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GIUSEPPE TERRAGNI AND ILYA GOLOSOV: NOVOCOMUM IN COMO AND CLUB ZUEV IN MOSCOW. COMPARISONS AND AFFINITIES

The article is based on the research dedicated to two masterpieces of the Twentieth-century architecture: the Novocomum residential building in viale Giuseppe Sinigaglia in Como (Italy) by Giuseppe Terragni (1904–1943) and the Zuev Workers' Club in Lesnaja ulitsa in Moscow (USSR, now Russia) by Ilya Golosov (1883–1945). Both designed and built at the same time — between 1927 and early 1930, two buildings have a similar solution of the corner part — expressive glass cylinder. Although realized in different countries and circumstances, they become for years a case for comparisons, and a cause for suspicions in plagiarism. Despite the case is noticeable in history of modern architecture, it becomes for the first time the case for specific study.

Keywords: Architecture of the 20th century, Avant-guard, 1920s, Italy, USSR, art and architecture between two wars, international relations

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ДЖ. ТЕРРАНЬИ И И. А. ГОЛОСОВ: НОВОКОМУМ В КОМО И КЛУБ ИМ. ЗУЕВА В МОСКВЕ. СХОДСТВА И ПАРАЛЛЕЛИ

В основе статьи — исследование, посвященное двум выдающимся произведениям архитектуры XX в. — многоквартирному дому «Новокомум» в Комо (Италия) по проекту Джузеппе Терраньи (1904–1943) и рабочему клубу им. Зуева на Лесной ул. в Москве Ильи Александровича Голосова (1883–1945). Оба здания были спроектированы и построены почти одновременно в 1927–1930 гг. и имели схожее решение угловой части — выразительный остекленный цилиндр. Хотя постройки появились в далеких друг от друга странах и при разных обстоятельствах, в течение многих лет они были объектом сравнения и подозрений в плагиате. Давно замеченное историками архитектуры сходство, однако, так и не стало предметом специального исследования. В настоящей статье анализируются формальный строй и контекст появления обеих построек с целью прояснить возможные пути творческого пересечения двух архитекторов.

Ключевые слова: архитектура XX века, авангард, 1920-е годы, Италия, СССР, искусство и архитектура 1920–1930-х годов, международные отношения

The article is based on the research realized during the preparation for the exhibition “Giuseppe Terragni — Ilya Golosov: Novocomum in Como and Zuev Worker's Club in Moscow. Comparisons and Affinities”, realized with the contribution of MAARC (“Museum of abstract art school Como”) cultural association, head by Ebe Giannotti, on show at the Comune di Como — San Pietro in Atrio Exhibition Space, Como, June, 1–30; Schusev State Museum of Architecture, Moscow, September, 5 — November, 4, 2020. The Reported study in part was funded by Science and Technology Development State Program of the Russian Federation for years 2013–2020, within the Program of Fundamental Researches of Ministry of Construction, Housing and Utilities of the Russian Federation and Russian Academy of Architecture and Construction Sciences; the Research Project “Italian architectural heritage and Russian architects of the first half of XX c.” (Head: A. Vyazemtseva).



Il. 1. Terragni G. Novocomum residential complex. 1927–1930. Como, Italy. Photo Roberto Conte

Novocomum residential building in viale Giuseppe Sinigaglia in Como in Italy by Giuseppe Terragni (1904–1943) (il. 1) and the Zuev Workers' Club in Lesnaja ulitsa in Moscow in Russia (at the time USSR) by Ilya Golosov (1883–1945) (il. 2) both became soon after their realization the icons of international modern architecture, not only in their native countries. At first sight the buildings seem very similar thanks to the common solution of the corner part as a glass cylinder. This apparently ordinary case for history of architecture — the similarity of two contemporary buildings — became the cause for polemics and interpretations, especially in post-war time, that reflected not only the special architectural sceneries, but also the history of cultural and political interaction between Italy and USSR.

