

**“THIS FIERY CEMETERY:” ANALYSIS OF THE SOVIET VISUAL  
DISCOURSE AROUND THE MOSCOW CREMATORIUM IN THE  
1920S AND THE EARLY 1930S**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis project explores Soviet propaganda of cremation and the Moscow crematorium from 1924 to 1934. Primarily targeting a mass Soviet audience, official newspapers, magazines, and popular brochures were illustrated with photographs, drawings, and sketches, which offered visually rich accounts of why new fiery burial should be introduced in the post-revolutionary context. Tracing formal and iconographic models visible in the media coverage of cremation, this thesis analyses how Soviet visual print culture represented cremation as a ritual act with its own space, masters of the ceremony, and ritual specialists. Illustrated press documented cremation as an incomplete ritual that did not have a solid beginning and end. At the same time, visual print culture successfully reflected and reinforced the dual nature of the cremation ritual, where scientific materialism and technological dominance were intimately linked with revolutionary inspirations, old religious aesthetics with the progressive denying of the past. This portrayal affirmed cremation as a symbolically and emotionally complicated atheist ritual that was not purely iconoclastic or bland and participated in the scientific engineering of death. Therefore, looking at how illustrated press represented cremation, this thesis contributes to the historiography of atheistic experiments and technological utopianism of the Soviet 1920s.

## **NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION**

The author of this thesis follows a simplified system of Library of Congress for transliterating the Russian alphabet into English, with exception of personal names that have gained a common spelling, such as “Joseph Stalin” instead of “Iosif Stalin.”

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## INTRODUCTION

“For a more successful introduction of cremation, it would be necessary for the cemeteries ... to have special showcases with photographs presenting the processes of corpses' decomposition with insects eating them, and other images of the repulsive nature of burial methods in the form of throwing and eating the corpse by dogs, etc.”<sup>1</sup> This recommendation F. Lavrov gave to the Soviet municipal professionals and generally interested audiences who wished to popularize cremation ideas in the Soviet post-revolutionary society. Lavrov's article itself immediately fulfilled his advice by publishing alongside the photograph of skeleton lying in the desert (fig. 1). The drastic and pessimistic image of human remains contrasted with the photo of the columbarium, full of fresh greens, comforting the eye, affirming the power of visuals to manipulate people's perceptions (fig. 1, 2).

Lavrov's suggestion was highly relevant to the current Bolshevik's rhetoric and actions in managing death. After establishing a new government in 1917, Bolsheviks issued a set of decrees aimed at regulating people's everyday life in a new, secular way. The decree on “Cemeteries and Funerals,” created in 1918, became one of the many Bolsheviks' measures to deprive the Orthodox Church of its old authority to define, manage and control funeral services and gave power to new Bolshevik municipal institutions – cities' Soviets of Deputies. Moreover, the decree introduced equal funerals for all and legalized cremation.<sup>2</sup> Due to the strong resistance of the Orthodox Church, there was no crematorium in the former Russian Empire territories at the moment of the decree announcement. The first attempt to build a crematorium in a new state happened in Petrograd in 1920 – 1921. Partially it was an attempt to solve the drastic funeral crisis (1918-1922) in the cities, triggered by mass deaths in the

<sup>1</sup> F. Lavrov, “K otkrytiiu moskovskogo krematoriia,” *Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 11–12 (June 1927): 6.

<sup>2</sup> Anna Sokolova, “V bor'be za ravnoe pogrebenie: pokhoronnoe administrirovanie v rannem SSSR,” *Gosudarstvo, Religii, tserkov' v Rossii i za rubezhom* 37, no. 1-2 (2019): 599–601; Sergei Mokhov and Anna Sokolova, “Broken Infrastructure and Soviet Modernity: The Funeral Market in Russia,” *Mortality* 25, no. 2 (2020): 232–48; Anna Sokolova, “Gorodskaiia pokhoronnaia kul'tura v ideologii i praktikakh dovoennogo SSSR: istoriko-antropologicheskii analiz” (doctoral dissertation, Russian Academy of Science, 2021), 79-93.

Civil War and famines. However, due to a lack of resources and high material costs, the Petrograd crematorium was closed after several months of the trial period with unfinished construction.<sup>3</sup> Despite the first failure, the idea of a crematorium was not forgotten. And in 1925 city government, Moscow Soviet of Deputies, announced architectural competition for the best project of Soviet crematorium, that would effectively repurpose the existing church of St. Seraphim of Sarov and Anna of Kashin Donskoi Monastery in Moscow. Dmitrii Osipov's project of functionalist crematorium became the winner and the new crematorium opened its doors for broader public in October 1927. Importantly, construction of the Moscow crematorium did not launch a wave of similar building in other parts of the country, and the Moscow crematorium remained the only one in the Soviet Union till 1947.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, Lavrov published his advice on how to speak about cremation on the eve of the Moscow crematorium opening. His article became a stream of visual and textual materials, describing cremation as a new form of burial and introducing it to the broader Soviet public.<sup>5</sup> In contradiction to the life of the Moscow crematorium, extensive press coverage of cremation lasted only a decade and a half. At the beginning of the 1930s, the enthusiasm for cremation propaganda disappeared, leaving sporadic accounts briefly mentioning cremation.<sup>6</sup> However, despite its short existence, cremation propaganda in the press during 1920s – early 1930s was rich and persuasive. As one of the arguments, cremation propagandists mentioned the economy of land, that before was wasted for cemeteries and now could be applied for the more effective use or for the improving of city hygiene, where corpses, full of insects inside

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<sup>3</sup> On the connection between the Petrograd crematorium and the funeral crisis, see Sokolova, "V bor'be za ravnoe pogrebenie: pokhoronnoe administrirovanie v rannem SSSR;" Anna Sokolova, "Novyi mir i staraia smert': sud'ba kladbishch v sovetskikh gorodakh 1920—1930-Kh Godov," *Neprikosnovennyi zapas*, no. 1 (2018): n. p. Sokolova, "Gorodskaiia pokhoronnaia kul'tura v ideologii i praktikakh dovoennogo SSSR: istoriko-antropologicheskii analiz," 238-256.

<sup>4</sup> Another popular name for the Moscow crematorium, that appears in literature on the topic is Donskoi crematorium.

<sup>5</sup> Lavrov, "K otkrytiiu moskovskogo krematoriia."

<sup>6</sup> Sergei Mokhov, *Rozhdenie i smert' pokhoronnoi industrii: ot srednevekovykh pogostov do tsifrovogo Bessmertiiia* (Moscow: Common place, 2018), 229–30.

and other manifestations of physical decomposition would no longer contaminate Soviet collective health.<sup>7</sup> Together with this pragmatic argument, anti-religious argumentation was prominent. Supporters of cremation stated that the fiery ritual presented an alternative to the old exploitative authority of the church and challenged religious superstitions.<sup>8</sup> Lavrov's contrast between disgusting land burial and clean cremation manifests another line of reasoning: favoring cremation as an aesthetically appealing procedure.<sup>9</sup> Finally, propaganda represented cremation as an instrument to overcome backwardness and achieve progress, as it happened in the Western countries. Soviet supporters of cremation actively cited European and American cremationists movement, appealing to their organizational expertise and experience. Cremationists did not hesitate to state that building the Soviet crematorium was Soviet-West collaborative project. They mentioned the role of the German engineers and factory J. A. Topf & Söhne, who designed, delivered, and installed the finance mechanisms of putting the coffin into the stove, elevator, and heating system connected with the furnace.<sup>10</sup> Thus, print coverage of cremation, which existed during the 1920s – early 1930s, was a complicated network of ideas and arguments, praising cremation from pragmatic, anti-religious, and aesthetic sides and as a sign of progressive society.

Lavrov's belief in the persuasive power of images, which could provoke in viewers' strong emotions of disgust, reveals another aspect of the propaganda of cremation and Soviet official discourse: using illustrative material to convey an official message. Soviet magazines and newspapers were full of photographs, drawings, and sketches visualizing cremation ideas. Scholar of the Soviet visual culture, Victoria Bonnell, observes that in the environment of the

<sup>7</sup> For more details on the land-saving argument, see Anna Sokolova, "Novyi mir i staraia smert': sud'ba kladbishch v sovetskikh sorodakh 1920—1930-kh sodov."

<sup>8</sup> As an example, see V. S. Tsvetkov, "Ognennoe pogrebenie," *Bezbozhnik*, no. 6 (March 1926): 6–7.

<sup>9</sup> Lavrov, "K otkrytiiu moskovskogo krematoriia"; "Nasha anketa o arematsii," *Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 11–12 (June 1927): 21–43.

<sup>10</sup> Sergei Nekrasov and L. Klempner, "Pervyi krematorii v g. Moskve," *Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 1–2 (January 1927): 24.



high level of population illiteracy visual messages “minimized the need to comprehend the written word, offered a means of reaching broad strata of the population with the Bolshevik message.”<sup>11</sup> Thinking beyond the visual power of the dead body, suggested by Lavrov, how did Soviet visual print culture visually imagine the cremation ritual? Driven by this question, this thesis project studies how the official illustrated press introduced the cremation ritual from 1924 to 1934.<sup>12</sup> It investigates: What values did the visual propaganda of cremation attribute to the new ritual and convey to the broader public? How did it represent major actions and social relations that appeared during the ritual? According to the visual propaganda of cremation, who were the prominent ritual specialists designing the ritual, and masters of the ceremony, performing it?

Answering these questions, the research project turns to the diverse network of Soviet official press, published under the control of the official publishing and censorship agency called Gosizdat. The primary source of cremation propaganda was the magazine *Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo* (*Communal services*), published under the control of Moscow Communal Services (MKhK), a special department of the Moscow Soviet responsible also for funeral industry. Being municipal workers' magazine, it attempted to take a professional stance while introducing a broader audience to the main innovations and improvements in the city management. In addition to *Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, cremation appeared on the pages of other professional periodicals, such as *Stroitel'stvo Moskvy* (*Moscow construction*), which was also the publication of the Moscow municipal authorities and *Gudok* (*Horn*), a newspaper of railroad workers, which despite its professional inclinations, reflected most recent social,

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<sup>11</sup> Victoria E. Bonnell, *Iconography of Power: Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 4.

<sup>12</sup> This study omits iconography of the Petrograd cremation, appeared in press during Civil War, starting from 1924. It happens due to the lack of found primary sources, as multiple resource crises of Civil War stopped massive development of the press publications. The end of investigation is based on the last visual sources, connected with cremation, found by the author in press, which also corresponds to the end of cremation propaganda campaign, mentioned by scholars.

political and cultural discussions. The thesis includes an investigation of the diversity of age, studying children's newspaper *Pionerskaia pravda* (*Pioneer truth*), published by the Central and Moscow Committees of the All-Union Young Communist League, and diversity of perspectives, including the newspaper of the League of Militant Godless, *Bezbozhnik* (*Godless*), popular scientific magazine *Vestnik znaniia* (*Herald of knowledge*) and popular art magazine *Iskusstvo i promyshlennost'* (*Art and industry*). Finally, one of the sources of propaganda media coverage became a popular and highly illustrative magazine *Ogonek* (*Flame*), published by eponymous governmental publishing house, Communist party major newspaper *Pravda* (*Truth*), and governmental satirical magazines *Krokodil* (*Crocodile*), which belonged to "Rabochaia gazeta" ("Worker newspaper") and in 1930 began part of central party publishing house "Pravda." The thesis also looks at the popular brochures published by the Moscow Health Department or by the Society for the Development and Propagation of Cremation Ideas (ORRIK). The latter was a voluntary organization of initiative supporters of cremation, which supervised the building of the Moscow crematorium and the development of cremation in the Soviet Union.<sup>13</sup> Notably, members of this society became prominent authors of articles about cremation in other newspapers and magazines.

Analysis of this diverse range of publications reveals a system of repetitive scenes, subjects, and visual patterns, which allows to speak about early Soviet iconography of cremation. Illustrated press imagined cremation as a ritual inside the wall of one building, ignoring what happened before and after. This building did not have a pronounced modernist identity, relying on emotionality of spectacular. While depriving the ritual of a solid beginning and end, Soviet visual culture granted it clearly defined participants: technologies became masters of ceremony, Soviet engineers turned into ritual specialists, the bereaved took religious symbolism of Orthodox funeral processions, while the deceased were affirmed as

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<sup>13</sup> Sokolova, "Gorodskaiia pokhoronnaia kul'tura v ideologii i praktikakh dovoennogo SSSR: istoriko-antropologicheskii analiz," 264.

Communist warriors. Also, iconography of cremation vastly operated by the notion of mysticism, that had multiple interpretations: notions of religious sacramental truth not accessible to eyes of usual people, Marxist-Leninist idea of sacred knowledge, accessible only to true communists or images' flat or non-transparent nature.

Importantly, visual system of the cremation ritual was not formed independently but in interactions with bigger trends of atheism, scientific utopianism, avant-garde, and traditionalist cultures. Thus, the history of the visual discourse of cremation became part of several bigger stories. Graphical models of cremation affirmed it as a fully realized atheist ritual, attempting to combine two major parts of the new ideology: scientific atheism and revolutionary rhetoric of sacred sacrifice. Cremation coverage in illustrated press exemplifies Soviet regime's struggle to invent emotional and symbolically complete rituals. This attempt stood out in the general history of Soviet atheism, which historians consider Bolsheviks failed strategy to get established in the society. Visualization of cremation also became an example of the regime's struggle for modernity, showing that cremation was not equal to modernization and progress and could encompass contradictory messages of denying past forms and relying on them. Finally, the study of cremation's dual nature, formed within the illustrated press through contribution of different agents, shows the struggles of Soviet intellectuals, such as engineers, doctors, and journalists, united under the term supporters of cremation, to get control over death.

To reveal how the Soviet visual print culture shaped the image of cremation, the thesis first turns to the historiographical discussion. The first chapter considers how historians analyze the Soviet case of cremation and how it could fit into the more prominent discussions of the Soviet 1920s: atheism, secularism, modernity, and scientific utopianism. The following two chapters look at the elements of cremation as a ritual. The second chapter looks at the

building of the Moscow crematorium and its visual manifestations. The final third chapter investigates the content of the ritual, its major participants, and its messages.

## CHAPTER 1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Existent scholarship on Soviet cremation in the 1920s is differentiated according to two different versions of what cremation was about. The first group of scholars considers cremation as an example of a Soviet hostile and militant anti-religious campaign: severe critique and destruction of religious institutions. Scholars from the second group concentrate on cremation as an example of ritualization. They positioned cremation as a ritual that tried to fill in the place left after the religion had gone. This chapter looks at how these ways of interpreting cremation relate to each other, what gaps they left, and what place they play within the scholarly understanding of the Soviet 1920s, or, in other words, the epoch of the Great Experiment. The chapter argues in favor of studying visual propaganda of cremation as a mechanism of Soviet ritualization and cremation as an example of Soviet scientific utopianism. Moreover, the chapter also elaborates on methodological questions. Analyzing how several historians use comparative and transfer history approaches for studying Soviet cremation shows the necessity of applying them to reveal peculiarities of the Soviet-West relations.

### *CREMATION AS AN EXAMPLE OF ICONOCLASM*

The first papers which discuss Soviet cremation turn their attention to the very first Bolshevik's attempts to build a crematorium in Leningrad. Mikhail Shkarosvskii's article and book, written by Natal'ia Lebina and Vladlen Izmozik, are helpful for their precise and chronological reconstruction of events. Historians mention specific official decrees, track decision-making steps, and describe biographies of concert people who participated in the Soviet attempts to build a crematorium in Saint Alexander Nevsky Lavra in Petrograd during 1918-1921. However, these accounts cannot be trusted as a complete and comprehensive source of understanding the Soviet cremation development and the time in which it happened. All works are too narrow-focused. They consider the cremationist movement in the Soviet

state solely as part of the anti-religious campaign, emphasizing the Bolshevik's desires and struggles to build the Petrograd crematorium in Saint Alexander Nevsky Lavra – an important place for the religious community. They turn the crematorium's construction into one of the many violent events that included depriving religious communities of their properties and taking their spaces.<sup>14</sup>

Such narration has several problems. For the sake of argumentation, historians concentrate only on the changes in the building and the confrontation with the church representatives it raised. Such focus leads to considering anti-religious campaigns and cremation as its part as purely destructive events.<sup>15</sup> It does not consider how Bolsheviks defined and depicted a system of ritual actions introduced in the case of cremation, which positive meaning this new ritual brought within the old spaces. Moreover, Izmozik and Lebina perceived the history of cremation as an example of the Bolsheviks' corrupt nature and thirst for power. Their reconstruction of events depicts Bolshevik cremationists as cynical and egoistic coup d'état incapable of honesty and hard work (“concocted special theses”) and did not care about people’s needs.<sup>16</sup> Historians claim that Bolsheviks considered the crematorium building a “play in revolution,” turning it immoral and “insulting the feelings of believers.”<sup>17</sup>

Catriona Kelly warns against considering Soviet history solely through iconoclasm, as it leads to oversimplification and omission of non-destructive political, social, and cultural phenomena. She states that looking beyond the destructive urge of the Soviet culture, one could see that, in reality, demolishing the religious buildings was “expensive in terms of time and resources, technically problematic, and wasteful,” which Bolsheviks were aware of.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Mikhail Shkarovskii, “Stroitel'stvo Petrogradskogo (Leningardskogo) krematoria kak sredstvo bor'by s religiei,” *Clio*, no. 3 (2006): 158–63; Vladlen Izmozik and Natal'ia Lebina, *Peterburg sovetskii: novyi chelovek v starom prostranstve, 1920-1930-e gody*, (Saint-Petersburg: Kriga, 2010), 39–67.

<sup>15</sup> Shkarovskii, “Stroitel'stvo Petrogradskogo (Leningardskogo) krematoria kak sredstvo bor'by s religiei”; Izmozik and Lebina, *Peterburg sovetskii: novyi chelovek v starom prostranstve, 1920-1930-e gody*, 39–67.

<sup>16</sup> Izmozik and Lebina, *Peterburg sovetskii: novyi chelovek v starom prostranstve, 1920-1930-e gody*, 58.

<sup>17</sup> Izmozik and Lebina, 60, 62.

<sup>18</sup> Catriona Kelly, “Socialist Churches: Heritage Preservation and ‘Cultic Buildings’ in Leningrad, 1924-1940,” *Slavic Review* 71, no. 4 (2012).

Recognition of this fact leads her to pay more attention to Bolsheviks' strategies of engaging with the heritage of the past: rebuilding instead of demolishing and preserving “church monuments,” which were used for popular education about forms of the past.<sup>19</sup> Thus, during the study of Soviet cremation, one need not equate cremation with iconoclasm only, looking in detail at Bolshevik cremationists' engagement with the religious buildings.

As it is problematic to equate the Soviet cremation movement with pure destruction, it is also debatable to see the history of Soviet cremation as the history of the Bolsheviks' uncontrollable thirst for power. Such a narrative became part of a bigger scholarship trend, which considers the Bolshevik revolution as a violent and destructive “coup by a minority party, lacking any kind of popular support or legitimacy.”<sup>20</sup> Debunking such a view, Sheila Fitzpatrick argues that scholars devoted to it are biased as they search for the roots of the Stalinist totalitarianism and oppression already within the revolution. It ignores and devalues a broader section of society, equating significant political, social, and cultural changes with the desires of the small elite.<sup>21</sup> Thus, if one wants to do justice to the development of cremation in the 1920s, one needs to stop demonizing the Bolshevik regime and look broader into the societies and changes there.

#### *CREMATION AS A LOW-LEVEL ATHEIST RITUAL*

Reconsidering previously mentioned gaps, the following interpretation of cremation is based on the paradigm of Soviet ritualization as a state's attempt to fill in the empty space left after religion with the new atheist rituals. Perceiving cremation as a ritual historians make it an instrument to study, in Daniel Peris' words, “mechanisms adopted by the regime to

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<sup>19</sup> Kelly, “Socialist Churches,” 2012; Catriona Kelly, *Socialist Churches: Radical Secularization and the Preservation of the Past in Petrograd and Leningrad, 1918-1988* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2016).

<sup>20</sup> Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 6.

<sup>21</sup> Fitzpatrick, 6–7.

promote atheism.”<sup>22</sup> Atheism, using Victoria Smolkin's definition, was the Soviet version of the cosmos – “an attempt of understanding and ordering” the world through new forms of rituals.<sup>23</sup> Hence, by studying cremation as a ritual, scholars conclude on the nature of cremation and elaborate on Soviet atheism as a constructive act.

Historians argue that Bolsheviks produced a system of funeral rituals consisting of red funerals and cremation. The two translated in major parallel principles of Marxism-Leninism: red funerals affirmed the message of revolutionary zeal and sacrifice, while cremation was left with the announcement of scientific materialism. Scholars mention their progressive organization, symbolism, and emotionality when interpreting red funerals. Funerals became a platform for political speeches and manifestations and reinforced revolutionary symbolism, such as redstarts and red banners.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, the red burial ritual was selective; it was acceptable only for the great revolutionary leaders among the Bolshevik party or usual people whose story suited the narrative of the revolutionary struggle, for instance, “the 'victims of capital' those who were killed from industrial accidents or political murders.”<sup>25</sup> Thus, red funerals created a heroic “revolutionary pantheon” that affirmed individual sacrifice for the great communist collective and the revolutionary struggle with the Bolshevik party ahead of it.<sup>26</sup> Such scholarly exaltation of the red funerals leads to the diminishing status of cremation. In comparison to lush and complicated ceremonies of revolutionary heroes’ burials, historians view the burning of the dead body as a quick, simple, and standardized ritual for the masses.

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<sup>22</sup> Daniel Peris, *Storming the Heavens: The Soviet League of the Militant Godless* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 8.

<sup>23</sup> Victoria Smolkin, “Problema “obyknovennoi” sovetskoi smerti: material’noe i dukhovnoe v ateisticheskoi kosmologii,” *Gosudarstvo, religiia, rserkov’ v Rossii i za rubezhom*, no. 3–4 (30) (2012): 433.

<sup>24</sup> Catherine Merridale, *Night of Stone: Death and Memory in Twentieth-Century Russia* (New York: Viking Adult, 2001), 107.

<sup>25</sup> Michael Smith, “Stalin’s Martyrs: The Tragic Romance of the Russian Revolution,” *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 4, no. 1 (June 2003): 99.

<sup>26</sup> Stites, “Bolshevik Ritual Building in the 1920s”; Merridale, *Night of Stone*, 122; Malysheva, “Krasnyi Tanatos: nekrosimvolizm sovetskoi kul’tury,” *Arkheologiia russkoi smerti*, no.2 (2016): 23–46; Frederick Corney, *Telling October: Memory and the Making of the Bolshevik Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 39–45.



Scholars agree that cremation was unable to channel collective emotional energy. Technology became the only symbol of the cremation ritual, through which cremation affirmed pragmatism, rationalism, and thriftiness.<sup>27</sup> Svetlana Malysheva even goes further, claiming that through this excessive technologization of cremation ritual, the scientific pragmatism turned into cynicism and indifference towards the dead body.<sup>28</sup>

Moreover, according to historians, this system, dividing people into the revolutionary elite, who deserved red funerals, and the rest, who had to be content with cremation, served the purpose of the regime's legitimization. Historians connect red funerals with the Soviet state activity, present throughout the whole period of the regime's existence: finding symbols and narratives that justify and strengthen the Bolshevik state and ideology.<sup>29</sup> For instance, Malysheva and Merridale state that red funerals were instruments of ideology to show the Bolshevik power in the manipulation of the dead and thus affirming the regime's general political authority: "creating a genealogy for the new state, establishing it, as Russian custom might demand, on human bones."<sup>30</sup> Cremation, in this case, received the instrumental function of vacantly setting off red funerals and their message, being a simple and non-complicated ritual for the masses.<sup>31</sup>

To sum up historians' positions, all of them consider cremation as a ritual that could not channel people's emotions nor contain the sacred symbolism of red funerals. They agree that, in its essence, it relied on sanitized technology as a symbol, which translated the value of science and technology rather than encouraging revolutionary aspirations. Another joint

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<sup>27</sup> Stites, "Bolshevik Ritual Building in the 1920s," 304; Richard Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 109–14; Malysheva, "Krasnyi Tanatos: nekrosimvolizm sovetskoi kul'tury."

<sup>28</sup> Malysheva, "Krasnyi tanatos: nekrosimvolizm sovetskoi kul'tury"

<sup>29</sup> Malysheva, "Krasnyi Tanatos: nekrosimvolizm sovetskoi kul'tury;" Stites, "Bolshevik Ritual Building in the 1920s," 304–5; Merridale, *Night of Stone*, 169–73; Corney, *Telling October*, 4.

<sup>30</sup> Merridale, *Night of Stone*, 121; Malysheva, "Krasnyi Tanatos: nekrosimvolizm sovetskoi kul'tury."

<sup>31</sup> Malysheva, "Krasnyi Tanatos: nekrosimvolizm sovetskoi kul'tury;" Stites, "Bolshevik Ritual Building in the 1920s," 304–5; Merridale, *Night of Stone*, 169–73.

statement in historical accounts is the subordination of the funeral industry, and cremation specifically, to the state agenda without mentioning different agents behind it.

How does this historiography fit into the broader vision of Soviet history in general and the 1920s? Firstly, the history of cremation became the history of failed Soviet ritualization of the 1920s. Historians tend to view the 1920s as a failed and awkward attempt to manage and change people's ritual life in comparison to the successful ritualization of the 1960s – 1980s.<sup>32</sup> There are several explanations for this ritual malfunction of the 1920s. The first set of explanations developed around the statement of the poor organization of ritualization. Historians claim that at the beginning of the Soviet regime formation, there was no one unifying opinion on whether new rituals should exist. And even those who agreed on the necessity of ritualization did not decide how new rituals should look and what message they should translate.<sup>33</sup> In addition, Victoria Smolkin argues that during the 1920s, Bolsheviks were more concerned with destroying political enemies and preserving power through institutions rather than transforming people's morality and everyday life.<sup>34</sup> Finally, among the organizational problems, Christel Lane shows that during the 1920s, political elites favored other means of social and cultural transformation. She claims that Bolsheviks actively used agitprop, “appealing predominantly to their [people] rational faculties, and education” rather than ritualization of everyday life.<sup>35</sup> And even broader atheistic and anti-religious campaigns are also presented as failed due to the poor quality of cadres.<sup>36</sup> Hence, emotional emptiness

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<sup>32</sup> Lane, *The Rites of Rulers*; Victoria Smolkin, “Problema “obyknovennoi” sovetskoi smerti: material’noe i dukhovnoe v ateisticheskoi kosmologii;” Victoria Smolkin, *A Sacred Space Is Never Empty: A History of Soviet Atheism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).

