to visually and functionally adapt the building to the new times requirements: non-functional, but aesthetically vital space of the empty niches are built on for the purpose of the leaving area extension, the solid insulated glazing units with the plate glasses, sculpture elements appear to “modernize” the facade. Generally, the space-ideological structure has been saved; **the new epoch elements simply overlap the Soviet past.**

In these years there has been made a number of decisions abolishing the previous Soviet decrees, in particular, the rehabilitation of the political repression victims and return of Academician Sakharov from his exile. The correction of the ideological mistakes of the past years inspires **the criticism against the Soviet regime and appeal to the “pre-Soviet” historical epochs.**

The first ideas of the historical architectural environment revival appeared in MAI (Moscow Architectural Institute) with Professor Boris Eremin. Some diplomas with the representative titles “Retro-development” (1985-1986), “The revived Moscow” (1989-1990) propagate the **ideas of recreation and reconstruction**. The main slogan of the Eremin’s concept is “to develop by reviving, to revive by developing!” Eremin himself defines the “retro-development” term as a “committed revival of the lost historical architectural values of the city which enables to reconsider and adjust the value system, established in the public conscience due to the prolong neglect of the heritage.”⁵ The expressive graphics, courageous ideas and the impressive scope made these projects famous in the professional circles. The cultural losses caused by the Soviet modernism must be compensated – this opinion is shared by almost all the cultural community of the first decade of the post-Soviet period. The utopian method of the “historical justice revival” will be applied to Moscow center. But in reality the cultural utopia will be accompanied by the commercial one. Their union further will lead to the appearance of such mutant objects as Cathedral of the Redeemer, the cathedral with the underground parking and car-wash in the stylobate part.



Mutation of the socialist society - new features from another world



The mix of two epochs. Transformation of the building at Turgenevskaya square.
F.Novikov, 1967-1993, D. Solopov, 1993-1998



“The revived Moscow” – resurrection of selected heritage for creation of new compositions. Diploma project led by Boris Eremin

5 Gandelsman B.. Great Moscow by Boris Eremin. // Arkhitektura i Stroitelstvo Moskvy, №1, 2002

After the meeting of Gorbachev and ROC representatives in 1988, the church recognition and co-operation with the authorities began. The spiritual idea of the “**penance**” and as a result the idea of the “**revival**” ideologically matches the Eremin’s ideas of the **revival and reconstruction**. The confession is re-united with architecture; the first manifestation of this is the reconstituted Church of the Kazan Holy Icon of Our Lady (1990-1993). The church was reconstructed in its original look by using the remained measures.

The idea of resurrection embodied in a phenomenon, which I call **Phoenix** - an attempt to create new values, new history and new memories. Religious buildings, demolished in the Soviet times, were literally built up. This phenomenon has been changing several times during the last two decades.

The so called “*environmental approach*” began to play a large role in architecture; one of its founders was A.Gutnov. In practice, this approach *transformed* and reappeared as several stylistic directions, which I call as following: the “*authentic imitation*” –the historical style which includes the main principles and original canons, the “*reconsidered history*” – the modern interpretation of the historical styles and the “*contextual modernism*” described as the modern architecture rhythmically and dimensionally inserted in the environment. As an example we could name the Office center at Palashevsky lane, Balchug Hotel and McDonald’s office at Tverskaya Street. The **Ostozhenka district reconstruction** is the beginning. After the scandal related to the demolition of the historic landmark in this district and the construction of the new house for Party’s nomenclature at 7a, Pozharsky lane, the decision on the development strategy for the entire district territory was made. The project has been ordered by the independent art school of SPC MAAI, and the whole district turned to be a ground for the “*environmental approach*”. The ideological platform developed by Gutnov and his colleagues as far back as in the Soviet times, would be employed actively in the post-Soviet times. As a addition to the new economic demands the “Golden Mile” block appeared, the Moscow most expensive block, ghetto for the rich dwellers.