In the contemporary historiography the attribution of the primacy of the particular solution with glass-cylinder to Ilya

Golosov is commonly shared thanks to Kennet Frampton. "Obviously this solution owed more to Russian constructivism than to Purism, given that Golosov's initial project for the Zuev Workers' club, completed in Moscow 1928, was clearly its predecessor", wrote Frampton in his "Critical history..." (Frampton 1980: 204) — one of the most famous handbooks on Modern Architecture, that had a worldwide distribution and numerous editions.

To understand the reason of this comparison, it is necessary to look at the history of both projects and then analyze them in the vast contacts of international interactions in the interwar Europe.

Italy — USSR: from the Futurism to the World War II

The centuries-old cultural and artistic connections between Italy and Russia had their momentum in the Twentieth centu-



Il. 2. Golosov I. A. Zuev Workers' Club. 1927–1930. Moscow. Russia. Photo Roberto Conte

ry. Since the 18th century Italy had been the place to be for many Russian architects, including Boris Iofan, author of the Palace of the Soviets, who studied in Rome prior to the war, and worked and have intense professional life in Italy before returning to the USSR in the mid-nineteen-twenties) (Kostyuk 2019), and Italian Futurism provides a crucial contribution to the new Russian avant-garde movements. In 1914, after Filippo Tommaso Marinetti's journey to Moscow and Saint Petersburg, Alexandra Exter was one of the Russian artists travelling to Italy: she arrived in Rome with Ardengo Soffici, with whom shared a studio in Paris, to display her works at the *Esposizione libera futurista internazionale* (Free Futurist International Exhibition) (Kovalenko 2008).

World War I and the Russian revolution of 1917 separated the two countries, but not their artists: that same year, the Russian Ballets premieres in Rome, various Russian art exhibitions opened in Italy, and sever-

al Russian artists chose Italy for their exile. Among them is Edita Zur-Muehlen, at the time in a business and personal relationship with Mario Broglio with whom she founded "Valori plastici", the magazine that marks the end of anti-traditionalism and the so-called "return to order". In 1921, Zur-Muehlen publishes on "Valori plastici" the first articles dedicated to "new" Russian art (Zur-Muehlen 1921: 22).

In 1924, with Benito Mussolini head of the Italian government and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Italy was one of the first Western countries to formally acknowledge the Soviet Union. The two countries' first cultural collaboration was the participation of USSR artists to the Venice Biennale, the first official Soviet art exhibition in a foreign country. The pavilion, designed by Alexej Shchusev in 1913–1914, hosted works representing various art movements, including the avant-garde ones. In 1925, Italy and USSR crossed paths again at the

"International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts" in Paris. Located one next to the other (*Exposition internationale des art décoratifs et industriels modernes* 1925), the Italian pavilion designed by Armando Brasini was a symbol of Italy's persistent academicism, while the Russian one, designed by Konstantin Melnikov with its wood and glass shapes, embodied a new form of expression.

Starting from the late 1920s, the first Soviet avant-garde projects were featured in European publications, especially in Germany due to the good relations between the Weimar Republic and the USSR. This is most likely how Soviet projects first become known in Italy, and also divulged in articles of Italian authors, sometimes very original and with direct knowledge of the matter, as in case of that written by Viniçio Paladini, representative of left futurism, published in 1929 on "Rassegna di Architettura" (Paladini 1929).

In a speech delivered on 5 October 1926 at the Accademia di Perugia, Mussolini stressed the importance of a "State art" — "*arte di Stato*" (Mussolini 1942). A similar stand was also taken in the USSR, but the first avant-garde movements of the early post-revolution period are deemed unfit to express the contents required by State art. In 1928, the Soviet pavilion at the Venice Biennale exhibited no abstract works, favouring instead the "new objectivity" trend welcomed by Italian critics and appreciated by Margherita Sarfatti (Bertele 2013) for their similarities to the work of Italian artists displayed at the Novecento exhibitions.