<sup>33</sup> Anna Sokolova, ““Nel’zia, nel’zia novykh liudei khoronit’ po-staromu!” evoliutsiia pokhoronnogo obriada v sovetskoi Rossii,” *Otechestvennye zapiski*, no. 5 (2013): 1–24; Smolkin, “Problema “obyknovennoi” sovetskoi smerti,” 444–50.

<sup>34</sup> Smolkin, “Problema “obyknovennoi” sovetskoi smerti: material’noe i dukhovnoe v ateisticheskoi kosmologii,” 444–50; Smolkin, *A Sacred Space Is Never Empty*, 21–56.

<sup>35</sup> Lane, *The Rites of Rulers*, 28.

<sup>36</sup> Paul Froese, *The Plot to Kill God: Findings from the Soviet Experiment in Secularization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 131–32.

and the meaningless of cremation could be examples of the Soviet lack of a coherent organizational program of ritualization in the 1920s.

Together with organizational problems, scholars also identify issues with ritual content and atheism in general. They claim that the significant problem of scientific atheism was its scientific nature, which created “mechanical and bloodless” substitution.<sup>37</sup> Scientific explanations, in reality, did not destroy their spiritual counterparts, as they did not directly contradict them and did not appeal to people's emotions.<sup>38</sup> Following the same line, historians of cremation as a ritual blame the technological aspect of cremation, which reduces this funeral ritual to sanitized and simple alternative in comparison to glorious red ceremonies. Thus, the vision of cremation as a ritual which stood at the very bottom of the funeral hierarchy contributes to the narrative of the disorganized, emotionally, and meaningfully empty atheism campaign of the 1920s as an example of another failure on the level of content and organization.

#### *RETHINKING CREMATION AS AN ATHEIST RITUAL*

This thesis claims that it is still important to consider cremation as a ritual, however not immediately assuming its failed and simplistic nature. Peris's study of Bolsheviks League of the Militant Godless challenges historians' measurement of success and failure of the Soviet atheist and anti-religious campaigns, and thus the Soviet secularization and modernization. Peris suggests that in order to understand whether the Soviet secularization was an organized and controlled event from the top or result of the changes independent from political elites one need to look in detail different mechanisms of atheism. For Peris, activities of the League of the Militant Godless became such mechanisms. He distinguishes official Bolshevik perspective on what is secularization and real state of society, claiming that for Bolsheviks the very existence of the League was indicator of success of atheism and

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<sup>37</sup> Peris, *Storming the Heavens*, 97; Froese, *The Plot to Kill God*.

<sup>38</sup> Froese, *The Plot to Kill God*; Peris, *Storming the Heavens*.

secularization.<sup>39</sup> Thus, Peris in his account highlights importance of looking at how regime defined and evaluated itself, to complicate the story of Soviet atheism and secularization.

Such approach will help not to diminish the value of cremation through mere comparison with red funerals. Seeing how the regime itself introduces ritual of cremation will allow to see different perspectives and went beyond notion of 1920s as a total failure. As a step towards such consideration stands the historical accounts that concentrate on informational campaign in favor of cremation. Victor Sidorchuk compares propaganda of cremation with propaganda of science. He claims that both of them used the same methods of “soft power,” such as persuasion through careful explanation, and had common aim: upbringing rationally-minded society.<sup>40</sup> In her turn, Irina Suslova draws parallels between representation of cremation and press coverage of industrialization, as both were fascinated with new technologies and operated with industrial terms such as “production standard.”<sup>41</sup> While both scholars try to see how propaganda of cremation influence broader public, they do not look how press shaped and influenced ritual of cremation itself. Both historians omit significant part of the discussion: participation of early Soviet press in the ritualization of Soviet life, which is revealing aspect if one wants to see how the regime promoted its rituals. They also omit significant role of the visual aspect in Soviet print culture.

Considering early Soviet official culture, scholars agree that Bolsheviks mobilized images for the purpose of revolution. In the highly illiterate society visuals were supposed to create “visual landscape[s]” and translate new social, cultural and political values.<sup>42</sup> Thus, images legitimized new regime, making it visible, and socialized population “in an effort to

<sup>39</sup> Peris, *Storming the Heavens*, 7–18.

<sup>40</sup> Il’ia Sidorchuk, “‘Vместе с автомобилем, трактором, электрификацией’: к истории кремации в России,” *Sociology of Science and Technology* 9, no. 3 (2018): 51–67.

<sup>41</sup> Irina Suslova, “‘Nado znakomit’sia s mashinami: materialy o krematsii v gazetakh ‘Pionerskaia pravda’ i ‘Leninskie iskry’ (1927-1930-e Gg.),” *Detskoe chteniia* 17 (2020): 73–75.

<sup>42</sup> Chrostopher Stolarski, “The Rise of Photojournalism in Russia and the Soviet Union, 1900-1931” (doctoral dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 2013), 10.

transform mass consciousness.”<sup>43</sup> Importantly, the process of visual translation did not mean that messages were mere copied, but “channeled, transformed, and/or distorted.”<sup>44</sup> The major form of visual transformation was simplification: reduction of complicated ideological message into repetitive number of signs, symbols and patters.<sup>45</sup> For some scholars, such simplification and homogenization of visual discourse had negative consequences for the represented subject. For example, Sergei Oushakine shows how depiction of Revolution in children books turned it into “a cliché: a formulaic fable told in a graphic language.”<sup>46</sup> However, not all historians equate system of repetitive elements with poor and sanitized representation. Cristopher Stolarski in his dissertation on Soviet press photography claims that the early Soviet reportage by constantly repeating “a limited range of news stories, subjects, and perspectives” press fixed them as “rituals of socialist life.”<sup>47</sup> Official satirical images also stood out as a form of visualization. Analyzing images in official satirical magazine *Krokodil*, John Etty identifies several visuals models or ‘schematas’: “affirming” images that praised Soviet achievements, “contesting” images that condemned Soviet enemies and “becoming” images, that critically interacted with the Soviet project itself, being ambiguous and polyphonic in their statements. Images of the third group contained multiple number of references to different artistic styles, ideas and narratives, which made impossible to extract only one message.<sup>48</sup> Thus, changing standard understanding of Soviet visual satirical discourse as “the mouthpiece of the Soviet state,” Etty reveals that even creation of

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<sup>43</sup> Victoria E. Bonnell, *Iconography of Power: Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 8; Serguei Alex Oushakine, “Translating Communism for Children: Fables and Posters of the Revolution,” *Boundary 2* 43, no. 3 (August 1, 2016): 159–219; Serguei Alex Oushakine, “Machines, Nations, and Faciality: Cultivating Mental Eyes in Soviet Books for Children,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Communist Visual Cultures*, ed. Aga Skrodzka, Xiaoning Lu, and Katarzyna Marciniak (Oxford University Press, 2020); Stolarski, “The Rise of Photojournalism in Russia and the Soviet Union, 1900–1931.”

<sup>44</sup> Oushakine, “Translating Communism for Children,” 173.

<sup>45</sup> Bonnell, *Iconography of Power*, 7–10; Oushakine, “Translating Communism for Children;” Stolarski, “The Rise of Photojournalism in Russia and the Soviet Union, 1900–1931.”

<sup>46</sup> Oushakine, “Translating Communism for Children,” 219.

<sup>47</sup> Stolarski, “The Rise of Photojournalism in Russia and the Soviet Union, 1900–1931,” 229, 230.

<sup>48</sup> John Etty, *Graphic Satire in the Soviet Union: Krokodil's Political Cartoons* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2018), 56–72.

system of signs in the Soviet case could contain significant portion of unpredictable and ambiguous.<sup>49</sup> Cremation as ritual was represented both by drawings, photographs and satirical images. Thus, looking at how all of them formed system of signs and symbols, which meanings of cremation it produced, will show that visualization of cremation were dependent on media, which will significantly enrich understanding of cremation as a ritual. It will also affirm that Soviet press, together with authors, contributed to it as creative mediators, capable of modifying official message instead of replicating it completely.<sup>50</sup>

Together with looking at different sources of ritualization, including press that mediated information about rituals and promoted them for the broader public, one need to look at different agents of the ritual, which will contribute to the message of diversified perspective. Sokolova, considering cremation as a ritual, tries to overcome notion of its total submission to the state demands and agenda. She shows how cremation was shaped as a ritual by cremationists - layer of intellectuals not identical to the Bolsheviks' mindset. For Sokolova it is crucial to stress the difference between Bolsheviks and Soviet cremationist movement.<sup>51</sup> The later according to her "sharing revolutionary views, apparently, only partially" were enthusiasts of cremation, who opportunistically used the Bolshevik's support.<sup>52</sup> Recognizing presence of cremationists allows to see how intellectuals and not representatives of the state created materialist message of Soviet cremation, such as hygienic, scientific, and economic argumentation in favor of cremation. Sokolova also claims that "desire to follow global trends" and divergence from political elites allowed cremationists paradoxically use religious

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<sup>49</sup> Etty, 20.

<sup>50</sup> On the rethinking agency of journalists see Matthew Lenoe, *Closer to the Masses: Stalinist Culture, Social Revolution, and Soviet Newspapers* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004); Thomas Wolfe, *Governing Soviet Journalism: The Press and the Socialist Person after Stalin* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005); Simon Huxtable, "A Compass in the Sea of Life: Soviet Journalism, the Public, and the Limits of Reform After Stalin, 1953-1968" (PhD diss., University of London, 2013). On old narrative consult Peter Kenez, *The Birth of the Propaganda State: Soviet Methods of Mass Mobilization, 1917-1929* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

<sup>51</sup> Sokolova, "Gorodskaja pokhoronnaia kul'tura v ideologii i praktikakh dovoennogo SSSR," 201-277.

<sup>52</sup> Sokolova, 275.

argumentation as part of Soviet promotional campaign.<sup>53</sup> Due to the cremationists the Soviet incineration ritual received religious symbolism such as religious semantic of ashes, stating lack of difference between ashes from the earth decomposition and ashes from burning.<sup>54</sup> Sokolova's observations are productive: she makes visible different participants of the ritual formation and complicate the story of Soviet cremation development. Sokolova shows the layer of relatively independent actors, that created scientific and even sacred meaning of cremation, without necessarily contrasting it to anti-religious zeal of red funerals.

### *CREMATION RITUAL AND SOVIET SCIENTIFIC UTOPIANISM*

Sokolova's revealing presence of non-Bolshevik intellectuals, creating technological messages on cremation, brings the history of the Soviet cremationists' movement closer to the history of scientific imagination of the 1920s. Historians tend to closely connect Soviet history with the scientific and technological utopianism. Katerina Clark views Soviet intellectual history as a constant struggle between "the impulse to privilege the scientists and technocrats," with their reliance on scientific materialism, and "a tendency to favor either the proletariat or the warrior class," with emphasis on class struggle.<sup>55</sup> In the 1920s, scientists were especially important. Scientific research was practiced on a big scale with the significant material support from the state.<sup>56</sup> Specifically, during the 1920s, scientists became actively engaged in scientific research on death and immortality.<sup>57</sup> Historians have several explanations for the mass scientific engagement with death. As Nikolai Kremmentsov argues,

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<sup>53</sup> Sokolova, 235.

<sup>54</sup> Sokolova, 232–237.

<sup>55</sup> Katerina Clark, "The Changing Image of Science and Technology in Soviet Literature," in *Science and the Soviet Social Order*, ed. Loren R. Graham (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 262.

<sup>56</sup> Nikolai Kremmentsov, *Revolutionary Experiments: The Quest for Immortality in Bolshevik Science and Fiction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 17–18; James T. Andrews, *Science for the Masses: The Bolshevik State, Public Science, and the Popular Imagination in Soviet Russia, 1917-1934* (Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 2003), 3–16.

<sup>57</sup> Kremmentsov, *Revolutionary Experiments*, 2013; Alexei Kojevnikov, "Space-Time, Death-Resurrection, and the Russian Revolution," in *Science, Technology, Environment, and Medicine in Russia's Great War and Revolution, 1914-22*, ed. Anthony J. Heywood, Scott W. Plamper, and Julia A. Lajus (Bloomington: Slavica, 2022), 249–80; John Gray, *The Immortalization Commission: Science and the Strange Quest to Cheat Death* (London: Penguin, 2012), 33–56.

an experimental revolution in life sciences first empowered Soviet scientists and biologists with new instruments, allowing them to redefine dead bodies and death in physical and biological terms. Death became seen as a process that can be stopped and redirected at a particular moment. And scientists took the position of controllers of death.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, the Bolshevik Revolution created favorable conditions and demand for death manipulation. Decades of “revolutionary dreams” as an “extraordinarily lively marketplace of ideas and feelings, projects, and experiments” encouraged people to think about humanity's ideal future.<sup>59</sup> Without an official solid program on how an ideal future should be achieved, programs of atheism and materialism based on the notions of immense human authority over nature became breeding grounds for scientific experiments with human death and the search for ways of overcoming it.<sup>60</sup> To the Soviet intellectual environment of the 1920s, historian adds world events. Death’s drastic and horrible visibility at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century directed scientific experimentation towards searching for immortality, not among Soviet scientists but the worldwide scientific community.<sup>61</sup>

However, there are several questions, remained unanswered in the current histories of Soviet experimentation with death: Did death's drastic and horrible visibility at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century bring only a desire to overcome it? Were there multiple notions of death created during the 1920s? Cremation, as a ritual supported and manipulated by scientists and engineers, denies the possibility of immortality. Thus, engaging with cremation as a scientific and technological ritual, this research project expands the literature on Soviet scientific work with death. It looks at cremation's definition of death, which was still part of Soviet cultural discourse but was not connected with the paradigm of the fight for immortality.

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<sup>58</sup> Krementsov, *Revolutionary Experiments*, 2013, 25–34.

<sup>59</sup> Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams*, 7.

<sup>60</sup> Krementsov, *Revolutionary Experiments*, 2013, 27–34, 160–70, 187–93.

<sup>61</sup> Kojevnikov, “Space-Time, Death-Resurrection, and the Russian Revolution”; Krementsov, *Revolutionary Experiments*, 2013, 27–29; Gray, *The Immortalization Commission*, 7–8, 33–56.



## *PRESENCE OF THE WEST IN THE HISTORY OF SOVIET CREMATION*

Finally, cremation history writing poses the methodological questions: Should scholars attempt to encompass Soviet cremation with its Western counterparts? And if, what is the most acceptable way to do it? Several historians study Soviet cremation through the lens of the Western cremationist experience. For instance, looking at the Western cremationists' movement, dominated by independent cremationist societies, historians discovered the layers of intellectuals not equal to the party or government representatives. Another identified similarity is the presence of the same ideas. Looking at the Western argumentation with stress on hygienic, scientific, and economic argumentation in favor of cremation, rather than appealing to anti-religious zeal, historians ask whether they existed in the Soviet case and provide a positive answer.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, historians do not stop on attributing similarities. They also claim that Soviet cremationists were aware of Western narratives on cremation and actively repeated them. For example, Sokolova reveals how Soviet engineers travel abroad and actively communicate with their European colleagues, and that it is due to the “desire to follow global trends” Soviet cremationists paradoxically used religious argumentation as part of a promotional campaign.<sup>63</sup> Thus, most of the discursive elements of the propaganda campaign on cremation resulted from a direct interaction between Soviet cremationists and their Western colleagues.<sup>64</sup> Such a combination of comparative and transfer history allows historians to bring into consideration factors that were previously ignored and underestimated by the historiography of Soviet cremation – a variety of technological and non-scientific and the agency of the layer of intellectuals not identical to the Bolsheviks' mindset.<sup>65</sup> It contributes to innovative and creative conclusions and questions

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<sup>62</sup> Sidorchuk, “Vmeste s avtomobilem, traktorom, ektreficatsiei;” Sokolova, “Gorodskaja pokhoronnaia kul'tura v ideologii i praktikakh dovoennogo SSSR,” 201-277.

<sup>63</sup> Sokolova, 235.

<sup>64</sup> Sokolova, “Gorodskaja pokhoronnaia kul'tura v ideologii i praktikakh dovoennogo SSSR,” 275-6.

<sup>65</sup> Sidorchuk, “Vmeste s avtomobilem, traktorom, ektreficatsiei;” Sokolova, “Gorodskaja pokhoronnaia kul'tura v ideologii i praktikakh dovoennogo SSSR: istoriko-antropologicheskii analiz,” 201-277.

such as shifts in the collective understanding of death that cremation might signify, the role of the Soviet intellectual in changing people's everyday life, challenges to the state, and party control over Soviet citizen's daily life.

At the same time, historians go too far, assuming that cremation as an innovation “emerged in Europe first and were then conveyed to the rest of the world,” including the Soviet Union.<sup>66</sup> Hence, according to them, Soviet funerary infrastructure awaited to be filled with Western technologies and ideas. Such an interpretation does not elaborate on the possible local roots of cremation's argumentation and the interchange of the influences, stating Soviet cremationists as receivers of European ideas and “a legitimate descendent of the Western Enlightenment.”<sup>67</sup> Taking the advantageous sides of comparative and transfer history, this research intends to avoid representing the Soviet cremation case as a passive receiver of Western enlightened ideas. Consulting with secondary literature on the Western cremationist movement, it looks at how Soviet discourse explicitly cited the Western experience and what the referencing mode can say about forming cremation as a ritual through the Soviet press.

To summarize, this research project examines how illustrated press constructed an image of cremation as a ritual – an atheistic alternative that attempts to create new social relations and meaning of death. It looks at the public picture of cremation without immediate assumption of its low value compared to red funerals. Instead, it observes how Soviet visual discourse imagined masters of the ceremony, ritual specialists, and central values and how illustrated press reconstructed emotionality and symbolism of the cremation ritual. Hence, the case of the public image of cremation becomes a prominent ground to rethink atheist and anti-religious Soviet projects as iconoclastic and failed, and, therefore, reevaluate the nature of Soviet secularization and modernization. The engagement of scientists in the discussion

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<sup>66</sup> Sokolova, 201-277. Sidorchuk, “Vmeste s avtomobilem, traktorom, ekektreficatsiei”; Conrad, *What Is Global History?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 73.

<sup>67</sup> Choi Chatterjee and Karen Petrone, “Models of Selfhood and Subjectivity: The Soviet Case in Historical Perspective,” *Slavic Review* 67, no. 4 (2008): 969.

makes the cremation case a vital perspective to observe Soviet scientific experimental culture, where scientists affirmed their actions over death different from their desire for immortality. Finally, the research includes a Western perspective with the desire to enrich the discussion of the Soviet cremation case and define its relationships with the world.

## CHAPTER 2. THE BUILDING

This chapter looks at how illustrated press imagined space for the Soviet cremation ritual and searched for the visual language to speak about building a crematorium, which did not have enough precedents for forming a “definite, strictly developed architectural type.”<sup>68</sup> There is an urge in history writing to assume that the radical way of burial demanded radical architecture, which would unquestionably deny archaic and historical forms.<sup>69</sup> Following this desire, historians represented the construction of the crematorium as a destructive anti-religious enterprise or a realization of modernist potential. For example, Sokolova claims that crematorium construction was an inseparable part of “cities of the future” with their strict functionalism and lack of “extra.”<sup>70</sup> And this connection between the crematorium with constructivist reorganization and planning of a new city became more important than the anti-religious charge and appropriation of the church for the construction.<sup>71</sup>

However, the development of cremation in the West proved that crematorium did not immediately mean progressive and modernist styles or iconoclasm. As Timothy Pursell shows in his analysis of Hagen crematorium, the cremation movement did not automatically enforce modernism. He observes how the crematorium received its modern appearance through struggles between cremationists, preferred more conservative styles, and modernist architects. The latter saw the opportunity to use crematorium as a new building type to push forward modernist architectural principles.<sup>72</sup> In the late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> century, a few crematoria were built in the modernist style. European and American architects frequently chose to appropriate

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<sup>68</sup> I. V. Stoklitskii, *Krematsiia za granitse i u nas* (Moscow: Moszdravotdel, 1928), 39.

<sup>69</sup> See, for example, Felix Robin Schulz, *Death in East Germany, 1945-1990* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), 124–25.

<sup>70</sup> Sokolova, “Gorodskaiia pokhoronnaia kul'tura v ideologii i praktikakh dovoennogo SSSR,” 199.

<sup>71</sup> Sokolova, 191–200.

<sup>72</sup> Timothy Pursell, “‘The Burial of the Future’: Modernist Architecture and the Cremationist Movement in Wilhelmine Germany,” *Mortality* 8, no. 3 (August 2003): 233–254.

historical revivalist styles, such as neo-Gothic or neo-baroque.<sup>73</sup> It allowed the crematorium to gain popularity by being more common for the viewer's eyes and achieving the emotional effect of reassurance commonly demanded from funeral architecture.<sup>74</sup> Another result of architectural borrowing was the usage of ancient styles to prove that modern cremation was a direct inheritor of ancient cultures. Such establishment of genealogies highlighted cremation as “a modern [means a progressive and advanced] revival of an ancient rite.”<sup>75</sup>

Soviet architectural context of the 1920s was also not limited to pure modernism and avant-garde. The classical argument is represented by Vladimir Paperny and his strict division into Culture One (1920s) and Culture Two (1930s). Paperny imagines the avant-garde architectural culture as an antonym to the High Stalinism. The first included dynamism, internationality, lack of hierarchies and horizontal development, and dominance of the collective and machine. He states that the avant-garde architects used Western architectural examples as “idiom denoting highest quality,” striving to reduce borders and limitations of equal exchange.<sup>76</sup> According to Paperny, the Stalinist culture represented entirely the opposite principles – constructions of clear borders between “us” and “them,” reinforcing the moral and technological superiority of the Soviet Union over the West.<sup>77</sup> However, other scholars challenge this strict division and opposition, explaining shifts from one architectural culture to another through interrelations and coexistence between High Stalinism (or social realism) and avant-garde. Boris Groys argues that social realism assimilated the avant-garde culture, preserving its central principle – the dictate of the artist, who “conquers and reorganizes it

<sup>73</sup> Thomas W. Laqueur, *The Work of the Dead: A Cultural History of Mortal Remains* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 997–1013.

<sup>74</sup> Hilary J. Grainger, “Golders Green Crematorium and the Architectural Expression of Cremation,” *Mortality* 5, no. 1 (March 2000): 62–63.

<sup>75</sup> Stephen Prothero, *Purified by Fire: A History of Cremation in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 115.

<sup>76</sup> Vladimir Paperny, *Kultura Dva* (Moscow: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie, 2022), 75.

<sup>77</sup> Paperny, 75–91.

[society] in new forms.”<sup>78</sup> Catherine Cooke presents an opposite conclusion. She affirms social realism as a rival to the avant-garde culture and shows how it already won in the 1920s in the realm of architecture. Looking at the party elite demands from the architects, she shows how they were concerned with social realist values. The important principles necessary for the architectural work were “constant pursuit of new syntheses between those elements of tradition, on the one hand, and its period on the other,” “expression [that included monumentalism] and contextualism.”<sup>79</sup> Thus, the crematorium's potential to be both modernist and traditional provides a unique perspective to examine these distinctions between avant-garde and socialist realism.

Accepting the intermediary position of the crematorium, this chapter argues that it is impossible to connect Soviet crematoria only with anti-religious intentions or pure avant-garde modernist culture. Before the construction of the Moscow crematorium, illustrated press depicted the building as an example of monumental architecture, raising sentimental grief, dignity, or amazement. The presence of modernist functionalism was primarily dependent on recognizing the furnace shaft, which was a rare occasion. Once the Soviet crematorium was built, the trope of monumentality and emotional-aesthetic value of the building was preserved together with more functional characteristics of the space. After the construction, two visual models of the Moscow crematorium appeared in the press: the first was dynamically modern from the outside (indifferent inside), and the second was military and monumental outside (mysterious inside). Notably, throughout the whole period of the cremation propaganda, the crematorium remained in the official imagination, a single

<sup>78</sup> Boris Groys, *The Total Art of Stalinism: Avant-Garde, Aesthetic Dictatorship, and Beyond* (London: Verso, 2011), 10.

<sup>79</sup> Catherine Cooke, “Socialist Realist Architecture: Theory and Practice,” in *Art of the Soviets: Painting, Sculpture and Architecture in a One-Party State, 1917-1992*, ed. Matthew Cullerne Bown and Brandon Taylor (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 86–87, 96.

building, reducing the entire cremation ritual to one visit and not considering people's necessity of memorializing afterward.<sup>80</sup>

This chapter follows the chronological steps of the crematorium's construction to show this development of the building's representation. First, it analyses Soviet interactions with Western crematoria examples and concludes how in the Soviet print discourse, the ideal building looked like when no Soviet crematorium existed. Then it speaks about an architectural competition for the best design of the Soviet crematorium, which introduced the audience to the Soviet version of the ideal building. After this, the Moscow crematorium's architectural forms, interior, and landscape (together with columbaria) are analyzed. The chapter's concluding part addresses the project's anti-religious potential and its visibility on the pages.

#### *REFERENCING THE WEST: FIRST DEFINITIONS OF THE CREAMTORIUM AS A TYPE*

Soviet supporters of the cremation project realized they were not front-runners in introducing new types of buildings within the Soviet space. Therefore, before constructing the Moscow crematorium, they actively appealed to existing foreign examples. Importantly, citing Western architectural examples was not a new phenomenon. As historian Evgeniia Konysheva writes, using foreign experience was a “purposeful state policy due to the start of industrialization and the urgent need to quickly debug the process of mass design and construction.”<sup>81</sup> In the middle of the 1920s Soviet government organized international trips for Soviet architects and engineers, who shared their experience with the broader audience in popular newspapers and magazines. Soviet readers had access to foreign literature on architectural and construction questions, and foreign architects constantly visited the Soviet

<sup>80</sup> For a similar argument on columbaria's role in cremation development in the USA in the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century, see Prothero, *Purified by Fire*, 116–18.

<sup>81</sup> Evgeniia Konysheva, ““Za rubezhom”: osveshchenie zapadnogo zpyta v sovetskoi professional’noi resse 1920–1930-kh godov,” *Arkhitektura*, no. 4 (2015): 9.