“The complex build-up meant for the district only one thing – at the end of the Soviet epoch everything was ready for developers here, who could master the territory entirely, not being tied up by the limitations of the “dot” construction. The successful positioning and advertising finished the deal.”⁶

In 1986 the **self-employment** was permitted, the **first co-operatives** appeared. The extraordinary enterprising citizens began to make first capitals. It is worth noting that namely the future Mayor of Moscow at that time was a Chairman of the co-operatives commission, and it was him, who issued the permissions for the opening of the first co-operatives in Moscow, i.e. stood at the backgrounds of society “commercialization”⁷

A significant event of this period is construction of “Atrium” restaurant in 1987 (the project of A. Brodsky and I. Utkin). The futuristic projects of the “paper architecture” representatives already popular in the West thanks to the triumphs at the international contests, for the first time gained an offing to be realizes due to the



Literal resurrection of the pre-soviet history. Reconstruction of the demolished Church of the Kazan Holy Icon of Our Lady, 1991



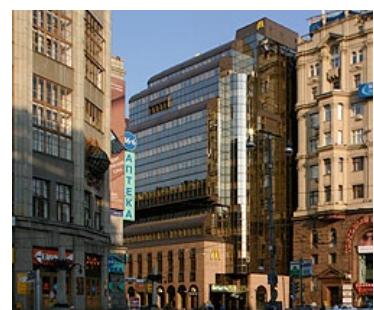
Phoenix phenomenon. The first generation of the resurrected buildings is close to the original. 1990-93



“Environmental approach” – “authentic imitation”. Office center at Palashevsky lane, Mosproekt, Atelier №22, A.Meerson, 1989-91



“Environmental approach” – “reconsidered history”. Balchug hotel, Mosproekt, Atelier №19. V.Kolosnoin, 1988-91



“Environmental approach” – “contextual modernism”. McDonalds office and restaurant, “Architectural office Vorontsova”, 1989-93

⁶ Abakumova Mariya. The Soviet secret of Ostozhenka

/ <http://www.forbes.ru/ekonomika/nedvizhimost/37907-sovetskii-sekret-ostozhenki> livepage.apple.com

⁷ “The law on self-employment”, USSR, 19.11.1986; “On cooperation in the USSR”, USSR, 19.05.1985

appearance of the private clients. "Atrium" is one of the first examples of the interior projects in the modern sense of the term. *This is the implementation of the will and the taste of a private person in the interpretation of the architect.* It was also the beginning of the *rush for singularity*: further the interior designers would invent the "special ideas" and "unconventional solutions" to satisfy the Client and to shock the society. The interior *identity*, its *material value* are in opposition to the state official ideology which still remains (*equality, etc.*), as well as the independent youth sub-cultures appeared in the middle of 80-s and known as "**'informals'**", the new generation of architects does not serve in Mosproekt⁸ and is out of the system; the alternative to the state service appeared.

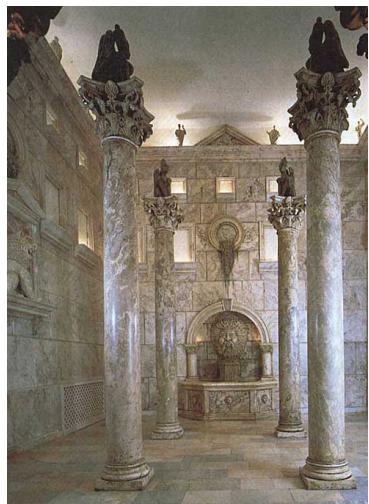
One of the authors of catalogue on the paper architecture "*Papierarchitektur*" Professor H. Klotz describes the new interior environment as follows:

*...here these tall pillars are perceived as the secret dreams realization, seemed to be impossible earlier, as the courageous protest against all that the directed towards politics and economics only sense imposes to people from outside."*⁹

It is even not an opposition; it's rather the **denial of reality**, an attempt to build-up an ideal world, which could not be built-up outside. That is why the **interiors in post-Soviet environment acquired such important meaning**: *the ideal, comfortable and hermetical worlds creating the diverse reality illusion* of the authors' imaginations and their clients' scope. One of the projects which also build up the diverse reality became the interior of Mayakovsky Museum by A.Bokov's design (1987-1989). In this project the words were practically visualized literally, every scroll in the space matched the Mayakovsky lines expressed in verse. The architects like the magicians try their magic powers, and the public, missing without miracles, slowly begins to be turned on.