During this period, important agreements were signed between the two countries, thanks to the guarantees issued by the Italian government on trade contracts with USSR. An important project was the FIAT GPZ-1 "L.M. Kaganovich" plant. Built between 1930 and 1935 under the direc-

tion of engineer Gaetano Ciocca (*Schnapp* 2004), it became the biggest ballbearing factory in the world (*De Magistris* 1994; *Vyazemtseva* 2019). Ciocca also participated to the contest for the Palace for the Soviets, eventually won by Boris Iofan, the Russian pupil of Armando Brasini. He described this experience in his book *Giudizio sul bolscevismo* — "Judgement on Bolshevism" (Ciocca 1933) and in articles published on *Quadrante* — a magazine edited by M. Bontempelli and P.M. Bardi, who have both supported Terragni since the time of the debate on the Novocomum project.

In 1930, Marcello Piacentini published *Architettura d'oggi* ("Architecture now"), in which he offered his take on USSR architecture and on "the young architects of the new Russian school" described, with Le Corbusier, as "tenacious, and tireless upholders of the international architecture" (Piacentini 1930: 30). In 1932, P.M. Bardi visited USSR and then published his *Fascista al Paese dei Soviet* — "A Fascist in the Soviet Country" (Bardi 1933). His travel report was critic to the Bolsheviks and the State Architecture, but full of details on Soviet contemporary building, including those on constructivist one, illustrated with photos and original drawings by the author (among them — a sketch of Zuev Worker's Club).

Curzio Malaparte, Corrado Alvaro, Ettore Lo Gatto, and many other writers, journalists, and intellectuals also visited and studied the USSR, leaving their testimonies in nearly 150 books (*Vyazemtseva, Pistorius* 2018). Many efforts to organize modern Italian art exhibitions in Moscow, and vice versa, fail due to ideological differences and a European political scenario becoming increasingly unstable. Instead of launching new opportunities for collaboration, the friendship agreement signed by the two countries in 1933 brought their relationship to a standstill. After the crisis

of the Soviet Avant-garde movements due to decree on artistic organizations issued in 1932, Italian magazines continued to publish articles on Soviet modernist architecture. In 1933, Konstantin Melnikov was included in the exhibition of the Triennale of Milan on Modern Architecture: his works were displayed next to those by Sant'Elia, Le Corbusier, Gropius, Auguste Perret, and others. Melnikov was denied permission to travel to Italy due to the started self-imposed isolation of the USSR. With the birth of socialist realism and classicism, the so-called "critical assimilation of heritage", the Italian interest for Soviet architecture gradually decreased without however ever disappearing. If, on one hand, *Casabella* criticized the "Piranese style" and the "Soviet buildings inspired to a severe academism" (*Rivista delle riviste* 1934: 48), on the other, *l'Urbanistica* published several articles including one by Giovanni Muzio, on the Moscow new master-plan, just as drastic transformations were taking place in Italian cities (*Muzio* 1936).

On the other hand, the USSR showed a growing interest in Italian architecture, and in the mid-thirties several books were seen the light including Lazar Rempel's *Arkitektura poslevojennoj Italii* ("Post-war Italian Architecture") (*Rempel* 1935) — the first study of interwar Italian architecture. In this book, despite criticizing Fascism, Rempel illustrates the trends of Italian architecture, futurism, rationalism, and neoclassicism, the design contest for Palazzo Littorio, the restoration of the historic cities, the creation of new ones, and land reclamation works. In 1936, the book was noticed by Italian review *Architettura*: "[it] could have been interesting" if only the author "was not completely taken over by his aversion to Fascism" (*Rempel* 1936).