Union with lectures or participated in competitions.<sup>82</sup> Soviet cremationists were not an exception. During the crematorium construction, the Moscow Communal Services representatives went to Germany to see different crematoria and furnace types.<sup>83</sup>

Looking at how the Soviet supporters of cremation were engaged with the Western architectural experience, it is possible to see how they defined crematorium's elements and style models. The first attempts at characterization prioritized the emotional effects of space representation, not interested in the specific architectural and spatial details nor using standard rhetoric of pragmatism and rationality. They defined the cremation side aesthetically, stressing that constructions should impact people's emotions and provoke a sense of lyrical melancholy or great seductive magnificence. Moving further, articles began to include modern architectural styles and questioned their appropriateness for the new funeral architecture. The final solution would be dependent on whether there was an intention to hide or show off the crematorium furnace shaft.

In 1924 illustrated press represented images of the Western crematoria as sentimental personal pictures-artifacts. Such an effect was evident through the arrangement of pictures on the pages. On January 1924, *Gudok* published Gvido Bartel's note "What is cremation," accompanied by a collage of drawings illustrating the Stuttgart crematorium, its inner courtyard, and its cemetery with urns and monument (fig. 3).<sup>84</sup> All drawings were of different sizes. The overlap created an illusion that all images, as real objects, were lying on the surface. The subject of the images was emotionally dynamic and personalized. All drawings had asymmetrical compositions, as they materialized glimpses of memories connected with

<sup>82</sup> Konysheva, "'Za rubezhom': osveshchenie zapadnogo zpyta v sovetskoi professional'noi resse 1920–1930-kh godov."

<sup>83</sup> Gvido Bartel, "K istorii postroiki v Mosckve pervogo krematoria," no. 15–16 (August 1926): 38.

<sup>84</sup> Gvido Bartel, "Chto takoe krematorii," *Gudok*, no. 1094 (January 1924): 3. Gvido Bartel was an engineer and hygienist, one of the most active and cited by his contemporaries, promoters, and supporters of cremation in the Soviet Union. His pamphlets, books, and brochures were recommended: "to an individual reader, for self-education and an agitator-propagandist, a circle leader, a professional worker, and finally, a lecturer on this issue." Zabludovskii, "Sredi Knig," *Gudok*, no. 185 (August 1928): 4.



visiting the crematorium. Small sentimental images reminded pre-revolutionary forms of visiting cards, which “allowed consumers to select or purchase only those images, which carried personal meaning or reflected some positive quality onto themselves.”<sup>85</sup> Thus, through its organization and subject matter, images of crematoria became valuable objects that, in the mind of viewers, were connected with the intimate and lyrical experience. It advertised the cremation site as an aesthetically pleasant and emotionally-charged environment where the bereaved could find reassurance.

Representing images of cremation as material artifacts of high value was also in another article, published the same year in *Iskusstvo i promyshlennost'*. The publication was the product of a collaboration between Bartel and the editors of the magazine, who accompanied the text with drawings and photographs (fig. 4, 5, 6).<sup>86</sup> Drawings depicted the early projects of the Moscow crematorium, while photographs showed crematoria in Berlin (with exterior and interior) and Dresden, as indicated in the inscriptions. Paradoxically, all photos depicted the Dresden crematorium. However, in this case, the origins of sources mattered less than an arrangement of images on the page and their characteristics. The layout reminded the structure of an album, where all photographs had dark frames of different forms. Such an organization affirmed the article as an album – the elegant object of luxury and desire.<sup>87</sup> And this effect immediately spread to crematorium sight. Notably, this time, the crematorium was no longer a place of intimate emotions. Images in *Iskusstvo i promyshlennost'* advertised cremation space as a monumental construction, creating a sense of amazement and astonishment. Drawings of the future Soviet crematorium and photographs of the German crematoria relied on big figures and shapes, such as monumental vertical constructions towering above crowds of people and taking most of the images' space. The

<sup>85</sup> Stolarski, “The Rise of Photojournalism in Russia and the Soviet Union, 1900-1931,” 31

<sup>86</sup> Gvido Bartel, “Krematsiia. - Cremation.,” *Iskusstvo i promyshlennost'*, no. 1 (January 1924): 65–67.

<sup>87</sup> On the function of albums as objects of luxury in 19<sup>th</sup> century see Stolarski, “The Rise of Photojournalism in Russia and the Soviet Union, 1900-1931,” 31–34.

interplay between light and shadow highlighted the massiveness of the buildings and finalized the emotion of astonishment. Hence, depicted crematoria buildings manifested the utopian romantic imagination of early revolutionary years — “monumental archaic forms referring to Piranesi graphics, utopian neoclassicism of Ledoux and Bulle, ancient Roman ruined mausoleums and memorials.”<sup>88</sup> They represented the architectural type of the “building-memorial” – stepped building tapering upward.<sup>89</sup>

Moving further in time, visualization of cremation space preserved monumentality with glimpses of sentimentalism. For instance, in 1925, *Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo* published an article containing multiple images of Western crematoria.<sup>90</sup> Importantly all photographs of the buildings depicted a single building monument, standing in a valley or a hill and becoming a single grandeur landmark in the area (fig. 7, 8). Inner halls were shoot from the entrance to capture high ceilings and enlarge the scale of the room, affirming “especially strong, overwhelming, amazing, solemn and at the same time calming effect” (fig. 9, 10)<sup>91</sup> The illustrated press even chose a favorite Western monumental example to show – a crematorium in the German city of Leipzig. Articles referenced this neo-romantic castle-crematorium with its inner rooms more frequently than other cremation sights. Different articles stressed different parts. *Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo* emphasized the valley in front of the castle crematorium, giving it a flair of dominance and authority over the landscape (fig. 11). Others highlighted images of Leipzig crematorium as a protected fortification (fig. 12, 13). At the same time, visuals kept traces of intimacy and closed space. For example, with a soft play of light, the small corridors of columbaria kept the notion of privacy and mourning (fig. 14).

<sup>88</sup> Aleksandra Selivanova, “Ot romantiki k funktsii. Arkhitektura dlia ‘ognennykh pokhoron’: konkurs na pervyi moskovskii krematorii,” *Archeology of Russian Death* 5, no. 2 (2017): 101.

<sup>89</sup> Selivanova, 101.

<sup>90</sup> Gvido Bartel, “K postroike v Moskve pervogo v SSSR krematoriia,” *Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 23 (December 1925): 25–37.

<sup>91</sup> Bartel, 27.

Prioritizing lyrical or monumental emotional effects spread through architecture and the way of its visualization, these press examples defined cremation sites as a building-monument with great halls. In all cases, crematoriums, as a new construction type, received old styles. They hid the technological part of the cremation ritual, stressing its ceremonial appearance and, at the same time, endowed cremation space with distanced and grand-scale dignity, which grandly seduced and parentally supported rather the disturb. Columbaria, with their possible natural environment, appeared as fragments. The furnace area was almost always left out of sight and did not acquire emotional connotations.

After 1925 architecture became more interested in the spatial organization of cremation sites. For instance, the article “Overview of crematoria open and scheduled for construction during 1926” presented recently constructed Western crematoria. This account was a collection of short notes that gave dry facts of when and with whose resources the crematorium was open or would be opened. While the body of the article was concerned with the pragmatic task of outlining for municipal professionals and the broader Soviet audience the financial and organizational possibilities of crematorium construction, accompanying images spoke about the visual characteristics of the buildings. They compared the Western examples through juxtapositions of spatial organization, architectural styles, and emotional effects they produced.<sup>92</sup> The first double page stated that the crematorium building could be single construction with galleries or a collection of buildings (fig. 15, 16). All of them were symmetrical, monumental, and contextualized with lawns or trees and represented various forms of past architecture. Such representation reflected earlier examples, which stressed the dignity and grandeur scale of the crematorium. The third and fourth pages compared the romantic style of the building with its modern counterpart (fig. 17, 18). The drawing of the crematorium represented castle-like construction, romantically hiding behind the trees (fig.

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<sup>92</sup> Gvido Bartel, “Obzor otkrytykh i namechennykh k postroike krematoriiev za 1926 g.,” *Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 1–2 (January 1927): 92–95.

17). The nature of the sketch added lightness to the textures and the whole depiction, creating an illusion of spirituality. On the opposite side was a clear photographic portrayal of the building, which was dominated by strict geometrical forms and lacked a natural landscape (fig. 18). While the romantic crematorium-castle conservatively appealed to the traditions of the past, its counterpart got the side of the progressive movement in architecture. Thus, the article presented two categorizations: ensemble versus single building and traditionalism versus modernity.

As the print account did not use the word modernity explicitly, the voice of progressive architecture and its values was present in another article defining and understanding a cremation site through visual means. In 1925 the architectural magazine *Stroitel'stvo Moskvy* presented several shots of the crematoria, introducing viewers to various crematoria types (fig. 19).<sup>93</sup> All pictures were divided into two camps, according to differences in buildings' architecture, which solely depended on deciding what to do with the chimney. The first camp presented the architectural solution of hiding the furnace shaft. It gave buildings old aesthetics: they resembled church style, surrounded by natural context, and supposed to provoke religious spirituality and reassurance. The buildings of the other group were factory-like constructions that explicitly showed the presence of the chimney. Pictures were deprived of the surrounding environment, and buildings' styles were devoted to religious connotations. This division contained the first traces of the functionalists' stance on architecture: direct correspondence between the building and its function – burning corpses in the furnace. In other words, the latter dictated which style to build the crematorium in.<sup>94</sup> Such an architectural decision was the first among other instances of machines trying to take charge in cremation rituals rather than being passive sanitized symbols.

<sup>93</sup> “Szhiganie liudskikh trupov,” *Stroitel'stvo Moskvy*, no. 2 (February 1925): 14–15.

<sup>94</sup> On principles of modernist Functionalism and Constructivism, see Catherine Cooke, *Architectural Drawings of the Russian Avant-Garde* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1990), 29–31.

Thus, after representing the cremation site as a monumental and sentimental object of desire press began asking: Should the crematorium work as a complex of buildings or as a single construction? What to do with a furnace shaft? Articles began to make a more explicit statement that cremation site could consist of not just of a single building. Moreover, they started to consider the presence of the shaft, which impacted the visual style and, thus emotional effect the building produced. At the same time, these changes did not influence the major definition of a cremation site. The columbarium, with its memorializing function, was left on the outskirts. It meant that the press understood cremation as everything that happened inside one building (ceremony and burning) and not activities of remembrance afterward. Such imagination implied that the crematorium would be visited only once without a necessity and even possible to come later. And during this single visit, the cremation site would provoke emotions of solemn greatness, which would be achieved through the same monumental architecture greatly outnumbered the progressive examples.

Every article discussed before was written or composed by non-architects. Professional opinion was visible in the article “Crematorium architecture.” There, two architects, A. Shchusev and Vl. D’iakonov addressed the central tension directly: should cremation space be traditional or modernist? The article was divided into two parts. The first one was written by the architect Shchusev, who presented the traditionalist argument. In the second one, D’iakonov, a participant in the architectural competition and member of ORRIK, argued in favor of building a crematorium in a constructivist style.<sup>95</sup> Despite the difference in traditionalist and modernist argumentation, both architects were driven by aesthetic and emotional categories. And this conclusion served as evidence that conventional architectural form dominated the discussion of cremation space, even among the professionals.

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<sup>95</sup> A. Shchusev and Vl. D’iakonov, “Arkhitektura krematoriia,” *Kommunal’noe khoziaistvo*, no. 11–12 (June 1927): 18–20.

Shchusev belonged to the generation of architects raised before the revolution and received their education making architectural designs in Russian neotraditional styles. They went against radical avant-garde suggestions to deny past architectural achievements and start from scratch. The generation of Shchusev insisted on the “critical assimilation” of the past architectural forms.<sup>96</sup> This traditionalist view was evident in Shchusev’s discussion on cremation, where he spoke on behalf of conventional funeral architecture, which tended to evoke amazement. He affirmed that crematorium space should be an ensemble of constructions: main building, gallery of urns, and park. Considering this ensemble’s emotional effect, he stated that “architecture should be monumental and serious, about the topic when loved ones part with the body of the deceased.”<sup>97</sup> It would create the effect of the dignity of the dead. Also, the cremation site, according to Shchusev supposed to convey sentimentalism: intimacy, and melancholy through its natural environment in the spirit of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century cemetery landscape: “The crematorium should be surrounded by a park that separates the modern noisy and bustling life from the place of eternal rest.”<sup>98</sup> As proof of Shchusev’s arguments, two classical-style crematoria were depicted on the next page (fig. 20, 21). Photographs stressed the grand scale of the building and its symmetrical composition, which produced the effect of monumentality and seriousness. Images also contained traces of natural backgrounds, such as hills or trees, assuring Shchusev’s statement about the necessity of the background. Also, the photographs’ frontal perspective created an illusion of the viewer coming to the entrance of the building. Such a direct visual encounter between the crematorium and the viewer added to the effect of earnestness emanating from the building. Therefore, illustrations turned Shchusev’s word descriptions into a visual manifestation of the

<sup>96</sup> Cooke, *Architectural Drawings of the Russian Avant-Garde*, 13–19, 42–45.

<sup>97</sup> Shchusev and D’iakonov, “Arkhitectura krematoriia,” 18.

<sup>98</sup> Shchusev and D’iakonov, 18.

model crematorium, highlighting and strengthening the necessary emotions – dignity and seriousness.

In opposition to Shchusev's approach of connecting architecture with the emotional effect it produced, D'iakonov presented a modernist vision of crematorium architecture. While Shchusev described an imaginary model crematorium, D'iakonov analytically summarized existing crematoria, concluding what would be the best stylistic decision. D'iakonov's note was an attempt to define constructivism and affirm its value in the case of crematorium construction. He identified three major principles of the constructivist style: the rejection of aesthetics in the design, the search for new fresh forms instead of reusing past ones, and the construction elements' dependence on the building's function. He equated the function of the crematorium to the process of burning. Thus, the building's appearance became dependent on the furnace. A number of furnaces defined the size of the building and the number of rooms and influenced the presence of additional elements on the façade – shaft.<sup>99</sup> Photographs next to D'iakonov's position perfectly summarized the idea of “constructivism” as rejecting ornaments and the aesthetics of past architectural forms (fig. 22, 23). Dynamic angles, no natural background, and decorations made them opposite to previous traditionalist examples. However, they did not represent the functional part: as in the earlier pictures, the shaft remained hidden, so it was impossible to identify buildings as crematoria. The text explained it through expected visitors' reaction: shafts as an element “did not leave a pleasant visual impression.”<sup>100</sup> Thus, D'iakonov kept aesthetic categories of pleasing/disgusting, staying under the influence of conservative paradigms, despite the attempt to be progressive.

Thus, analysis of how journalists and architects visualized Western crematoria in the illustrated press shows that Soviet supporters of cremation did not equate cremation with modernist styles and principles. During 1924-1927, three years before the building of the

<sup>99</sup> Shchusev and D'iakonov, 19–20.

<sup>100</sup> Shchusev and D'iakonov, 19.

Moscow crematorium, they prioritized architectural traditionalism, with its high emotionality, which could be about lyrical melancholy or solemn dignity and aesthetic categories. Paradoxically, despite evidence of modernist architectural intentions, the crematorium shaft prevented architects from completely switching to modernism. Moreover, such high emotionality of crematorium exterior and interior architecture proves that cremation was emotional and not purely sanitized. At the same time, visuals represented Western cremation space as one building not caring about aspects of memorializing. Columbaria, when mentioned, were just sentimental fragments that did not have a defined place within the cremation site.

### THE COMPETITION

In 1926 Moscow Communal Services was ready to announce the competition results for the best architectural plan of the Moscow crematorium. Drawings of the three winners were published in two municipal magazines: *Stroitel'stvo Moskvy* and *Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*. The drawing by Dmitrii Osipov, who took first place, appeared first, followed by Konstantin Mel'nikov in second and D'iakonov in third place accordingly.<sup>101</sup> In contrast to the local governmental press, mass illustrated magazine *Ogonek* published only Mel'nikov's project, omitting the first prize.<sup>102</sup> Describing competition, articles did not agree on the common criteria according to which the works were judged. *Stroitel'stvo Moskvy* prioritized the anti-religious charge of the endeavor and claimed that Osipov's project was chosen because it "from the outside and inside did not resemble a church."<sup>103</sup> *Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo* stressed the pragmatism and rationalism of decision-making. It affirmed construction of the crematorium was not an imaginative act, driven purely by the architects' desire to disengage from reality, but a result of the architect's detailed and rational

<sup>101</sup> F Lavrov, "Moskovskii krematorii i ego znachenie," *Stroitel'stvo Moskvy*, no. 5 (May 1926): 5–7; Bartel, "K istorii postroiki v Mosckve pervogo krematoria."

<sup>102</sup> Al. D., "Ogon' i zemlia," *Ogonek*, no. 4 (January 1927): 12.

<sup>103</sup> Lavrov, "Moskovskii krematorii i ego znachenie," 7.



consideration of the existing environment: “examination of the soil and foundations, measurements of the entire temple with its insufficient heights, etc.”<sup>104</sup> Finally, the popular *Ogonek* magazine connected the architectural form with the ritual act. It showed how the architects, aware of the mechanical nature of the ritual, designed the building that would suit it.<sup>105</sup> Thus, different publications stressed anti-religiosity, pragmatism, or ritualization as central demands for the new crematoria type. Despite this diversity of criteria, drawings published along the description of competitions continued to ask the same question: avant-garde or traditionalism? And all of them agreed that avant-garde should be part of the crematorium's architectural nature but disagreed on its exclusive and only nature. As a result of this diverse representation new notion of space emotionality appeared. The crematorium translated rather a dynamism or indifference but remained single-building.

*Ogonek* decided to reference as the “first Soviet crematorium” Melnikov's design, which took the second prize and was not chosen by the commission as the winner (fig. 24). This decision was evidence of the editors' desire to present the Soviet crematorium as a product of avant-garde culture. In the history of architecture, Melnikov is separated from the major struggle of constructivists and traditionalists, being criticized by both groups. Being on the avant-garde side, he rejected reliance on old forms, deciding to experiment and generate new ones. This was evident in the drawing of the crematorium, full of different geometrical shapes and elements. Melnikov's belief in the importance of form and dynamic emotion over pure function kept him in tension with constructivists.<sup>106</sup> Despite his struggles, Melnikov's project was “experimental machinery of the avant-garde”<sup>107</sup> so inclusion into the first representation of the crematorium in *Ogonek* is noteworthy. It became a message of how

<sup>104</sup> Bartel, “K istorii Postroiki v Mosckve pervogo krematoria,” 36.

<sup>105</sup> D., “Ogon’ i zemlia.”

<sup>106</sup> Cooke, *Architectural Drawings of the Russian Avant-Garde*, 28–34; Selim Khan-Magomedov, *Konstantin Mel’nikov* (Moscow: Arkhitektura-S, 2007), 5–10.

<sup>107</sup> Selivanova, “Ot romantiki k funktsii. Arkhitektura dlia ‘ognennykh pokhoron’: konkurs na pervyi moskovskii krematorii,” 103, 107, 112.

progressive and modern the idea of the Soviet crematorium was. Importantly, it was not an unusual situation. Cooke shows how Soviet officials chose Melnikov's project of the Soviet pavilion for the Paris exhibition to represent USSR modernity, while more traditionalist works were “more relevant model[s] for responding to the cultural condition in the USSR itself.”<sup>108</sup> To add to the visibility of the modernist nature of the crematorium project, *Ogonek's* article recognized its authorship. In the middle of the page, it put Melnikov's portrait to show that an avant-garde architect owned the design.

In its turn, the professional press of the city communal services department denied the radicalism of *Ogonek's* presentation. In this interpretation, the crematorium was the middle-ground combination between avant-garde and realism. In other words, the article visually searched for the crematorium's place within the period of the time and established its roots among the different architectural tendencies of the 1920s.<sup>109</sup> Three projects were represented through different image types. Melnikov's project was mostly visible in two-dimensional schemas and graphic blueprints, allowing viewers to understand the engineering and mechanical solutions behind it (fig. 26, 29). Representation of D'iakonov's project was diametrically opposite as it bore features of the painting: it was placed in the natural landscape with earth, trees, sky, and shadows from the sun (fig. 27, 30). At the same time, because the image has realistic qualities, viewers cannot look through it and see the inner organization of the space. Hence, while Melnikov's project was schematic and transparent, D'iakonov's crematorium was too contextualized in the real world, which did not allow us to see all the details (fig. 26, 27, 29, 30). Importantly, Osipov's crematorium took the middle position between the two. It was deprived of specific contexts, such as Moscow or Shabolovka region.<sup>110</sup> At the same, Osipov's project was not a fully two-dimensional graphic schema that

<sup>108</sup> Cooke, *Architectural Drawings of the Russian Avant-Garde*, 28.

<sup>109</sup> F. Lavrov, “Moskovskii krematorii i ego znachenie,” *Stroitelstvo Moskvy*, no. 5 (May 1926): 5–7.

<sup>110</sup> Selivanova, “Ot romantiki k funktsii. Arkhitektura dlia ‘ognennykh pokhoron’: konkurs na pervyi moskovskii krematorii,” 108.

revealed the inner mechanical structure of the building (fig. 25, 28). Such categorization also corresponded to the architectural style of the buildings. Melnikov's project was associated with the avant-garde, while D'iakonov took the opposite side – it uses “traditionalist, archaic images” and is built in a neo-Russian style (fig. 26, 27, 29, 30).<sup>111</sup> Osipov stood in between – not fully mechanically experimental nor driven solely by the forms of the past (fig. 25, 28). Such representation of Osipov's project fixed its intermediate position of blueprint or plan, which had the actual physical appearance but was not placed within the concrete city space. The intermediate position also deprived the building's drawing of any emotional effect. It was indifferent in comparison to dynamically monumental Melnikov's sketches or sentimentally cozy D'iakonov's variant.

Agreeing that not realized buildings should translate the modernist messages in a specific form, magazines also agreed on the fact it should be one building. Sketches did not include any additional elements of the crematorium side as an ensemble, including columbaria or recreational areas. On the one hand, such representation could visually reflect the economic argument favoring cremation. Different supporters of cremation stressed that this form of burial would save lots of land and resolve the land crisis, as in Moscow, there was already a shortage of cemetery spaces and would reclaim land for better use.<sup>112</sup> On the one hand, as Stephen Prothero argues in the American cremation case, showing only building, supporters of limited cremation ritual to the burning process.<sup>113</sup> Therefore, Soviet cremationists and their American colleagues did not imagine their own responsibility as memorialization. They did not think about places bereaved people could go after the cremation. In addition, the shaft lost its style-forming function and stayed almost invisible in avant-garde, middle, or traditionalist versions.

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<sup>111</sup> Selivanova, 103, 107, 112.

<sup>112</sup> Lavrov, “Moskovskii krematorii i ego znachenie,” 5.

<sup>113</sup> Prothero, *Purified by Fire*, 115.

## TWO MOSCOW CREMATORIA

In October 1927, the Moscow crematorium, made according to Osipov's project, was finally open to the broader public. As previous chapter parts show, pure modernism was not a central visual trope through which cremation space could be characterized. Emotions were still significant. This part of the chapter looks at how the ready-made crematorium was represented. Together with the interior representation, it traces how pictures of the crematorium correspond to the images of the city. Emma Widdis claims that the revolution raised the necessity to construct new Soviet imaginary geography – new images that translated a new understanding of the Soviet spatial organization. She stays that the 1920s imagined city and territory as a dynamic, unstable space: “a new kind of “equalized” territory, in which hierarchies of center and periphery are eliminated?”<sup>114</sup> The territory was full of revolutionary energy, which could transform humans. At the same time, the 1930s were marked with opposite tendencies – the development of the monumentally stable space, which heroic humans' control and conquest.<sup>115</sup> Visualization of a crematorium as a territorial landmark stood in the middle of this type of representation. Both attempts to represent it in a modern dynamic way and as a stable monument were evident. Moreover, the crematorium received a unique variation of monumentality effect – militarism.

An indicative example of a crematorium as a modern-city landmark was a photograph published in January 1927 in the article “First crematorium in Moscow.” Their readers saw the main entrance of the Moscow crematorium with a group of people in front of it (fig. 31). Despite the symmetry of the building, the photograph was dynamic. It contained many uncoordinated elements: people, trees, crosses, and electric cables stretching outside the photo's frame, creating a constant movement of the eyes. This sense of chaotic switch and

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<sup>114</sup> Emma Widdis, *Visions of a New Land: Soviet Film from the Revolution to the Second World War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 9.

<sup>115</sup> Widdis, 76–96, 142–89.

search did not allow to discern space in its totality – characteristic of modern photographic and cinematic imagery.<sup>116</sup> Such representation stressed the modernist nature of the cremation enterprise and placed it in a mobile environment full of people and progressive achievements, such as electricity. Visuals also juxtaposed crematorium modernity with old cemetery memorials – crosses (fig. 32). Northern façade of the crematorium highlighted the volumes of the building and allowed to show its provocative element – the furnace shaft – which made the building similar to the factory. The photograph's composition contrasts the great progressive crematorium building and the old wooden memorial.

However, a more conservative representation existed parallel to the crematorium as a sign of modernity in the old space. The illustrated press used militarized visual discourse to affirm the crematorium as a monumental outpost of new Soviet space. In January 1927, *Ogonek* published a collage of three photographs called “Fiery cemetery.” The central photograph was an aerial shot of the Moscow crematorium (fig. 33). Due to the perspective from above, the building seemed enormous. Aerial gaze directed towards grand building-monument controlled the territory, translating the militarized necessity to conquest it. These “grand establishing shots” and the idea of conquest they encourage were part of the 1930s imaginary geography that rejects the notion of modernity.<sup>117</sup> Moreover, monumentality and control had a military connotation. The editorial arrangement of articles on the magazine's pages locates “Fiery cemetery” in the middle of another article, “City – front of the future war.” There Clare encourages building a city in a way that could manage possible (but not real yet) attacks from the undefined enemy.<sup>118</sup> The article reflected a popular social and political idea, which became popular with a turn from cosmopolitanism to building socialism

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<sup>116</sup> Widdis, 76–96. Margarita Tupitsyn, “The City: After and Double After” (paper presented at the Conference, Russia at the End of the Twentieth Century, Stanford University, November 1998).

<sup>117</sup> Widdis, 83.

<sup>118</sup> N. Clare, “Gorod - Front budushchei voyny,” *Ogonek*, no. 36 (December 1927): 13–15.

in one country: “renewed military intervention by the capitalist powers was imminent.”<sup>119</sup> Therefore, being part of this city-front monumentality of crematorium affirmed the notion of great and strong protection from unknown (and that is why more dangerous) enemies.

