

**MAKING THE “HEART” OF RUSSIAN TERRITORIALIZATION:  
RAILWAYS AND MOSCOW RAILWAY STATIONS**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
OF  
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY**

**BY**

**ALİ HAYDAR ALPTEKİN**

**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR  
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS  
IN  
THE PROGRAM OF HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE**

**DECEMBER 2010**

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

---

Prof. Dr. Meliha Altunışık  
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

---

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın  
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

---

Assoc. Prof. Dr. T. Elvan Altan Ergut  
Co-Supervisor

---

Assist. Prof. Dr. Namık Günay Erkal  
Supervisor

**Examining Committee Members**

Assist. Prof. Dr. Sevil Enginsoy Ekinici (METU, AH) \_\_\_\_\_

Assist. Prof. Dr. Namık Günay Erkal (METU, AH) \_\_\_\_\_

Assoc. Prof. Dr. T. Elvan Altan Ergut (METU, AH) \_\_\_\_\_

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın (METU, ARCH) \_\_\_\_\_

Instructor, Dr. Bülent Batuman (Bilkent U., LAUD) \_\_\_\_\_

**I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.**

Name, Last name : Ali Haydar Alptekin

Signature :

## **ABSTRACT**

### **MAKING THE “HEART” OF RUSSIAN TERRITORIALIZATION: RAILWAYS AND MOSCOW RAILWAY STATIONS**

Alptekin, Ali Haydar

M. A., Department of History of Architecture

Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Namık Günay Erkal

Co-Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. T. Elvan Altan Ergut

December 2010, 170 pages

This thesis aims to analyze the role of railways and railway stations in the construction of the capital city of an industrial empire with reference to the concept of “territorialization.” The main case is Russia, where the geographical factors are prominent in the creation of the economic, political, social and cultural structure of the country; and the focus of analysis is the city of Moscow, which acted as the center of this structure as connected to its territory by a developed system of railways.

The continuous processes of “territorialization”, “deterritorialization” and “reterritorialization” of the Eurasian continent by Russians and the associated nations form the basic spatial backstage of this study. The built environment as basically materialized in the capital city, which serves as the control center of territoriality, and



the way how human territoriality in the country and within the capital city are interrelated, are the key issues to be investigated.

In this context railways emerged as new media for territorialization in the age of industry. In this study the Russian railways and the Moscow railway stations are analyzed in their positions in the territorial configuration of industrial Russia from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Moscow as a leading industrial as well as historical and cultural center, was not the capital city when the country introduced the rapid construction of railway network and station buildings. In this study it is claimed that the rise of Moscow to become the capital city is, thus, related with its becoming the center of the Russian railway network.

Keywords: territorialization, reterritorialization, deterritorialization, Moscow, railway stations.

## ÖZ

### RUS YURTLAŞTIRMASININ “KALBI”NİN İNŞASI: DEMİRYOLLARI VE MOSKOVA TREN İSTASYONLARI

Alptekin, Ali Haydar

Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Namık Günay Erkal

Ortak Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. T. Elvan Altan Ergüt

Aralık 2010, 170 sayfa

Bu tez, endüstrileşen bir imparatorluğun başkentinin inşasında demiryollarının ve tren istasyonlarının rolünü “yurtlaştırma” kavramı ile ilişkili olarak araştırmaktadır. Örnek çalışma, ülkenin ekonomik, siyasi, toplumsal ve kültürel yapısının oluşumunda coğrafi etmenlerin belirgin bir yerinin olduğu Rusya’dır; odaklanılan araştırma konusu ise, gelişmiş bir demiryolu sistemi ile yurt sathına bağlanarak bu yapının merkezi işlevini gören Moskova kentidir.

Ruslar ve beraberindeki uluslar tarafından Avrasya kıtasında tekrar ve tekar gerçekleştirilen “yurtlaştırma”, “yeniden-yurtlaştırma” ve “yersizyurtsuzlaştırma” süreçleri bu çalışmanın mekansal arkaplanını oluşturmaktadır. Yurtsallığın kontrol merkezi işlevi gören başkent yapıları çevresi ile insan yurtsallığının ülke boyunca ve başkent içerisinde nasıl ilişkilendiği araştırılan temel konulardır.

Bu bağlamda endüstri çağında demiryolları yurtlaştırma açısından yeni bir araç olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu çalışmada Rus demiryolları ve mimari ifadesi olarak Moskova tren istasyonları 19. yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren endüstrileşen Rusya'nın yurtsal biçimlenmesindeki konumları açısından incelenmektedir. Tarihi ve kültürel olduğu kadar endüstriyel olarak da öne çıkan bir merkez olan Moskova ülke hızlı bir şekilde demiryolu ağı ve tren istasyonları inşaatı ile tanışırken başkent değildi. Bu çalışmada Moskova'nın başkent olarak yükselişinin Rus demiryolu ağının merkezinde bulunması ile ilişkili olduğu iddia edilmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: yurtlaştırma, yeniden yurtlaştırma, yersizyurtsuzlaştırma, Moskova, tren istasyonları.

*To my family*

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I express my deepest gratitude to the people who contributed to this study in various ways.

First of all I express my gratitude to my supervisor Assist. Prof. Dr. Namık Günay Erkal and co-supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. T. Elvan Altan Ergut for their endless support and guidance throughout the research. I also thank to the jury members Assist. Prof. Dr. Sevil Enginsoy Ekinci and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargin for their constructive criticism and suggestions. I owe special thanks to Dr. Bülent Batuman who was always accessible and gave his endless support and encouragement.

I would also like to thank Dr. Y. Emre Gürbüz for his criticisms and suggestions, and Zeynep Çiğdem Uysal for her encouragement and support.

I am grateful to my dear friends Alper Kangal, Çağrı Çiğdem Aykaç, Özgün Ünal, Pınar Aykaç, Deniz Dölek, Gözde Kök, Aytek Sever and Sinem Aykaç for their moral boost, continuous support and good will.

I am thankful to my dear family, Leyla Kangal, Hasan Alptekin and Şeyda Devrim Özkan for their endless love, patience and support.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ÖZ.....	vi
DEDICATION.....	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	x
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xii
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. ON THE TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE	8
2.1 STATE-BUILDING AND THE RISE OF MUSCOVY.....	9
2.1.1 Territorialization.....	10
2.1.2 Deterritorialization.....	15
2.1.3 Reterritorialization.....	16
2.1.4 Moscow the Russian City.....	20
2.2 THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.....	30
2.2.1 The Empire Building – Peter I and Catherine II.....	32
2.2.2 The Empire of Periphery and the Paradox in Identity.....	37
2.3 GEOGRAPHY OF THE EMPIRE.....	40
2.3.1 Imperial Re-Territorialization.....	40
2.3.2 Multi-Centrality: Moscow and St. Petersburg Rivalry.....	45
2.3.3 Russian City Planning in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries and Moscow.....	52
3. THE INDUSTRIAL RUSSIA.....	58
3.1 BEGINNINGS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION IN RUSSIA.....	58
3.2 RUSSIAN INDUSTRIAL REGIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.....	61
3.3 RAILWAYS IN RUSSIA.....	64

3.3.1	Re-Territorialization in the Age of Industry - Integration of the Empire .....	65
3.3.2	Iron Routes – Making the Russian Rail Network .....	68
3.3.2.1	Early Attempts of the 1830s.....	68
3.3.2.2	The Moscow–St. Petersburg Line .....	69
3.3.2.3	Iron Network in Russia .....	73
4.	MOSCOW AND THE RAILWAY STATIONS .....	82
4.1	RAILWAY STATION BUILDING AS A NEW TYPE OF ARCHITECTURE .....	82
4.2	MOSCOW RAILWAY STATIONS .....	88
4.2.1	Leningradsky Railway Station .....	100
4.2.2	Yaroslavsky Railway Station .....	105
4.2.3	Kazansky Railway Station .....	114
4.2.4	Belorussky Railway Station .....	122
4.2.5	Kursky Railway Station .....	130
4.2.6	Rizhsky Railway Station .....	134
4.2.7	Paveletsky Railway Station.....	140
4.2.8	Kievsky Railway Station.....	146
4.2.9	Savelovsky Railway Station.....	154
5.	CONCLUSION .....	159
	BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	166

## LIST OF FIGURES

### FIGURES

Figure 1 Plan of Moscow in the early sixteenth century. (Планы Москвы и карты Московии: из собрания Музея истории Москвы, Часть первая. XVI-XVII вв. М. 2006.).....	22
Figure 2 Plan of Moscow in the early seventeenth century. (Планы Москвы и карты Московии: из собрания Музея истории Москвы, Часть первая. XVI-XVII вв. М. 2006.).....	24
Figure 3 Plan of Moscow in the seventeenth century by M. Merian. (Планы Москвы и карты Московии: из собрания Музея истории Москвы, Часть первая. XVI-XVII вв. М. 2006.) .....	25
Figure 4 “Kremlin” highlighted in M. Merian’s Moscow plan. ....	26
Figure 5 “Kitai Gorod” highlighted in M. Merian’s Moscow plan. ....	27
Figure 6 “Belyi Gorod” highlighted in M. Merian’s Moscow plan.....	28
Figure 7 “Zemlianoi Gorod” highlighted in M. Merian’s Moscow plan. ....	29
Figure 8 Plan of Moscow in 1807. (Планы Москвы на рубеже эпох, Часть вторая. XIX- начало XX вв. М. 2008.).....	55
Figure 9 The Russian Railway Network in 1910 showing only the lines radiating from Moscow and St. Petersburg. (Sheviyrev, p.75.) .....	81
Figure 10 Early station plan types according to Meeks (Meeks, p.30.).....	84
Figure 11 Kalanchevskaya Square highlighted on the Moscow plan of 1807. (Планы Москвы на рубеже эпох, Часть вторая. XIX- начало XX вв. М. 2008.).....	91
Figure 12 Plan of Moscow in 1856 showing the Nikolaevskaya railway line. (Планы Москвы на рубеже эпох, Часть вторая. XIX- начало XX вв. М. 2008.).....	92
Figure 13 Location of Belorussky (Smolyensky) Railway Station. (Планы Москвы на рубеже эпох, Часть вторая. XIX- начало XX вв. М. 2008.).....	93
Figure 14 Location of Nizhegoradsky Railway Station. (Планы Москвы на рубеже эпох, Часть вторая. XIX- начало XX вв. М. 2008.).....	94
Figure 15 Location of Kursky Railway Station. (Планы Москвы на рубеже эпох, Часть вторая. XIX- начало XX вв. М. 2008.).....	94



Figure 16 Location of Paveletsky Railway Station. (Планы Москвы на рубеже эпох, Часть вторая. XIX- начало XX вв. М. 2008.).....	95
Figure 17 Locations of Rizhsky and Savelovskiy Railway Stations. (Планы Москвы на рубеже эпох, Часть вторая. XIX- начало XX вв. М. 2008.).....	97
Figure 18 Location Kievskiy Railway Station (Планы Москвы на рубеже эпох, Часть вторая. XIX- начало XX вв. М. 2008.).....	98
Figure 19 Tramway and railway network of Moscow in 1925 showing the nine railway stations, as well. (Retrieved 2010-12-14, <a href="http://tram.ruz.net/maps/sh19250001.gif">http://tram.ruz.net/maps/sh19250001.gif</a> ).....	99
Figure 20 Leningradskiy Railway Station. (Museum of History of Moscow).....	102
Figure 21 Leningradskiy Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	102
Figure 22 Sign of Leningradskiy Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	103
Figure 23 Leningradskiy Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	103
Figure 24 Leningradskiy Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	104
Figure 25 Platform of Leningradskiy Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	104
Figure 26 First Yaroslavskiy (Severniy) Railway Station. (Museum of History of Moscow).....	106
Figure 27 Yaroslavskiy Railway Station. (Museum of History of Moscow).....	109
Figure 28 Yaroslavskiy Railway Station. (Museum of History of Moscow).....	109
Figure 29 Yaroslavskiy Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	110
Figure 30 Yaroslavskiy Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	110
Figure 31 Kalanchevskaya Square, Nikolaevskiy station on the left and Yaroslavskiy station on the right. (Museum of History of Moscow).....	111
Figure 32 Leningradskiy and Yaroslavskiy Railway Stations from Komsomolskaya Square (Kalanchevskaya Square). (Author 06.2009).....	111
Figure 33 Yaroslavskiy Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	112
Figure 34 Yaroslavskiy Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	113
Figure 35 Old Kazanskiy (Ryazanskiy) Railway Station. (Museum of History of Moscow).....	115
Figure 36 Kazanskiy Railway Station under construction. (Museum of History of Moscow).....	115
Figure 37 Kazanskiy Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	118

Figure 38 Kazansky Railway Station from Komsomolskaya Square (Kalanchevskaya Square). (Author 06.2009) .....	119
Figure 39 Kazansky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	119
Figure 40 Kazansky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	120
Figure 41 Kazansky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	120
Figure 42 Kazansky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	121
Figure 43 Belorussky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	124
Figure 44 Belorussky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	125
Figure 45 Belorussky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	125
Figure 46 Belorussky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	126
Figure 47 Belorussky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	126
Figure 48 Belorussky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	127
Figure 49 Belorussky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	128
Figure 50 Platform of Belorussky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	129
Figure 51 Platform of Belorussky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	129
Figure 52 Kursky Railway Station. (Museum of History of Moscow).....	131
Figure 53 Kursky Railway Station. (Museum of History of Moscow).....	131
Figure 54 Platform of Kursky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	132
Figure 55 Platform of Kursky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	132
Figure 56 Kursky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	133
Figure 57 Kursky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	133
Figure 58 Rizhsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	136
Figure 59 Rizhsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	136
Figure 60 Rizhsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	137
Figure 61 Rizhsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	137
Figure 62 Platform of Rizhsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	138
Figure 63 Platform of Rizhsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	139
Figure 64 Paveletsky Railway Station. (Museum of History of Moscow) .....	141
Figure 65 Paveletsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	142
Figure 66 Paveletsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	143
Figure 67 Paveletsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	143
Figure 68 Paveletsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	144
Figure 69 Paveletsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	144

Figure 70 Platform of Paveletsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	145
Figure 71 Kievsky Railway Station. (Museum of History of Moscow) .....	147
Figure 72 Kievsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	149
Figure 73 Kievsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	149
Figure 74 Kievsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	150
Figure 75 Kievsky Railway Station from Moskva River. (Author 06.2009).....	150
Figure 76 Kievsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	151
Figure 77 Kievsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	152
Figure 78 Kievsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	153
Figure 79 Savelovsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	156
Figure 80 Savelovsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	156
Figure 81 Platform of Savelovsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009).....	157
Figure 82 Savelovsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009) .....	158

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The railway station buildings in a capital city can be seen as architectural expressions of railroads which were the connective vessels spread along the geography of a country. The capital city housing the hub of these iron vessels is interrelated with the geographic configuration and spatiality of the state. In this context a spatial study of railway stations in a capital city has to take the spatiality of the city and the state into consideration, as well.