The 13th International Congress of Architects in 1935 is another occasion for Italian and Russian architects to meet: Alek-

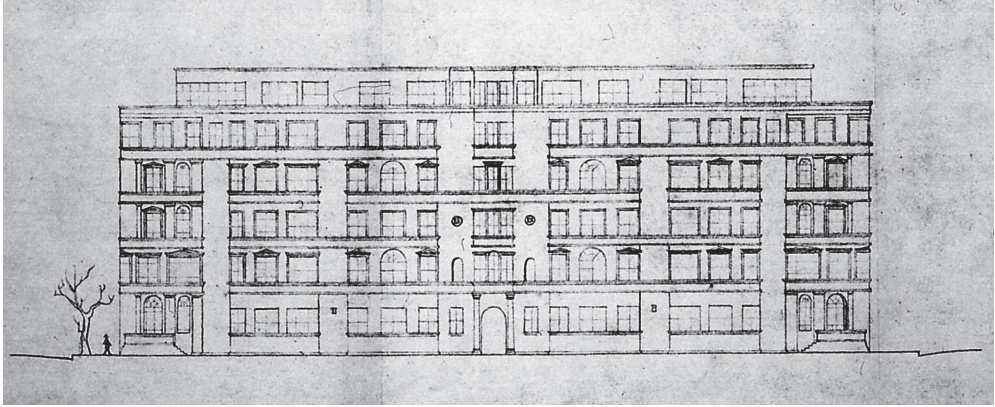
sei Shchusev remembered seeing "young architects approaching V.A. Vesnin. They knew him from his works published on foreign magazines" (*Schusev* 2011: 337). The congress marked the last collaboration and interaction between the two countries until after World War II, when the USSR reappeared in the twentieth century architecture books by B. Zevi, V. De Feo, V. Quilici, and, later on, by M. Tafuri and F. Dal Co.

Housing "Novocomum"

The residential building of the Novocomum (*Cavaliere, Roda* 1988) was the first major work realized by Giuseppe Terragni, at that time only 23 years old. Novocomum also became one of the first rationalist buildings in Italy, together with Palazzo Gualino, realized at the same time by Giuseppe Pagano and Gino Levi Montalcini in Turin (*Baietto* 2020).

Terragni was born in Meda near to Milan in 1904, in the family of a construction entrepreneur. He studied (since 1921) in Milan Politecnico. He started to work as an architect when he was still a student, when he created some projects for industry, for monumental buildings for public competitions and refurbishment of the hotel Metropole-Suisse, where the influence of futurism was evident, as well as unconventional relation with classic language.

The original project of Novocomum, prepared in the beginning of 1927, was signed by Terragni's elder brother Attilio, an engineer and important figure on the local political scene. The building, commissioned by the managing director of real estate company in Olgiate Comasco, Ezio Peduzzi, was to be realized on a 63 × 25 meter plot, another half of a site already occupied by an eclectic building by architect G. Garanchini (Caranchini). The goal was to come up with a homogeneous structure and complete the area of the courtyard.



Il. 3. Terragni G. Terragni A. Novocomum residential complex. Archivio Terragni, 6_023_B2_D_E

The Novocomum complex made part of an extensive city planning project involving the swamp area of the River Cossia delta. The project envisaged new infrastructures, including a railway station, leisure and sports facilities, and working plants (e.g., shipyards). These new buildings would eventually define the new look of the area of Como facing the lake.

Terragni initially submitted a classical style design (Archivio Terragni, 6_023_B2_D_E) (Il. 3). But later the project was radically modified according to modern movement principles, as we see it today, with no decorations, brightly coloured and with glass cylinder-shaped structures on its two corners. This episode usually is considered as a Terragni's trick to obtain the permission from conservative Municipal Committee.

The Urban Design Committee (that included architects P. Portaluppi, G. Greppe and L. Perrone) set to work to establish whether "the Transatlantic" (as it would soon be renamed) represented a disfiguring element for the city. Meanwhile, the project was featured and debated upon on the most important architecture magazines of the time. Pagano in *La Casa bella* magazine published enthusiastic review

predicting that the controversial building would become the universal model for the house of the future (Pagano 1930). Gio Ponti described it as "a great *machine à habiter* [...] despite being an apartment building it is pleasant to live in, you breathe well inside [...], you enjoy an incredible view, and experience the exhilarating and almost unreal feeling of being in touch with nature, something we're no longer accustomed to in our modern contemporary homes" (Ponti 1930: 28).