The crematorium as a protective outpost was the message of another image published twice in 1928 and 1931. The drawing depicts a crematorium building in front of the city silhouette (fig. 34). In contradiction to dynamic photographs discussed before, this representation was stable and symmetrical without additional details that would catch an eye. The building was also deprived of its visible identification: the artist got rid of two parallel shafts visible from the front façade. The position of the crematorium in the center with the city very far away created an illusion of the building being on the periphery of the city space. However, it was not about dynamic avant-garde. Serious monumentality and stability in connection to the 'leading' position turned crematorium in the military outpost, staying on the border and ready to protect the rest of the city.

As mentioned, such military connotations were not unusual, being a widespread concern until 1941.<sup>120</sup> As Mathew Lenore claims, changes were visible within the Soviet press in general when with the end of the NEP, press rhetoric shifted towards military notions of combat, enemy, and mobilization.<sup>121</sup> The same was evident in the visual manifestations of the Moscow crematorium, turning it into a variation of the Soviet general militarization of society. At the same time, it is necessary to mention that such representation still existed with modern visualization methods of crematorium buildings, which made discourse ambiguous and complicated. The modern Moscow crematorium united with energetic dynamism, not being ashamed of the shaft, the conservative Moscow crematorium visualized a military version of monumentalism, hiding the presence of technologies.

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<sup>119</sup> Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, 121.

<sup>120</sup> Fitzpatrick, 121–22.

<sup>121</sup> Lenore, *Closer to the Masses*.

## TWO INNER SPACES AND ONE PLACE OF MEMORY

Both progressive and conservative versions of the Moscow crematorium had their interiors. Modern interior was captured in wide shots (fig. 35, 36). They created an illusion of the first entrance: viewers and photographers entered the room and photographed what they saw – a grand-scale room with an even row of chairs and symmetrically put palms (or even lack thereof). Such representation stressed the environment's grand scale, translating to the space's simplicity and dignity. While it was not the active and hectic dynamism of the architectural representation, it corresponded to the simplicity of functionalism, and great monumentalism, thus standing in between. However, this simplicity of inner space proved the argument of cremation being sterile. Except for its enormous scale in any other form, this version of the room was emotionless.

The conservative variant of the interior was connected with the mystical non-transparency of the inner rooms. I. Stoklitski's brochure published the main hall of the building as a room without furniture, which size was hidden in the gloomy shadow of arches (fig. 37). Dominance of the shapes, general forms rather than specific details are visible in the *Ogonek* article "Fiery burials," written by D. Mallori right after Moscow crematorium opening (fig. 38). Article did not represent the building itself, showing new crematorium through its interior, that is again blurred and unclear.<sup>122</sup> The room did not contain any notable signs or objects that would allow one to recognize it as part of a crematorium (fig. 38). People were blurred, dark silhouettes that barely resembled the shapes of humans. Hence, the Soviet official press, through visual means, accepted the mysticism of the crematorium interior, which left viewers' questions of what happened in the building answered. Such representation directly corresponded to what the Soviet press called "the concept of designing a crematorium as a place of worship," describing the Western 'typical' interior.<sup>123</sup> Their images stood for the

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<sup>122</sup> D. Mallori, "Ognennye pokhorony," *Ogonek*, no. 50 (December 1927): 18.

<sup>123</sup> "Krematorii v Gannovere," *Sovetskoe iskusstvo*, no. 10 (October 1926): 54.

explanation of what a 'place of worship' was – an intimate, visually unclear environment that stood as a representation of irrationalism, as belief in supernatural manifestations behind the shadow of the wall (fig. 39). Paradoxically, religious irrationality was what cremationists were fighting for, and this was how at the end they depicted the Moscow crematorium interior. Thus, the visualization of the interior reinforced the same progressive-conservative ambiguity of the Moscow crematorium. At the same time, images of inner space added new dimensions of emotionality: indifference and fear.

Importantly, when the crematorium buildings had two modes of its representation, the columbarium of the Moscow crematorium did not receive its modernist or conservative identities. The appearance and style of columbaria never seemed to be a significant argument in favor of cremation. Frequently, cremationists mentioned columbarium as one of the options (but not the primary one) to deal with urn: “the remains, which are given to land burial right there in the cemetery, or are rented to an urn in the niche of the columbarium for storage, or are taken home.”<sup>124</sup> Bartel discussed how the columbarium should look only sporadically and at the end of a cremation propaganda campaign. And during this mention, the columbarium was subjugated to the aesthetic category of seducing and pleasing viewers.<sup>125</sup> It should not cause any visual disturbances in the minds of the bereaved.<sup>126</sup> Hence, the cremation site never was a symbolically charged and meaningful place of memorialization.

### *REBUILDING OF THE CHURCH*

Finally, it is necessary to address the process of its construction, which was directly connected with the fact that the building of the crematorium was repurposing of the existing church. Such representation could be proof that the central message affirming the construction

<sup>124</sup> Bartel, “K postroike v Moskve pervogo v SSSR Krematoriia,” 27.

<sup>125</sup> Gvido Bartel, “Rabota moskovskogo krematoriia,” *Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 19–20 (October 1929): 28; Gvido Bartel, “Ognennoe i zemel'noe pogrebenie v Moskve v 1929 g.,” *Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 7 (July 1930): 21.

<sup>126</sup> Bartel, “Rabota moskovskogo krematoriia,” 28.



of the Moscow crematorium was the Soviet anti-religious iconoclasm of the 1920s - the repurposing of the church building into a destructive act aimed at annihilating political authority and public presence of the Church. However, a close analysis of the newspaper materials shows that the anti-religious aspect did not play a central role in the textual explanations at any moment. The authors did not emphasize the attack on Church and the anti-religious zeal behind the decision-making through written words. What was stressed was the mere act of rebuilding, as a process of using existing construction, instead of creating a new one, without emphasizing the previous function of the building. Since planning and beginning construction, authors associated rebuilding with economic advantages and presented it as a rational money-saving decision. For example, in 1926, explaining cremationists' reasoning behind the construction, Bartel claimed that the only task for cremationists was “the adoption of all those measures that would give the maximum economy in the reconstruction. Otherwise, there is no justification for using an old-built construction for building a crematorium.”<sup>127</sup> Moreover, articles stated that from the technological and engineering point of view, rebuilding that church was far from the ideal option. The only advantage of the chosen church tomb was “the presence in the church of a deep basement” where the furnaces could be placed.<sup>128</sup> Bartel then mentioned that this part was not entirely satisfactory, as the cellar was not too deep to conveniently place the furnace shaft.<sup>129</sup> The language of process signified the burden it was for the authors and constructors: “had to dismantle the belfry.”<sup>130</sup> And at the same time, it was still cheaper than creating an entirely new building.

After constructing the crematorium, the critique of the rebuilding decision intensified. Authors became even more explicit in condemning the enterprise, forgetting its economic

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<sup>127</sup> Bartel, “K istorii Postroiki v Moskve pervogo krematoria,” 36.

<sup>128</sup> Nekrasov and Klempner, “Pervyi krematorii v g. Moskve,” 19.

<sup>129</sup> Bartel, “K istorii postroiki v Mosckve pervogo krematoria,” 36.

<sup>130</sup> Nekrasov and Klempner, “Pervyi krematorii v g. Moskve,” 19.

advantages and not mentioning that it was a church that was rebuilt. Bartel, who in 1926 propagated rebuilding as the most economical decision in the current situation, actively criticized it three years later for not being economical. He stated that there was no rational use of space that was left unused. Also, he condemned the choice of an area not central to the city, which is why it was not surrounded by the community, getting attention. Another expressed concern was that repurposing created unfavored conditions for exercising the ritual. Due to the act of rebuilding, cremationists needed to leave one big ritual hall. It “slows down, as it turned out with certainty from these practices, the work of the crematorium due to the impossibility of sometimes performing such a number of rituals in a day that would need to be carried out in accordance with the number of funerals performed.”<sup>131</sup> Therefore, the building started to contradict and even disturb the content it was built for. Finally, the process of rebuilding, according to ritual specialists, was not creative: “During its construction, as in any new business, many difficulties were encountered, but since the building of the crematorium was not re-erected, but rebuilt from the tomb church of the Donskoy Monastery ... the element of creativity in this work did not play a leading role.”<sup>132</sup> Thus, the act of rebuilding was never praised and emphasized in the textual discourse on crematoriums. Engineers were rather bothered and unsatisfied with its economical and practical consequences. Importantly, they never blamed the desire to rebuild precisely the church, and thus the act of anti-religiosity, for the difficulties raised. It was rather concerned with ineffective decision-making and the inability of the responsible figures to manage construction effectively and rationally.

On the visual level, the church was more explicitly present. Visuals stressed the intention of rebuilding the church and not just the act of reconstruction, as happened in the

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<sup>131</sup> Bartel, “Rabota moskovskogo krematoriia,” 28.

<sup>132</sup> L. Klemper, “Predstoiashchie zadachi krematornogo stroitel'stva,” *Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 11–12 (June 1927): 6.

text. However, the intention was doomed to stay permanently unrealized. All visuals are fixed for the posterity desire to rebuild but never the process, change, or result. For instance, in the article “Fiery burial,” which appeared in *Bezbozhnik*, two almost similar images, according to captions supposed to represent “Construction of the crematorium from the cemetery church of former Donskoi Monastery” and “Construction of the Moscow crematorium” (fig. 40, 41, 42).<sup>133</sup> Both photographs depict the church on scaffolds. However, the church remains untouched. Moreover, the second image reinforced the preservation of religious buildings through the religious landscape: grave crosses in the foreground and Donskoi cathedral in the background (fig. 41). Within this religiously charged context, scaffolds were almost invisible. Thus, photographs stated that the church was not left in the past, nor was it in the transformation process. The new crematorium building was a church. The same preservation of the church and invisibility of actual change is depicted in the *Kommunal’noe khoziaistvo*, for instance, with a drawing of a “longitudinal section of a building” (fig. 43). Here, the picture was supposed to represent the accomplished rebuilding. However, the effect was the opposite. The drawing signalized that the shape of the church was preserved, as well as the interior with arches. All restructuring and architectural changes faded from the drawing, depicting a coffin inside the religious building. Picture of the intact church with the caption signalized already established crematorium building also appeared in other cases (fig. 44).

The interior had more traces of change, as it has both old and new elements (fig. 35, 36, 37). Chairs were the unique furniture for religious buildings, as parishioners should have stood during the service (fig. 35, 36). The lack of wall paintings also signified the disappearance of religious symbolism from the building's decoration. The high vaulted ceiling, and the presence of the altar-like place for the master of the ceremony, were the remnants of the old religious space and rituals it contained. Palms also had religious

<sup>133</sup> Tsvetkov, “Ognennoe pogrebenie.”

connotations, symbolizing Eden.<sup>134</sup> Therefore, despite some significant innovations, the overall interior still preserved old features, which was not different from the unrealized potential of exterior reconstruction.

Thus, there was no visual intervention into the old landscape and destruction of the monumental remnants of the old regime. Nor illustrations nor text tried to affirm the proletariat's victory over religion and its institutions. Visual preservation of the church might function as a symbol of exaggerating conflicts inside the Orthodoxy itself. As Sokolova states, church-tomb was unusual for Orthodox architecture, and Synod refused to sanctify it. And cremationists aware of this used this specificity on a symbolical level.<sup>135</sup> Secondly, the illustrated press might use emotional effects raised from the images of the church. Images represented the church as a monumental building with beautiful architecture. Especially, it worked in the case of *Bezbozhnik*, which printed the whole ensemble of religious buildings, provoking amazement in viewers (fig. 41). One can argue that images on purpose used positive and solemn emotions, so they could be associated with crematorium construction. At the same time, preserving the church and lacking change did not contribute to envisioning crematorium construction as a progressive, transformative act, keeping it in the realm of the blueprint and unrealized potential. Such ambiguity challenges the standard image of the Soviet anti-religious campaign (and the role of the League of Militant Godless with their propaganda campaigns) as purely destructive and iconoclastic.

<sup>134</sup> Svetlana Malysheva, "Vrezano v kamen', vrezano v pamiat.' (Vos)proizvodstvo sovetskoi odentichnosti v prostranstvakh smerti," *Dialog so vremenem*, no. 54 (2016): 197.

<sup>135</sup> Anna Sokolova, "Gorodskaiia pokhoronnaia kul'tura v ideologii i praktikakh dovoennogo SSSR: istoriko-antropologicheskii analiz," 258.

### CHAPTER 3. THE RITUAL

This chapter looks in detail at what ritual was performed in the ambiguous modern/traditional space of the Moscow crematorium. Agreeing with the statement of scientific materialism as the transcendental principle of the cremation ritual, it shows how cremation contained both secular technological and sacred elements. Importantly, this sacredness implied old religious and new communist revolutionary connotation. Together with looking at how the press commented on the nature of the cremation ritual, the chapter shows how it created new roles and statuses for the masters of ceremony, ritual specialists, bereaved and deceased. Thus, visuals imagined cremation as a fully realized atheist ritual. However, the ritual belonged to its space: it did not have definite beginning and end.

#### *BEGINNING OF THE END: TRANSPORTATION OF THE CORPSE AND FAREWELL CEREMONY*

The process started with the delivery of the body to the crematorium mortuary. However, magazines and newspapers paid little attention to this part, leaving the cremation ritual without a solid and explicit beginning. In the early 1920s, discussion on transportation appeared in the press sporadically. For instance, engineers Nekrasov and Klempner mentioned three possible ways of transportation, according to deceased status. The first is the celebratory moment, when “a chariot with a coffin drives up through the main driveway to the main entrance.”<sup>136</sup> The description corresponds to the solemnity of the red funeral procession. Other ways of getting to the crematorium were less glorious. The corpse could be transported directly to the morgue to wait their turn among many other deceased. The mundane nature of the description suggested the suitability of this appearance to the mass of Soviet citizens that did not belong to the elite. The third way of entering the crematorium was being an administrative corpse, which would go strictly into the stove after waiting in the

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<sup>136</sup> Nekrasov and Klempner, “Pervyi krematorii v g. Moskve,” 25.

morgue.<sup>137</sup> As Malysheva argues, these three ways of starting the cremation rituals became evidence of the deceased's different statuses, contradicting the idea of cremation as equality of the dead.<sup>138</sup> At the same time, this only brief mention was not enough to fully understand the nature of the beginning of the cremation ritual. Images also did not visually elaborate on how the cremation ritual should start. The only reference to the fact that the corpse should be transported to the crematorium was a picture of a German chariot (fig. 45). It stressed that a mechanical way of transporting would be introduced, bringing the corpse efficiently and fast. However, the presence of one machine did not elaborate on the nature and elements of the procession. In contrast, the Christian tradition suggested more complicated variant of the beginning. It was a long walk with icon bearer, coffin in the middle, and rest of the people, which “underscored deceased liminal status, between the two worlds [sacred and mundane].”<sup>139</sup>

Cremation did not receive its beginning even after two years of the crematorium work. In 1929 cremationists became concerned with the transportation of corpses to the Moscow crematorium from other cities and the obstacles the current state of railroads presented. Such consideration indicates that the press imagined cremation as a successful enterprise with high demand among the Soviet population. However, press continued to say little about the transportation process, leaving cremation until the end without a clearly articulated beginning.<sup>140</sup>

Thus, according to the press, after the body was ambiguously transported into the crematorium building and placed in a morgue, and relatives of the deceased ambiguously

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<sup>137</sup> Nekrasov and Klempner, 25.

<sup>138</sup> Malysheva, “Vrezano v kamen’, vrezano v pamiat.’ (Vos)proizvodstvo sovetskoi identichnosti v Prostranstvakh Smerti,” 190.

<sup>139</sup> Thomas Reed Trice, “The ‘Body Politic’: Russian Funerals and the Politics of Representation, 1984 – 1921” (doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, 1998), 31.

<sup>140</sup> Gvido Bartel, “Znachenie zheleznodorozhnogo transporta v dele razvitiia krematsii,” *Kommunal’noe khoziaistvo*, no. 3–4 (February 1929): 24–26.

entered the building, the elevator transferred the body into the farewell hall. The necessity of specific preparations at home and people who finally organized funeral attributes such as coffin and decorations were omitted from the discussion. This ignorance of the beginning contradicted the preparation for funerals in the Christian tradition. There, preparatory work at home and transportation of the coffin to the funeral service was an affirmation of the deceased's special status, which was gradually changing: from being alive with previous social statuses and relations to the state of death.<sup>141</sup> The cremation ritual was deprived of this complicated beginning, immediately turning to what happened in the farewell hall, which made fiery burial less clear about the status of the deceased and the status of the bereaved and masters of the ceremonies in the hierarchy of agents involved.

The illustrated press gave more coverage to the funeral service than the preparatory actions. Several articles in different magazines vaguely mentioned that both religious and secular ceremonies could be conducted before the burning. Civic service was represented by a photograph published in *Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo* in December 1927 and then copied five years later, showing "civic funeral service" (fig. 46). Massive young crowd lurking in the dark of the room that made it impossible to get its full size, stood next to the draped coffin. At the forefront of the photograph were two workers holding communist banners, standing as a guard of honor. The setting reminded red funeral representation, which also relied on the crowd's grand scale and Communist symbolism. Thus, following the red funerals rhetoric, the photograph affirmed the act of farewell as a tribute of respect from the great communist collective to the act of communist death as an individual sacrifice. However, the ceremony did not become a revolutionary triumph due to the explicit presence of the photographer's gaze. Taking the space behind, where the master of the ceremony should stand, the photographer revealed his position. Subjects' eyes were turned suspiciously towards the

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<sup>141</sup> Trice, "The 'Body Politic': Russian Funerals and the Politics of Representation, 1984 – 1921," 24–36.

camera, recognizing photographer's intrusion into the process. This tension between the photographer and the subjects suggested that the cameraman arranged the shot as a scientific attempt to examine and record the typical behavior of the group. Thus, as an intruder, the photographer violated the organic flow of the ceremony, leaving viewers with unrealized tension.

In contradiction to the directly revealing of the civic ceremony's photograph, the religious funeral service, published in *Ogonek* in October 1927, avoided the presence of precise subjects. The photograph did not include specific details connected with the new Soviet project (fig. 38). People were blurred, dark silhouettes that barely resembled the shapes of humans. The room did not contain any notable signs or objects that would allow one to recognize it as part of a crematorium or as a ceremony. This blurriness image kept the specific details of the ceremony hidden from the intrusive gaze of the magazine's readers and the photographer himself. It depicted ceremony as intimate and sacred, keeping the divine behind the profane gaze.

Notably, the farewell hall remained empty most of the time, suggesting that no funeral service was happening. The lack of people was another common feature of most of the halls' pictures. Images were empty rooms, which emptiness was stressed through the 'looking from above' perspective (fig. 35, 36, 37). Such composition highlighted unoccupied rows of chairs and a lack of people in any corner of the room. The loneliness and emptiness of the visuals left questions about cremation unanswered and visual representations of cremation unclear. Such non-transparency adds to the images' intentions to seduce viewers. Visuals suppressed emotions of quietness and sorrow and limited spectators' ability to question the photograph and the depicted ceremony. Photographs seduced the viewers and suggested that readers should perceive cremation as an action that did not provoke a sense of danger, however, which did not have enough substance.



Thus, these three versions of the funeral ceremony suggested three statuses of the bereaved. Visitors of the funeral services could be subjects of the great ceremony, deprived of their organic behavior through the photographer's gaze. In this case, their role was diminished to mere standing next to the coffin without expressing certain emotions or performing actions. Visitors could also be active participants whose actions were hidden from viewers by the veil of scared. Or they could not exist at all. In any case, the cremation ceremonial part became ignorant and non-transparent about the bereaved's special status, making it difficult for visitors to identify themselves with them. From the first glance, such images of cremation's participants supported historians' argument that Soviet atheist rituals were empty and did not appeal to the broader population effectively.<sup>142</sup> However, analysis of the next parts of the ritual would prove that cremation was meaningful and tried to appeal to popular sentiments.

#### *DEHUMANIZATION AND MECHANICAL DOMINATION*

After the ceremonial part was done, an elevator brought the coffin to the entrance of the stove, where the unique track mechanism sent the coffin inside. Here, press images and text took the power of performing the ritual from humans and gave it to the machines. Technologies were masters of the ceremony. Firstly, both text and visuals devalued humans' importance and actual presence. Crematorium workers did not exist in the textual propaganda of cremation. All actions, such as the operation of the stove, coke loading, transportation of the coffin between different building stores, or sealing capsules with ashes, happened without humans. Through widespread usage of what in English called passive voice, texts stated that technologies operated and all actions happened by themselves: “two to three hours beforehand, the crematorium stove heats up to the highest temperature;” “This ash is collected

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<sup>142</sup> As a reminder of this discussion see Chapter 1 of this Thesis and Peris, *Storming the Heavens*; Froese, *The Plot to Kill God*.

in a cylindrical tin box and then is given.”<sup>143</sup> The only appearance of the workers was connected with arguments in favor of their replacement. For example, engineer Klempner described “the main disadvantages of this equipment” in its dependence on a human – “incomplete mechanization of the cart with the coffin.”<sup>144</sup> Moreover, mechanization and exclusion of people from the operation should have been total. Engineer Nekrasov suggested that bringing the coffin into the furnace should be automatic as well as “removing the coffin from the carriage and placing it on a special table in the morgue.”<sup>145</sup> In contribution to the text, images also did not recognize workers’ individuality. People’s identifications were restricted by their class, expressed through their clothes (fig. 61, 62, 63, 64, 65). Faces turned away or in shadow hid emotions and specific facial characteristics. Several times, the worker's figure was a flat silhouette, making it part of the surrounding environment (fig. 59, 60). Compositionally, workers were located at the side of the photograph with a coffin or furnace at the center. This lack of identity and peripheral location suggested that workers were not crucial to the cremation process.

Technology took charge and stood at the center when people disappeared or were devalued. For instance, photographs of furnace were close-ups, which put the machine and the process of the coffin's takeover by a dark hole at the center (fig. 57, 58, 61, 63). The drawings on the visual level stressed the big size of the machine in comparison to the size of the coffin (fig. 47, 48, 49, 50). However, images concentrated on the mechanisms had their pitfalls. Schemas were skeletons that did not include material textures, such as bricks or gases, or change within the process (fig. 47, 48, 49, 50). The coffin was doomed to stay in the same place, untouched by the fire invisible on the schema. Photographs, as more realistic depictions, did not contain dynamism of change either. (fig. 55, 56, 57, 58). In order to give

<sup>143</sup> V. Rosenshild-Paulin, “Krematsiia - sozhzhenie trupov,” *Vestnik znaniia*, no. 13 (1926): 876.

<sup>144</sup> Klempner, “Predstoiashchie zadachi krematornogo stroitel'stva,” 8.

<sup>145</sup> Sergei Nekrasov, “Rabota moskovskogo krematoriia i dal'neishie perspektivy,” no. 11–12 (September 1928): 140.

machine more dynamism, images juxtaposed it with humans. Visuals instrumentalized workers, presenting them at the service of the machines - “as human appendices of the machine.”<sup>146</sup> Technologies used people's movements as a mere part of the chain of events, allowing them to encode change. Looking at the people's hand gestures or dynamic pose images coded the process within the machine (fig. 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65). Another example was two drawings published in Stoklitskii's brochure. Through the same compositional organization, they showed the beginning and end of the burning process, suggesting change (fig. 58, 64). Viewers saw a coffin going into the furnace, and next to it result of the process – the worker taking the ashes out of the furnace.

An interesting case was the workers' photograph in “Fiery burials,” published in December 1927 by Mallori (fig. 63). Article described one day from the life of the Moscow crematorium and accompanied by images of visitors, farewell hall, and furnace area with workers standing still next to the coffin in from of the open furnace door. Mechanic's pose was relaxed, one hand casually laid on a furnace door, while the second was in the pocket. This lack of worker actions stressed the independence of the machine, which was capable of transporting the body into the stove by itself, without help.

Visual satire, working with the same subject of technologization, presented its variation of human-machine interactions. In 1927 *Krokodil* published Alexei Rotov's cartoon “The Conveyer.” It depicted the artists' innovative project of combining a crematorium with a cheap canteen. According to the plot, people come to the cheap canteen and get poisoned by the employees. After the unfortunate visitor died, his body was cremated. The heat was used for cooking another portion of the deadly dinner (fig. 66). Parodying extreme mechanization of cremation, the cartoon reversed the situation. There, people did not just use machines for their needs, the machine itself was a collection of greedy and selfish people.

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<sup>146</sup> Serguei Alex Oushakine, “Machines, Nations, and Faciality: Cultivating Mental Eyes in Soviet Books for Children,” 160.

Such exaggeration shows that part of the cremationist's discourse was aware of the possible pitfalls of the technologization of cremation – the presence of human agency behind it. In other words, it was glimpses of cremation workers' attempts to return their power.<sup>147</sup>

Thus, the iconography of worker-furnace relations did not suggest an equal environment and mutual collaboration. It is a machine that was the true master of the ceremony. The dominance of technology made it impossible to identify on the visual level such profession as a crematorium worker or recognize the worker's power and role in the cremation ritual management. Workers' presence was necessary only to affirm the independence and power of the technology and not to stress the new identity of crematorium workers. Such representation was the part cult of the little man: presenting workers as minor elements of the social machine.<sup>148</sup> However, in the case of cremation rituals, machines were not only metaphors of the society, as suggested by the cult. Nor they were symbols of new funerals, praising technocratic utopia and scientific materialism, as historians of cremation argued. Technologies were active participants in atheist rituals, taking the place of the old masters of ceremony - clergy.

#### *RETURN OF THE PEOPLE – SOVIET ENGINEERS*

Images of cremation technologies not only defined the new masters of the ceremony but also identified new ritual specialists – main designers and creators of the rituals – Soviet engineers. Schemas visualized what was hidden from human eyes behind the walls of the furnace. However, these drawings could not function independently: if one wanted to interpret what was depicted, they should turn to the text for explanations. For example, in Nekrasov and Klempner's article, all blueprints were full of numbers, which coded some aspects of the

<sup>147</sup> Iuliia Khabibulina, "Soviet Incendiary Laughter: Satirical Representations of the Moscow crematorium and cremation within State Print Discourse during the Late 1920s and Early 1930s" (bachelor's thesis, School of Advanced Studies, University of Tyumen, 2022), 27–31.

<sup>148</sup> Katerina Clark, *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 91–95; Bonnell, *Iconography of Power*, 34–36.

mechanism (fig. 47, 49). The name of the element and its participation in the process were written only in the text. This dependency of schematic images on the text highlighted the role of the texts' author—engineer. Due to their ingenuity and skill, the latter knew how mechanisms operated and could explain them to the mass audience. Together with representing technologies as masters of ceremony, the images of the furnaces were icons of engineers. They affirmed the professional identity of the cremationist's engineers, capable of materializing complicated mechanisms and exercising the power of controlling the dead. Latter authors, appropriating the same schemas or drawing new ones, started to put the legend of the schema next to it (fig. 50). However, the interdependence between image and text, which explains how the elements of the machine worked, was preserved.