But on the level of ordinary person the **private interior** of the apartments looks quite different as yet. Due to the fact that Soviet citizens have no chance to simply buy the furniture elements or the finishing materials for the interior, they show the extreme quick wit. Thanks to the correspondents from European socialist block and the improvised means, the people create in their apartments with their own hands the analogs of the comfortable and original interiors. The touching self-made book-shelves, tables and even sofas disposed in the small-sized flats, often combine the several functions: chair-chest, flap bed, transforming into the table in the day-time, the pier with the installed sewing machine. The article about the **apartments of an architect Sergey Kiselev** have been published in № 5 issue of the Moscow Architecture and Construction magazine in 1988 is the pure example of such self-making – almost everything in the apartment was made by the hands of Sergey and his wife. The owner of the apartments discussed the interior as a self-portrait, the *reflection of the identity*. Namely the aspiration to the architectural **identity**, which was so much disapproved in the Soviet years, did not find the way to escape in the panel small-sized flats, when it broke loose it would fill in the near future the Moscow streets with the buildings, shouting about their **identity**.

At the same time, the **ideal hermetic worlds** are swelling, reaching the serious size. **The Park Place housing complex** (1990-1992, art school № 11, Y. Belopolsky)



An "ideal world" for a private client, "Atrium" restaurant, A.Brodsy and I.Utkin, 1987



"Hand made world" of ordinary people, Sergey Kiselev's apartment, 1988



First gated community – isolation as the exclusiveness, Park Place complex, Mosproekt, Atelier №11, J.Belopolsky, 1990-92

⁸ Mosproekt - State Unitary Enterprise of Moscow Office of the design of public buildings and constructions

⁹ www.walkingcity.ru

is mostly the pioneer of this trend. Initially, ordered by UPDK and designed as the isolated world for foreigners, it transforms into the isolated world for a new well-to-do class of the society. The complex is a *sui generis* "forefather" of the so called **gated community**, — the fenced housing with a check-point at the exit. In the Soviet state the *isolation* customary meant the exclusiveness or the *difference* of the position in the society: foreigners, ruling elite – in the new country the *isolation* means the droit of the well-to-do class.

In 1990 the old names of the **streets and the Metro stations** are returned or the new polysemantic names are created. It's another back lobe through the Soviet history. It changes geography and reflects **the current contradictions of the society** - The Sakharov and Andropov prospects exist at the same time, in the same point of the globe.

The amendment of the **6th Article of the USSR Constitution** and the declaration of political pluralism in 1990, legalized the pluralism in the real world, including the architectural one. **From this very minute all things are permitted.**

In 1991 the Law on the new territory administrative division of Moscow was issued. Instead of 30 districts of the Soviet times, Moscow has 10 districts consisting in their turn of the municipal districts (in 1995 they were replaced by the municipal regions).¹⁰ Both prefects and heads of the town councils received their positions by the Mayor's decree. In other word, the chain of command in Moscow is being built up ten years ahead the federal level. The *abolition* of the self-administration of the district Deputies councils appears within the frames of the fight against the Soviet system of management. A new two-step management system by the authorities' decision *per se* **deprived the powers of the local authorities**, from the other side, such management system **made possible to implement the really scaled projects**. Unlike the Western horizontal system, such rigid hierarchy enables Mayor to get the authority over the city as a whole, and the each district separately through the district management, i.e. through the government officer doing only communicative role between the Mayor and the subordinate districts. The scaled projects of the 90s is partly the cause of this administrative changes, spreading the authorities' and the servants' mechanism capabilities.

In conclusion, I would like to note once more that all current events are, from the one hand, an attempt to rupture links with the Soviet system: *the lobe through the history, the pluralism, the private interests*, and from the other hand, it is an attempt to use some of its elements, but in the renewed, modified, **transformed** form: *the elite isolation, the chain of command, the servants' machine*.