During 1928 Terragni had studied different preliminary solutions (Archivio Terragni, 6_002_D1_S_C and other) (Il. 4), and ended up choosing a high-density building: 200 rooms, and 8 apartments on each floor (Archivio Terragni: 6_023_B2_D_E; 6_002_A2_D_E). The final building is made up of five modified, excavated, overlapping, and embedded parallelepipeds, with different colours that highlight the intersections: the main body runs parallel to the lake, two are connected to the pre-existing building by Garanchini, and two smaller ones are located inside the courtyard.

The building's corners are hollowed and feature a large glass cylinder with an ovoid section, interrupted at the level of the top floor where the building's shape re-



Il. 4. Terragni G. Novocomum residential building. Project. January, 1928. 1° Esposizione dell'architettura razionale 1928: LIX

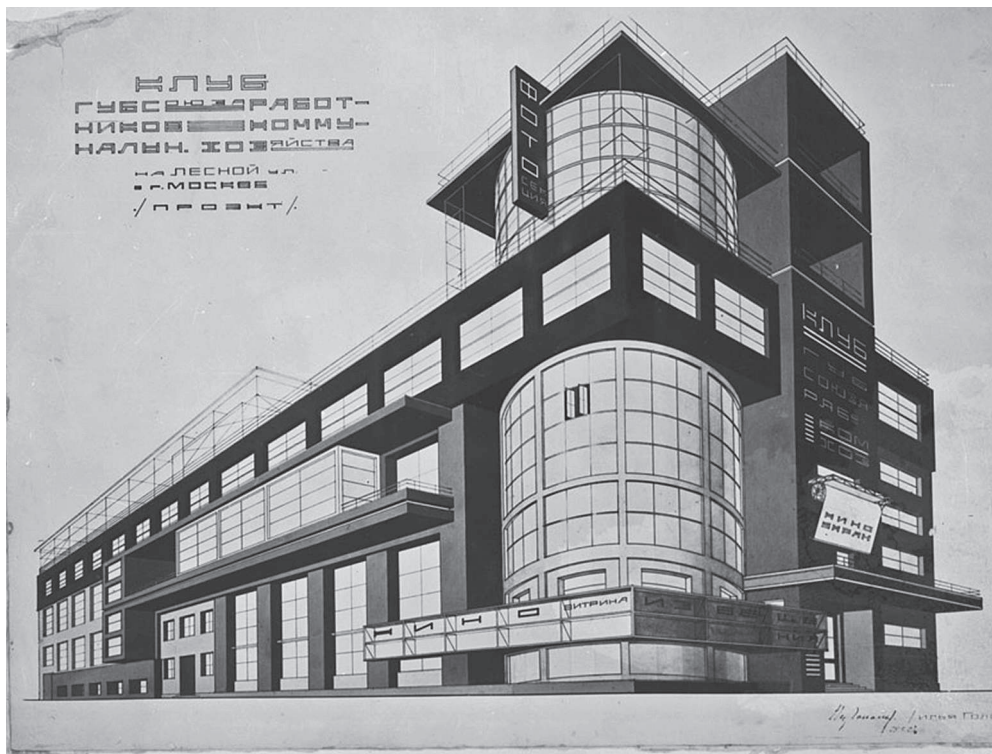
sumes. Its symmetric composition recalls Renaissance palaces. The two glass cylinders are placed at the corners, like classical columns, in line with the modern movement language. Terragni carves the corners to further mark the depth, and plays with full and empty spaces, alternating curved and flat surfaces, and using colour in an architectural way: hazel for the lake façade, yellow for the internal one, orange for the cantilevers, recesses, and window fixtures, and light blue for the iron balustrades of the balconies.

In 1929, Terragni designed the furniture for the Agriculture Federation (disman-

tled) and for the Cazzamalli apartments (Archivio Terragni, 6 bis 5/F/S), which were most probably never realized. In further years Novocomum lost some of the original features. In 1986, thanks to local Heritage Surveyance Office the building was restored, bringing the original colours of the common areas and elements of the façade close to those realized by Terragni.