Thus the search for answering how the structuring of the territory of a country affects the center, how the networks within that territory are formed in reference to the capital city, and finally how this spatial interrelation between the center and the periphery outbreaks as architectural expressions could be seen as the starting point in the historical analysis of architecture of railway stations.

According to Sack, territoriality can be best understood as a spatial strategy to affect, influence, or control resources and people, by controlling an area. In geographical terms it is a form of spatial behavior. If the state is the most effective tool to control the social relations and to secure the relations of production, territoriality is a primary geographical expression of social power. Territoriality is the means by which space and society are interrelated, and the spatial strategy of affecting, influencing or controlling resources and people is the state's vital activity in order to survive.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> R. Sack, *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History*, New York, London: Cambridge University Press, 1986, pp.1-5.

For the control of the state's bounded territory, the capital city takes the central role. All the directorate and administrative apparatus of the state are structured in its capital city. The capital city is the seat of the central government of a separate political unit.<sup>2</sup> Whether it is in the geometrical center of territory or not, politically it is. For the state the capital city is the base for its operations in administering a territory which extends beyond its limits.<sup>3</sup> These operations are in order to solve the problems of governing, namely the rational administration and arrangement of territory and peoples within a country.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the capital city, as the decision maker in the policy for territoriality, attracts the central attention.

In this regard any attempt of a state to construct its territoriality in order to gain control over its geography through the state-making process could be described as "territorialization."

The territorialization process of a state over its power domain has to be re-considered with reference to the general territorial organization of contemporary world system. At this point the capital city becomes the *terminus a quo* of the territorialization process of the state; at the same time it becomes the *terminus ad quem* of the territoriality of the world system as related to the frontiers of the country.

The territorial system that is created by the state and the territoriality on a greater scale (of the world system or the neighboring geography) can fit or create destructive forces contradicting to each other. In the face of destructive forces, the

---

<sup>2</sup> W. Sonne, *Representing the State: Capital city planning in the early twentieth century*, Munich; London: Prestel, 2003.

<sup>3</sup> Arnold Toynbee, *Cities on the Move*, New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1970, p.67.

<sup>4</sup> Gearóid Ó Tuathail, "Political geography I: theorizing history, gender and world order", *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol.19, No.2 (1995), p.262.

territorial organization can start to be dismantled. This process can be described as “deterritorialization.”<sup>5</sup> When the internal forces and the external forces start to create a new territorial organization, then the process of re-territorialization can occur.

Every historical process of human activities is affected by various dynamics and causative factors, but in some cases certain factors or features crystallize and become distinctive. In this regard, Russia can be seen as a peculiar case where the geographical factors are prominent in the construction of the “infrastructure” of the country. This is why the Russian revolutionary and Marxist theoretician Georgii Plekhanov regards the geographic conditions of Russia as influential in productive forces, which in Marxist theory are seen as the dynamo of history.<sup>6</sup> Plekhanov undertakes an analysis of geography in his search for finding answers to the relative backwardness of Russia. Similarly, Pipes gives brief information about how the Russian geography and its natural conditions had limitations on basic agricultural production, which was important to feed cities, affecting the class relations of the country.<sup>7</sup> Geography is not only prominent for affecting the “infrastructure” but also the “superstructure” or the socio-political and cultural atmosphere of the Russian civilization, which was shaped with significant references to the geographic conditions and territorial organizations.

---

<sup>5</sup> Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.

<sup>6</sup> Mark Bassin, “Geographic Determinism in Fin-de-siècle Marxism: Georgii Plekhanov and the Environmental Basis of Russian History”, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol.82, No.1 (Mar. 1992), p.7.

<sup>7</sup> Richard Pipes, *Russia under the Old Regime*, London: Penguin Books, 1995, pp.1-24.

The basic geographical significance of the territory where the Russian civilization emerged and developed is its “continentality.”<sup>8</sup> This continentality is a result of the isolation from maritime influences and marked not only by distance, but by mountains, marsh and ice. This continental position, defined by being landlocked within Eurasia, made the geography open to influences from all directions. Nevertheless, this specific position also enabled it to have access to control the neighboring environment. Furthermore, this continental hugeness is remarked by the uniformity and simplicity of the geographical structure. “A geographical factor of the utmost importance in the history of the Russian people has been the sheer size of the land it was destined to control.”<sup>9</sup> The most significant feature of that huge continental geography, on the other hand, is the existence of a river system which enables ease in moving inside the boundaries of the defined territory.

As Sack states, territory forms a background to human relations, and space conceptions and human spatial relationships are not neutral:

... human interaction, movement, and contact are also matters of transmitting energy and information in order to affect, influence, and control the ideas and actions of others and their access to resources. Human spatial relations are the results of influence and power. Territoriality is the primary spatial form power takes.<sup>10</sup>

In the case of Russia this primary spatial form that power took was gained by the help of the great rivers which facilitated human movement and “greatest possible

---

<sup>8</sup> W. H. Parker, *An Historical Geography of Russia*, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969, p.13.

<sup>9</sup> Parker, pp.13-18.

<sup>10</sup> Sack, p.26.

accessibility” over the continent. Throughout the Russian history the frontier was a dominating issue, which was converted into an opportunity to the expansion in the “the theme of the struggle for the mastering of the natural resources”<sup>11</sup> In this struggle, the rivers became both the media and the objects because the control of the riverheads was another issue to deal with. “Inevitably the power which gained control of these riverheads came to dominate the whole country, each river offering a direction for expansion.”<sup>12</sup>

The continuous processes of territoriality that are “territorialization”, “deterritorialization” and “reterritorialization” of the Eurasian continent by Russians and the associated nations form the basic spatial backstage of this study. Moreover, the built environment as basically materialized in the capital city, which serves as the control center of territoriality, and the way human territoriality in the country and within the capital city is interrelated, are the key issues to be investigated.

In this context railways emerged as new media for territorialization in the age of industry. In this study the Russian railways and the Moscow railway stations will be analyzed in their positions in the territorial configuration of the industrial Russia from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Moscow as a leading industrial as well as historical and cultural center, was not the capital city when the country introduced the rapid construction of a railway network and station buildings. In this study it is claimed that the rise of Moscow to become the capital city is, thus, related with its becoming the center of the railway network.

---

<sup>11</sup> Parker, p18.

<sup>12</sup> Parker, p20.



In Chapter 2, the spatial and territorial configurations of Russia will be analyzed in an historical perspective. In order to find a comprehensive background, the geo-political situation of Russia before the introduction of railways will be under question. This is crucial in understanding how the territoriality continued and was transformed after the construction of railways. The first part of the chapter analyzes the Russian history with reference to the processes of territoriality. This will be done in three parts as reflecting the Russian territorial history: the territorialization of the Kievan Rus; the deterritorialization or the fragmentation of the state; and the reterritorialization or the emergence of Muscovy as a strong tsardom. The city of Moscow and its urban history will be given special attention at the end of the periodical analysis of territorialization processes. The second part of the study pays attention to Russia's becoming an empire and the territorial position that it took on the emerging world system. Becoming a great power but being on the periphery of the Western system of capitalism, is the main concentration issue of the third part, which deepens the discussion with reference to the role of capital cities in relation to dichotomous identities. Before going into the details of the Russian industrialization, the chapter tries to figure out the urban character of Moscow after losing the capital city status.

Chapter 3 gives descriptive information of the process how Russia entered the industrial age and how it marked its geography by the construction of railways. The emergence of industrial regions and the constructing connections by railways signify the re-unification of the country, while the old capital Moscow takes a central position within this network.

Chapter 4 starts with a general examination of railway stations and their features. The medieval Moscow with classical radial fortification was transformed into a major urban center in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Within this transformation the railways' connection to the city architecture is analyzed separately for each railway station in Moscow. After a site survey in Moscow, the station buildings are interpreted in their historical order of appearance in the city. The study is limited to the pre-revolutionary period of Russia and the analysis is restricted with the role of the station buildings in Moscow's becoming the capital city.

Chapter 5 concludes the study by summarizing the significance of the Russian case, and discussing how geography, politics and architecture are interrelated as analyzed in the case of how the Russian railways and railway station buildings in Moscow took part in the making of the capital city.

## CHAPTER 2

### ON THE TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

The prominent geographical features of the territory on which the Russian civilization has flourished are indicated as the continentality, uniformity and the inclusion of a navigable river system. Throughout history the Russians and the associated nations organized territoriality on this geographical basis. The spatial behaviors of these societies were strongly interrelated with the political and economic needs of these societies.

Before analyzing the geographical and territorial configurations of industrializing Russia and its center-periphery relations, brief background information has to be provided in an historical perspective. The factors and underlying forces for the emergence of the state, which would be called as the “Russian”, have to be analyzed in order to understand the several territorialization processes, which would lead Russia to the building of a powerful empire.

In this chapter a critical search will be undertaken in order to clarify how geography predestined both the opportunities and limitations of socio-political and the spatial constructions; and from a dialectical perspective, how the geography and “spatiality” became the media of these political movements.

In this search several questions could be increased such as: How did the territorialization of Russia contact with its near geography, and how did it affect its socio-political structure? What were the socio-political and cultural origins of the Russian civilization, and what kind of a relation did it have with geography? What kind of positions did the territorialization processes take on a larger scale of

geography? How did these positions affect the inner territorial constructions, and which positions were taken by the capital cities?

## **2.1 STATE-BUILDING AND THE RISE OF MUSCOVY**

History of Russia can be analyzed in accordance with several territorialization cycles. When the first state formation emerged as Kievan Rus, it held a specific geography in order to survive. This geography having connective functions between its borders affected by its borderlands' economic and political dynamics. This first state that could be referenced as the roots or the beginnings of "Russian" territorial configuration, laid the foundations of Russian social and political structure.

Due to the change of both interior and exterior conditions, that territorial construction fragmented. This fragmentation or deterritorialization in geographical terms, at the same time, created an opportunity to construct a new territorial configuration of state having a competitive relation between the fragments and their leading cities.

Being in the center, it was Moscow which made its territorialization process successful with turning the subversive conditions that created the deterritorialization into opportunity, and established another way of communication with its environment. This reterritorialization was also marked by the rise of the Muscovite state which would turn into a strong tsardom with gaining a form of "colonial" empire.

After every cycle of territorialization processes, the new socio-political structure included some features of the older one. In this respect the legacy of both

internal and the external dynamics contributed to the shaping the Russian civilization.

### **2.1.1 Territorialization**

The first Russian state formation which opened the way for the structuring of the Russian civilization, having the feature of “Rus”, arose comparatively later than most of the European countries under distinct circumstances. These circumstances were marked by the dynamics of the geography which were also significant for its relation with borderlands. The first Russian state, known as “Rus” in the early medieval times, established along the routes between two economic centers of the world in the ninth century. The Mediterranean Sea was an important center of ancient world and its economic interaction. On the periphery of its economy there were the Black Sea and the stretch of the Atlantic that directly adjoined the Mediterranean countries. From the seventh century the merchant navigation reached the Baltic and with Vikings’ activity the Baltic economy started to rise as a significant economic zone.<sup>13</sup>

It was the system of navigable rivers of Russian plain that connected the two commercial zones in Europe which were the traditional Mediterranean zone and the emerging Baltic-North Sea zone. Between these zones the trade between Byzantines and Vikings was becoming a crucial link while uniting Europe in a single whole. The emergence of the state on the so-called geography was a product of the need to

---

<sup>13</sup> Boris Kagarlitsky, *Empire of Periphery: Russia and the World System*, London & Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2008, p.26.

“ensure that foreign merchants on the rivers were safe from local desperadoes” and “to defend its own traders from bandits and from each other.”<sup>14</sup>

By the ninth century, originating in the seventh century, on the territory between the Caspian and Black seas, the Khazars were controlling the western steppe from the Ural River to Danube and they seriously challenged the Abbasid and Byzantine empires which were dominant powers in the south. The capital city of Khazars, Itil, was built where the Volga River flowed into the Caspian Sea on the intersection of two major trade routes – the northern branch of the old Silk Road, and a route from Baghdad to Scandinavia via Volga. The Khazar Empire put its source of wealth mostly on trade, the taxation of trade, and the imposition of tribute on neighboring peoples. Another city built on the intersection of the trade routes was Great Bulgar – the capital city of the Bulgars. It was built on the Kama River which flows into the Volga and stood at the intersection of two trade routes: the Volga route and the east-west caravan route between Central Asia and Europe.