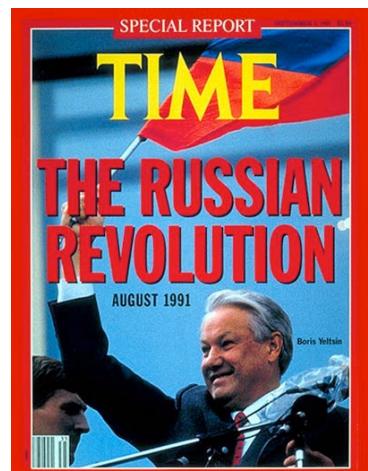
1991 – the terminal USSR break-out, Yeltsin is a President, Moscow is the Capital of Russia.



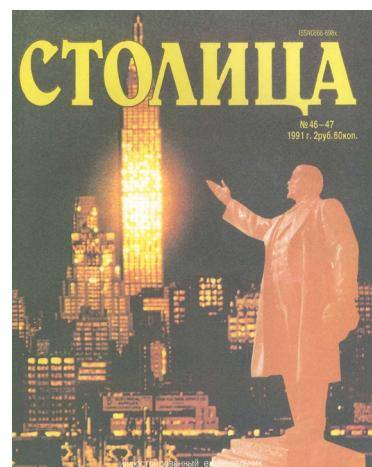
Public support of Boris Yeltsin, March 1991



Revolution in Moscow, 1991



Boris Yeltsin is the President



Moscow is the new Capital

¹⁰ Order of the Mayor dated September 12, 1991 N 146-RM "On establishing the temporal limits of the municipal districts of Moscow"

1992, The Pre-determination

The first year of the peaceful life of the society after the Soviet Union break-down, after the Revolution. The year of Yury Luzhkov appointment for the Moscow Mayor position. Yeltsin begins to reform the New Russia, Luzhkov begins to reform Moscow.

Free Trade decree. The initial decree permitted citizens and enterprises to trade "in any comfortable for them places, excluding the roadway of the streets, Metro stations and the territories closed to the government bodies buildings."¹¹ By the time, the profit earning became the main target of the performing actions and gives the character and the features for any city's spatial change, both from the point of view of the space and planning tasks, or from the esthetical point of view. It is important that not only the consciously designed, "purposive" architectural objects, but the city texture itself, its behavior obey the new rules. The commercialization aspect began to play the important part too, as well as esthetically or typologically. I'd propose for this phenomenon the following term "**Commercial functionalism**" – the possibility to use any city area as a potential income source. And not only have the ground surfaced, the city territory, but even the air space between them. The most aggressive not wanted in *the architectural cover* reaction on the **commercial functionalism** became the phenomenon which I call **Fungus**. They "grow" in any part of the city, where it is possible. I refer to fungus the stands, advertisements, trading centers and the marketplaces – the object places for which the commerce became the main and **single** function. The most fungus do not have their authors, they are illegal and "grow" without any control. This phenomenon radically changes the city space, its texture, as well as the behavioral model of its dwellers.

The commercial functionalism is the main trend of the Capital city of the **Transformation period**; it adapts the socialist space of the city to the new capitalist needs.

One of the largest Fungus-objects of Moscow will be the Cherkizovsky marketplace, appeared in the beginning of the 90-s (for the reference – by 2009 as much as 78 different marketplaces worked in Moscow.). The marketplace is the largest of the scale example of the direct usage of the space for the profit gain. There are the characteristic specifically outside features of any Fungus-object in general and the marketplace in particular: the abundance of the bright font compositions, a primitive design, a cheat "light materials" – siding covers, plastic, profiled metal. The fragile structure marks the functional purpose – to gain the profit, and if necessary could be easily modified, transported, and renewed. The smallest fungus object is a stall. The stalls are grouping and create the mycelium in the underground passages and nearby the transport infrastructure. The surface kind of the Fungus is the advertising, which especially luxuriantly grows on the large Moscow construction fencing in the center, underlining the scales of possible profits on the building ground. The closing of Cherkizovsky marketplace in 2010, the fight against the stalls by the new Mayor in 2011 definitely pointed the timely frames of the epoch. But as it was found out in the process of this fight, a rooted system – a mycelium! – it is not easy to grub out it.