The Zuev Worker's Club

A 1920s document defines a workers' club as "a workshop" where workers have access to "knowledge, cultural events, and



Il. S. Golosov I. A. Zuev Workers' Club. 1927. Photo from the Project. ГНИМА им. А. В. Щуцева, инв. XI 29894

rest”, while at the same time enriching their free time with physical activity. These buildings were rooted in experiences backdating the October Revolution, when they were built to meet the needs for cultural and social mobilization of the working class. Under the Soviet regime, they enjoyed a strong development thanks to measures designed to support the industrial and service companies.

Workers' clubs in Russia derive from “people's houses”, that appeared in worker's neighborhoods still before the Revolution. With the proclamation of the New Economic Policy (i.e., reformatory guidance required to overcome post-revolution economic crisis), in the 1920s the Soviet workers' club played a functional and symbolic role of socialist modernization

of the city (Хазанова 2000; Чепкунова 2010).

After the announcement of the decision of The Trust of the Workers of Moscow Municipality to build the club on Lesnaja ulitsa on January, 29, 1927 (ЦГАМО. Ф. 287. Оп. 1. Д. 874). The closed competition between Konstantin Melnikov and Golosov (Чепкунова 2010: 109) was won by the last. The project was elaborated during the spring 1927 (the approved project is dated May 28, 1927 — ГНИМА им. А. В. Щуцева, инв. XI 29894) (Il. 5). The building was finished less than two years after and inaugurated on the 4th of February 1930.

The Zuev Club is located in a strategic area of Moscow, a few hundred meters from one of the main railway hubs of the city — Belorusskiy Station. This is among

the most important results of this rich and complex chapter of Soviet architecture, and one of its undisputed masterpieces. Promoted by the workers of the Union of Communal Services, particularly active at the time, this project coincides with a period when Golosov fully supported the constructivist avant-garde architecture.

Built on a small area (1,470 square meters), the Club occupies the entire space, sacrificing activities typically associated with these buildings, such as physical activity. In an effort to compensate for the smaller open space and the limitations imposed on the activities performed there, Golosov designs a roof that hosts a solarium and, on the longer side, facing the depot of the workers to whom the construction was dedicated, a series of suspended elements that generate more space. These elements give the façade a complex and intense look and reflect the interior articulation. The interiors were designed by Golosov two (ГНИМА им. А.В. Щусева, инв. Plа 5004, Plа 5028). Due to various transformations that took place over the years, the façade today only partially maintains its original look.

Built in reinforced concrete and bricks, the building hosted a 950-seat auditorium for meetings and shows, a smaller 285-seat room, and several other spaces. There is no sign of the flexibility that characterized Melnikov's clubs nor of the latter's project for the Zuev Club.

After three preliminary solutions (РГАЛИ, инв. 1979-1-46 л3, инв. 1979-1-46 л1, инв. 1979-1-47 л9), the core of the final project is a glass angular cylinder, recurring theme in many of Golosov's projects, surrounding the staircase that crosses the rectangular foyer and elevates the corner of the building: a "pure formal element" enriched by a thin capstone layer. This project is an eloquent example of the expressionism that, throughout his career, charac-

terised Golosov's adherence to the avant-garde that dominated the Soviet Union in the late 1920s.

Comparisons and affinities

As showed above, both buildings were designed in 1927 and completed between late 1929 and early 1930. At that time, Ilya Golosov was becoming one of the most important Russian architects (*Хан-Магомедов* 1988), he was a professor at the *VHUTEMAS* (Higher Atistic-Technical Art Studios, active in Moscow 1920–1929) with brightly pronounced personal expressive system. Despite his success, he had never been abroad, but the European public was aware of his works through magazines and exhibitions. Terragni could be familiar with them from the press and he could see them at the *Wohnung* ("Housing") in Stuttgart (1927) during his trip to Germany. But could he have seen the project of Zuev Club before changing his own?