Volga with its tributaries played an important route to the merchants with Persian wares from the Caspian Sea. The northern end of those trade routes was dominated by Scandinavians who connected the reviving trade centers of northwestern Europe with the routes that intersected in Great Bulgar and Itil. The late eighth and ninth centuries with the emergence of the Baltic economy, witnessed the military expansion of those Scandinavian people – Vikings. An important trading center in this Scandinavian region was Staraja Lagoda which was built where the Volkhov River flows into Lake Lagoda.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> Kagarlitsky, pp.29-30.

<sup>15</sup> David G. Rowley, *Exploring Russia's Past: Narrative, Sources, Images*, New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2006, p.21.

Great Bulgar, at the junction of the Volga and Kama Rivers, was too strong for the Vikings to conquer, and in their search for alternative routes south, they discovered the Dnieper River and the Slavs.<sup>16</sup>

Becoming profitable and necessary, the new commercial relations and the trade routes between the Black Sea and the Baltic potentized the need for the “state.” The new network of commerce had to be supported and secure, and what was required was “order.”<sup>17</sup> Thus it was neither accidental nor only the result of the internal development of cities among the trade routes. Rather the emergence of the state or the need for order was a result of several internal and external relations within the aforementioned territory.

Being at the intersection of these commercial routes between the Baltic, the Black Sea, and the Caspian Sea; Novgorodians pioneered the foundation of the first “Russian” state and the territorialization of the region between Volga River and Dniester River, Baltic Sea and the Black Sea.

It was no accident that the founders of Russian statehood were the Novgorodians, who were not so much warriors as merchants. Nor was it mere chance that in the establishing of the Russian state, the Varyags played a highly active role. It was not that the Varyags subjugated the Slavs, nor that the Slavs united themselves, but that numerous Slavic, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian tribes and armed groups located along the rivers joined forces to make up a state. The Slavs, as the most numerous, were dominant. The Varyags provided the beginnings of a military elite. The Finno-Ugrian tribes were subdued and assimilated.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> Rowley, p.22.

<sup>17</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.30.

<sup>18</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.30.

Kagarlitsky points out the new territorial construction of the geography while expressing that it was not tribes that were being united, but territories. The state ensured the safety of the trade rather than concentration on the matter of the ethnic unity of Slavs. “On the broad expanses through which the navigable rivers flowed, there needed to be a system of security and a unified authority.”<sup>19</sup>

The Viking traders and raiders who were centered at Staraiia Lagoda were known as “Rus” by the Arabs and “Rhos” by the Greeks. The word “Rus” had a Finnish root which meant “rowers” or “crew of oarsmen.” According to the traditional legend, the leaders of “Varangian Rus” settled in Novgorod were invited to rule over the Slavic tribes which were continually at war with one another. In 882, the “Varangian Rus” leader Oleg took possession of the city of Kiev and imposed tribute on the local Slavic tribes.<sup>20</sup> The state founded under these circumstances was later called as “Kievan Rus.”

From 945 till 956 Rus was ruled by Olga, who was the killed ruler Igor’s wife and the future ruler Sviatoslav’s mother. She tried to reduce Slav-Rus conflict and rather than being an extortioner she attempted to build an alliance with Constantinople. In 948, in the Byzantine capital, she was converted to Christianity.<sup>21</sup>

Prince Vladimir, the grandson of Olga, replaced the military and commercial expansion southward by the Kievan princes in collaboration with the Byzantines. As realizing the earlier attempts of Olga, Kiev would never act as a rival of Constantinople but as an ally.

---

<sup>19</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.31.

<sup>20</sup> Rowley, p.24.

<sup>21</sup> Rowley, p.25.



Kagarlitsky sees the Christianization of Rus, which begun by Princess Olga and completed by Vladimir, was the logical result of process that engraved by the commercial interaction; merchants came “ready and without any fear”, and as a result “there was an abundant supply of goods of every kind.” Founded on the location of a connection of trade routes as well as the contact of civilizations, Kievan Rus in the tenth century witnessed a civilization and city building process which made Kievan Rus called as “a land of cities” by foreign travelers.<sup>22</sup>

Christianization of the Rus and the emerging of a new civilization went hand in hand in Kievan Rus. While new cities emerged along the trade routes from Byzantine to Vikings, besides the religion, the alphabet, the craft technology and the construction techniques were also derived from the Byzantine civilization. “The rapid development of international trade spurred the quick growth of cities, and of intensive links between them.”<sup>23</sup>

It was in the 860s that two Byzantine monks Cyril and Methodius who were invited by a Slavic prince created an alphabet which is now know as Cyrillic. It was based on Greek letters but adapted to Slavic language. They also translated the Bible and the Eastern Liturgy into the new written form. By the time of Vladimir’s conversion in 988 Christian churches already existed in the land ruled by Rus.<sup>24</sup>

But the religious relations between the Rus and the Byzantines began almost a century later after the commercial relations as well as military contacts had started.

---

<sup>22</sup> Kagarlitsky, pp.37-39.

<sup>23</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.29.

<sup>24</sup> Rowley, p.26.

There were several wars between the two which were ended with signing of agreements, a copy of which were also kept in Rus.<sup>25</sup>

### **2.1.2 Deterritorialization**

The thirteenth century witnessed the military defeat of the Russians against the Mongol-Tatar tribes. The Mongols conquered most of the Eurasian continent, including the Eastern Slavs. The fragmentation of the lands of the Kievan Rus was a deterritorialization process of the state which was accepted as a result of this Mongol-Tatar conquest. However, this fragmentation was itself the result of earlier economic, social and political developments. The military defeats suffered by the Russians in the thirteenth century were the result of a dispersal of forces. There was an enmity between the increasingly powerful princedoms of north-eastern Rus, the traditional Kievan “center”, and Novgorod led to the collapse of the unified state.<sup>26</sup>

One factor is the relation of the cities with their countryside. The cities had grown up primarily on the basis of international trade. The need for foodstuffs and raw materials from countryside, in order to live and develop, was not satisfied by the countryside. “The self-destruction of the city was especially noticeable in the Kievan lands, where the twelfth-century chronicles constantly report social conflicts and uprisings.”<sup>27</sup>

Another reason of the backwardness of Russian economy in the twelfth century was the change in the positions in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean trade. By the end of the twelfth century the Genoese took the control of Black Sea trade by

---

<sup>25</sup> Kagarlitsky, pp.33-34.

<sup>26</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.53.

<sup>27</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.54.

concluding agreements with Byzantine Empire. Consequently the Russian merchants lost one of the most vital areas of their economic activity. Furthermore, having superior seagoing ships than the Russians the Genoese and Venetian merchants provided the goods to Byzantine Empire from northern Europe through Italy. “Venice, it might have been said, was killing Kiev.” The route from the Vikings to the Byzantines now ended in a “commercial dead-end”. Instead of being in the intersection of international exchange the trading centers on the great river route had been turned into “out-of-the-way trading villages on a backwoods track”, and were ravaged by Tatars.<sup>28</sup>

While Kiev was challenged and forced to be out of world trade, the Hansa cities were turning Novgorod into their periphery. It was not the Tatar yoke but the decline of the Mediterranean trade that played the fatal role in the history of Rus. The success of territorialization of the Kievan Rus was grateful to the economic and political expansion at the two sides of Europe; so was its failure.<sup>29</sup>

### **2.1.3 Reterritorialization**

Moscow’s development as a settlement started in the mid-twelfth century, as one of the defending outposts in the conflicts between the principalities succeeded the fragmentation of Kievan Rus. To the east of Kievan Rus, in the Volga region the two principalities were the Vladimir-Suzdal principality and the Chernigov principality. The middle stream of the Moskva River, which is a tributary of the Oka River which itself is a tributary of Volga, was the boundary between the two principalities.

---

<sup>28</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.56.

<sup>29</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.58.

The first reference to Moscow in chronicles was the call of Yuri Dolgorukiy who was the prince of the Vladimir-Suzdal principality to the prince of the Novgorod-Severski. In Russian history the call is narrated as: “Come to me, brother, to Moscow!”<sup>30</sup> In 1147 the two princes met at that local place near Moskva River. Nine years later, in 1156, with an order of Prince Yuri Dolgorukiy the first fortification on the site – the Kremlin – was built in timber. The fortress was built on the hill near the connection of the tributary river Neglinnaya with Moskva. The Kremlin, located on a high bank at the confluence of two rivers, occupied a strategic location on the trade routes for the commerce and defense of the territory.<sup>31</sup>

In the early fourteenth century Moscow started to function as the center of the principality. In 1326, the residences of both the Grand Prince and the Russian church were moved to Moscow. But, formally Moscow became the capital of the emerging Russian state in 1432. Before it there lived a long rivalry with the other major centers as Tver and Vladimir.<sup>32</sup>

It's mentioned that it was the connecting trade routes on rivers between two borderlands – Mediterranean and the Baltic - that gave birth for the cities and then the state over Russia. It was the sea and it's “vessels” in the land that allowed the interaction of civilizations, economically and socially. But Russians had another frontier on the east and southeast which had totally different code of civilization: nomadic.

---

<sup>30</sup> Walter Comins-Richmond, "The History of Moscow". Occidental College. Retrieved 2010-09-03. [http://faculty.oxy.edu/richmond/csp8/history\\_of\\_moscow.htm](http://faculty.oxy.edu/richmond/csp8/history_of_moscow.htm)

<sup>31</sup> Joseph Bradley, “Moscow: From Big Village to Metropolis”, *The City in Late Imperial Russia*, ed. Michael F. Hamm, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, (1986), p.11.

<sup>32</sup> Gritsai & van der Wusten, p.33-34.

Khodarkovsky argues that the interests of the two sides were fundamentally irreconcilable and that confrontation between them was unavoidable. This confrontation was a function of the ever-present and growing incompatibility between two very different societies.<sup>33</sup>

One of the most distinct features of the steppe societies was the weakness of central political authority. Initially strengthening of the authority of the khans and other local rulers was a cornerstone of Russian policies in the region. After all, Moscow itself had been subject to similar policies by the Mongols several centuries earlier. The rise of the princes of Moscow to the position of grand princes of Muscovy, and later the tsars of all Russia, was in no small measure a result of policies persuaded by the khans of the Golden Horde.<sup>34</sup>

The relations of Moscow with its steppe frontier supplied opportunities to the re-unification of Rus. What the Muscovy done was changing the opposition into an opportunity. The Moscow prince was loyal to Tatars and became a tax collector for the khan. It was thanks to this process that a unified and an orderly system for the collection of taxes was established on the scale of Russia as a whole.<sup>35</sup>

As Karamzin acknowledges, the Tatar tributes in the first instance enriched Moscow, while acted as the fiscal intermediary between the Horde and the other Russian principedoms.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> Michael Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier: the Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500-1800*, Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, (2002), p.8

<sup>34</sup> Khodarkovsky, p.30

<sup>35</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.52.

<sup>36</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.58.

The important trade routes for the prosperity of Moscow led through the territories of the Horde. In the fourteenth century Moscow rose to prominence mainly as an administrative centre recognized by the Tatars; this is said to have been due to the act of Prince Ivan Kalita, who undertook to collect tribute from other Russian princes on behalf of the khan. It was Ivan Kalita's control over the point of intersection of these trade routes that provided him with money, and which ultimately made Moscow the capital of a revived Russia.<sup>37</sup>

In the middle of the fourteenth century a period of discord with the Golden Horde started. From being a junior trade partner of the Tatars, Moscow began turning into an independent power; but at first not so much military as economic. One important event that strengthened the emerging role of Moscow in the international trade was the conquest of Constantinople by Ottomans. The decline of Mediterranean trade increased the importance of the Volga route, along which goods from the East might reach the Baltic and, from there, the markets of Western Europe. It was in the late fifteenth century that the Great Prince of Moscow took the decision to break with the Golden Horde. This provided Moscow the possibility of rapid development.<sup>38</sup>

The wealth and influence of the local prince thus rested simultaneously both on trade and on the funds extracted from the agrarian population. It was this combination, together with a stable financial base, that made Moscow the ideal leader for the process of unifying the Russian princedoms.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.62.

<sup>38</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.73.

<sup>39</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.64.

As an emerging power in economical and military terms, Muscovites' attitude to the Tatars and the lands of Golden Horde changed. In order to maintain order on the Volga trade route, the unification of these lands under a single authority needed.

Just as the Roman Empire in ancient times unified the Mediterranean economic space and integrated the peoples inhabiting it into a single civilization, Muscovite Rus formed itself as a nation by establishing a united authority over the river routes.<sup>40</sup>

This process of state making, having Moscow in the center, forced Muscovy to control the security of the Volga basin. Facing with the steppe and nomads this confrontation turned into the expansion into the steppe. The principal goal of the Russian government in order to make the steppe safe was to turn their "steppe pirates" into "merchants and caravan guards."<sup>41</sup>

The unification of the lands around Moscow remarked the reterritorialization of the geography that is to become Russia. After this reterritorialization, Russia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries seemingly shifted to the east.<sup>42</sup>

#### **2.1.4 Moscow the Russian City**

It is claimed that the origin of the city of Moscow in the twelfth century is remarked by "the overflow of peoples in the Kliazma River valley north and east of

---

<sup>40</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.74.