The special power of the engineers was equal to the power of scientists, who searched for and proposed solutions to immortality.<sup>149</sup> Biologists claimed they could understand which stage of physical death could be reversed to realize the dream of immortality. Engineers of cremation used their understanding of death as a process in different way. They claimed control over accelerating stages of death as body decomposition through creating certain technologies. Hence, when technologies performed the ritual, engineers designed and controlled its theoretical part, serving as ritual specialists and personalizing dreams to control death by speeding it up.

However, there was not just a Soviet technologies, furnace and elevators, that was depicted. A significant part of the Soviet cremation story was Soviet collaboration with Western cremationists, especially Germans – authors of the crematorium furnace. Hence, one might argue that all schematic and photographic depictions of the stove could not be called Soviet cremation technology, as within the text, the foreign origin of the furnace was clearly stated. Does it mean that Soviet masters of the ceremony (stoves) and ritual specialists

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<sup>149</sup> Nikolai Kremmentsov, *Revolutionary Experiments: The Quest for Immortality in Bolshevik Science and Fiction*; Kojevnikov, "Space-Time, Death-Resurrection, and the Russian Revolution."

(engineers) shared their identity and authority with their Western counterparts? Observing the way Soviet engineers interacted with Western examples suggests the answer is no. Moreover, Soviet ritual specialists used the presence of their Western counterparts as justification for their uniqueness and professionalism.

There were three models formed by the illustrated press, through which Soviet engineers affirmed their agency and dominance over their Western counterparts. The first one was expressed through syllogism: ‘We create demand, you fulfill.’ In his article “To the history of the first crematorium construction in Moscow,” published one year before the crematorium's official opening, Bartel recognized Western specialists' participation in the story of the Moscow crematorium. In his account of construction, Soviet cremationists appear as thinking customers. In contrast, German engineers as executioners: Soviet specialists created a “draft of technical conditions,” according to which Berlin engineers completed the order.<sup>150</sup> Another model of Soviet-foreign relations in cremation was ‘you invented, we test and suggest an improvement.’ Such a narrative was clearly articulated after one year of crematorium work. Engineer Nekrasov stated that “furnaces were heated in everything according to the instructions of the German company TOPF, which installed them.”<sup>151</sup> However, following the instructions led to serious economic losses. Empirically, Soviet cremation engineers realized the problem and created their own more beneficial system of furnace work. Hence, the Soviet engineer was represented as an evaluator and improver of German technologies.

Such models contribute to the understanding of 1920s cosmopolitanism and internationalism. As Jeffery Brook argues, the official print culture of the 1920s expressed and promoted “the growth of [Soviet] peaceful relations with other countries” in opposition

<sup>150</sup> Bartel, “K istorii postroiki v Mosckve pervogo krematoria,” 36.

<sup>151</sup> Nekrasov, “Rabota moskovskogo krematoriia i dal'neishie perspektivy,” 136.

to the xenophobia of Stalinism.<sup>152</sup> The scientific press stated that while Fordism and Taylorism were American, Soviet engineers and production managers could learn from this universal site of modernity.<sup>153</sup> Cremation technology, in this case, also lost its belonging to a particular country with its economic and social circumstances rather than becoming an element of “world technological revolutions.”<sup>154</sup> However, in the case of cremation, it was not innocent borrowing but an attempt to prioritize Soviet cremation over Western engineer mind.

### *A POWERFUL WORKER LOOKS INSIDE*

After the elevator sent the coffin into the stove, two close relatives could come to the furnace department to see how technologies would send the elevator inside. Magazines and newspapers were ambiguous about whether these relatives could look inside the furnace's small peephole to observe the corpse's transformation into ashes. In 1925 Bartel argued that burning was “the picture is extremely heavy” on emotional and aesthetic levels. Moreover, he stated that observation by an inexperienced mind could only raise more trouble interpreting body movement under heat as signs that a person was still alive.<sup>155</sup>

However, there were people whose looking inside was fixed and affirmed on a visual level – a Communist worker - an anonymous worker in a cap and Russian shirt, and comrade Ukhanov, chairman of the Moscow Soviet, whose higher ruling position, expressed in the formal coat with a shirt and tie. Ukhanov’s Bolshevik worker identity was expressed through the same cap (fig. 67, 68). Despite the differences in status, both subjects conveyed the same message: meeting the burning process should happen with a serious, concentrated, and defiant look. Compositional close-ups depicting the workers and Ukhanov emphasized their

<sup>152</sup> Jeffrey Brooks, “Official Xenophobia and Popular Cosmopolitanism in Early Soviet Russia,” *The American Historical Review* 97, no. 5 (1992).

<sup>153</sup> Andrews, *Science for the Masses*, 79–80.

<sup>154</sup> Andrews, 79.

<sup>155</sup> Bartel, “K postroike v Moskve pervogo v SSSR krematoriia,” 28.

doubtless and sober facial expressions. The dynamic figure sloped towards the stove combined with a stable and direct look reminded what Bonnell calls “self-possession and confidence of the victorious proletariat.”<sup>156</sup>

Moreover, these emotions did not equal cynicism, carelessness, or indifference. The whole setting of the photograph denied such interpretation. The photographic plot was a private spectacle where only one person could look inside through a small hole. The individuality of the process was especially stressed in Ukhanov's photograph, where the chairman was the only person in the crowd who managed to look inside (fig. 67). The dynamic body leaned towards the hole in both pictures, at the same time emphasized that due to limited viewing angle, both worker and Ukhanov should have come closer (fig. 67, 68). Hence, the restriction of the observation and individualism of the process preserved the intimacy of looking at the body decomposition and sacred truth hidden from others, including the viewer.

The proletarian appearance of the looking subjects suggested the Communist interpretation of the mystical and selective nature of what they were looking at. Clark argues that the High Stalinist culture was dominated by the notion of “higher-order knowledge,” relevant in some form to all Soviet cultural history.<sup>157</sup> This knowledge was accessible only to a selective group of communists possessing wisdom, self-control, and high consciousness.<sup>158</sup> Sober and concentrated Soviet workers looked inside the furnace, receiving scared knowledge about death and affirming themselves as true conscious communists. Thus, interacting with the furnace, worker, and death received new mysterious connotations based on the myth of sacred communist truth.

Affirming its status as an ideal communist subject with higher-order knowledge, workers performed controlling functions. Firstly, they watched that corpse was not used for

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<sup>156</sup> Bonnell, *Iconography of Power*, 27.

<sup>157</sup> Clark, *The Soviet Novel*, 141.

<sup>158</sup> Clark, 117–26, 141–43.



other purposes. This necessary aspect of cremation propaganda was mentioned by the head of the Local Housing Department of the Maykop District Executive Committee, comrade Fomenko. He stated that propaganda should make people sure that “the corpses committed to the crematorium will certainly be burned and not used for any purpose, and that all this will be fully guaranteed through strict control.”<sup>159</sup> Also, the workers exercised control over prejudice that the corpse was moving, which means “that in crematoria they burn the living.”<sup>160</sup> Thus, images suggest who is exercising the control (worker), on what (prejudice), and how (with “skill, dignity, and poise”)<sup>161</sup>. Looking at the placement of the anonymous worker's photograph on the page suggests that he was also watching over the whole process of crematorium construction (fig. 68). Being at the left upper corner and looking down at the image of the crematorium created an illusion that the worker seriously monitoring the construction site.

Thus, cremation iconography, “watching” as part of the new ritual, participated in the Bolshevik power iconography and mythmaking. Both anonymous worker and Ukhanov part of the 1920s official ‘worker-icon,’ who “functioned as a symbol—a symbol of the heroic proletariat, which, according to Bolshevik mythology, had made the October Revolution.”<sup>162</sup> They belong to the constructed pantheon of heroes. At the same time, they also became social realist ideal-conscious communists, which relied on communist sacred truth hidden inside the furnace. Therefore, such iconographic elements also empowered technology, which became a guide to the sacred truth of burning. It equalized humans and technology, reminding avant-garde iconography. Avant-garde artists implied equal relationships between workers and technologies, where people received qualities of the machine, while technologies became

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<sup>159</sup> “Nasha anketa o krematsii,” 36.

<sup>160</sup> Tsvetkov, “Ognennoe pogrebenie,” 7.

<sup>161</sup> Bonnell, *Iconography of Power*, 27.

<sup>162</sup> Bonnell, 38.

“like a coworker to human practice” or comrades.<sup>163</sup> As Susan Buck-Morss argues, avant-garde culture imagined technologies as guides and companies that allowed people to achieve a better level of sensuality and “release its living force” of industrialization.<sup>164</sup> Hence, machine workers enable their sensuality and controlling agency.

Importantly, there is another way to interpret the non-transparency of the images: lack of explanations in the case of schemas, the invisibility of the burning, and the worker's struggle to look inside through the peephole. This interpretation relies on the nature of the photograph – reductionism and flatness. As Graham Clarke states: “The photograph is always reductive.” It means that viewers “can go no further than what the photograph allows us to ‘see.’”<sup>165</sup> Implementing its reductive nature, the media resisted being open and telling everything. They hid a significant part of the process from human eyes, which explains why visitors did not see everything. Also, as Graham states, a photograph is always flat. It “‘buries’ its surface appearance in favor of the illusion of depth and the promise of the actual.”<sup>166</sup> To create the illusion, photographs rely on the interplay between the surfaces of the objects depicted, playing with light and shadows.<sup>167</sup> This light-shadow play enhanced the mysticism of the furnace, creating in the viewers a demand to see what was inside, and they were unable to satisfy it due to their flatness. Nor schemas of the furnace’s interior were able to meet the demand. They remained without texture, change, and substance. Thus, the media manifested its agency within the iconography of cremation – it tended to hide. The next part of the chapter will show how these visuals stealth work in case of the images of the ceremony, seducing viewers.

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<sup>163</sup> Zoe Beloff, *Emotions Go to Work* (Colchester: Minor Compositions, 2018), 51.

<sup>164</sup> Susan Buck-Morss, *Dreamworld, and Catastrophe: The Passing of Mass Utopia in East and West* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2000), 119.

<sup>165</sup> Graham Clarke, *The Photograph: A Visual and Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 22.

<sup>166</sup> Graham, 23.

<sup>167</sup> Graham, 21-24.

### *FINALE OF THE VERY END AND SYMBOLISM OF AN URN*

The body was burned. Ashes were collected, put in the metal capsule inside the urn, and returned to relatives. Here illustrated press suggested several options. The first was a great farewell ceremony to the urn before it was buried in the ground. This option was available only for the chosen revolutionary heroes. The rest of the society, the illustrated press, had the opportunity to take the urn at home or bury it on the land, not elaborating how it should look, who should do this, and where. Thus, the cremation ritual left the mass population without a significant and emotionally important ending. At the same time, it does not mean that elements of the ritual after burning were symbolically and meaningfully empty. The whole set of relationships appears through new interaction between relatives of any status and the deceased – urn caring.

The ceremony of farewell to Leonid Krasin, where the urn with ashes represented Krasin, is a prominent example to observe iconography of the last actions with an urn of the great revolutionary hero (fig. 69). Krasin was a participant in the October Revolution, People's Commissar for Transport and People's Commissar for Foreign Trade. Therefore, there was no hesitation in attributing him to the pantheon of revolutionary heroes. The visuals of his funerals, which happened in Moscow in December 1925, embraced the red funeral's revolutionary zeal. The close-up of Krasin's political comrades was juxtaposed with the image of the big crowd, which does not fit into the photographic frames. Sincere facial expressions of sorrow were strongly contrasted with impersonalized crowds coming to pay respect. Standard symbolism, such as red banners and wreaths, were present to signify the new Communist identity of the ceremony.

While images generally reminded red funerals, a critical newcomer was an urn with Krasin's ashes. On the first photograph it was surrounded by faces of other Bolsheviks, suggesting the supporting and equal relationships between the two, while on the second

image, it stood above the crowd, signifying the special status of the deceased (fig. 69). From the one hand, such composition was not different from the special position of the coffin during red funerals, that supposed to emphasize the higher status of the dead revolutionary hero and his alive associates.<sup>168</sup> On the other hand, urn-bereaved visual relationships opened up new emotional effects: a greater sense of intimacy and connection between the two, impossible in the case of the coffin.

This new level of intimacy and connection between the bereaved and the deceased revealed new identification of the ritual participants. And this identity contained both Christian and Soviet elements. Firstly, urn symbolism allowed viewers to see the bereaved – people who hold an urn – as the Virgin Mary, while the urn with ashes as Jesus. Secondly, in this relationship bereaved could serve as an icon bearer, where the urn resembled the divine image. To see how the reference to the Virgin Mary iconography was realized through the new ritual, it is necessary to look at the visuals of Mallori's article “Fiery burials.” The image of a woman with an urn, who looked carefully at the object in her hands, resembled an iconographic representation of the Mother of God and Christ (fig. 70, 71). Through such representation, the dead person received a revolutionary and heroic identity of a martyr through the symbolism of Christ. However, the resemblance between Christ and the deceased was not the major point of the iconographic exchange. In Orthodox iconography, the icons of Lovingkindness, depicting sensual relationships between Mary and Christ, symbolize the transformation of “motherly tenderness into all-embracing love and grief or the whole of creation.”<sup>169</sup> As Anna Pisch claims, Bolsheviks were aware of this symbolism, using a red banner, referring to Mary's “protection and caring about the whole humanity.”<sup>170</sup> The scene

<sup>168</sup> For more information on such position of coffin during red funerals see Sokolova, “‘Nel’zia, nel’zia novykh liudei khoronit’ po-staromu!’ evoliutsiia pokhoronnogo obriada v sovetskoi Rossii,” 1–24.

<sup>169</sup> Vladimir Lossky and Leonid Ouspensky, *The Meaning of Icons* (Crestwood: St Vladimirs Seminary, 1999), 93.

<sup>170</sup> Anita Pisch, *The Personality Cult of Stalin in Soviet Posters, 1929–1953: Archetypes, Inventions and Fabrications* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2016), 153.

of the urn holding also invoked this divine compassion charge. It turned the bereaved into the Virgin Mary with her divine grief and emotion for the whole of humanity. Such strong emotional connotations allowed viewers to channel their grief by embracing the familiar image of Mary. Thus, the new human-urn relations, opened up by cremation, contributed to satisfying human needs and supporting the 'tale of October' from another side: not much of the red funeral's martyrdom but divine safety and support from the living.

Another interpretation of caring urn is connected with caring for religious icons during the Orthodox funeral procession. Major party newspaper *Pravda* published a photograph of Joseph Stalin, Viacheslav Molotov, and Kliment Voroshilov gently carrying three urns with ashes to their destination in the Kremlin wall (fig. 23). This scene was footage from the funerals of three pilots of the Osoavikhim-1 (OAKH-1), the hydrogen-filled high-altitude balloon, crashed in January 1930. During the Orthodox religious ritual, the icon-bearer, in front of the crowd, symbolized the idea of divine truth inaccessible to the people behind him.<sup>171</sup> In the case of Stalin, he received the authority of an icon-bearer and his super knowledge. Hence, this resemblance of cremation iconography with religious symbolism affirms the privileged status of the bereaved, which they directly took from religion.

Paradoxically, urn symbolism, assigning a divine identity to the bereaved, embraced Communist warrior identification to the deceased. In 1927 *Ogonek's* section "Window into the world" showed a "memorial to the first USSR cremation" – an urn with red army symbols, such as a red star in the middle and lid in the form of a hat, called *budenovka* (fig. 73). Presence of the soldier's attributes emphasized the heroic and revolutionary identity of the deceased - red army soldier. Later, the same image of the urn received a more ambiguous name and hence identification - "Soviet urn" (fig. 79). At the same time, on the visual level message of the deceased as a Communist Civil War soldier stayed. The depiction claimed:

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<sup>171</sup> Trice, "The 'Body Politic': Russian Funerals and the Politics of Representation, 1984 – 1921," 31.

the cremated person was the most Communist among everyone else. Firstly, the image allowed viewers to identify the urn with the human. In the layout of the *Ogonek* page photograph was a portrait among other human portraits (fig. 74). The shape of the urn reminded the head with a neck, especially visible in contrast to other heads on the same page. Hence, viewers received a message: after death, you would become a Communist warrior favorably different from everyone else. Thus, while deprived of an explicit and clear ritual ending, the bereaved and deceased received new identities.

### IN SEARCH FOR THE ROOTS

Print propaganda did not only appeal to the present state of cremation in different countries. It also provided a chronological outline of the funeral culture development. The particular examples of such anthropological discourse were two brochures. One was written by the medical doctor I. Stoklitskii in 1928, the second one belonged to Rostovtsev, a League of Militant Atheists member.<sup>172</sup> Despite the professional and institutional differences in the background of the publications, both authors described different stages of human funeral rituals, where the final was Soviet cremation. The story all the time went the same way and through the prism of Marxist theory and its materialism. Each author looked at the different world cultures of the present and the past, connecting their death rituals with the economic and technological stage of development and available natural resources.<sup>173</sup> For instance, Rostovtsev argued that the “development of technology, increase in labor productivity and transition to a higher economic stage” led to the appearance of a surplus and free time, which in their turn, induced complications of the ritual procedure and appearance of the masters of the ceremony, such as priests.<sup>174</sup> Importantly, Rostovtsev claimed that “the technical methods of removing a corpse were the more directly dependent on natural conditions, the lower was

<sup>172</sup> Stoklitskii, *Krematsiia za granitsej i u nas*; A. Rostovtsev, *Za ideiu krematsii* (Moscow: OGIZ - Moskovskii rabochii, 1931).

<sup>173</sup> Stoklitskii, *Krematsiia za granitsej i u nas*, 8–22; Rostovtsev, *Za ideiu krematsii*.

<sup>174</sup> Rostovtsev, *Za ideiu krematsii*, 4.

the technical level of people.”<sup>175</sup> Thus, the presence of cremation within the past societies Rostovtsev explained through the abundance of “flammable materials.”<sup>176</sup> Soviet case, then, became different due to the new stage of economic development the newly built society achieved. It was purely connected with the high achievement of technologies.

The textual narrative showed that Rostovtsev and Stoklitskii wanted to inscribe current cremation rituals in the chain of progressive events. They claimed that Soviet cremation was evidence of a developed social state, so it could not be changed as a product of the advanced material conditions. Such placing cremation within the bigger historical narrative naturalized new ritual presence as inevitable. How did this narrative interact with the visual materials? How did the visuals represent past funeral rituals in juxtaposition to the new cremation ritual? One common element was visible in the depiction of the past funeral rituals: lack of institutional background. All images placed ritualistic actions within the open-air setting: preparation for the burning among Siberians in the forest or abandoned skeleton lying under the sun in Mongolia (fig. 75, 1). Performance of the ritual outside was stressed through the interplay of shadows, which showed the presence of the sun (fig. 76). Such depictions highlighted that certain forms of ritual did not have special buildings and institutions behind them (fig. 75, 76, 77, 1). It was contrasted to cremation, which was time depicted inside, stressing the presence of the high economic and technological stage of Soviet society, which could institutionally control the cremation process.

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<sup>175</sup> Rostovtsev, 7.

<sup>176</sup> Rostovtsev, 10.

## CONCLUSION

Thus, this thesis introduces a complicated system of signs, elements, and patterns that visually created a new fiery burial ritual. According to Soviet official print culture, the cremation ritual happened simultaneously within the Moscow crematorium: a modernist building that did not afraid of its technological part, and a traditional fortress, protecting the dead from the enemies inside and outside. Moreover, this space was highly populated by machines as masters of the ceremony, affirming their productive agency, Soviet engineers as rituals specialists, who designed funeral rituals and through this affirmed its extraordinary power over death, Soviet workers, having access to the sacred Communist knowledge, Soviet bereaved, who practiced Christian love and hold the divine wisdom, and the deceased, whose choice of cremation made him red army warrior. Through interactions between all these elements, illustrated press coverage of cremation reflected and shaped the image of cremation as a complicated atheist ritual, which remained ambiguous. It was complicated but did not have a beginning and end. It simultaneously translated values of scientific realism, revolutionary aspirations, Christian sacredness, and kindness. It progressively rejected forms of the past and was highly dependent on the old aesthetic categories. It tended to fight religion but, at the same time, was crucially dependent on its past forms and firm reliance on them. Taking this into account, this study tried to go beyond mere discussion of cremation but attempted to become an investigation of one of the Soviet regime mechanisms to introduce atheistic ritual: with its space, behavioral models, and participants. It also reflected the 1920s utopian, experimental attempts at death management, rival between the modernism and traditionalism, affirmation of cosmopolitanism, and parallel presence of militarization. Finally, it studied how the Soviet regime imagined itself and its content and how the Soviet official press participated in this representation as an actor without being a mere copy of the party and government messages.



## APPENDICIES

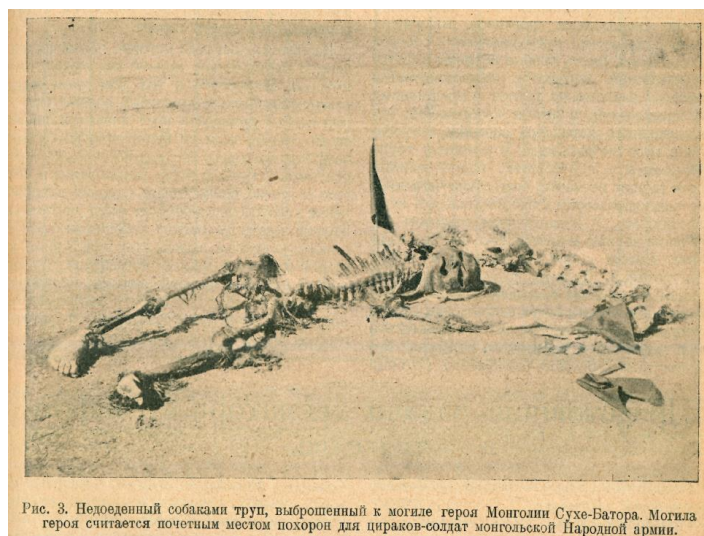


Figure 1

“Corpse not fully eaten by dogs, thrown away on the grave of Mongolian hero Sukhe-Batora,” 1927.

Photograph for the article “K otrutiui moskovskogo krematoriia,”  
*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 11-12 (June 1927), page 5.

Source: The Russian State Library



Figure 2

“Columbarium in St. Gallen (Switzerland). Inner view,” 1927.

Photograph for the article “K otrutiui moskovskogo krematoriia,”  
*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 11-12 (June 1927), page 5.

Source: The Russian State Library

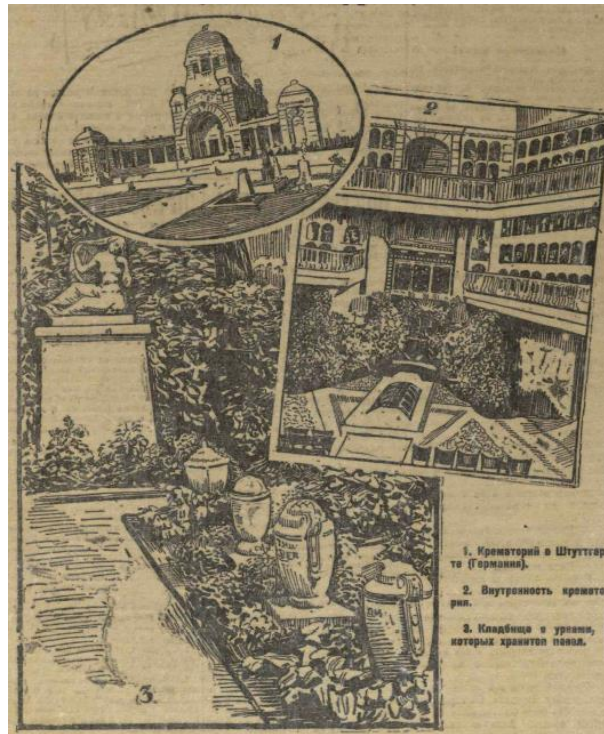


Figure 3

“1. Stuttgart Crematorium. 2. Interior of the crematorium.  
3. Cemetery with urns, in which ashes are stored.” 1924.

Collage for the article “Chto takoe krematsiia,”

*Gudok*, no. 1094 (January 192), page 3.

Source: East View. Access provided through the Russian State Library

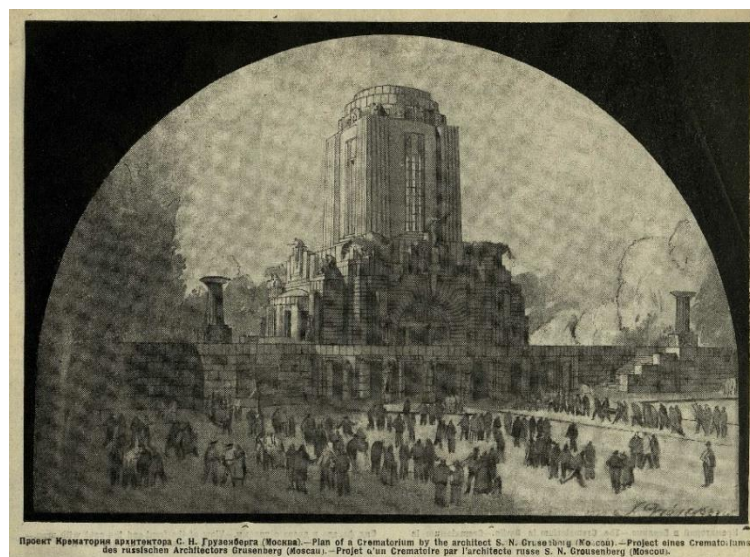


Figure 4

“Project of a Crematorium by the architect S. N. Gruzberg,” 1924.