Golosov used the famous corner glass cylinder, a solution that recalled expressionistic and classic styles and traditional Russian architecture, already in late 1910s — early 1920s during his so-called "period of symbolical romanticism" (*Хан-Магомедов* 1988; 34). Then the cylinder appeared in 1924 in his project for the *Arkos* building and, later on, also in other projects such as the *Elektrobank* (1926). These buildings never saw the light, but the last one was published in the beginning of 1927 on *SA* (Современная архитектура. 1927. №. 1. С. 13), the most influential constructivist magazine, published from 1926 to 1930, becoming a source of foreign news for the European press.

The project (axonometric drawing and the plan) of Zuev Club appeared for the first time on the Annual of Moscow Society of Architects of 1928 (*Ежегодник МАО*

1928: 34)², containing also a fragment of the “Program of the competition for the elaboration of sketch design of standard clubs” (*Ibid.*: 125–128). The issue was dedicated to the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution and was prepared in 1927 and was published with notes and introduction with German translation “considering international character of contemporary architecture and actual vast exchange of artistic editions between European countries” (*Ibid.*: 5). The first detailed publication dedicated to Golosov’s club was published for the first time in November 1929 (*Kappa, Смирнов* 1929) with the photos of uncomplete building. It immediately became iconic for the new Soviet capital, and eventually also a tourist attraction: during a trip to Moscow, in 1932, Pietro Maria Bardi drew a sketch of it later published in his already mentioned “A Fascist in the Soviet Country” (Bardi 1933: 149).

Terragni was very keen about foreign architecture, as confirmed by the first articles published by him and other architects of “Gruppo 7” in 1926–1927 (*Il Gruppo 7* 1935) and considered the manifesto of modern Italian architecture. His family library had several books and journals on contemporary architecture (*Ciucci* 1996). In the autumn of 1927 he travelled to *Wohnung* exhibition in Stuttgart (*Terragni* 1966) where he could get acquaintance with Soviet books and periodicals as well as works of Soviet architects on show, but it hardly possible that he saw Zuev workers club among them, as it was published not earlier than 1928.

Exactly after his trip, during the winter 1927–1928 Terragni deeply modified the original project and exposed it in March 1928 at the 1^o *Esposizione dell’architettura*

razionale (1st Rational Architecture Exhibition) in Rome, curated by Gaetano Minucci and Adalberto Libera, in the room dedicated to the “Gruppo 7” (1^o *Esposizione dell’architettura razionale* 1928: LIX) (Il. 4). In the end of 1929, when the construction was almost completed, the building appeared significantly different from the one originally approved by the Municipality. Despite the fierce debate, the pictures of the Novocomum were displayed at the Modern Italian Architecture Exhibition at the 12th International Congress of Architects in Budapest, and published by *Architettura e Arti Decorative*, the magazine edited by Piacentini e Giovannoni (*I lavori del XII congresso* 1931; *Marconi* 1931). Since then the conservative critic blamed for several Novocomum to be inspired by “Soviet” constructivist architecture, that was intended as a great deficiency during the debate on the image of “fascist” architecture.

As Novocomum, as Zuev Worker’s club were immediately acclaimed as iconic representations of new trends, which during the Thirties would have different destinies because of the Fascist and Stalin regimes in Italy and Russia. Despite evident differences of buildings, these trends favoured juxtapositions and comparisons, focusing on the apparently similar angular motif: a glass cylindrical structure that in both cases characterized both the building and the city.

However, the Novocomum and the Zuev Workers’ Club were not directly juxtaposed by the critics until the Post-War time, when revaluation of the architecture of the fascist regime in Italy coincided with rediscovery of the Soviet avant-garde, both in the USSR and in the West. In 1968, during the first conference dedicated to the architect, Giulio Carlo Argan was quoted as saying, “Terragni evokes the Golosov’s solution: the corner cylinder inserted in the prism. This is an inspiration, which he elab-

² Authors would like to take this opportunity to thank Anna Bronovitskaya for the helpful tip to this issue.