<sup>41</sup> Khodarkovsky, pp.29–30

<sup>42</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.73.

Moscow brought them by both river and land into region.”<sup>43</sup> But already in the eleventh century before the construction of the fortifications, there was a small town situated at the mouth of the Neglinnaia River with a feudal stronghold and a small artisan and trading suburb.<sup>44</sup>

Despite the destruction caused by the Mongol attack in 1237, Moscow’s favorable geographic location for trade kept its rise as an urban center. However, because of the military attacks and fires the Kremlin of Moscow had to be rebuilt several times. In 1339 the walls were rebuilt in oak. Between 1366 and 1368 the prince of Moscow Dmitry Donskoy ordered the replacement of the oaken walls with a strong citadel of white limestone. The construction was done on the basic foundations of the current walls.<sup>45</sup>

The Moscow princes were conveniently situated to control the trade routes from Central Europe and the Baltic to Asia via the Volga River and to collect duties from the surrounding peasants. A steadily increasing population of wholesalers, craftsmen, princes, boyars, ecclesiastical and monastic officials, and their servitors provided the economic and social base for a strong and vital city. As a result, in a period of two centuries Moscow developed from a frontier post to a major administrative center, a hub of commerce and transport, and a center of production.<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> Albert J. Schmidt, *The Architecture and Planning of Classical Moscow: A Cultural History*, Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1989, p.9.

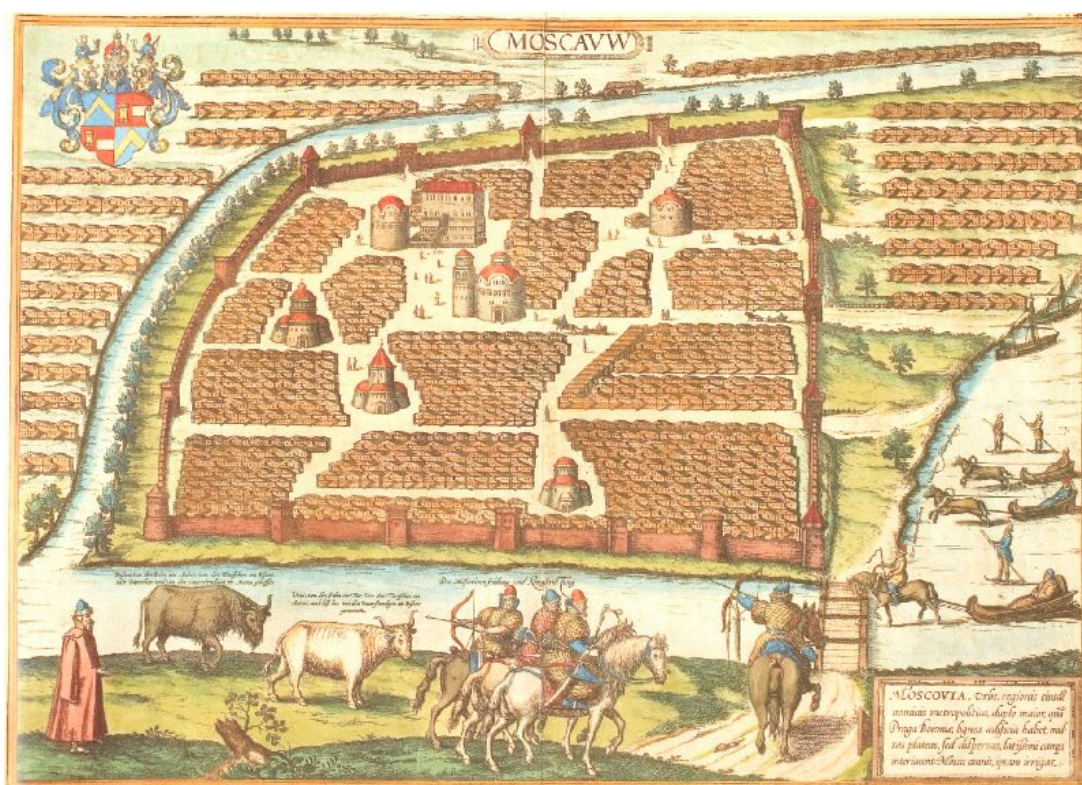
<sup>44</sup> “Moscow” in *The Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, 1979. Retrieved 2010-09-03.  
<http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Moscova>

<sup>45</sup> Michael C. Paul, "The Military Revolution in Russia 1550–1682", *The Journal of Military History* 68, No. 1 (Jan., 2004), p.31.

<sup>46</sup> Bradley, p.11.



From the fourteenth century to the eighteenth the general appearance of the city had not changed greatly.<sup>47</sup> In the late fourteenth century, during the reign of Ivan III, who will later become the Grand Prince of All-Russia; the Kremlin walls were reconstructed by the Italian architects between 1485 and 1498, and the walls gained the current appearance.<sup>48</sup> Blumendfeld remarks that after this reconstruction of Kremlin walls by Italian architects, it served as a model for the “kremls” of many other Russian cities.<sup>49</sup>



**Figure 1** Plan of Moscow in the early sixteenth century. (Планы Москвы и карты Московии: из собрания Музея истории Москвы, Част первая. XVI-XVII вв. М. 2006.)

<sup>47</sup> Schmidt, p.10.

<sup>48</sup> Paul, p.31.

<sup>49</sup> Hans Blumenfeld, “Russian City Planning of the 18th and Early 19th Centuries”, *The Journal of the American Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol.4, No.1, The History of City Planning (Jan., 1944), p23.

The reign of Ivan III also marked the city's acquiring of an increasing number of masonry structures. These were mainly, churches, monasteries, palaces, walls and towers, all defining the silhouette of the city. However the general feature of the city remained as a wooden and Asian till the eighteenth century.<sup>50</sup>

In the 14th to the 17th centuries churches, monasteries and fortification walls were the main features of the Moscow cityscape and the most important memorials of the Russian military glory (many of them were founded as a commemoration of military victories). The religious symbolism and the actual function of Moscow as a religious and spiritual center of Russia ('the heart of Russia') representing the historically rooted character – these for centuries were the ingredients of the city's image, making Moscow clearly different from the later capital, St. Petersburg.<sup>51</sup>

Moscow's gaining this religious and spiritual character was affected by the developments after the fall of Byzantine Empire, and itself affected the architectural form and styles of the cityscape. The architecture in the earlier Kieven Rus had been directly related to the Byzantine architecture and had already created a Byzantine tradition.

---

<sup>50</sup> Schmidt, p.10.

<sup>51</sup> Gritsai & van der Wusten, p.35.



**Figure 2** Plan of Moscow in the early seventeenth century. (Планы Москвы и карты Московии: из собрания Музея истории Москвы, Част первая. XVI-XVII вв. М. 2006.)

Furthermore, the marriage which took place between the Grand Prince Ivan III and Sophia Paleologa, who was the niece of the last Byzantine emperor, reasoned a Byzantine-Italian renaissance. Moscow in the assertion to be a “Third Rome,” with the establishment of a new Orthodox empire, synthesised the early forms of “Byzantine piety” as an ancient ideal with the new idea emerged in Rome: Renaissance. This architectural process was “introduced by craftsman from Bologna and Milan, Venice and Florence. This produced a mechanism for the assimilation Renaissance forms executed in Moscow by Italian architects.”<sup>52</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Shvidkovsky, p.6

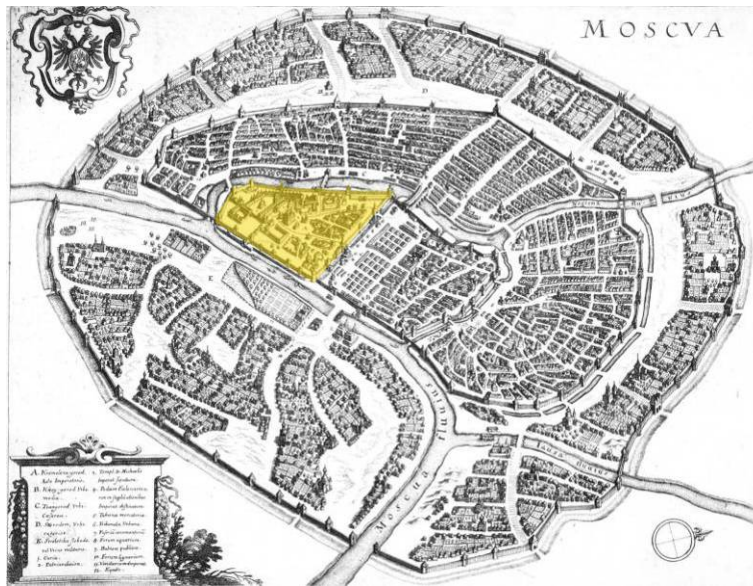


Medieval Moscow's form was characterized by the concentric walls and intersecting radial thoroughfares, like other cities. As the city became a major communication link in the territory, new radial streets emerged and connected with the old ones leading from the city center.<sup>53</sup> Having Kremlin at the core, the city contained the Kitai, Belyi and Zemlianoi Gorods.



**Figure 3** Plan of Moscow in the seventeenth century by M. Merian. (Планы Москвы и карты Московии: из собрания Музея истории Москвы, Часть первая. XVI-XVII вв. М. 2006.)

<sup>53</sup> Schmidt, p.10.



**Figure 4** “Kremlin” highlighted in M. Merian’s Moscow plan.

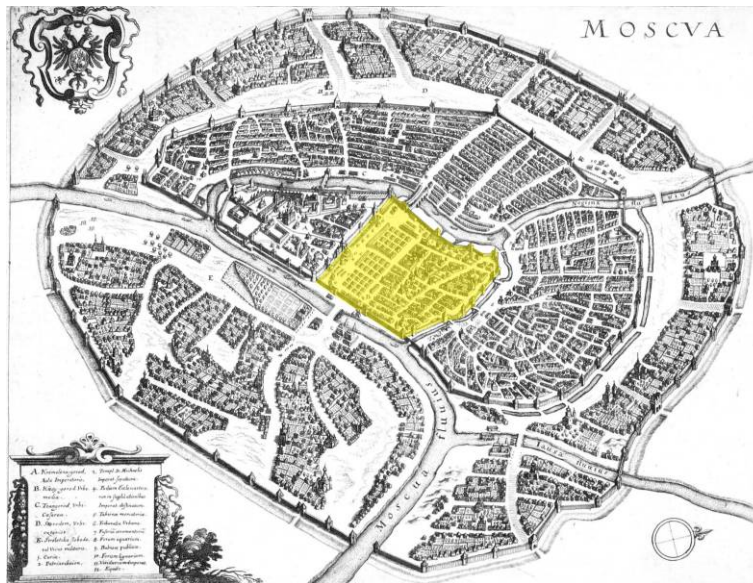
The first walled settlement outside the Kremlin walls was the “Kitai Gorod.”<sup>54</sup> The walls were constructed in sixteenth century. The meaning of the place must not be confused with the literal meaning “Chinatown.” The word is derived from *Kit* or *Kita* a material (woven basket) used for strengthening the wall. Thus, the word “Kitai Gorod” gains its meaning from the wall around it.<sup>55</sup> Inside the wall, the place was mainly of wooden construction. However, there were few churches, monasteries and some buildings of ambassadors’, merchants’, etc. which were constructed with stone and brick. Schmidt marks that: “The Kitai Gorod radials that continued east and northwest from the Kremlin were the best articulated of any in the city and subsequently proved adaptable to classical plan.”<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup> Russian: Китай-город

<sup>55</sup> Schmidt, p.12.

<sup>56</sup> Schmidt, p.13.



**Figure 5** “Kitai Gorod” highlighted in M. Merian’s Moscow plan.

The third grand division of the city was “Belyi Gorod.”<sup>57</sup> It means “White City.” Schmidt claims that the place took its name from the nobility who lived there and called as “white people.” He expresses that it did not take the name from the white wall surrounding the place.<sup>58</sup> But the most probable thing is the term “white-people” itself is coming from the white wall, mentioning the people living there.

The walls of Belyi Gorod formed above two-thirds of a circle on the north of the Moskva River, and enclosed the Kremlin and Kitai-Gorod and the last part of the Neglinnaya River where it flowed to Moskva. Thus the Moskva River formed the southern boundary of Belyi gorod.<sup>59</sup> In the fourteenth century, the radial streets located on the west side of the Neglinnaya (*Zaneglimen’e*) were settled by the people came from the other cities like Tver, Novgorod, Rzhev and Velikii Ustiug. But in the

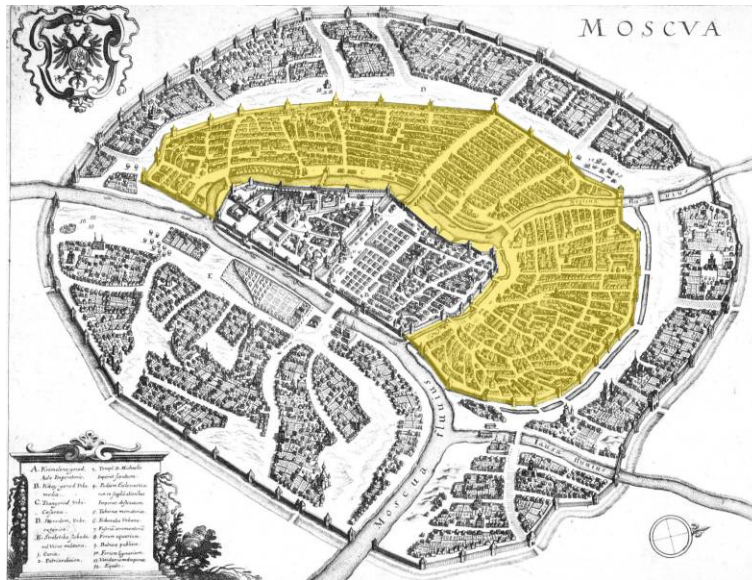
<sup>57</sup> Russian: Белый-город

<sup>58</sup> Schmidt, p.13.