Drawing for the article “Krematsiia. – Cremation,”



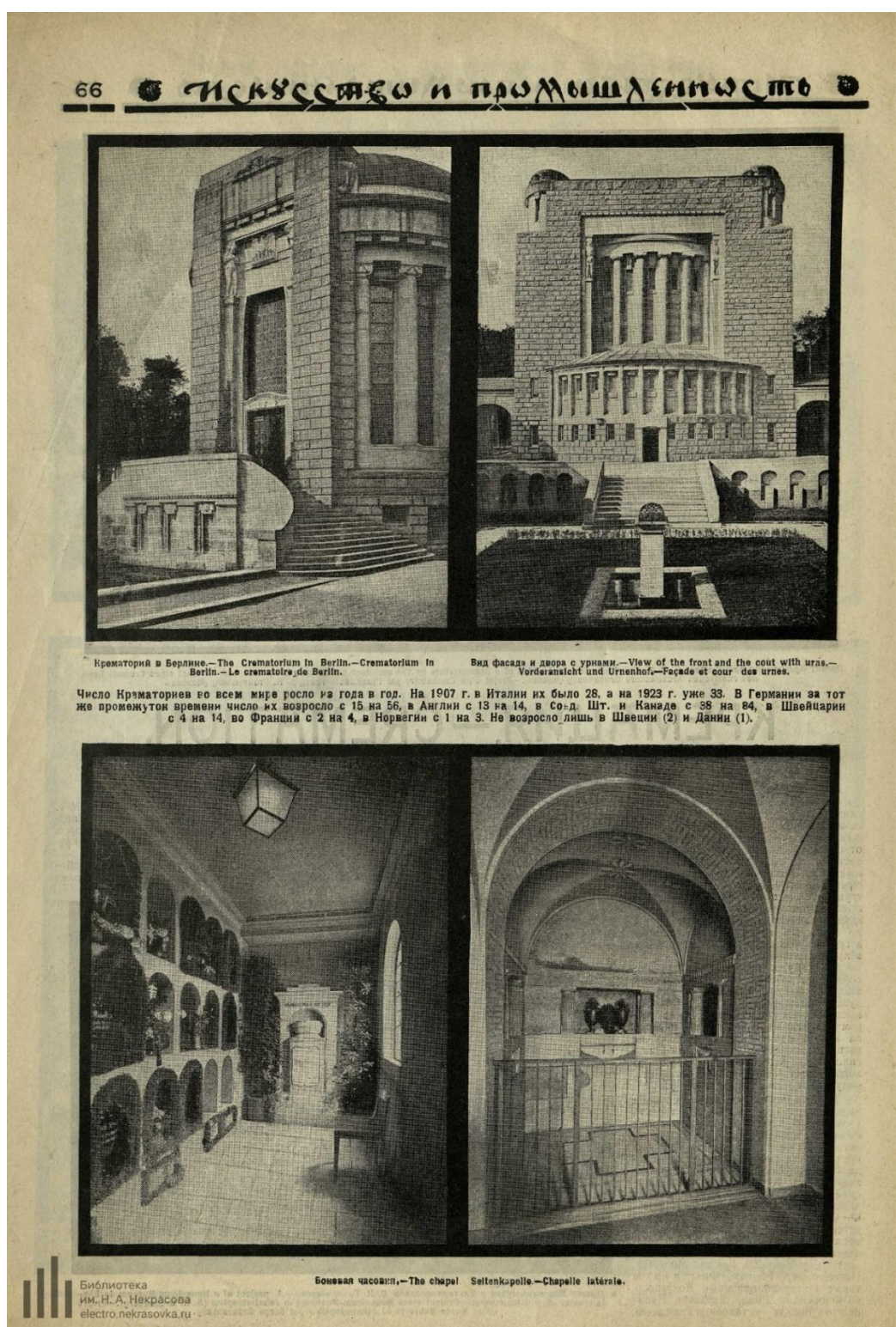


Figure 5

Spread of the second page of the article “Krematsia. – Cremation,”





Figure 6

Spread of the third page of the article “Krematsia. — Cremation,”

Iskusstvo i promyshlennost, no. 1 (January 1924), page 67.

Source: N. A. Nekrasov Library.



гребение за его опрятность, эстетичность и скорость.

Значительная группа лиц признает кремацию за ряд ее преимуществ материального характера. Помимо понятной каждому громадной экономии в земле, получаемой при

случаях безопасности, чего, добавим в разъяснение, не может быть сказано о кладбищах.

Несомненно, за крематорием имеется еще большое преимущество и в момент прощания с усопшим. Ни гражданские похороны, ни отпевание в церкви, ни дитя на могиле



Майрид (Германия). — Крематорий.

сожжении, эта группа отдает себе полный отчет в том, что во всей своей совокупности огненное погребение обходится дешевле нынешнего земельного погребения, при котором у нас в обычае дорогостоящие гробы, дорогие похоронные процессии, большая по объему могила, дорогой уход за ней и т. д. Затем учитывается невозможность транспортирования с собой останков в случаях

не могут конкурировать с отпеванием в крематории, безразлично будет ли оно происходить в виде гражданских похорон или по ритуалу той или иной религии. Теперешнее прощание хорошо всем известно и описывать его незачем. Не бывавшим же в крематории этот момент неизвестен, поэтому позволим себе описать его, дабы читатель имел о нем понятие.



Лейпциг. — Крематорий с внутренней стороней.

переезда из города в город и необходимость оставления на произвол судьбы дорогой могилы.

Гигиенические же преимущества кремации признаются всеми и знаменитый ученый Вирхов выразился о ней: «кремация при всех

Представьте себе строгую, но приятную для глаза залу, уставленную скамьями со спинками или стульями для родных и знакомых, и с убранным цветами катафалком в задней обычно куполообразной ее части и с кафедрой для оратора или духовного

Figure 7

Spread of the second page of the article "K postroike v Moskve pervogo v SSSR krematoriia,"

*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 23 (December 1925), page 26.

Source: The Russian State Library.

ство, попавшее в 1000° температуру, моментально найдет здесь смерть, не успев, как говорится, глазом моргнуть или разводить руками и ногами!

Наоборот, именно создание этой молниеносной смерти и служит моментом большого

большими, неосуществимыми задачами в роде введения обязательной кремации.

Кремация должна быть добровольной и необязательной. Приверженцы и сторонники же ее должны содействовать к постоянному увеличению числа приверженцев путем про-



Штутгарт (Германия). — Крематорий.

успокоения для лиц, боящихся быть заживо погребенными и представляющих себе мучительнейшую картину переживаний при подобных обстоятельствах в земле.

Впрочем, если бы существовали при могилах подобные «глазки», то мечтающих и

паганды этой идеи. Следующая глава и посвящается этому важнейшему вопросу.

#### Пропаганда идеи кремации.

Рассматривая самые разнообразные предприятия Коммунального Хозяйства, как-то:



Сан — Галлен (Швейцария). Крематорий.

убаюкивающих себя надеждой о «вечном покое» ждало бы сильнейшее разочарование и после этого они, наверно, стали бы яркими приверженцами кремации.

Итак, преимущества кремации перед другими формами погребения — неоспоримы, но их умеючи следует использовать в целях пропаганды и не нужно сразу задаваться

трамвай, водопровод, канализацию, освещение, газ, бани, телефон и т. д., нужно сказать, нет среди них ни одного, которое не только при своем возникновении, но и при дальнейшем развитии требовало бы постоянной агитации и пропаганды. В самом деле, приходило ли кому в голову заниматься пропагандой конной тяги (конки) при проклад-

Figure 8

Spread of the fifth page of the article “K postroike v Moskve pervogo v SSSR krematoriia,”

*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 23 (December 1925), page 29.

Source: The Russian State Library.



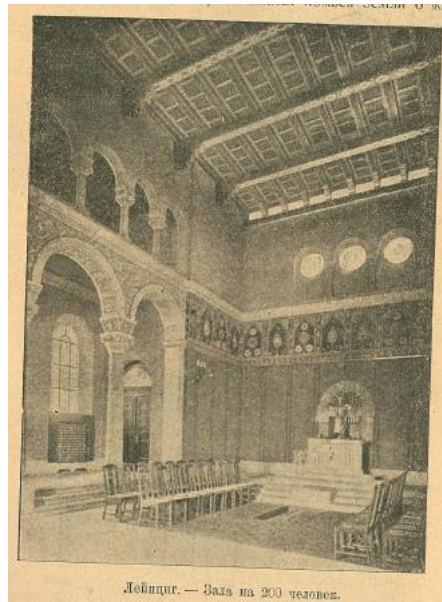


Figure 9

“Leipzig. – Hall for 200 people,” 1925.

Photograph for the article “K postroike v Moskve pervogo v SSSR krematoriia,”

*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 23 (December 1925), page 27.

Source: The Russian State Library.



Figure 10

“Leipzig. – Main hall for 600 people,” 1925.

Photograph for the article “K postroike v Moskve pervogo v SSSR krematoriia,”

*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 23 (December 1925), page 28.

Source: The Russian State Library.



Figure 11

“Leipzig. – Crematorium from the inner side,” 1925.

Photograph for the article “K postroike v Moskve pervogo v SSSR krematoriia,”

*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 23 (December 1925), page 26.

Source: The Russian State Library.



Figure 12

“Crematorium in German city Leipzig,” 1926.

Photograph for the article “Ognennoe pogrebenie,”

*Bezbozhnik*, no. 6 (March 1926), page 8.

Source: The Russian State Library.





Figure 13

“Crematorium in Leipzig (Germany),” 1931.

Photograph for the book *Ognennoe Pogrebenie*

(Saratov: Saratovskoe Obshchestvo Razvitiia i Raspostraneniia Idei Krematsii, 1930), page

15. Source: The Russian State Library.



Колумбарий в Сан-Галлене (Швейцария).

Figure 14

“Columbarium in St. Gallen (Switzerland),” 1925.

Photograph for the article “K postroike v Moskve pervogo v SSSR krematoriia,”

*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 23 (December 1925), page 32.

Source: The Russian State Library.

жание гаражей—5%. Общие расходы по эксплуатации—4,4%. Страхование машины—3,2%.

Таким образом, расходы на электрическую энергию, которые, по общераспространенному мнению, являются одной из главнейших причин дороговизны эксплуатации электроаккумуляторных машин, входят в рассмотренную калькуляцию весьма значительной величиной—6%. При расчете себестоимости принят во внимание тариф на электрическую энергию в размере 1,075 пенни (44,22 коп.) за киловатт-час.

Сравнивая рассмотренные данные себестоимости с соответствующими расходами по эксплуатации других видов городского транспорта Глазго, К. Маршалл определяет себестоимость одной экипаже-мили для грузового транспорта в среднем в 10,7 пенса (42,05 коп.) и для двухтонного автогрузовика нормального типа—15 пенсов (около 58,95 коп.). Таким образом, себестоимость одной экипаже-мили для электроаккумуляторной машины в 2 тонны (10,4 пенса) оказывается значительно ниже соответствующих цифр себестоимости для аналогичного по грузоподъемности автомобиля и даже на 0,3 пенса ниже себестоимости работы грузового транспорта.

В процессе дальнейших суждений съезда выяснилось, что выведенная Маршаллом средняя величина себестоимости эксплуатации электроаккумуляторных экипажей для г. Глазго почти совпадает с соответствующими цифрами себестоимости для целого ряда других городов Англии, в частности для Виллсесдена и Иальфорда. В последнем городе, по сообщению одного из других участников съезда, электроаккумуляторные машины применяются с большим успехом в качестве вспомогательного транспорта при перевозках различных топливных грузов для нужд муниципальных предприятий.

По мнению докладчика, поддержанному всем съездом, электроаккумуляторный транспорт не имеет себе в настоящее время равного по точности и надежности своей работы, в виду чего, является крайне желательным рассеять по возможности скорее то недоверие к работе и достоинствам электроаккумуляторных машин, которое до некоторой степени все еще наблюдается в хозяйственных кругах Англии.

Г. К.

## Обзор открытых и намеченных к постройке крематориев за 1926 г.

В декабрьском, 24-м номере нашего журнала за 1925 г. мы дали обзор об осуществленных и проектируемых за границей крематориях за 1925 год. Делаем это и в настоящем номере, чтобы подвести итоги успехам кремационного вопроса за 1926 г. Приводимые здесь реальные достижения послужат, надеемся, достаточно убедительным аргументом для представителей наших коммунальных хозяйств в том, что кремация все больше и больше завоевывает симпатии широких масс населения.



Рис. 1. Крематорий в Бранденбурге (Германия).

Приводим в первую очередь те города, в которых начали функционировать в 1926 г. новые крематории, а затем перечислим города, в коих принципиально решен вопрос о постройке крематориев.

### Открытые в 1926 году крематории.

Гор. Апольда (Германия)—21.200 жит. На отпущенные 45.000 марок городское управление построило крематорий на территории кладбища.

Гор. Бранденбург н/М. (Германия)—53.000 жит. К ассигнованным двумя кремационными обществами 80.000 марок городское управление отпустило недостающую сумму и в октябре крематорий был открыт.



Рис. 2. Крематорий в Бреславле (Германия).

Гор. Бреславль (Германия)—528.300 жителей. 13 апреля состоялось открытие крематория, на постройку которого городское управление отпустило 170.000 марок.

Figure 15

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“Obzor otkrytykh i namechennykh k postroike krematoriiev za 1926 g.,”

*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 1—2 (January 1927), page 92.

Source: The Russian State Library.



Гор. Вильгельмсхафен (Германия)—29.000 жителей. За отсутствием больших сумм решено было воспользоваться кладбищенской часовней и существующими там строениями и пристроить к ним «кремационное отделение». Все строительные ра-



Рис. 3. Крематорий в Гельсингфорсе (Финляндия).

боты, кремационная печь, все оборудования при неблагоприятных почвенных условиях, потребовавших особо для дренажа и предохранительных мероприятий расхода в 6.000 марок, обошлись всего в 46.060 марок.

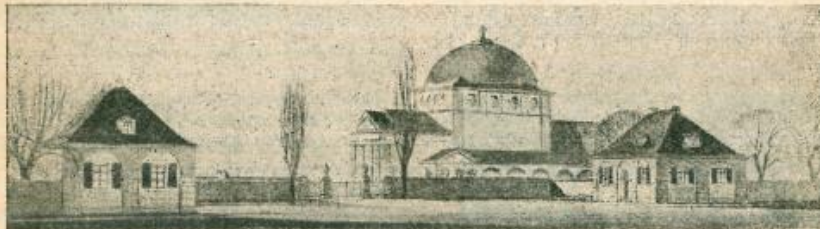


Рис. 4. Крематорий в Хёхст н/М (Германия).

Гор. Лигниц (Германия)—70.400 жит. Предоставленная кремационным обществом сумма в 30.000 марок дала возможность обзавестись крематорием путем пристройки «кремационного отделения» к существующей кладбищенской церкви. 8 июля состоялось открытие крематория.

Гор. Гиссен (Германия)—33.400 жит. Здесь также пришлось довольствоваться пристройкой «кремационного отделения» к кладбищенской церкви, благодаря чему ассигнованная городским управлением сумма в 50.000 марок оказалась достаточной. Крематорий уже начал функционировать.

Гор. Гельсингфорс (Финляндия). 24 марта состоялось открытие первого финляндского крематория, на каковой городом ассигнованы были 1.000.000 фин. марок.

Гор. Хёхст н/М. (Германия). 5 июня открыт крематорий.

#### Намеченные к постройке крематории.

Гор. Аальборг (Дания). Вопрос о постройке крематория решен в положительном смысле.

Гор. Альтенбург (Германия)—37.300 жит. Городским управлением отпущено 180.000 марок для постройки крематория.

Гор. Биттерфельд (Германия)—16.500 жит. Городская коллегия поручила разработать вопрос и план постройки крематория.

Гор. Билефельд (Германия)—79.000 жит. Местное кремационное общество «свободомыслящих» настаивает перед городским управлением о необходимости постройки крематория и надеется на успех своего ходатайства.

Гор. Бремерхафен (Германия)—21.800 жит. Внесенное социалистом Шмальцфельдом в городское управление предложение о постройке совместно с городом Везермюнде крематория принципиально принято в утвердительном смысле.

Гор. Бухарест (Румыния). Начаты работы по постройке первого румынского крематория (см. журнал «Комму. Хоз.», № 20 от 25 октября 1925 г.) продолжаются.

Гор. Боденбах (Германия). Большинство голосов в гор. думе, против голосовавших католиков, принципиально решен вопрос о постройке крематория.

Гор. Берлин—Трептов (рабочий район)—30.700 жит. Магистрат предоставил, наконец, этому району необходимые для расширения существующего крематория средства (см. «Большие города Западной Европы», изд. МКХ, стр. 283—286).

Гор. Батавия—на острове Ява (Голландская Индия). Городской голова изложил свое принципиальное согласие на постройку крематория. В виду растянутости острова в длину, рассматривается вопрос о целесообразности постройки в другом, более центральном, чем гор. Батавия, месте.

Гор. Брюнн (Чехо-Словакия). Городское управление проектирует сооружение крематория.

Гор. Геттинген (Германия)—41.300 жит. Отсутствие свободных средств стояло на пути к осуществлению принципиально решенного вопроса о постройке крематория. Местный ферейн надеется теперь на успех после того, как им подана в магистрат петиция, покрытая 3.000 подписей.

Гор. Грац (Австрия). Местный ферейн открыл сбор денег для постройки крематория.

Figure 16

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“Obzor otkrytykh i namechennykh k postroike krematoriiev za 1926 g.”

*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 1—2 (January 1927), page 93.

Source: The Russian State Library.



Figure 17

“Crematorium in Helsingborg (Sweden),” 1927.

Photograph for the article “Obzor otkrytykh i namechennykh  
k postroike krematoriiev za 1926 g.,”

*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 1–2 (January 1927), page 94.

Source: The Russian State Library.

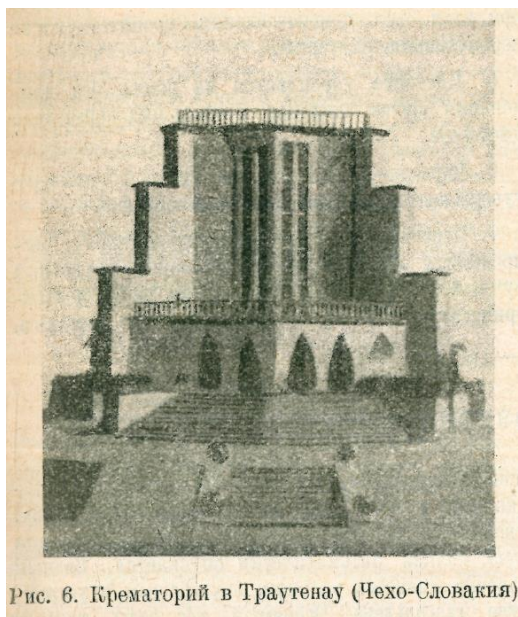


Figure 18

“Crematorium in Trautenau (Czechoslovakia),” 1927.

Photograph for the article

“Obzor otkrytykh i namechennykh k postroike krematoriiev za 1926 g.,”

*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 1–2 (January 1927), page 94.

Source: The Russian State Library.



## Сжигание людских трупов.

(Кремация).

Сжигание трупов людей (кремация) завоевывает себе все больше и больше сторонников.

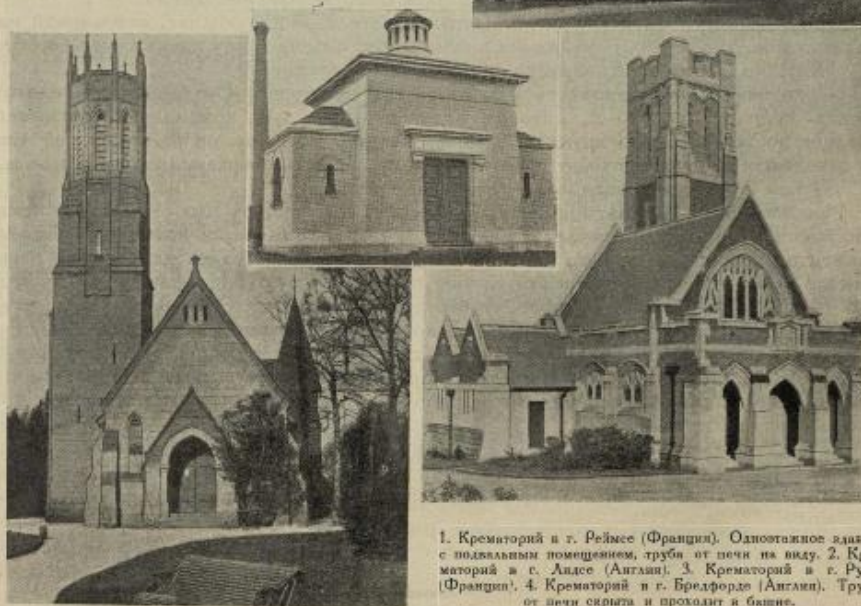
Крематории обычно занимают очень небольшое пространство и строятся или одноэтажными, — тогда посредине стоит катафалк для прощания с умершим, а по бокам печи, или двухэтажными, тогда в одном этаже происходит прощание с умершим, а в другом сжигание трупа.

Берлинский крематорий занимает небольшое двухэтажное здание с подвальным помещением.

На втором этаже происходит прощание с покойником. В первом этаже находятся печи для сжигания трупов с температурой в 1100°, комната для врачей, для вскрытия трупов и место для приема и хранения трупов, а в подвальном помещении находятся нижние части печей, организована выемка пепла после сгорания трупа, мастерская по укупорке пепла в металлические банки и там-же хранится кокс для печей.

Привезенный в Берлинский крематорий труп поступает в первый этаж, откуда он для прощания автоматически подымается на катафалке на верх; после про-

Приводим несколько снимков с крематорий.



1. Крематорий в г. Реймсе (Франция). Одноэтажное здание с подвальным помещением, труба от печи на виду. 2. Крематорий в г. Лидсе (Англия). 3. Крематорий в г. Руан (Франция). 4. Крематорий в г. Бридфорде (Англия). Труба от печи скрыта и проходит в башню.

Figure 19

Spread of the first page with photographs of crematoria of the article

“Szhiganie liudskikh trupov,”

*Stroitel'stvo Moskvy*, no. 2 (February 1925), page 13.

Source: The Russian State Library.



Figure 20

“Crematorium in Brūx (Czechoslovakia),” 1927.

Photograph for the article “Arkhitektura krematoriia,”  
*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 11–12 (June 1927), page 19.

Source: The Russian State Library



Figure 21

“Crematorium in Copenhagen (Denmark),” 1927.

Photograph for the article “Arkhitektura krematoriia,”  
*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 11–12 (June 1927), page 19.

Source: The Russian State Library



Figure 22

“Crematorium in Nymburk (Czechoslovakia),” 1927.

Photograph for the article “Arkhitectura krematoriia,”  
*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 11–12 (June 1927), page 20.

Source: The Russian State Library



Figure 23

“The newest crematorium in Freiburg,” 1927.

Photograph for the article “Arkhitectura krematoriia,”  
*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 11–12 (June 1927), page 20.

Source: The Russian State Library





Figure 24

S. Fridliand, "First Soviet crematorium. The side facade of the building," 1927.

Photograph for the article "Ogon' I zemlia,"

*Ogonek*, no. 4 (January 1927), page 12.

Source: The Russian State Library



## Московский крематорий и его значение.

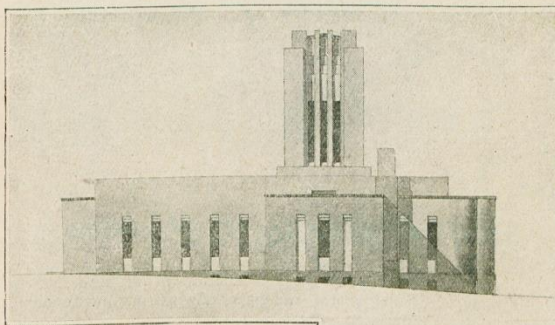
В истории развития человечества имелись самые разнообразные способы захоронения покойников.

Так, например, наши предки следовали обычаю спускать труп в лодке по течению реки, некоторые сибирские инородцы практиковали выставлять труп в поле для того, чтобы его поели звери.

Многие народы умерших сжигали на кострах, но самый распространенный способ, широко

в 61 десят. закрыты для погребения и постепенно приспособляются под сады, скверы и парки. Оставшиеся кладбища являются все переполненными в среднем не менее чем на 95%. Поэтому перед нами стоит в данное время весьма серьезная задача заключающаяся в организации новых кладбищ, с отводом под них соответствующих земельных площадей, или применение таких методов захоронения, при которых имелась бы возможность избежать занятия больших земельных участков под кладбища.

Таким способом захоронения, не требующим земельных площадей, является кремация или сжигание трупов. Кремация сильно распространена за границей, в особенности в Америке и Германии. Так, например, в Америке

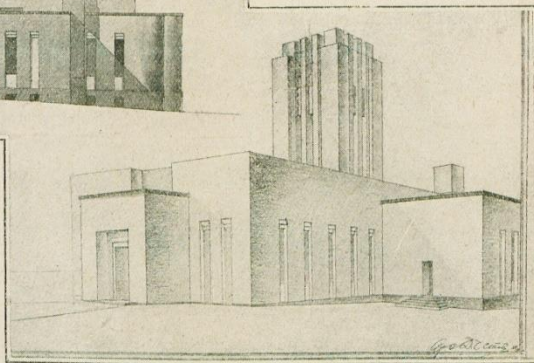


Первая премия — архитектор Осипов. Проект и перспективный вид крематория. По этому проекту приступлено к сооружению здания.

практикуемый и теперь, это — захоронение умершего в землю. Этот способ захоронения, получивший свое широкое применение, есть самый простой и общедоступный. Во всех странах заняты под кладбища колоссальнейшие земельные площади, которые могли бы быть использованы с большой выгодой для другого назначения. Кроме того, эти кладбища в значительной степени существуют в центральных частях города, представляют большие неудобства и мешают развитию городского строительства. Многие из них, как, например, в Москве, насчитывают за собой несколько сот лет и по своему состоянию не могут быть использованы в дальнейшем под захоронение, вследствие своего переполнения.

Все московские кладбища вначале организовались на свободной земельной площади вне городской черты, но вследствие развития города указанные кладбища оказались в самом городе и в настоящее время представляют собою весьма неприятное соседство для окружающего населения.

В Москве имеются 32 кладбища с общей площадью 300 десятин, из коих 10 кладбищ



имеется 87 крематориев, в Германии — 60. Кроме этих стран существуют крематории еще более чем в двадцати странах: Англии, Италии, Швейцарии, Франции и др.

Преимущество этого способа захоронения перед всеми другими заключается, во-первых, в том, что при сжигании не требуется большой земельной площади для захоронения праха, а в крайнем случае даже можно обойтись и без кладбища, устроив для этой цели небольшое специальное здание — колумбарий, в стенах которого будет производиться замуровка праха, а во-вторых, что здание крематория, в котором будет происходить процесс сжигания, можно строить для удобства населения и в самом городе, в пределах городской черты. Но самое главное, что заставляет нас перейти к сжиганию покойника, — это цель, связанная с достижением более лучших санитарных усло-



Библиотека  
им. Н. А. Некрасова  
electro.nekrasova.ru

Figure 25

Spread of the first page of the article “Moskovskii krematorii i ego znachenie,”

*Stroitelstvo Moskvy*, no. 5 (May 1926), page 5.