borates, analyses, and calibrates to develop a complex proportion characterizing all floors of the building" (*L'eredità di Terragni* 1969). In the same time, the outstanding architectural critic Bruno Zevi recalled the resemblance of Novocomum with the constructivism. Zevi was the main advocate for Terragni's re-evaluation hindered by the links with the fascism in the scope of the modern history architecture: "Pure rationalism, ample transparencies, and clear references to constructivism, especially in the corners, bravely cut and recomposed on the top" (*Omaggio a Terragni* 1968). In the same time, to contrast this opinion, some scholars and architects insisted on independence of the solution of Terragni from the direct influence of Golosov and any other work, among them there was Terragni's friend and collaborator Luigi Zuccoli (*Zuccoli* 1981).

Probably Kenneth Frampton's definition, mentioned above, was based on the materials of quoted Conference proceedings and superficial visual comparative analysis. Indeed, the function and the distribution of spaces of buildings are completely different. So is the destination of the cylinder: the major staircase in Golosov's work, the living rooms in Terragni's one. Moreover, the Zuev Club's cylinder holds all the compositive solution, illustrating the Golosov's theory of "architecturale mass and form" (*Хан-Магомедов* 1988: 51–54). Terragni's cylinders are two and they compose the symmetrical composition of the main façade, that contradicts to the logic of Golosov's solution. In conclusion, the plan of Terragni's cylinders are oval, while that of Golosov is circle.

In light of the above, the direct influence of the constructivism projects, especially those by Golosov, on Terragni's formal solution cannot be excluded, while direct "import" of Zuev Club composition is hardly possible. The source of Terragni's

inspiration could be rather Golosov's Elektrobank project from SA pages, that could not be considered the plagiary, quoting Thomas Schumacher, one of the first non-Italian scholars of Terragni: "Round corners were quite common, even emblematic, in the early modern movement" (*Schumacher* 1992: 79).

The two maestros differed for age, culture, and creative background, and would end up on divergent paths during the Thirties and Forties. The pieces realized between the 1930s and the World War II situate Terragni among the emblematic protagonists of modern architecture, not only the Italian one. The totalitarian advancements of the Fascist regime promote complex balances among political power, professional coalitions and singular personalities in a context that do not limit the practice of the private commission, contrary to what happens in the Soviet Union. In the interwar period, in Italy public buildings built according to "rationalist" criteria established articulated interpretations of the new architecture. Closed to the group of abstract artists from Como (Mario Radice, Manlio Rho and others), Terragni was an extraordinary experimenter, who gleans unscrupulously from the complex horizon of rationalism, interpreted in the multiplicity of the languages and the central topics in the Italian contemporary debate, such as *classicità* ("classical character") and *mediterraneità* ("Mediterranean character"). He obtains various assignments of remarkable relevance and had never abandoned rationalist architectural language.

In the early Thirties Ilya Golosov's work turned to classicism, anticipating the "critical assimilation of the heritage" conception, established by the Soviet government in 1932, after the Palace of Soviet competition (De Magistris: 2014). Despite the constraints that influenced design research (De Magistris: 1997), his projects of that

time show outstanding spatial and monumental solutions, based in his theoretical ideas, elaborated in 1920s, as well as his personal interest to classical orders of architecture.

The WWII, where Italy and USSR represented the opposite sides, deeply pervaded the lives of both architects. Terragni died in Como in 1943 after a long depression caused by his stay at the East front taking part in the battles in the territory of contemporary Ukraine. Golosov, who during the War elaborated several projects for Victory monuments, didn't see it arrived, and passed away in Moscow the 21st of January 1945.

While both buildings were immediately considered the milestones of history of architecture and they are still so, two architects had different destiny among scholars. While Terragni became the most famous Italian protagonist of modern movement and was studied by several international critics, theorists and historians, Golosov has never become a subject of specific studies in the West. This research tried to offer a new look not only on the question of the similarities of Novocomum and Zuev Club, but also to invite to the reflection on the vivid exchange in architecture, its role and its evolution in the interwar Europe.

БИБЛИОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ СПИСОК

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