<sup>59</sup> Knight, p. 435.



fifteenth century the place “became identified with the nobility and church: in Zaneqlimen’e, especially, boyar estates and monasteries had replaced smaller houses...”<sup>60</sup>



**Figure 6** “Belyi Gorod” highlighted in M. Merian’s Moscow plan.

Out of the Belyi Gorod, the last walled part of the city was the “Zemlianoi Gorod,”<sup>61</sup> which meant “Earthen City.” It was called like this because of the earthen rampart which built in 1618.<sup>62</sup> The form of the wall was almost circle expressing the radial character of the city’s form. The circle included all the four divisions of the city, taking the Moskva River inside as well.

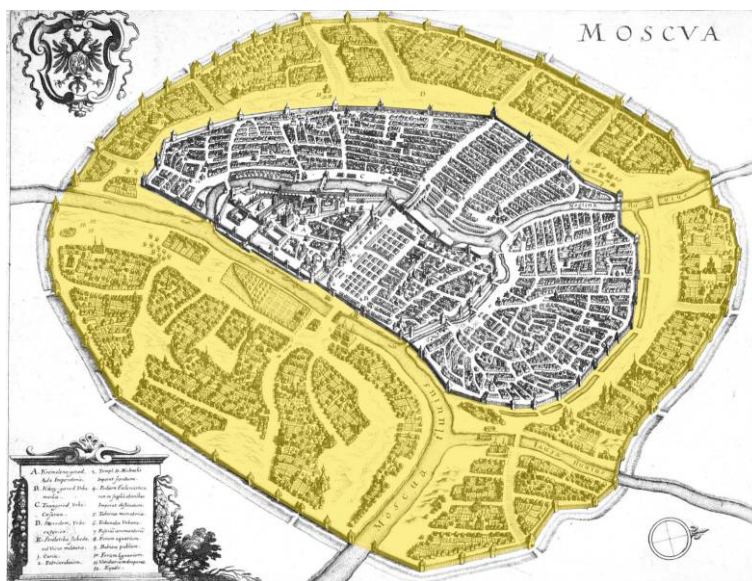
---

<sup>60</sup> Schmidt, p.13.

<sup>61</sup> Russian: Земляной город

<sup>62</sup> Knight, p. 436.

The Zemlianoi Gorod by the end of the seventeenth century had for three hundred years quartered streltsy, palace servants, tradesmen and craftsmen, horsemen, gardeners, and Tatars. Their settlements, grouped mainly on radial streets, were separated by gardens and fields. Building plots were smaller than those in the Belyi Gorod and housing, invariably of wood, was consequently denser. The Zemlianoi Gorod was once called *Skorodom*, or “quick house,” because the market for building supplies existed there.<sup>63</sup>



**Figure 7** “Zemlianoi Gorod” highlighted in M. Merian’s Moscow plan.

Until the beginnings of nineteenth century the general image of the city was more or less unchanged. The silhouette of Moscow marked by its countless numbers of towers in both walls and churches and many of which were covered with gilt or painted in green. The domes over the towers were in the form of bulb or onion having a wide diversity of colors. This overall view of the city was considered as

---

<sup>63</sup> Schmidt, p.14.



Oriental or Asiatic by western scholars.<sup>64</sup> The dominance of wooden construction in the city also contributed to this image.

## **2.2 THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE**

Eighteenth century, in Russian history, is commemorated with the empire building process. From the Tsardom of Russia, the country turned into one of the “great powers.” As well as being political, this “greatness” proved itself in territorial reconfiguration in Eurasia. According to Rowley, Peter I (1682-1725) was a violent catalyst of that transformation period, accelerating trends that had begun long before.<sup>65</sup>

Eighteenth century is distinctive in Russian history not only in political, but also in cultural terms. The foundations laid by the Muscovite state with its socio-political and cultural structure all witnessed an enormous change.

The eighteenth century constitutes a distinct period in the history of Russian culture. On the one hand it marked a decisive break with the Muscovite past... All of a sudden, skipping entire epochs of scholasticism, Renaissance, and Reformation, Russia moved from a parochial, ecclesiastical, quasi-medieval civilization to the Age of Reason. On the other hand, Russian culture of the eighteenth century also differed significantly from the culture of the following periods. From the beginning of Peter the Great’s reforms to the death of Catherine the Great; the Russians applied themselves to the huge and fundamental task of learning from the West. ...by that time acquired

---

<sup>64</sup> Knight, p. 435.

<sup>65</sup> Rowley, p.171.

and developed a comprehensive and well-integrated modern culture of their own, which later on attracted attention and adaptation abroad.<sup>66</sup>

Before analyzing the economic, political and geographical cause and effects of that glorious transformation, it will be better to summarize the dynamics that the eighteenth century and the eighteenth century Russia had taken over.

“By the early seventeenth century all of Russia’s social groups were more or less dissatisfied with their position.”<sup>67</sup> Kagarlitsky, with reference to English historian Eric Hobsbawm, describes this situation as “the crisis of seventeenth century” in the West, where in the economic growth decelerated, and commercial competition sharpened. One of the reasons of this economic crisis in seventeenth century was the imbalance in the economic relations between the Eastern and Western Europe and the poverty of Eastern Europe. Eastern countries were unable to buy Western commodities in large enough quantities.

From the second half of the seventeenth century the trade conditions of all the Eastern European countries with the West deteriorated. There occurred an imbalance in foreign trade and the goods exported from Eastern Europe were cheap, while those imported were expensive.

For Russia, however, an unfavorable balance of trade with the West finally became typical only around 1700 – in other words, only when the country, under the power of Peter the Great, turned its face fully toward Europe.<sup>68</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, Mark D. Steinberg, *A History of Russia: Volume 1: To 1855*, New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, p.264.

<sup>67</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.99.

<sup>68</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.107.

It's widely acknowledged that witnessing a continental crisis, seventeenth century was essentially an age of transition.<sup>69</sup> In economic terms, Russia started to be integrated with West. This integration sometimes took the form of mutual dependence on each other. Besides this mutualism, the decreasing importance of the Russian territory in the world economy was related with the shift of the trade routes, which once enabled the rise of Muscovy. At the same time the West was experiencing the transition period before the age of revolutions.

### **2.2.1 The Empire Building – Peter I and Catherine II**

The end of seventeenth century witnessed the proclamation of Peter I as the new Russian tsar, who would later be one of the few rulers in the history mentioned with the title “great.”<sup>70</sup> The reign of Peter the Great has a very important meaning in periodization of Russian history. It's regarded as the beginning of a new epoch with certain names portraying the new period with reference to varying features of it. Because of the new designation of ruler and land this period was referred to as the “Imperial Age”, because of the new capital city as “St. Petersburg Era” and because of state's inclusion of more and more subjects as the “All-Russian Period” other than the Great Russians of the Old Muscovites.<sup>71</sup>

Rowley indicates the year 1700 as a “convenient point to mark the beginning of a new era in Eurasian history, an era in which the center of gravity moved from

---

<sup>69</sup> Riasanovsky & Steinberg, p.161.

<sup>70</sup> This “greatness” is not celebrated equally and objectively in every written history of different countries. In Turkish historiography Peter I is mentioned as “Deli Petro” having the meaning of “crazy.”

<sup>71</sup> Riasanovsky & Steinberg, p.197.

East to West.”<sup>72</sup> Besides the development of institutions and relations of market economy in the West and the shifting of trade routes, another important force which both influenced and was influenced by removal of that center of gravity was Peter the Great’s desire to “westernize” his country with its institutions and culture. This shift to the west was spatial as well as economic and political.

Peter the Great’s foreign affairs was based on conquest. Besides the expansion of Russia among the Eurasian steppe which was crucial to provide the security of the country and economic needs, his main geographical targets were the two strong empires: Sweden and Ottoman Empires. Both were holding the two important economic zones, first was definite on the Baltic Sea and the latter on the East Mediterranean; both of them harbored two main potential trade axles and accesses to sea for Russia. Actually it was a deterritorialization by itself: a deterritorialization of the old state system between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea.

After Peter I took the power, his first major action was declaring war on the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman Empire was the power controlling the Black Sea with the southern shores close to Russia and protecting the Crimean Tatars. In order to form a powerful coalition against the Ottoman Empire, Peter organized a large embassy to visit many European countries. It was an unusual act for a Muscovite ruler to travel with the embassy. Between the years 1697-98 Peter the Great spent eighteen months in various European countries, with an intense interest in the West. While returning back he had recruited more than 750 foreign specialists, especially Dutchmen, in order to be used in his re-construction process.<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> Rowley, p.171.

<sup>73</sup> Riasanovsky & Steinberg, pp.203-204.

Besides the ruler's "Turkish affair", the situation shows the increasing importance of the continental diplomacy for Russia. In the meantime, unlike the foreign policy of Muscovy, it signifies Peter I's desire to be accepted as a strong partner by the Western European countries. Moreover the need for a technologic renovation for strengthening the army became a major must and the basics of foreign dependence in technical development started with those foreigner recruitments.

After several fights, a temporary Russian-Ottoman treaty was signed in Istanbul on the 14<sup>th</sup> of July, 1700. It was temporary because the Russians obtained Azov and Taganrog as well as the right to maintain a resident minister in the Ottoman capital with that treaty. But, soon after a silent period of few years which gave opportunity to Russian army to concentrate on the north; in July 1711 Russian army was inadequate to cope with the Ottoman army. Thus, Peter I signed another peace treaty, "according to which he abandoned his southern fleet, returned Azov and other gains of 1700 to the Turks, promised not to intervene in Poland..."<sup>74</sup>

At the beginning of the century the Swedish king Charles XII was occupying Poland, leaving his Baltic territory Livonia and Estonia with little protection. In 1701 and 1702, the Russian army defeated weak Swedish forces twice, and began to establish themselves tightly on the Gulf of Finland. In 1703, where Neva River meets the Baltic Sea, the foundation of St. Petersburg started. The following year, in order to protect this future capital, a fortress on the island Kronstad was constructed. Settling on the Gulf, Russia immediately started to construct a navy on the Baltic.

"Peter the Great involved Russia in military conflict in virtually every year of his reign." The campaign against Sweden or the so-called "Great Northern War", which took place between 1699 and 1721, occupied most of Peter I's reign and made

---

<sup>74</sup> Riasanovsky & Steinberg, pp.205-207.

him successful in achieving one of his principal goals, recognition as a major European power.<sup>75</sup>

As a sequence of Swedish defeat in the Great Northern War, the Treaty of Nystadt was signed between the two forces on August 30, 1721. In addition to that political achievement, the treaty provided Russia geographic and economic outcomes.

Peter the Great's victory in the Great Northern War gave his state access to the Baltic; and citizens of such ports as Riga, who were more proficient in navigation and commerce than the Russians, were then brought into the empire. "A window into Europe" referred as much to economic affairs as to culture or politics. Catherine the Great's huge gains from the partitions of Poland also brought Russia closer to other European countries and included towns and areas with a relatively more developed economy.<sup>76</sup>

Before Peter I defeated the Swedish army in Great Northern War, he almost had declared the newly constructed fort – St. Petersburg as the capital of country in 1712. The declaration of the new capital was a projection of the Russian greatness opening the European window. Especially, with holding Riga, Russia took the virtual control of the Gulf.

Sunderland stresses the character of Peter I's regime as preoccupied with war. The territorial losses and gains "and these acquisitions provided Russians with a new and compelling justification for thinking of their state as an international power. It was not by coincidence that after defeating the Swedes, Peter I's official title changed from tsar to emperor (*imperator*) and Russia itself became an empire

---

<sup>75</sup> Rowley, 174.

<sup>76</sup> Riasanovsky & Steinberg, p.257.

(*imperia*).”<sup>77</sup> It was the Senate, which was founded in 1711 as the highest state institution to supervise all judicial, financial, and administrative affairs, prevailed upon Peter I to accept the titles of “Great,” “Father of the Fatherland,” and “Emperor.” But it took time for European powers to recognize the new title of European ruler: the Netherlands and Prussia instantly recognized, but Sweden in 1723, Austria and Great Britain in 1742, France and Spain as late as 1745.<sup>78</sup>

The economic result of this territorial gain was becoming of the Baltic ports St. Petersburg, Riga and Libau as the main avenue of trade with Russia. They kept this dominant position into the nineteenth century.<sup>79</sup>

The process of transformation to an empire continued after Peter the Great. The foreign policy of Russia from Peter I to Catherine II (1762-1796) undergone in the established way of the first emperor. His desire to make Russia a European great power was carried on by his successors, as well. “The height of Russia’s identification with Europe came during the reign of Catherine II whose explicit goal was to realize enlightenment values.”<sup>80</sup>

It is claimed that Peter the Great had solved one of the three fundamental problems of Russian foreign relations: the Swedish problem. The other two: the Turkish and the Polish problems were settled by Catherine the Great. During the reign of Catherine II, after several military campaigns against the Ottoman Empire,

---

<sup>77</sup> Willard Sunderland, “Imperial Space: Territorial Thought and Practice in the Eighteenth Century”, *Russian Empire: Space, People, Power, 1700-1930*, Ed: Burbank, Jane, Mark von Hagen, Anatolyi Remnev, Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007, p.36.