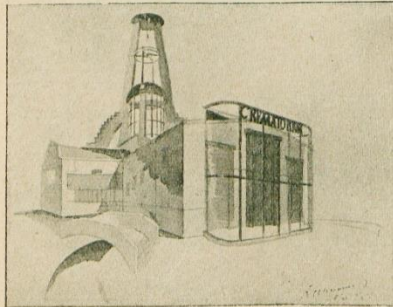
Source: N. A. Nekrasov Library.



вий при захоронениях. Как известно, разложение или тление трупа в земле при нормальных условиях продолжается от 7—10 лет, а в сырой почве этот процесс может длиться и до 30-ти лет. В период разложения трупа в могиле скапливается большое количество дурно-пахнущих газов, которые проникают сквозь почву и заражают воздух.

Все вышеприведенные факты свидетельствуют о скорейшем введении у нас огненных похорон.

Вот почему необходимо теперь широко распространять идеи кремации. Если этот способ захоронения имеет значительные успехи в целом ряде буржуазных стран, где безусловно, на почве религиозных предрассудков, оказывает, в значительной степени, сопротивление этому делу духовенство, то в наших советских условиях кремация будет иметь более широкое применение, чем где-либо за границей. Но для этого нужно принять целый ряд мер разяснительного характера. Доказать прежде всего населению целесообразность и преимуще-

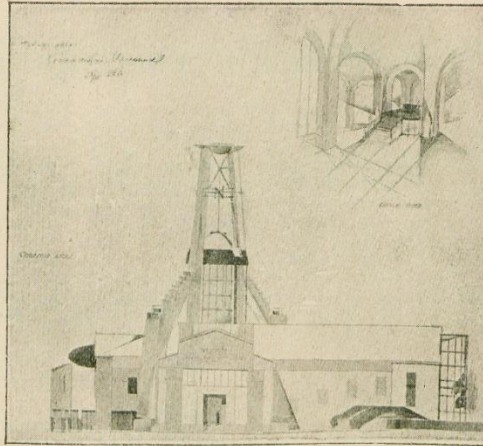


2-я премия — архитектор К. Мельников.

ство сжигания перед способом захоронения в землю, а это преимущество очевидно для каждого сознательного человека. При сжигании в крематории труп не подвергается этому длительному и весьма неприятному процессу разложения. Затем сожженный прах близкого человека можно даже не закапывать в землю или замуровывать в стену, а в хорошо закупоренном сосуде возможно держать в любом помещении или даже в квартире.

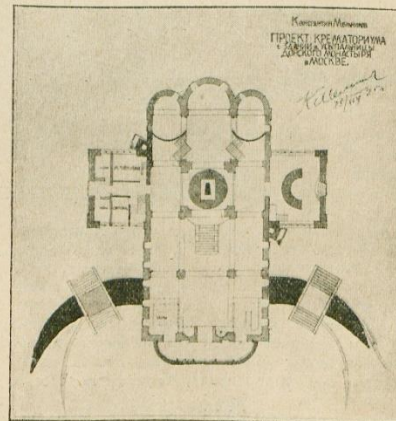
В настоящее время приступлено к постройке первого крематория в Москве на территории Донского монастыря.

Прежде чем приступить к постройке крематория, Московским Коммунальным Хозяйством был устроен специальный конкурс на составление проекта здания крематория. В конкурсе



2-я премия — архитектор К. Мельников.

участвовало несколько архитекторов, представивших свои проекты крематория. Советом Жюри были рассмотрены три проекта: архитекторов Дьяконова, Мельникова и Осипова, которые получили нижеследующие отзывы:



2-я премия — архитектор К. Мельников.

а) Проект архитектора Дьяконова:

„Автору не удалось дать постройке типа крематория; переработка дает характер, близкий к типу мавзолея, с удачно проработанными деталями и хорошими пропорциями

Figure 26

Spread of the second page of the article “Moscovskii krematorii i ego znachenie,”

*Stroitelstvo Moskvy*, no. 5 (May 1926), page 6.

Source: N. A. Nekrasov Library.

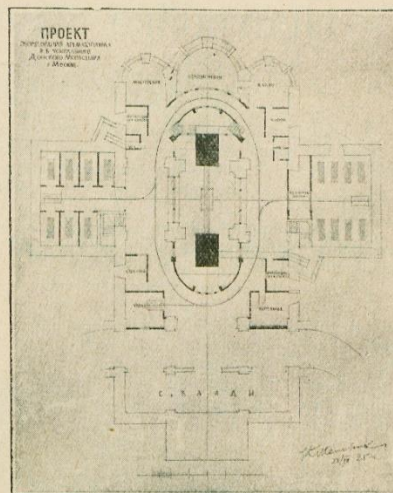


в общих схемах архитектурных масс; проект экономичен, встречает возражение покрытие части крематория с очень малым подъемом крыш, недопустимым в климатических условиях Москвы.

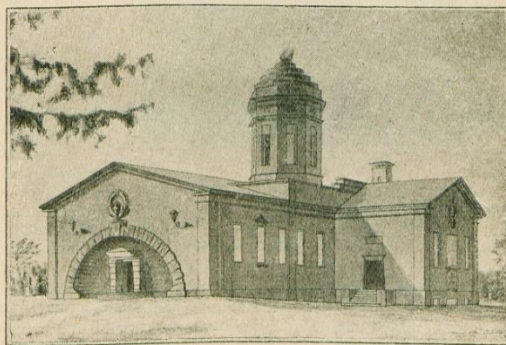
б) Проект архитектора Мельникова: „Автор дает много интересных мыслей по внутренней организации здания и придает оригинальную внешность сооружению, которая, однако, не отвечает представлению о крематории, напоминая более выставочный павильон. Исполнение связано с значительной перестройкой здания, отходящее от предположений Московского Коммунального Хозяйства, и осуществляется декоративными приемами (трубы, перекрытие абсид) и потребует значительного перерасхода против предложений других конкурентов. Возможность совершенно иной организации сжигательных оборудования Жюри передает по компетенции на окончательное суждение Крематорной Комиссии“.

в) Проект архитектора Осипова: „Основная идея—дать монументальность сооружению—автору удалось, но не удалось получить в должной степени масштабности: здание слишком мало по своим размерам при данной архитектурной обработке. Общий характер обработки близок к типу крематория; композиция проста и экономична. Неудачны покрытия—при парапетах по периметру всего здания“.

1-ая премия — проекту архит. Осипова.  
2-ая „ „ „ Мельникова.  
3-ья „ „ „ Дьяконова.



2-я премия — архитектор К. Мельников.



3-я премия — архитектор В. Дьяконов.

На основании указанных отзывов Совет Жюри, произведя сравнительную оценку проектов, постановил присудить следующие премии:

Впоследствии все эти проекты были представлены на окончательное утверждение в Президиум Московского Совета, который, внося некоторые поправки в проект архитектора Осипова, утвердил таковой.

Основное требование, предъявленное к проектам, заключалось в том, чтобы здание крематория с внешней и внутренней стороны не напоминало церковь, так как в задании составления проектов входило приспособление под крематорий старой недостроенной церкви. Эти требования и удалось выполнить архитектору Осипову.

В данное время работы по постройке крематория ведутся полным темпом. В нем будут поставлены две крематорные печи, в которых в течение суток можно сжечь до 20 трупов. Окончание постройки намечено к осени настоящего года. Надо надеяться, что новый способ погребения быстро привьется и широко будет применяться не только в Москве, но и в других городах нашего Советского Союза.

Ф. Лавров.



Figure 27

Spread of the first page of the article “Moscovskii krematorii i ego znachenie,”

*Stroitelstvo Moskvy*, no. 5 (May 1926), page 7.

Source: N. A. Nekrasov Library.



Figure 28

“First prize – architect Osipov,” 1926.

Photograph for the article “K istorii postroiki v Mosckve pervogo krematoria,”  
*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 15–16 (August 1926), page 36.

Source: The Russian State Library.



Figure 29

“Second prize – architect Mel'nikov,” 1926.

Photograph for the article “K istorii postroiki v Mosckve pervogo krematoria,”  
*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 15–16 (August 1926), page 37.

Source: The Russian State Library.





Figure 30

“Third prize – architect V. D’iakonov,” 1926.

Photograph for the article “K istorii postroiki v Mosckve pervogo krematoria,”  
*Kommunal’noe khoziaistvo*, no. 15–16 (August 1926), page 37.

Source: The Russian State Library.

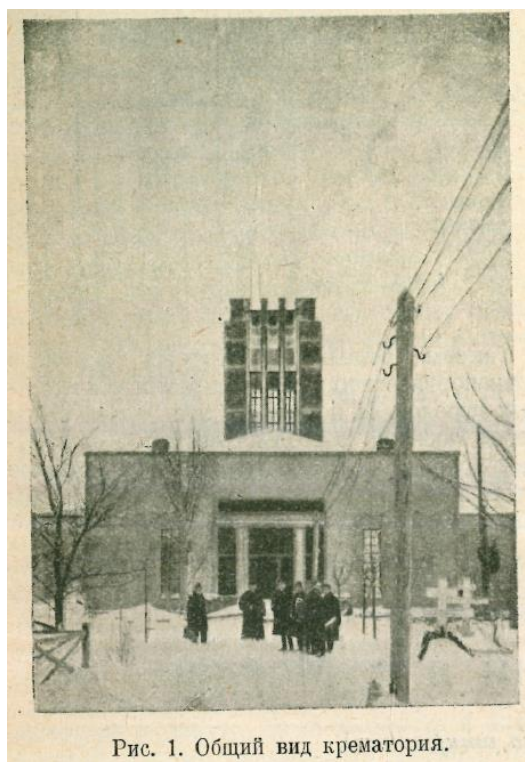


Figure 31

“General view of the crematorium,” 1927.

Photograph for the article “Pervyi krematorii v g. Moskve,”  
*Kommunal’noe khoziaistvo*, no. 1-2 (January 1927), page 20.

Source: The Russian State Library.



Рис. 1. Северный фасад московского крематория.

Figure 32

“North façade of Moscow crematorium,” 1927.

Photograph for the article “K otrutiui moskovskogo krematoriia,”

*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 11-12 (June 1927), page 3

Source: The Russian State Library.



Figure 33

“General view of the crematorium building,” 1927.

Photograph for the article “Ognennoe kladbishche,”

*Ogonek*, no. 36 (September 1927), page 14.

Source: East View. Access provided through the Russian State Library.

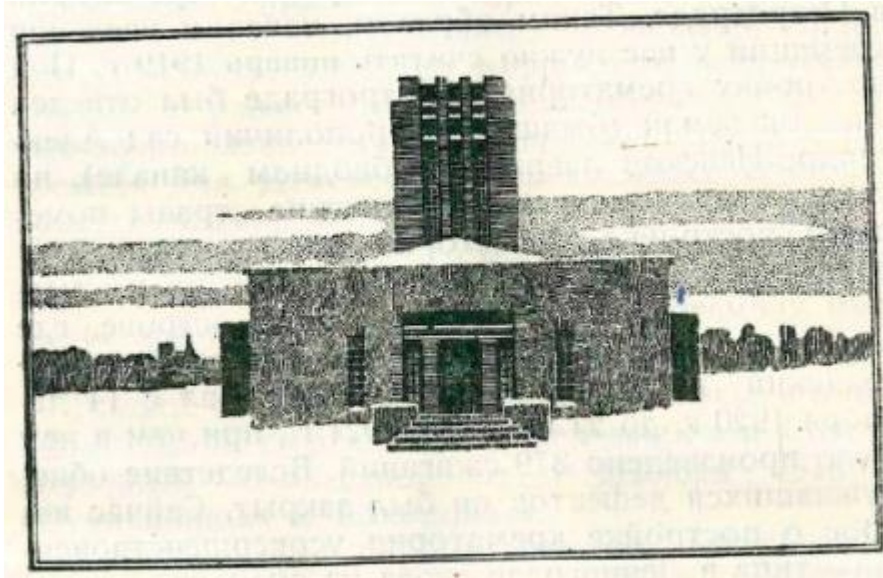


Figure 34

“General view of the first Moscow Crematorium,” 1928.

Drawing for the book *Krematsiia zagranitse i u nas*  
(Moscow: Moszdravotdel, 1928), page 70.

Source: The Russian State Library.



Рис. 1. Вид ритуального зала московского крематория.

Figure 35

“View of Moscow crematorium ritual hall,” 1927.

Photograph for the article “Pervyi moskovskii krematorii,”  
*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 23-24 (December 1927), page 25.

Source: The Russian State Library.



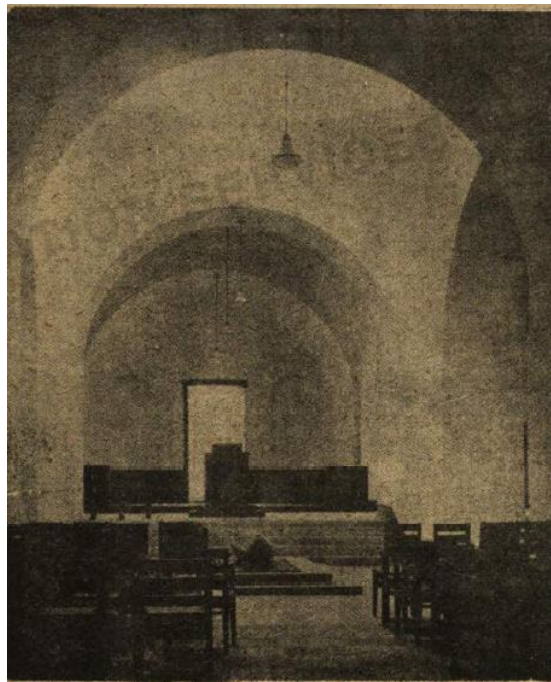


Figure 36

“Hall for people present during the burning,” 1927.

Photograph for the article “Ognennoe kladbishche,”

*Ogonek*, no. 36 (September 1927), page 14.

Source: East View. Access provided through the Russian State Library.

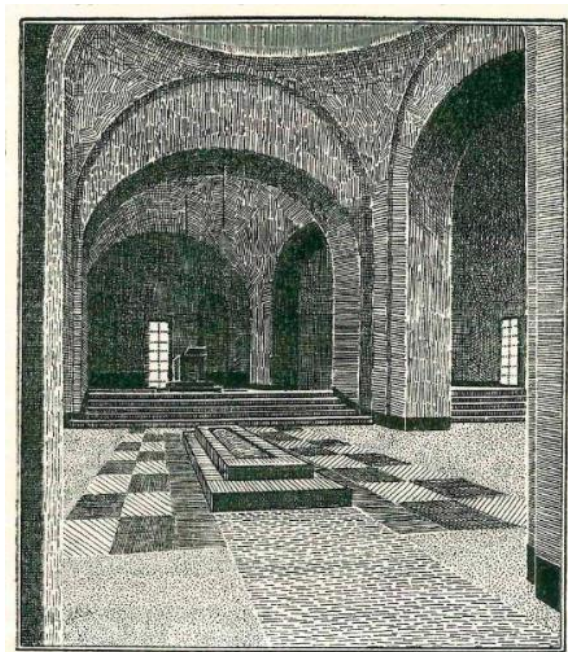


Figure 37

“Main hall of the first Moscow Crematorium,” 1928.

Drawing for the book *Krematsiia za granitsei i u nas*



(Moscow: Moszdravotdel, 1928), page 71.

Source: The Russian State Library.



Figure 38

S. Fridliand, "Pope's funeral service for the deceased," 1927.

Photograph for the article "Ognennye pokhorony,"

*Ogonek*, no. 50 (December 1927), page 18.

Source: East View. Access provided through the Russian State Library.

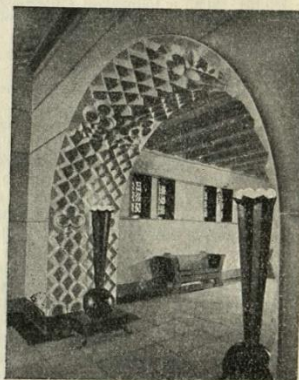
# ИСКУССТВО ЗА РУБЕЖОМ

## КРЕМАТОРИЙ В ГАННОВЕРЕ

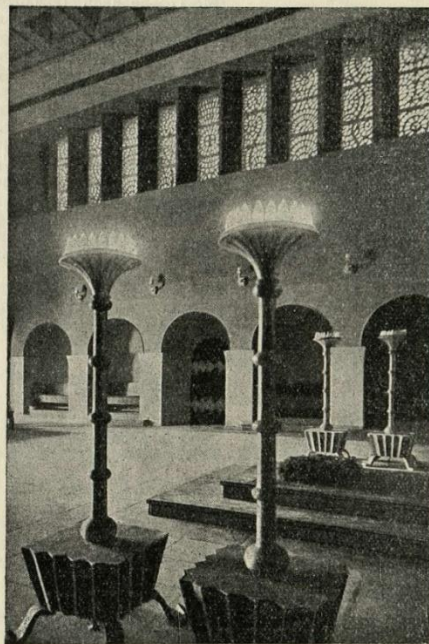


Малый зал  
крематория

Деталь  
внутреннего  
помещения



Идея кремации (сжигания покойников) получает на Западе все большее распространение, вытесняя в крупных городах обычай предания тела земле. В связи с этим развивается архитектура крематориев, как зданий совершенно специфического назначения. На прилагаемых снимках воспроизведен весьма типичный образец этой архитектуры на Западе, дающий яркое представление о сред-  
ствах и приемах



усиления эмоциональной выразительности обстановки кремации. Эта выразительность в архитектуре ганновского крематория построена на контрастном распределении света и тени во внутренних помещениях, чем достигается силуэтная четкость линий, поверхностей и отдельных частей пространства.

В основе такой задачи заметна концепция оформления крематория, как места отправления „культа“.

Большой зал крематория  
Арх. Конрад Витман

Figure 39

Spread of the page of the article “Krematorii v Ganovere,”

*Sovetskoe iskusstvo*, no. 10 (October 1926), page 54.

Source: N. A. Nekrasov Library.



Figure 40

“Construction of the crematorium from the  
cemetery church of former Donskoi Monastery,” 1926.

Photograph for the article “Ognennoe pogrebenie,”

*Bezbozhnik*, no. 6 (March 1926), page 9.

Source: The Russian State Library.



Figure 41

“Construction of the Moscow crematorium,” 1926.

Photograph for the article “Ognennoe pogrebenie,”

*Bezbozhnik*, no. 6 (March 1926), page 9.

Source: The Russian State Library.



Особенно быстро развивалась кремация в Германии. В таких странах, как Италия, Франция, Испания, где еще сильно влияние католичества, — попы всячески тормозили распространение огненного погребения. В старой России еще большее сопро-

Снаружи крематорий представляет одноэтажное здание, обычно красивой архитектуры. В первом этаже здания находится зал для прощания с

В результате сжигания получаются белые, чистые, хрупкие, легко измельчающиеся кости и пепел, без всякой посторонней человеческому телу примеси



Автомобиль для перевозки трупов.



Постройка крематория на кладбищенской церкви 6. Донского монастыря.

тивление оказал синод. „Священнослужители“ трезво учли, что из их кармана улетучится масса верующих за молебны и на девятый, двадцатый, сороковой и многие другие дни. Остался бы без работы огромный штат кладбищенского духовенства.

Только после Октября, при горячей поддержке В. И. Ленина, была проведена декрет о введении кремации в РСФСР. В 1925 г. Московский Совет приступил к оборудованию в кладбищенской церкви 6. Донского монастыря первого в СССР крематория. Окончание постройки ожидается в конце текущего года.

Помимо несомненных гигиенических преимуществ, которые принесет огненное погребение по сравнению с зарыванием в землю, кремация представляет значительные материальные выгоды. Огненное погребение обходится дешевле нынешнего земельного. Гроб при сжигании делается только из легких и дешевых пород дерева (сосна, ель, тополь); одежда и туфли изготовляются из легкой бумаги. В Германии установлен обычай увозить умершего в крематорий на специальном автомобиле, чем достигается огромная экономия времени и средств. В общей сложности кремация обходится в 20—30 руб. При большом количестве сжиганий эта цифра становится еще ниже.

Погребение близкого человека является одним из самых тяжелых моментов в жизни. При устройстве крематория учитывается и это. Все сделано так, чтобы чувство близких людей не оскорбилось.

мертвым. После прощания невысокий катафалк с гробом медленно опускается на специальный подиум в полуподвальный этаж.

В полуподвальном этаже находятся кремационные печи с камерой для сжигания; опущенный подиумом гроб устанавливается на специальную каретку и вводится в кремационную печь.

Подвальный этаж отведен для нижней части печи с растопкой и с местом для выемки пепла.

Нельзя обойти молчанием слухи, распускаемые противниками кремации, о том, что в крематориях сжигают живых. Поводом к этим слухам послужило то обстоятельство, что при наблюдении за сгоранием трупа в печи (через специальный „глазок“), видно как под действием сильного жара происходит сокращение застывших мышц, выражающееся в движении руками, ногами и головой.



Постройка московского крематория.

Самое сжигание в кремационной печи производится не огнем, а струей раскаленного воздуха, при температуре около 1000 градусов. Продолжительность сжигания в печах новой конструкции — 1—1½ часа. Пол печной камеры делается из колосников; через щели пола кости и пепел падают вниз, охлаждаются в специальном помещении и собираются в особую урну.

Неделимость таких слухов понятна каждому сознательному человеку. Ясно, что живое существо при температуре в тысячу градусов умрет моментально, не успев шевельнуться.

Впрочем, противникам кремации нет оснований беспокоиться, что их „заживо сожгут“. У нас в СССР, как и везде на Западе, огненное погребение будет безусловно добровольным.

Figure 42

Spread of the second page of the article “Ognennoe pogrebenie,”

Bezbozhnik, no. 6 (March 1926), page 9.

Source: The Russian State Library.



Figure 43

“Longitudinal section of a building,” 1927.

Drawing for the article “Pervyi krematorii v g. Moskve,”  
*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 1-2 (January 1927), page 21.

Source: The Russian State Library.

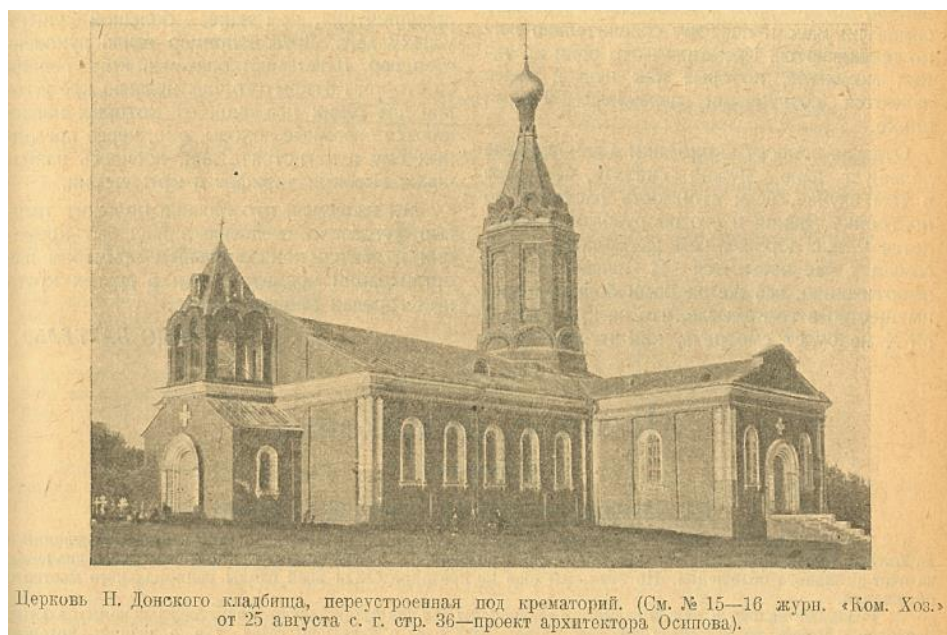


Figure 44

“Church of the New Donskoi Cemetery, converted into a crematorium,” 1926.



Photograph for the article “K predtoiashchemu otkrytiiu v Moskve pervogo krematoriia,”  
*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 19–20 (October 1926), page 39.

Source: The Russian State Library.



Figure 45

“Car for corpses’ transportation,” 1926.

Photograph for the article “Ognennoe pogrebenie,”

*Bezbozhnik*, no. 6 (March 1926), page 9.

Source: The Russian State Library.



Figure 46

“Civic funeral ceremony in Moscow crematorium,” 1927.

Photograph for the article “Pervyi moskovskii krematorii,”

*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 23–24 (December 1927), page 29.

Source: The Russian State Library.

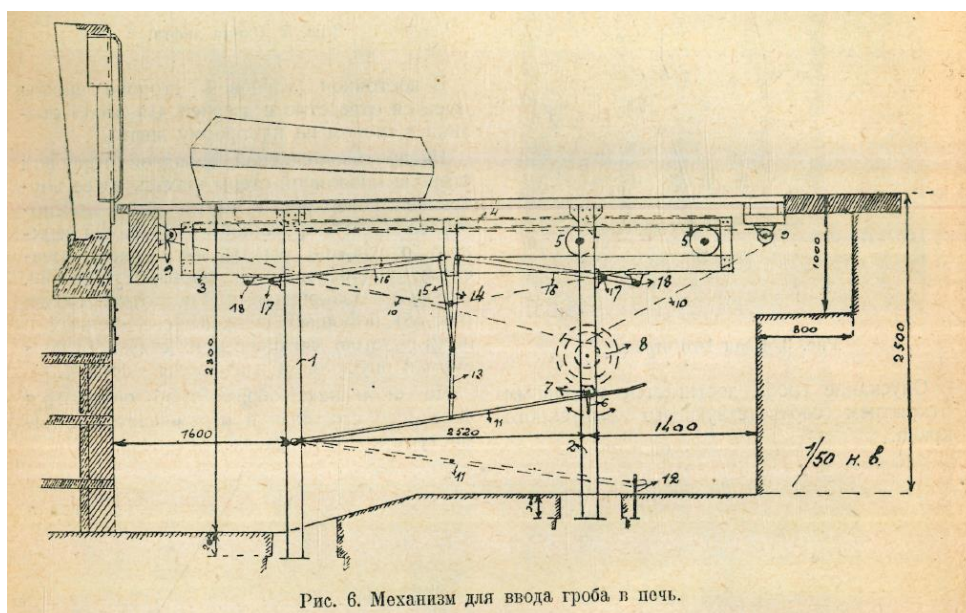


Figure 47

“Mechanism for putting coffin in the furnace,” 1927.