Privatization of the state property, which began all over the country in 1992, made



"Free Trade decree" changed the whole city. "Commercial functionalism" captured urban space and resulted with phenomenon, which I call "Fungus"



Commerce became equally important to esthetics and typology



"Fungus" sprawled all over Moscow, covering every "fertile" place – all areas which were suitable for trade



The biggest "Fungus" is the Cherkizovsky market

¹¹ Decree "On the free trade" № 65 , 29.01.1992

a great impact to life and the Moscow architectural image.¹²

For example, by the sharp stratification of the society (the oligarch's appearance) by the level of income, became the appearance of the new types of the real estate onto the "different income". New terms appeared in our terminology - *elite housing, social housing and the business class housing*. But the most obvious consequence became the appearance of the private property rights on the apartments. *Per se* the single property type in Moscow is the land which is entirely possessed by the State. Following the appearance of the private property on the apartments, the housing market appears and is developing rapidly. The own flat is a place of a real freedom, where the identity rules irrespective of the architectural advantages and the quality of the building where it is located: that is how in the panel houses the art-deco and the high-tech are flourishing.



Because of the privatization process, residential market was established



New image of wealthy people. Bright look is the chance to show the different from others



Apartment is the only type of property. Communal flat is the only way to show financial independence



The own flat is a place for personal identity



Butovo district. New districts as new cities. Appropriation of space for citizens as well as for profit

The housing market development, monetization of the real estate led to the **construction boom**. The new Moscow districts such as Butovo, Mitino, Zhulebino began to be constructed, and the construction started in the 80-s is being completed. The new housing massives appeared with the support of the industrialized construction industry, developed as far back as in the Soviet years, the main planning principles of the districts have not been changed, and the problems of public (not subject to ownership) land space are not recognized yet. The rapid rates of the large territories development must solve the capital city housing problem which have not been solved yet, but with the lapse of time the new housing construction became the fast and simple way of gaining profit of gaining profit out of Moscow expensive land. The **massive** is one more feature of the *transformed* Soviet ghosts. With the time the mutation gains more expressive features: the variety of new series will disguise the uniformity which contradicts the new ideals of the society.

One of the first districts, underlying a new **class structure of the society** and which was trying to develop the housing type principally opposite to the housing *Massives* was the cottage district named "Setun". The private house within the city was

¹² Decree of 15 July 1992 № 490 Moscow

a dream which came true. The material proof of the fact is that than everything would be the West-like soon – a cottage, an automobile and a barbecue in the back yard. In reality, the cottage building has not been seriously developed in Moscow. The city prefers to grow skyward.



The first gated community – Setun district. Cottages have not became popular in Moscow area. Mosproekt, Atelier №15, 1992-95

The appearance of different groups of the society requires the diverse approaches to the outward and planning solutions for housing. Designers began to take into account a **certain intuitive taste of the owner/client**. The samples built by the architects must match the conceptions of the potential buyer. The accuracy of hitting the wished image provides the success and the implementation of the project. Later it comes to the development of the housing construction *by the individual design*, opposite to the standard serial construction. In these times the images are really specific. The authors neatly contrive the original facades to attract the potential customer. One of the examples of the individual design, the building with an expressive façade, telling *some story* about the tenants is a house in Veskovsky lane (Mosproekt, Atelier 22, under the guidance of A. Meerson).



Massive Identity – a new phenomenon – residential house with individual design. Apartment building at Veskovsky lane, Mosproekt, Atelier №22, 1992-95

Later on the development of this direction of the individuality would lead to the situation that the architectural object image and style in general should fuse with the certain groups of familiar motives. One of the conditions of market success is forming of the images the client himself identifies with. The real estate market is limited by the set of images, which could call the feeling of the needed and desired commodity. The **Massive Identity** is the integration of the individual images into the groups, clear and familiar to the different groups of population, which is the effective market tool.