<sup>78</sup> Riasanovsky & Steinberg, p.208.

<sup>79</sup> Riasanovsky & Steinberg, p.261.

<sup>80</sup> Rowley, 193.

on January 9, 1792, the Treaty of Jassy was signed. With this treaty, Russia's gain was the fortress of Ochakov and the Black Sea shore up to the Dniester River. Moreover, Ottoman Empire recognized Russian annexation of the Crimea. "Russia had reached what appeared to be her natural boundaries in the south; the Turkish problem could be considered essentially solved."<sup>81</sup>

Kagarlitsky interprets Catherine II's reign as a time of uninterrupted war:

From now on, however, Russian policy would have a different thrust. In attacking Turkey the government in St Petersburg was trying to open a new trade route, and to win new markets in the south, by breaking through into the Mediterranean."<sup>82</sup>

This success opened the fertile lands of southern Russia and gave the opportunity to be established on the Black Sea.<sup>83</sup> Making a monetary relief with military successes, Catherine II enabled Russia to follow the paths of Enlightenment. "She instituted a series of reforms that epitomized Enlightened despotism. Like Peter I, Catherine II reformed virtually every aspect of Russian society."<sup>84</sup>

### **2.2.2 The Empire of Periphery and the Paradox in Identity**

Riasanovsky and Steinberg claim that the eighteenth century in Russia was a period of learning from the West. Moreover, that learning continued in the nineteenth century. The writers remark that with the beginning of Alexander I's reign in the early nineteenth century

---

<sup>81</sup> Riasanovsky & Steinberg, pp.245-247.

<sup>82</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.162.

<sup>83</sup> Riasanovsky & Steinberg, p.257.

<sup>84</sup> Rowley, p.196.



Russia started to develop a glorious literary culture of its own, “which in time became the accepted standard of excellence in its homeland and a model to be imitated by many writers in other countries.”<sup>85</sup>

The roots of that cultural progress can be found on Peter I’s decisive breakdown with the Muscovite past, and Catherine II’s belief in Enlightenment. This progress was never apart from despotic and autocratic way. Nineteenth century’s cultural transformation paved the way for the debate about Russia’s identity. On the other side of the transformation, there occurred the discussions about the backwardness of Russia. The debate about describing the identity of country and its social and cultural domain – which contains Europe-Asia, East-west, westernization-nationality polarizations, etc. – took place in Russian historiography.

The answers tried to found to the questions: “Why Russia is not as developed as the West?”, “What are the reasons of Russian backwardness against the West?” Westernizers were ascribing all of Russia’s ill to insufficient Western influence and Slavophiles convinced that these misfortunes all flow from an excess of this influence.<sup>86</sup>

The political developments in the first half of the nineteenth century played a major role to inflame that cultural debate. Similar to the fall of Moscow in 1612 to Polish invaders, two centuries later, in 1812 Napoleon invaded Moscow. On September 14<sup>th</sup>, 1812 Napoleon entered the Kremlin. “Moscow, still constructed largely of wood, burned down during the first days of the French occupation.”<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> Riasanovsky & Steinberg, p.323.

<sup>86</sup> Kagarlitsky, , pp.5-6.

<sup>87</sup> Riasanovsky & Steinberg, p.291.

The war of 1812 is later accredited with patriotism and accepted as a popular war. Wortman specifies that after the invasion of Moscow by Napoleon, Moscow became the center of patriotic and romantic sentiment “The rebuilding of the capital and the intellectual development of Moscow accompanied a new national pride reflected in all aspects of Russian culture and thought.”<sup>88</sup>

Moreover, during the reign of Nicholas I (1825-1855) the Russian wing of European reaction became apparent. Nicholas I and his government, found its ideological expression in the doctrine of so-called “Official Nationality.” In 1833, the tsar’s minister of education Count Sergei Uvarov formally proclaimed Official Nationality. It contained three principles: Orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationality.<sup>89</sup> These three principals were accepted as the main principles of state’s official ideology and the people were expected to be loyal to the tsar, Russian Orthodox Church and Russian nation.

Within this discussion about Russia’s identity and east-west dichotomy, the two capital cities were attributed symbolic meanings. The territorial and geographic configurations and the center of that configuration became key arguments in the political expressions of the sides of the discussion.

This discussion needs to be analyzed as “the St. Petersburg-Moscow rivalry”, but first it will be helpful to point some marks about the “Russian backwardness.” Kagarlistky points out that it’s strongly related to the economic conditions of the country and the position that it took within the emerging world economy.

---

<sup>88</sup> Richard Wortman, “Moscow and Petersburg: The Problem of Political Center in Tsarist Russia, 1881-1914,” Sean Wilentz, ed., *Rites of Rulers: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics since the Middle Ages*, New Jersey: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999, p.246.

<sup>89</sup> Riasanovsky & Steinberg, p.302.

He describes this becoming a powerful empire but not catching the momentum of the West as being an “empire of periphery.”

Russia and England both experienced the same global crisis, but each of these countries experienced it in its own fashion. If England furnished an example of a revolutionary outcome of the ‘crisis of the seventeenth century’, the example in Russia was a reactionary outcome. In similar circumstances, the results were directly opposite. These results reflected not only different levels of socio-economic development and different political traditions, but, to a much greater degree, the difference places which the two countries occupied in the emerging world system.<sup>90</sup>

Thus, the Russian empire building process contained many contradictory elements in itself from every aspects of economic, political, social and cultural. On the one hand it became one of the “great powers” of the world, but on the other hand, it could not take a central position in the emerging world order.

## **2.3 THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE EMPIRE**

### **2.3.1 Imperial Re-Territorialization**

The perception of space and the consciousness in geography developed and metamorphosed in the empire building process which coincided with the development in technology and industry. The interest in geography and territoriality in governance was very much tied with the controlling the borderlands and the subjects of the empire within. Thus, it was the more rational division in the geography for the more socio-political stability.

---

<sup>90</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.125.

Space, people, and resources were all mental objects, and rulers strove to know, understand, and align them rationally. The search for correct pairings of population and land was fundamental to governance from the eighteenth century through the twentieth. ... Measuring, counting, mapping, describing were tasks assumed to be critical for efficient and productive administration.<sup>91</sup>

Sunderland marks that in the westernization process of Russia, geography became a scientific discipline and thereby the external borders defined more intensely, internal lands and resources became surveyed, catalogued, and managed. Moreover he claims that the members of the Russian establishment became increasingly likely to think of their country in territorial terms.<sup>92</sup> Sunderland draws two periods in the transformation about the territoriality within the Russian state and the Russian elite in the eighteenth century. In that manner, firstly, with the beginning of Peter the Great's reign, a new territorial order established and secondly, during the late 1700s the period of "high territoriality" experienced when the assumptions and practices of this new order were further enhanced and assimilated.

The new state utility in Peter I's faith in the promotion of practical science and acquiring the European power status is combined with the change in the nature of Russian territoriality. The territorial space was a matter of scientific research that has to be studied, managed and exploited as a resource; a tool of expression of state power to be shaped; and a symbol of national pride and a basis for national identity.<sup>93</sup>

---

<sup>91</sup> Burbank & von Hagen, p.16.

<sup>92</sup> Sunderland, p.34.

<sup>93</sup> Sunderland, p.36.

The first means of this territorial application were collecting systematic geographical data and mapping. Mapping was considered as a clearest expression of applying geography as a tool of state-craft, by consigning people to have knowledge of the territory as an expression of the patriotic feelings. The economic interest and rationally governance were fundament on the scientific studies on the geography. Moreover in the political and ideological domain of the rulers those processes served an extra role. National consciousness and imperial territoriality dissolved together. Territorial investigations and geography helped to crystallize the national consciousness.<sup>94</sup>

Another facility was “registration” of inhabitants on towns. It was the beginning of Russian internal passport system. Thirdly, reports of mineral and timber resources as well as tax-paying population were inserted to these works. Defining the territorial space of the state with its natural, man-made and human resources was the basic idea behind these methodologies of territorial knowledge.<sup>95</sup>

During the reign of Peter the Great local government and provincial division also underwent reform, with a strengthening of government control in certain borderlands.

After the reform of 1708 the country was divided into huge *gubernii*, or governments, eight, ten, and finally eleven in number. But with the legislation of 1719 a fully-developed and extremely far-reaching scheme appeared. Fifty provinces, each headed by a *voevoda*, became the main administrative units.<sup>96</sup>

---

<sup>94</sup> Sunderland, p.55.

<sup>95</sup> Sunderland, p.41.

<sup>96</sup> Riasanovsky & Steinberg, p.214.

That definition of state with territorial references also used as a tool for emphasizing Russia's Europeanness:

beginning in the 1730s, Russian scholars (in a move pioneered by Tatishchev) shifted the boundary between Europe and Asia from its traditionally accepted location on the Don River farther east to the Ural mountains, which were much deeper in Russian territory and therefore provided the Russians with a much more sizeable claim to geographic Europeanness. This new conceptualization then led to the new practice of using the Urals to divide the Russian state into two halves, a western half called 'European Russia' and an eastern one called "Asiatic Russia." This division obviously did not make Russia wholly geographically European (the larger half of the state was still in Asia), but it did reinforce the impression that the more populous and, of course, more "European" European side was a kind of metropole, while the Asian side was a kind of the colony.<sup>97</sup>

During Catherine the Great's reign, in 1765, the cadastral survey launched and ten years later a territorial reform begun. The cadastral survey was carried out in order to clarify land ownership in the countryside by drawing property lines and cataloguing the rural economic landscape. With the territorial reform the aim was to clarify the administrative space of the state.<sup>98</sup> Within this process, in 1763, the Imperial Academy of Sciences put together *Maps of Products of the Russians*, in order to picture the economic aspects of life in the empire. In this work the commission headed by Lomonosov, the pioneer of Russian science in the imperial

---

<sup>97</sup> Sunderland, p.43.

<sup>98</sup> Sunderland, p.48.

period, designated the region between the upper Volga and Oka rivers, which includes Moscow, as the core of the Russian state.<sup>99</sup>

This designation coincided with the concept of Russian core of the empire with its non-Russian expansion. “Russian scholars reinforced the idea that the state’s territory consisted of a historically Russian core and a historically non-Russian periphery.”<sup>100</sup>

In the first half of the nineteenth century, coinciding with Nicholas I’s “Official Nationality” policy, those questions about “interior Russia” became especially important to the Russian public. “The territorial growth in European Russia in the late 1700s, followed by still more expansion in the early 1800s, made the pressures of territorial aggrandizement more palpable than before, which in turn led to greater attention to the core area of the state”<sup>101</sup>

A quotation from F.N.Glinka in Gorizontov’s study intimately indicates the mythicizing of Moscow’s being in the center during that period:

“On the basis of ancient maps (*chertezhi*) and taking Moscow as the center, trace six, even seven, nearly perfect circles around the city. Along each of these circles you will then find large suburbs, trading villages and then towns-some no longer in existence, others still to be seen today-all arrayed at intervals of 30, 60, and 90 versts, and then at two, three, and four [units of] 90 versts beyond that. The [circles] located at the far outer edge were known in the past as the frontiers (*poslednie nazyvalis’ ukrainami*).”<sup>102</sup>

---

<sup>99</sup> Tagirova, p.126.

<sup>100</sup> Sunderland, p.43.

<sup>101</sup> Gorizontov, p.68.

<sup>102</sup> Gorizontov, pp.68-69.

### 2.3.2 Multi-Centrality: Moscow and St. Petersburg Rivalry

“If I take Kiev,” Napoleon famously remarked, “I will force Russia to her knees; if I take Petersburg, I will have her head; and taking Moscow, I will have her heart.”<sup>103</sup>

It has already mentioned that in Russian history the territorialization processes always included de-territorialization, and re-territorialization processes within that certain geography. In every territorialization formations the role of capital city – being in the center economically, geographically, politically, socially or mentally – gained different meanings on the socio-political culture in Russia.

Symbolic meaning of the capital city appears over the values or traditions of ruling powers. And the features of the ruling powers, defined by class contradictions and consciousness, re-define the public ideological, political and cultural attitude to the capital city.

A change in the values and traditions the autocracy celebrated made the nature and location of the political center problematic. The definition of the symbolic political center inevitably affected the prestige of the capital, the administrative and political center of the empire.<sup>104</sup>

It constructs the identity or it needs an identity in order to legitimize itself. Presentation of the state is another feature that dictates the character of the identity. In that manner the construction of the identity is related with the state’s tradition and legacy that it rooted. Even if it is not originally coming from these roots, the choice

---

<sup>103</sup> Gorizontov, p.68.

<sup>104</sup> Wortman, p.244.



of that identity is important. The mission it places for itself is in the world's economic and political system and the relations of commerce.

When looked from this point of view it will be clearer to understand the long-lasting dichotomy or rivalry between Moscow and St. Petersburg. The identity paradox in Russian culture which was originated from country's experience of Westernization and nationalization processes at the same time and became a critical opposition between Westernizers and Slavophiles, turned the two capitals as the basic tools of that confrontation.