Drawing for the article “Pervyi krematorii v g. Moskve,”  
*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 1-2 (January 1927), page 22.

Source: The Russian State Library.

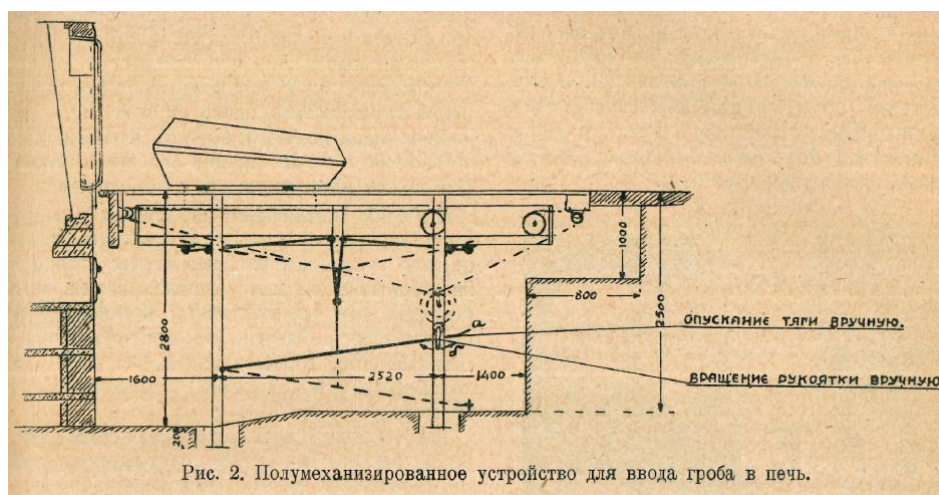


Figure 48

“Semi-mechanized device for putting coffin in the furnace,” 1927.

Drawing for the article “Predstoiashchie zadachi krematornogo stroitel'stva,”  
*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 11-12 (June 1927), page 9.

Source: The Russian State Library.



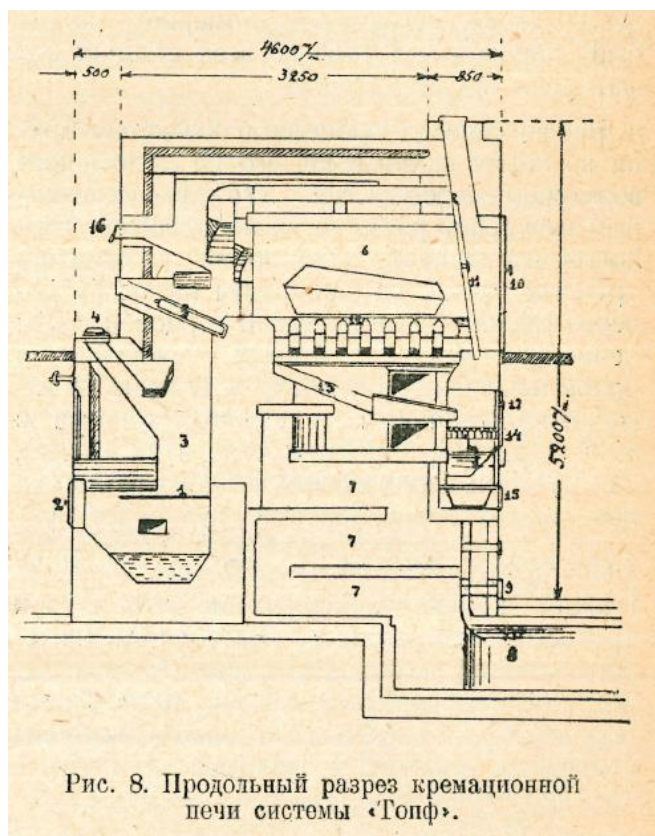


Рис. 8. Продольный разрез кремационной печи системы «Топф».

Figure 49

“Longitudinal section of the cremation furnace system “Topf,” 1927.

Drawing for the article “Pervyi krematorii v g. Moskve,”

*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 1-2 (January 1927), page 23

Source: The Russian State Library.

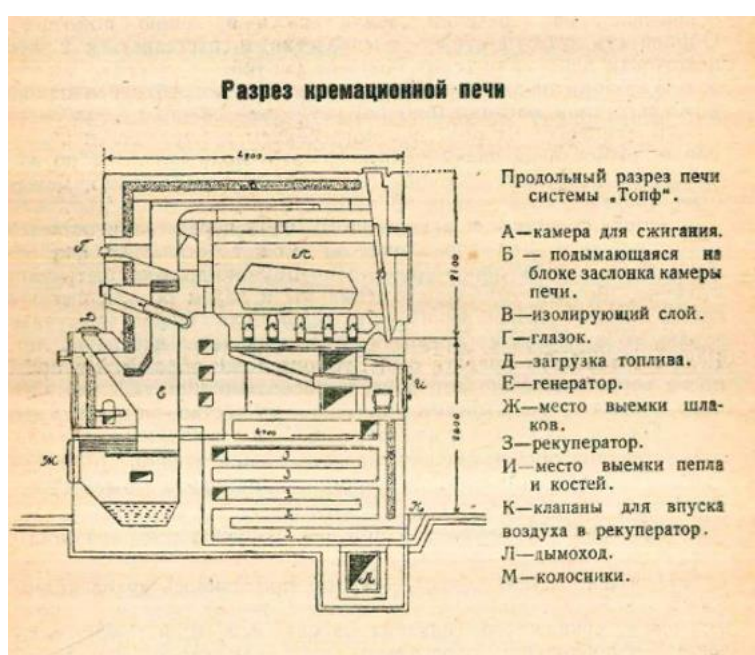




Figure 50

“Longitudinal section of the cremation furnace,” 1930.

Drawing for the brochure *Ognennoe pogrebenie*  
(Saratov: Izdanie Saratovskogo ORRIK, 1930), page 66.

Source: The Russian State Library.



Figure 55

“Coffin in front of the entrance to cremation stove,” 1924.

Photograph for the article “Szhiganie vmesto pogrebeniia,”  
*Ogonek*, no. 2 (January 1924), page 13.

Source: East View. Access provided through the Russian State Library.

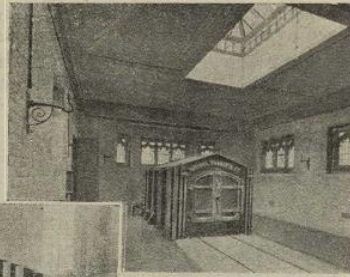
продвигаются специальной колесной установкой или установкой, находящейся в подвале, прямо в печь.

Рельсы в печи опускаются, оставляют там гроб и уходят обратно.

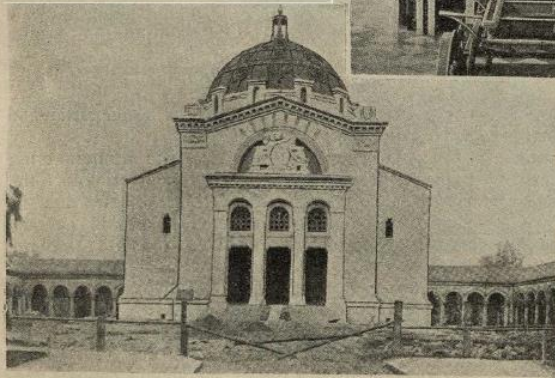
Гроб начинает гореть тотчас же, как только его край попадает в печь, он горит минут 10, труп же тлеет около 1 ч. 10 минут.

После сгорания трупа, пепел собирается в ковш, охлаждается в специальном ящике, убирается в жестяную урну, которая запаивается преимущественно, электрическим способом; затем пепел выдается родственникам для погребения.

Здание крематория в Париже на кладбище Пер-Лашез.



На верхнем рисунке изображена кремационная печь с рельсами, приспособления для продвижения гроба устроены внизу. Ниже:—вид открытой печи и колесные приспособления для продвижения в печь гроба.



По обоям сторонам крематория расположена галлерея, в стенах которой вделываются банки с пеплом.

Урна с пеплом хранится или

хоронится или в землю на обычном кладбище, но с отводом меньшего количества земли, это как делается в Берлине, или замуровывается в стену, как это делается в Париже.

С точки зрения санитарной, кремация заслуживает полного внимания, точно также и с точки зрения финансовой, так как сжигание трупа и захоронение ящика или урны с пеплом обходится дешевле захоронения гроба с телом.

Figure 56

“Cremation stove with tracks, adapted for movement of coffin, view of the open stove and crematorium building,” 1925.

Spread of the first page with photographs of the article “Szhiganie liudskikh trupov,” *Stroitel'stvo Moskvy*, no. 2 (February 1925), page 14.

Source: The Russian State Library.

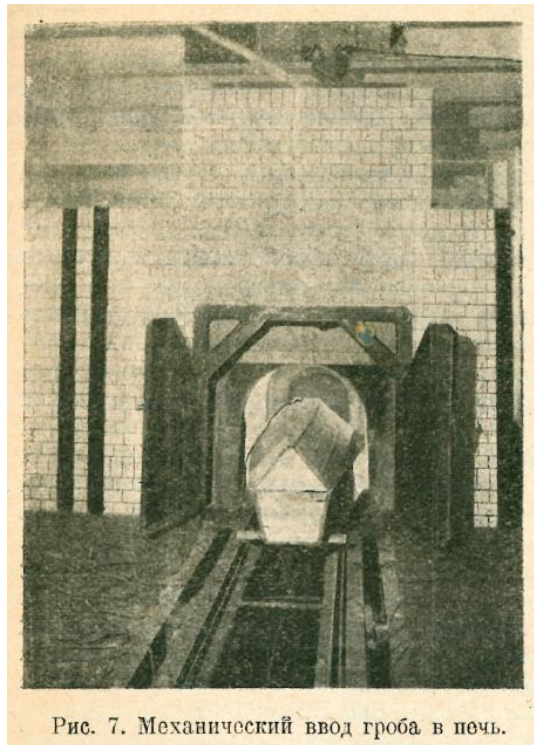


Рис. 7. Механический ввод гроба в печь.

Figure 57

“Mechanical input of coffin in the furnace,” 1927.

Photograph for the article “Pervyi krematorii v g. Moskve,”  
*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 1-2 (January 1927), page 21.

Source: The Russian State Library.



Рис. № 14. Момент введения гроба в печь (Московский  
Крематорий).

Figure 58

“Moment of putting the coffin into the stove (Moscow Crematorium),” 1928.



Drawing for the brochure *Krematsiia za granitsei i u nas*  
(Moscow: Izdanie Moszdravotdela, 1928), page 78.

Source: The Russian State Library.



Figure 59

“Furnace section, putting coffin into the stove,” 1929.

Drawing for the article “Krematorii,”

*Gudok*, no. 182 (August 1926), page 4.

Source: East View. Access provided through the Russian State Library.



Рис. 1. Печное отделение. Гроб вставляют в печь

Figure 60

“Furnace section. Coffin is put into the stove,” 1927.

Photograph for the article “Ognennoe pogrebenie,”

*Pionerskaia pravda*, no. 16 (July 1927), page 8.

Source: Copied in Suslova, Irina. ““Nado znakomit’sia s mashinami: materialy o krematsii v gazetakh ‘Pionerskaia pravda’ i ‘Leninskie iskry’ (1927-1930-e gg.).” *Detskie chteniia* 17 (2020): 62–89.



Figure 61

“Manual input of coffin into the stove,” 1927.

Drawing for the article “Predstoiashchie zadachi krematornogo stroitel'stva,”  
*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 11-12 (June 1927), page 9.

Source: The Russian State Library.

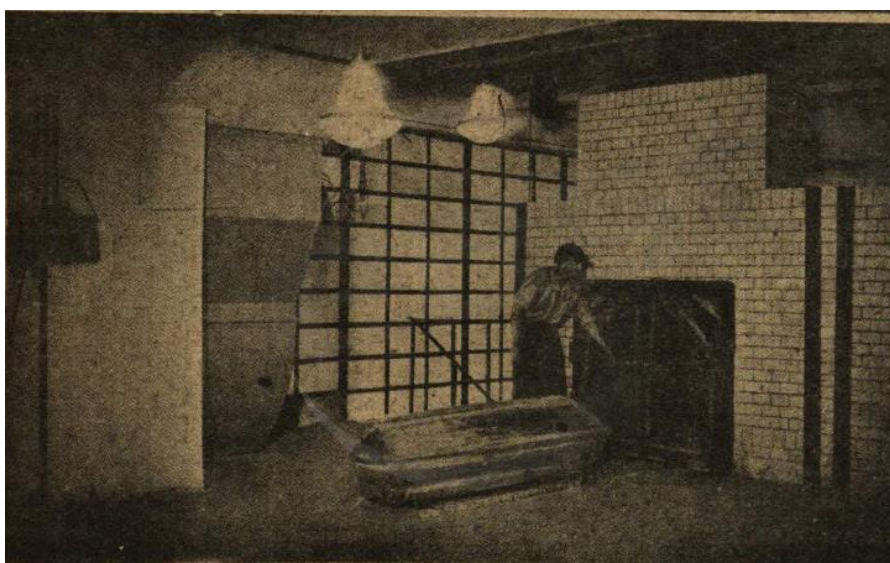


Figure 62

“Furnace for burning corpses,” 1927.

Photograph for the article “Ognennoe kladbishche,”

*Ogonek*, no. 36 (September 1927), page 14.

Source: East View. Access provided through the Russian State Library.



Figure 63

S. Fridliand, “Coffin is sent to the stove,” 1927.

Photograph for the article “Ognennye pokhorony,”

*Ogonek*, no. 50 (December 1927), page 18.

Source: East View. Access provided through the Russian State Library.



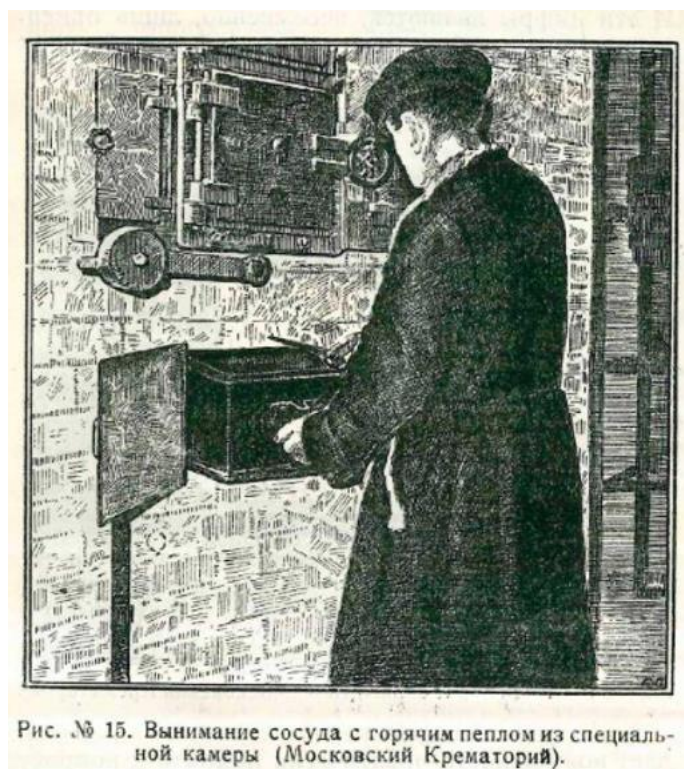


Figure 64

“Taking out the jar of hot ashes from special section (Moscow Crematorium),” 1928.

Drawing for the brochure *Krematsiia za granitsei i u nas*  
(Moscow: Izdanie Moszdravotdela, 1928), page 79.

Source: The Russian State Library.



Figure 65

“Bottom of the cremation furnace, where collection of ashes happens after burning,” 1927.

Photograph for the article “Pervyi moskovskii krematorii,”  
*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 23-24 (December 1927), page 26.

Source: The Russian State Library.

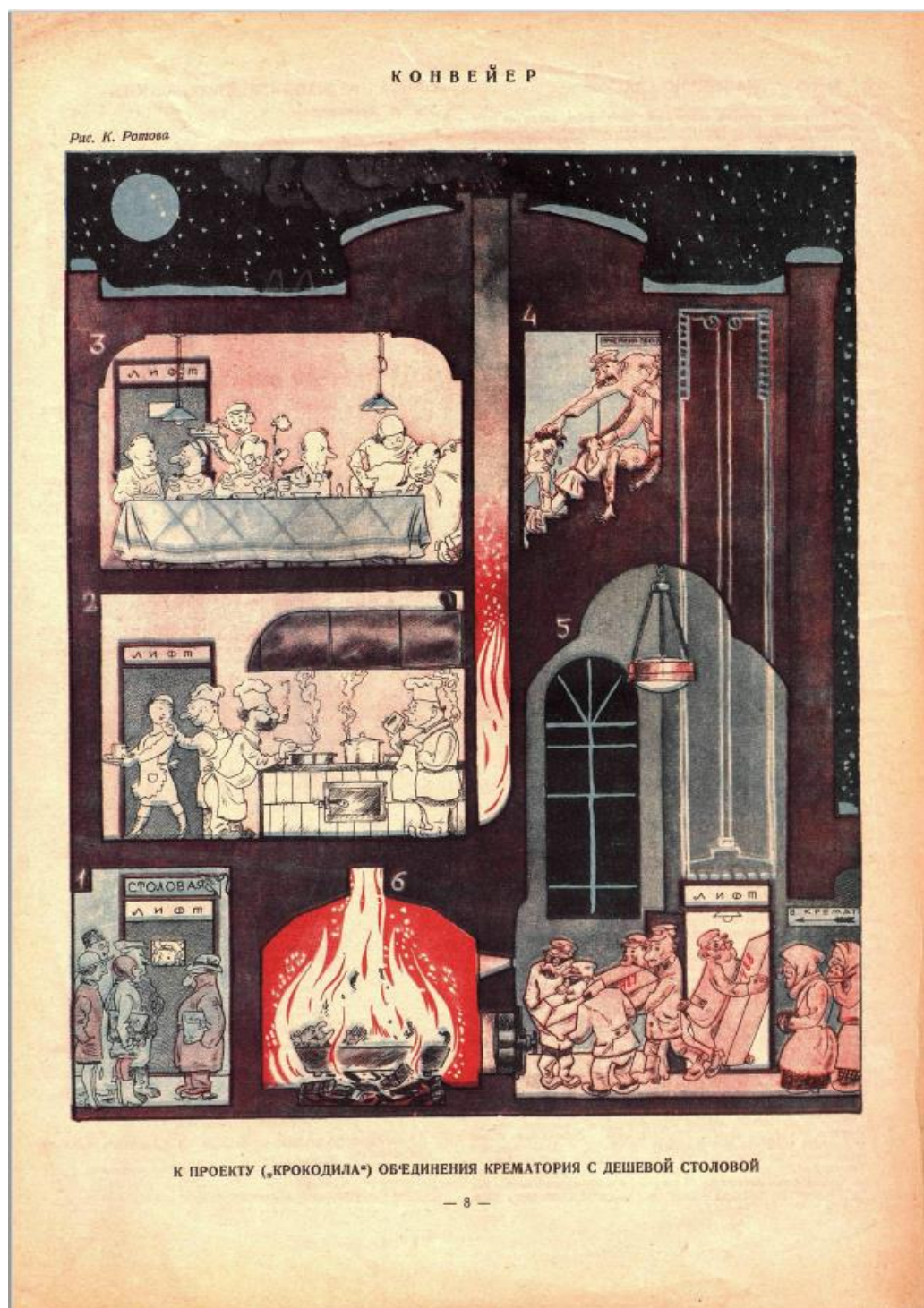


Figure 66

Konstantin Rotov, “Konveier” (The Conveyor)



Drawing published in *Krokodil*, no. 48 (December 1927), page 8.

Caption: In addition to project (of “Krokodil”) about unification between crematorium and  
cheap canteen

Source: East View. Access provided through the Russian State Library.



Figure 67

“Leader of Moscow Soviet comrade Ukhanov is looking for the process of burning,” 1927.

Photograph for the article “Pervyi moskovskii krematorii,”

*Kommunal'noe khoziaistvo*, no. 23-24 (December 1927), page 27.

Source: The Russian State Library.



Figure 68

“To the left – looking at the burning of coffin through the peephole of stove.

– In the middle – general view of the crematorium. To the right – columbarium  
– hall for storage of urns,” 1927.

Photographs for the article “Nakanune otkrytiia krematoriia,”

*Gudok*, no. 198 (September 1927), page 2.

Source: East View. Access provided through the Russian State Library.



Figure 69

Spread of the page of the article “Pogrebenie prakha L. B. Krasina,”

*Ogonek*, no. 50 (December 1926), page 5.

Source: East View. Access provided through the Russian State Library.



Figure 70

N. Iakovleva, "Urn with remains," 1927.

Photograph for the article "Ognennye pokhorony,"

*Ogonek*, no. 50 (December 1927), page 18.

Source: East View. Access provided through the Russian State Library.



Figure 71

Unknown painter, *The Tichvine Mother of God*, 1383,

Icon.

Source: <http://tihvinskii-monastyr.ru/about/shrines/tikhvin-theotokos/>





Figure 72

M. Markov-Grinberg and Boris Kudoiarov, "Comrades Stalin, Molotov and Voroshilov are caring the urns with ashes of the dead," 1934.

Photograph for the article "Pokhorony geroev,"

*Pravda*, no. 33 (February 1934), page 1.

Source: Source: East View. Access provided through the Russian State Library.



Figure 73

"Pamiatnik pervoi krematsii v SSSR," 1927.

Photograph for the article "Okno v mir,"

*Ogonek*, no. 5 (January 1927), page 2.

Source: East View. Access provided through the Russian State Library.



Figure 74

Spread of the page of the article “Okno v mir,”

Ogonek, no. 5 (January 1927), page 2.

Source: East View. Access provided through the Russian State Library.

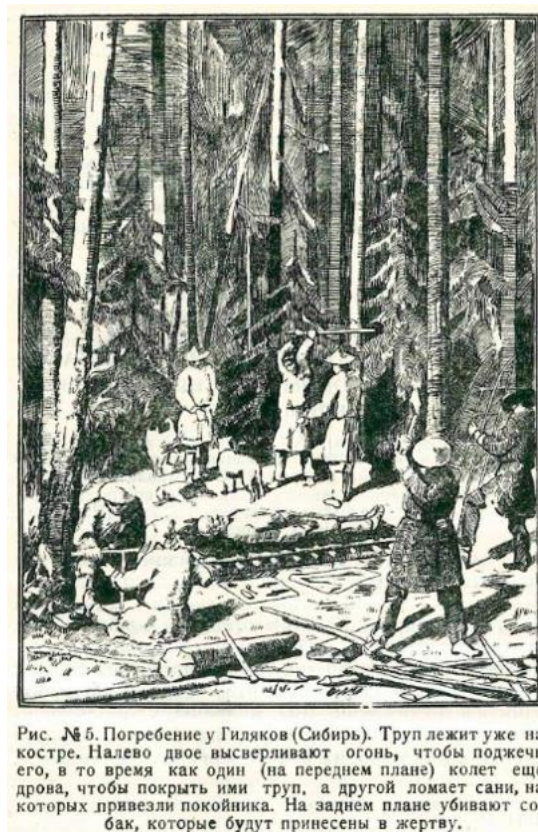


Figure 75

“Pogrebenie u Giliakov,” 1928.

Drawing for the brochure *Krematsiia za granitse i u nas*  
(Moscow: Izdanie Moszdravotdela, 1928), page 21.

Source: The Russian State Library.



Figure 76

“Primitivnyi obuchai u tuzemtsev Filipinskikh ostrovov,” 1931.

Drawing for the brochure *Za ideiu krematsii*  
(Moscow: OGIZ - Moskovskii rabochii, 1931), page 46.





Figure 77

Spread of the one page of the brochure *Za ideiu krematsii* (Moscow: OGIZ - Moskovskii rabochii, 1931), page 46.

Source: The Russian State Library.

другому методу в чистом виде» (цит. ст.). Результаты подсчета т. Федынского сводятся к тому, что при взятых им условиях, себестоимость одного погребения на кладбище выразится в сумме 10 р. 51 коп., а огненное погребение в сумме 12 руб. 55 к. И эти цифры являются, несомненно, лишь ориентировочными, ибо сам автор статьи в п. 6 своих выводов говорит:

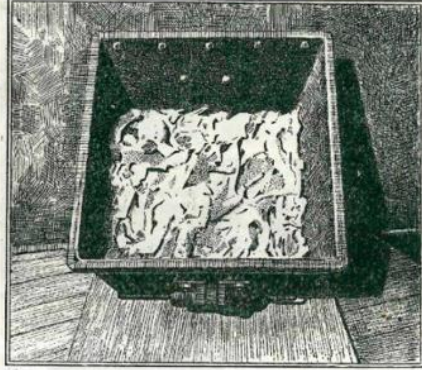


Рис. № 16. Пепел после охлаждения (Московский Крематорий).

— Устройство крематория на Донском кладбище дает возможность практически подойти к вопросу и опытным путем установить экономические преимущества того или иного метода погребения.

Нам кажется, что при рассмотрении экономической стороны огненного погребения должна

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быть принимаема во внимание не одна лишь себестоимость сожжений, что несомненно важно, но и то обстоятельство, что кремация, упрощая быт похорон, несомненно, их в значительной мере удешевляет. Нет дорого стоящих гробов, больших дорогостоящих похоронных процессий; бумажная одежда покойника стоит гроши по сравнению с обычной одеждой.

Есть и еще одно чрезвычайно важное соображение, говорящее в пользу кремации. В большинстве наших крупных городов и селений мы конечно, пока не испытываем острого земельного кризиса. В общегосударственной же экономике вес тот громадный земельный фонд (не меньше 25.000 десятин ежегодно), который уходит на кладбища и который мог бы быть использован под пахотную землю, несомненно, играет известную роль.



Рис. № 17. Советская урна (Московский крематорий).

#### ГЛАВА XIX. ВЫВОДЫ

У культурных народов имеются на выбор две формы погребения — земельное захоронение и сжигание.

Нет сомнения, как мы видели, что земельное погребение при строго определенных условиях является вполне безопасным для

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Figure 79

Spread of the two pages of the brochure *Krematsiia za granitse i u nas* (Moscow: Izdanie Moszdravotdela, 1928), pages 80-81.

Source: The Russian State Library.



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