Moscow is a financial center. New types of buildings – private bank. Bank at Prechistenskaya embankment, AB Ostozhenka, 1992-95

The privatization in Moscow was made by the special forced scenario, the specially developed plan and schedule which were directly promoted by the Moscow Mayor. As a result, during the followed years the privatization in Moscow was performed more effectively than around the country. This rapid privatization, along with other reasons, lead to **Moscow transformation into the financial center**. Large financial turn-over leads to the appearance of new types of buildings: the banks and office centers appear all over Moscow. The Bank on Prechistenskaya embankment which was one of the first designs of the "Ostozhenka" architectural office became a real token of the new world. Its appearance mostly is a result of the "*environmental approach*" (the scale and rhythm of the windows with due regard of the embankment surroundings), but this project have been used modern materials and one may see the features of the "*contemporary Western architecture*": one may say, that it's one of the first representatives of the "*contextual modernism*". The participation of the European architects J.Pallasmaa, Davidson and Lindeberg (Finland) and the Contractor demonstrate a new quality of design and construction. But (good) intention to go a Western way further should be changed by the ambitions to find the unique Russian way. The bank architecture enthusiastically met by the professional society,¹³ was not mass-marketed maybe because it did not inspire the Moscow master, or maybe it seemed not to duly impress the city dwellers, which got used to the emotional shocks since the Revolution. The building is too much "nor-



Fantastic future "today". Business center Zenith, Mosproekt, Atelier №11, 1992-...



"Moscow-City" Business District has to be the symbol of the new financial capital. Still under construction

¹³ Project Russia, №1

mal". Another example of the architecture existence in the world of the financial flows became "Zenith" business center at Vernandsky Prospect (architects Y.Belopolsky, N.Lutomsky, L.Perini) - also a joint project with a foreign participation. The scale, the abstract forms and modern materials set force an effort to create the *Russia's fantastic future image here and right now*. The light blue plate glass was used in the building, a "classic" symbol of architecture of the future, the entire volume reminds a huge iceberg, there is no the pair usual for sighting – the wall and the aperture, the overall glazing is the main "trump" in the authors' intention to create the real architecture of the future and the atrium space of the interior, appeared in the bank at Prechistenskaya embankment would be the real hit of the followed 20 years. The *alien* architecture demonstrates the scope to create a brand-new Moscow, *revolutionary allocated not in the center*, but closer to the outskirt (though as all new which was made in Moscow in the past 30 years). Possibly this "diversity", the revolutionary "outscirtness" further became the reason of the project failure and termination of the construction.

But the main symbol of the future world financial capital becomes Moscow International Business Center "City" – a business center of the "*global type*". In 1992 supported by the Moscow Government the JSC City was founded – the main architectural-commercial utopia of the Luzhkov's era, the most scaled example of the commercial functionality. As of today, a quarter of the planned objects are realized, another quarter is under construction, and the remaining part is withheld or terminated.¹⁴

The appearance of the private property, monetization of the real estate and in general the formation of the market economy became a factor of the development of the architectural industry and its institutions. Now the alternative to the state design organizations appeared to be serious – the first private bureaus: "ABD" (1991), "Ostozhenka", "Kiselev and partners". Currently one can choose the bureau taking into account the prices, work experience, popularity. The new media publications appeared – "Architecture bulletin" instead of the officious "Architecture of the USSR". The first private architectural gallery of Irina Korobyna and Elena Gonsalez at the Center of Modern Arts holds the first exhibition of the private country houses designs. The country house is a second "available" method of the population massive individualization after an apartment. The catalogue cover, devoted to the exhibition shows La Rotonda del Palladio and as its reflection the "modern version" of the private country house. There are a lot of projects, but only few have been implemented.

Describing this time, one cannot but note the MMM – the most famous **financial pyramid** of the epoch: millions of the deceived investors, the primitive, "people transparent" advertising campaign, suits and criminal cases. In the construction and architectural business the "quick wit" à la MMM also will be a great merit soon: the profit gaining by different methods from the real estate, the overpricing, "back offs". From the black realtors the thread will be pulled to the legalized **construction pyramids**.

¹⁴ www.citytowers.com



"Architecture bulletin" – new media for new architecture



At the title page of the catalogue dedicated to the exhibition of projects for private houses – Villa Rotonda and its reflection as a modern house



Elena Gonsales and Irina Korobyna – the first architectural curators



Boris Levant and Alexander Skokan are representatives of a new formation of architects. There is an alternative to the almighty Mosproekt – private offices



New public heroes: soap opera movie star and a representative of the society – Lenya Golubkov – were filmed in the MMM advertisement