The juxtaposition of Moscow and St. Petersburg was still more striking; indeed, by the mid-nineteenth century comparisons between the two cities-often referred to as the two capitals-had emerged as a classic theme of Russian culture. "We have two capitals: how then can you speak of one without comparing it to other?" Yet recognizing that the country had two capitals did not mean that they were equal, and of the two, Moscow appeared less prosperous. As Pushkin noted, comparing the Moscow of the 1830s to earlier times, "The decline of Moscow must be appreciated as an important development. [Its] impoverishment is proof of the impoverishment of the Russian nobility."<sup>105</sup>

Shevyrev defines this having two capitals at the same time in modern Russia as "bimetropolitanism." It originates from the decision of Peter the Great to move the capital of the country from Moscow to St. Petersburg in 1712. Although the tsar and his court removed to St. Petersburg, Moscow did not lose the formal status of capital. Rather, the title "Primathrone Capital" (*Pervoperstolnaya*) was given to Moscow.<sup>106</sup>

---

<sup>105</sup> Gorizontov, p.81.

<sup>106</sup> Alexander Shevyrev, "The Axis Petersburg-Moscow: Outward and Inward Russian Capitals", *Journal of Urban History*, vol.30, no.1. (November 2003), p70.

Thus, while St. Petersburg became the capital of the new empire, Moscow kept its status as the capital of tsardom remaining as the city of the emperors' coronation.

St. Petersburg, housing the emperor and state's westernised institutions was represented in the Westernizers' assertions and became the symbol of Russian greatness; however, when that greatness couldn't easily satisfy the public, Moscow "the third Rome" became the symbol of patriotism and the Russian spirit in Slavophiles' assertions.

During the 1840s and the 1850s the question of Russia's capital became the subject of extended debate between the Slavophiles and Westernizers. The Slavophiles defended Moscow as the true capital. "Moscow is the capital of the Russian people," Constantine Aksakov declared. "Petersburg is only the residence of the emperor," suggesting that in Russia, the presence of the ruler was not sufficient to establish the political center. They emphasized Petersburg's alienness and impermanence. Ivan Aksakov called it "the negative moment of history" which "cannot create anything *positive* in the Russian sense." A return to the positive was possible only through "the negation of Petersburg as a political principle." Alexander Herzen, before he fell under Belinskii's influence, felt similar misgivings. For him, Petersburg was a city that "had neither a history nor a future," that each autumn awaited "the squall that would submerge it," a reference to the legend that Petersburg was doomed to sink into the swamp from which it had arisen. Conservative intellectuals like Vasilii Zhukovskii and Michael Pagodin frequently expressed their preference for the old capital, which they thought represented the true center of the nation. "The heart of Russia" was the common phrase for Moscow.<sup>107</sup>

---

<sup>107</sup> Wortman, p.246-247.

This debate between the Westernizers and Slavophiles was related with the change in the values and traditions the autocracy celebrated. This change made the nature and location of the political center problematic. “The definition of the symbolic political center inevitably affected the prestige of the capital, the administrative and political center of the empire.”<sup>108</sup>

One of the important means of representation of the capital cities, which were represented and being objected in this political contradiction, was architecture:

Architecture changed, and consequently the appearance of the cities changed too. The new capital of St Petersburg, constructed on the banks of the Neva where previously there had been nothing, became a symbol of modernisation and of Russia’s new greatness.<sup>109</sup>

The main features of Moscow’s cityscape in the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries were churches, monasteries and fortification walls which were the most important memorials of the Russian military glory, being founded as a commemoration of military victories. Proclaiming itself as the successor of Byzantine Empire and as “Third Rome”, Moscow was the religious and spiritual center of Russia as the state itself was religious and spiritual. This religious symbolism designated the ingredients of the city’s image.<sup>110</sup>

According to Rowley the most significant political change that Peter the Great made was in the role of the Russian monarch. The tsars of Russia had legitimized their rules by “legitimate descent” and “divine right.” In the case of Peter the Great, the emperor was presented as ruler by “right of conquest.” Moreover,

---

<sup>108</sup> Wortman, p.244.

<sup>109</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.142.

<sup>110</sup> Gritsai & van der Wusten, p.35.

Peter I no longer participated in the religious court ceremonies such as the blessing of the waters at Epiphany, pulling away from the sacred and priestly representation of the tsar. Preferably, Peter I's most important ceremonial activity was the entrances into the capital as the victorious general in the triumphal military processions.<sup>111</sup> "If Muscovy had two supreme leaders, the tsar and the patriarch, only the tsar remained in the St. Petersburg era."<sup>112</sup>

The change in the emperor's public image strengthened the image of the capital city of the empire, being a monument of Enlightened Europe, rather than reflecting the holiness. Moreover, unlike Moscow, which has always been the symbol of orthodox Russia, St. Petersburg was presented as a city of many religions. Besides the numerous orthodox cathedrals, in St. Petersburg, the Catholic and Lutheran churches, an Armenian church, a mosque, and a Jewish synagogue were important elements of the cityscape.<sup>113</sup>

St. Petersburg's increasing significance as the governmental and military center of the empire shaped its general cityscape. The city was rightly considered to be a military capital because of the territorial presence of the army. The presence of the guards intensified the high "importance of representativeness in Petersburg life."<sup>114</sup> As well as centering the military facilities, St. Petersburg was a capital as a governmental center:

---

<sup>111</sup> Rowley, 173.

<sup>112</sup> Riasanovsky & Steinberg, p.215.

<sup>113</sup> Gritsai & van der Wusten, p.37.

<sup>114</sup> Shevyrev, p.76.

The dominant place of the ensemble was a palace square. One could hardly find a more majestic symbol of power than this vast space bordered from one side with a splendid palace, the emperors' residence, and from side with an enormous horseshoe of the General Staff, a focus of Russia's military power, and with Alexander's column (a monument to Alexander I) as a symbol of the personal emperor's power in the center of the square.<sup>115</sup>

In Moscow relatively few military buildings were constructed, unlike St. Petersburg. Rather, the city was getting concentrated on the construction of social and cultural facilities. Besides the residences of the nobility who wanted not to be in a direct contact with the autocracy, the university, Bolshoi theatre, the houses of the Guardian Council and the Nobility Assembly, the Widows' house, a high school for females from the nobility were constructed in Moscow in late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>116</sup>

The iconography of the monuments in the capitals also showed the represented identities of the cities. In St. Petersburg, the monuments significantly appeared reflecting the city's imperial character. There are three categories of imperial monuments: statues of tsars, statues of military leaders and explorers, and monuments of military feats.<sup>117</sup>

Also in terms of its monuments, Moscow was less imperial than St. Petersburg. In Moscow, most of the monuments were erected for the remembrance of historical events which were important for national history, or for national celebrities from the world of literature, art and science. Rather than belonging to the Russian

---

<sup>115</sup> Shevyrev, p.77.

<sup>116</sup> Gritsai & van der Wusten, p.38.

<sup>117</sup> Gritsai & van der Wusten, p.36.

Empire as a whole, the monuments of Moscow had a regionalist flavor, erected in commemoration of those historical events which were somehow related to the city of Moscow.<sup>118</sup> Apart from the empire's multi-ethnicity, "since the beginning of the nineteenth century, Moscow began to develop its memorial characteristic as the national center."<sup>119</sup> As mentioned earlier the war of 1812 against Napoleon played a decisive role in that process. "Moscow had multiplied its significance as a national sacred city and combined in its image the ideas both of the glory of firm resistance and of great sacrifice."<sup>120</sup>

Another feature of Moscow was its continuity in hosting the nobility. Even, when the city lost the title capital to St. Petersburg, it continued to house the nobility as a second residence and to be the spiritual center of Russia. The tsar's decree that liberated the aristocracy from obligatory state service in 1762 strengthened this feature of the city. Becoming the new capital St. Petersburg hosted the serving nobility mostly in military and some other official duties, but what Moscow became was the capital of the retired and not working nobility, having the advantage of being distant to the court and having closer link to the traditional culture and way of life.<sup>121</sup>

Building materials also differentiated in Moscow and St. Petersburg. In Moscow the basic building material was timber. But, from the very beginning, the new capital was supposed to be built of stone which was brought from all over the country. In 1714, with a decree, the tsar forbade the construction of stone buildings

---

<sup>118</sup> Gritsai & van der Wusten, p.38.

<sup>119</sup> Shevyrev, p.79.

<sup>120</sup> Shevyrev, p.80.

<sup>121</sup> Gritsai & van der Wusten, pp.37-38.

anywhere apart from St. Petersburg. It caused the decline of many big Russian cities, including Moscow, for almost 60 years.<sup>122</sup>

### **2.3.3 Russian City Planning in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries and Moscow**

When Napoleon entered the Kremlin on the fourteenth of September in 1812, the outcome was a burned down city of a wooden construction.<sup>123</sup> It was Moscow's general cityscape that survived through centuries. Like many medieval city, the reconstruction or rehabilitation of a locality in the city was done by force of fires.

The Petrine reforms and Russia's subsequent emergence into the main-stream of common European development brought about a change in Moscow architectural styles that reached right down to grass root level. In addition, Moscow's loss of capital status after the foundation of St. Petersburg, the latter's sweeping prospects and spacious squares, and Peter's ukase of 1714 forbidding the erection of stone buildings outside the new capital all had their effect on Moscow architecture. Building work in the city was not begun again on any scale until the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>124</sup>

An important development for Moscow in the first half of eighteenth century was the construction of another earthen rampart around the city which was known as Kamer-Kollezhsky Val.<sup>125</sup> It was built between 1731 and 1742 and literally meant "Kamer Collegium Rampart." Kamer Collegium was the "tax authority" which was

---

<sup>122</sup> Gritsai & van der Wusten, p.35.

<sup>123</sup> Riasanovsky & Steinberg, p.291.

<sup>124</sup> M. Ilyin, *Moscow: Architecture and Monuments*, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1968, p.118.

<sup>125</sup> Russian: Камер-Коллежский Вал

one of Peter I's twelve colleges. The earthen wall was about 37 kilometers around the city and had first 16 and then 18 guarded checkpoints (*zastava*) for control of taxes and internal passports.

The conditions started to change in favor of Moscow with the reign of Catherine II through the end of eighteenth century. In this era, the two capital cities were introduced with general plans of urban development, regulating the development of their overall structure. In Moscow the old wooden built environment was started to be replaced with new constructions in stone. Another important feature of the period was the destruction of the city walls of Belyi Gorod and Zamlianoi Gorod partly. The destructed parts were been converted to gardens or squares. Thus, Moscow started to gain many squares during this period.<sup>126</sup>

At this point it will be helpful to recall the interpretation of Blumenfeld about the fortification walls and moat that they were functioning for the purpose of administrative control rather than defense.<sup>127</sup> Similarly the urban politics of the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries were marked by autocratic statutes and edicts which were “enveloped public life in a web of restrictions and impositions, from street plans to passport rules, from passport budgetary obligations to administrative surveillance.”<sup>128</sup>

Beginning with the Catherine II, the tsarist urban policy was to control the physical appearance of cities through the plans and regulations. Individual urban plans for each of the provincial centers were dictated. In these plans the

---

<sup>126</sup> Gritsai & van der Wusten, p.37.

<sup>127</sup> Blumenfeld, p.24.

<sup>128</sup> Daniel R. Brower, “Urbanization and Autocracy: Russian Urban Development in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century”, in *Russian Review*, Vol.42, No.4 (Oct., 1983), p.377.



specifications were designating the location and patterns of squares and streets and the necessary destruction areas which were violating the plans.<sup>129</sup>

The main feature of the plans was an emphasis on the central square which is large enough for public celebrations and military parades and enclosed by major buildings of the administrative units, Orthodox cathedral, and the assembly hall of the local nobility. “Thus pillars of the Russian autocratic regime were grouped visibly at the most advantageous site, focus of attention for the entire population.”<sup>130</sup>

The basic task of all the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Russia was to develop a rational unified street plan in order to invalidate the older division between city and suburbs. But the whole had to be “enclosed in definite limits and dominated by the city center, with the architecture of the center, of the main streets, and of the secondary squares emphasizing this dominance.”<sup>131</sup> The reason of conceiving clearly-defined limits in the city plans was simple: they aimed order rather than growth.<sup>132</sup>

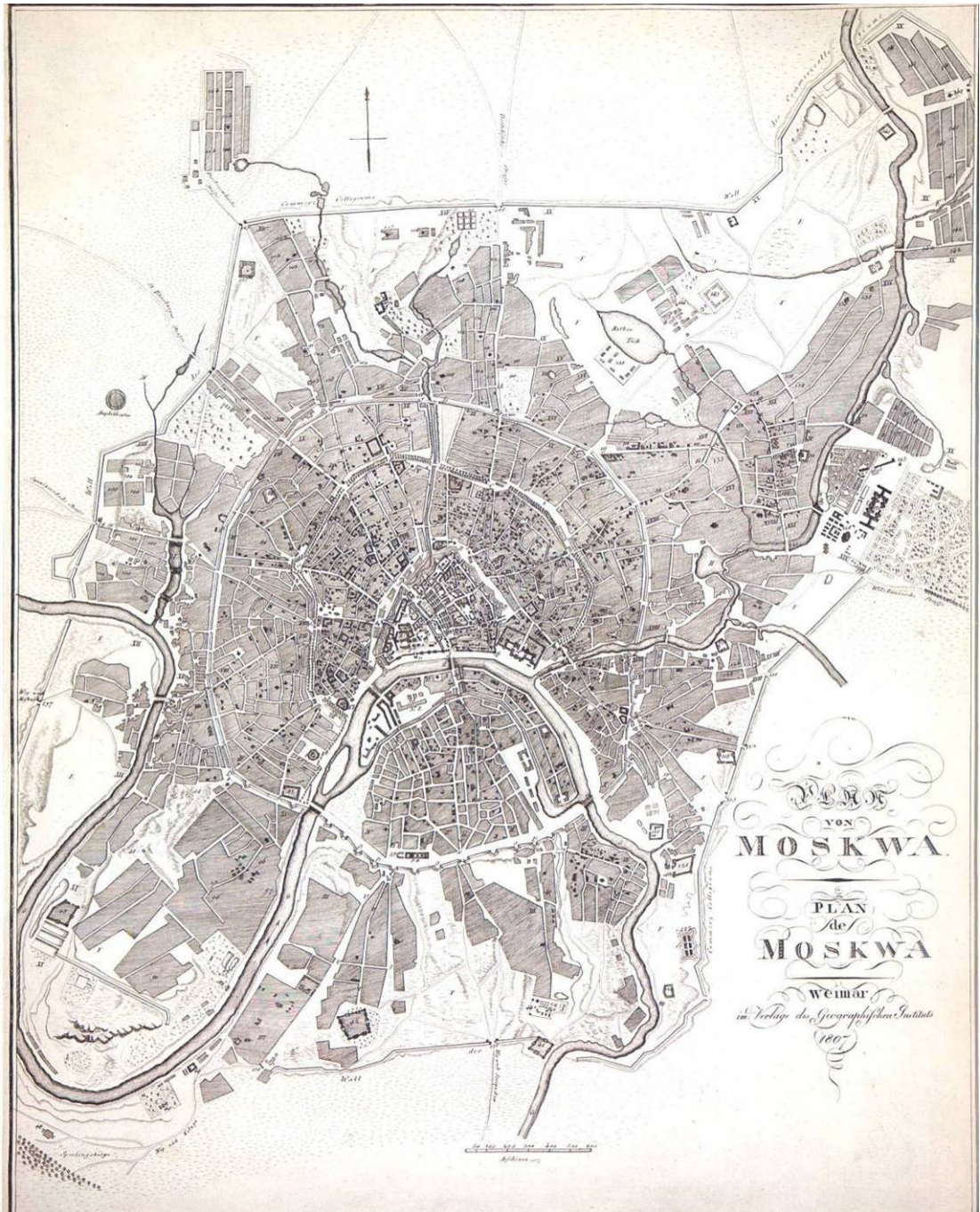
---

<sup>129</sup> Brower, p.379.

<sup>130</sup> Brower, p.379.

<sup>131</sup> Blumenfeld, p.26.

<sup>132</sup> Brower, p.382.



**Figure 8** Plan of Moscow in 1807. (Планы Москвы на рубеже эпох, Част вторая. XIX-начало XX вв. М. 2008.)

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Moscow witnessed a growth marked by the clustering of nobility. Rather than an administrative and military agglomeration the city was turning into a civil capital. The city was getting beautiful residences and buildings of social and cultural importance like the university, the Balshoi theatre, the houses of the Guardian Council and the Nobility Assembly and etc.<sup>133</sup>

The beginning of the nineteenth century, which also meant the start of Alexander I's reign, saw the flowering of Neo-Classical architecture, "originated by Catherine and the international circle of court architects she created around 1780."<sup>134</sup> During Alexander I's reign, the architectural tendency in the empire took shape of the so-called "Empire Style" which was identified with clear geometrical lines and the abundance of colonnades. Actually the style was "the architectural evolution of the Enlightenment era" but interrupted in France by the revolution and had the continuity in Russia.<sup>135</sup>

In Moscow the Empire Style kept a domestic decorative level. The need for reconstruction after the fire of 1812 enabled the Empire Style play its chief role but having a substantial change from both its French original models and the forms it had taken in St. Petersburg. The new and the restored houses of Moscow belonging the wealthy, the public buildings and the churches were constructed in Empire decorative style with architects efforts to achieve a harmony of old and new by

---

<sup>133</sup> Gritsai & van der Wusten, p.38.

<sup>134</sup> Shvidkovsky, p.296

<sup>135</sup> Shvidkovsky, p.296

combining the emotionality of ancient monuments with Classical order and uniformity.<sup>136</sup>

In addition to the empire style another specific style evolved mostly in the historical center of Moscow during the restoration of monuments after the same fire. It was a combination of Gothic revival and Early Russian forms. This architectural tendency evolved to the Russian Style in the 1830s with an interaction with Slavophilism. Moscow became the national movement in architectural terms as well. The starting point of the Russian style was the early architecture of Moscow.<sup>137</sup>

The evolution of the Russian style in Moscow architecture is closely connected with the work of the leading Russian architect of the middle of the century, Konstantin Andreyevich Ton (1794-1881). Born and educated in St Petersburg, he studied abroad for ten years, mostly in Italy. On his return to St Petersburg in 1828, he took part in a competition for the building of the church of Christ the Redeemer (sobor Khrista Spasitelya), which was to be no lesser scale than St Peter's basilica in Rome... Nicholas I decided he wanted the church to be in Russian tradition. This was a defining moment for the establishment of the Russian style in the nineteenth century.<sup>138</sup>

Actually as mentioned before this Russian tradition had the roots in Byzantine architecture. Thus, this Russian revivalism in architecture was also named as the Russian-Byzantine style. This revivalism had strong ties with the political movements of the time. Nikolai I's official policy of the "autocracy, Orthodoxy and the nationality" created its domain on architecture mostly on Ton's work in Moscow.

---

<sup>136</sup> Shvidkovsky, p.302

<sup>137</sup> Shvidkovsky, p.326

<sup>138</sup> Shvidkovsky, p.327

## CHAPTER 3

### THE INDUSTRIAL RUSSIA

#### 3.1 BEGINNINGS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION IN RUSSIA

Rapid industrial developments or even booms of some specific periods are actually preceded by longer periods of preparation, which needs slower, less dynamic accumulation of the forces that make possible.<sup>139</sup> In the case of Russia the industrialization process in the second half of the nineteenth century had a preparatory background which goes back to several centuries earlier. Every stage of industrial and technical development has many things yielded by the earlier processes quantitatively but almost in every case there's a qualitative rupture. The period of Crimean War and the beginnings of "the Great Reforms" are seen as the terminal points of Russian history of economic and industrial development.<sup>140</sup> But, the preparatory backstage includes the Peter the Great's will to modernize his country and moreover dates back to the seventeenth century's Muscovite state.

Blackwell traces the ultimate beginnings of the Russian industry to the seventeenth century. Before this period there were small scale manufacturing establishments employing wage labor. In the seventeenth century the building of a unified state by the Muscovite tsars made it possible to create a national market. With the creation of the national market and acquisition of vast borderlands and

---

<sup>139</sup> William L. Blackwell, *The Beginnings of Russian Industrialization, 1800-1860*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968, p.3.

<sup>140</sup> Blackwell, p.4.

colonies, “wealthy in furs and other commercially valuable raw materials, a domestic commerce and production started.”<sup>141</sup>

The establishment of fairs which served for the merchants of the country coming from different and even distant parts of the country is an important indication of the strengthening of a national market and the growing significance of domestic commerce on a far-ranging scale in seventeenth-century Muscovy.<sup>142</sup>

But another dimension here in the strengthening of the national market is the relation of the domestic market with the world system. If the discussion about Russia’s identity is re-considered, while Russian territorial unity constructed as a separate unit, it also became a subject of western re-configuration of economic system in the age of industry and revolutions.

Having a peripheral character in the emerging capitalist system of the world, in Russia industrialization in seventeenth-century was established either by foreigners or on the government’s initiative. That partnership between the state and the foreign capital served as the basis for technological improvement.<sup>143</sup>

Many historians evaluate Peter I’s reign as an early transitional phase, like the seventeenth century, but far more significant than the preceding period.<sup>144</sup> During the reign of Peter the Great, Russia also witnessed a reform era. As well as having overwhelming cultural dimensions, the reforms had a military dimension. Modernizing the army and navy had key importance to the emperor.

---

<sup>141</sup> Blackwell, p.11.

<sup>142</sup> Blackwell, p.13.

<sup>143</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.112.

<sup>144</sup> Blackwell, p.16.

The greatest development in the industry during Peter I occurred in metallurgy, mining, and textiles. Riasanovsky and Steinberg claim that it's Peter the Great who created the Russian textile industry, and developed mining and metallurgy impressively from very modest beginnings, establishing them, notably, in the Urals.<sup>145</sup>

Peter I's most significant and permanent industrial achievement was the Urals factory complex. The region was introduced with a mining, metallurgical, and armaments industry in order to supply the emperor's war machine. The conquest and war occupied an important character in the Russian empire building process and this character was strengthened by the peripheral position of the Russian empire. According to Kagarlitsky, this position "made it hostage to the wars of others, and forced it to pay with the blood of its soldiers for its 'economically inescapable' international obligations."<sup>146</sup>

The industrial development after Peter I increasingly continued. In numbers, there were 200 or 250 factories at the time of Peter I's death; it was 1,200 at the end of eighteenth century, or possibly even over 3,000, if the smallest manufacturing establishments are included.<sup>147</sup>

By the 1750's the Urals industrial region became the center of Russian heavy industry. It developed so spectacularly that Russia gained a leading position in Europe in iron production, becoming "a top competitor in the international market

---

<sup>145</sup> Riasanovsky & Steinberg, p.218.

<sup>146</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.174.

<sup>147</sup> Riasanovsky & Steinberg, p.258.

and one of the principal sources for England's iron on the eve of the industrial revolution in that country.”<sup>148</sup>

Another important development in the eighteenth century in Russian economy was the emergence of St. Petersburg and Baltic region as a trade area with the West and establishment of some industrial concerns with relation to this trade.

Also, Catherine II's belief in Enlightenment and her support for the free enterprise is worth to indicate in the process of empire's shift to the new modes of production. “Briefly, in economic life the empress turned in certain respects from rigid mercantilism to the newly popular ideas of free enterprise and trade.”<sup>149</sup>

### **3.2 RUSSIAN INDUSTRIAL REGIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY**

Second half of the nineteenth century not only in Russia but globally witnessed a “second industrial revolution”, making capitalism a global system and a unified commercial form of organization. The political geography of the planet radically changed and following these changes, a restructuring of international politics and social and political reforms were beginning everywhere.<sup>150</sup> In Russia the period began with “the emancipation of serfs” in 1860s, which is celebrated as a new stage in the country's history, pointing the era of the Great Reforms. These reforms made the autocrat – the tsar - referred to as “the liberator.” The empire hereto contained distinct “economic worlds” with varying level of economic development

---

<sup>148</sup> Blackwell, pp.19-20.

<sup>149</sup> Riasanovsky & Steinberg, p.245.

<sup>150</sup> Kagarlitsky, pp.201-202.



in different parts of the empire. These different economic parts of the empire started to emerge with the beginning of nineteenth century.

The theoretical postulates of regionalization in the early nineteenth century varied fundamentally from those of earlier times and led to a delimitation of imperial territories differing from each other in a number of respects: geographical, demographical, and strictly economic. The number of these regions ranged from eight or twelve, and stipulated the existence of a hierarchy of inner (central) regions versus all the other regions.<sup>151</sup>

Blackwell indicates that the Soviet economist and historian Liashchenko had identified eight industrial regions in the Russian empire by the end of the nineteenth century: the Moscow, St. Petersburg, Polish, and Uralian industrial regions; the eastern and western Ukraine; and the Baku and Transcaucasian oil and coal regions.<sup>152</sup>

The economic regions of nineteenth century densely emerged in the European Russia. Taking the Kingdom of Poland's substantial degree of economic freedom and self-sufficiency into consideration, three main industrial regions rapidly developed during the early nineteenth century. These were: Moscow-Vladimir, St. Petersburg-Baltic and Ukrainian industrial areas. Russia's primary center of heavy industry remained the Urals.<sup>153</sup>

---

<sup>151</sup> Tagirova, p.129.

<sup>152</sup> Blackwell, p.66.

<sup>153</sup> Blackwell, p.67.

The central industrial zone was constituted of primarily the provinces of Moscow and Vladimir. That area was considered as the birthplace of Russia's modern textile industry, including Moscow and Ivanovo as major industrial cities.<sup>154</sup> The St. Petersburg-Baltic industrial area was another emerging industrial unit containing the cities situated on the Baltic Sea such as St. Petersburg, Riga, and Narva. By 1860, St. Petersburg was almost the center of the machinery industry.<sup>155</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century Ukraine also developed as a major industrial area. At the end of the century, the industry of the Ukraine was situated on its agricultural activity, thus a woolens industry, liquor distilling, and beet sugar manufacture developed prior to the foreign capital.<sup>156</sup>

Trade also reflected the quickening tempo of economic life in Russia in the first half of the nineteenth century. Internal trade experienced market growth. The differentiation of the country into the grain-producing south and the grain-consuming center and north became more pronounced, providing an ever stronger basis for fundamental, large-scale exchange. Thus the north and the center sent the products of their industries and crafts south in return for grain, meat, and butter.<sup>157</sup>

The emergence of the modern industry and the development in agriculture in different regions of Russia encouraged Russian capitalism to create a more integrated home market.

---

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> Blackwell, p.68.

<sup>156</sup> Blackwell, p.70.

<sup>157</sup> Riasanovsky & Steinberg, p.319.

### 3.3 RAILWAYS IN RUSSIA

With the railway came the modern age. The advent of the railway had a greater and more immediate impact than any other any other technological or industrial innovation before or since. Railways, Max Weber noted in the early twentieth century, “have been the most revolutionary instrument that history records as regards the economy, and not merely transport.” In the wake of the fast growth of the railways from the 1840s onwards, there came the development of modern capitalism, and the formation of modern societies and nations. The railways transformed, redefined and expanded the limits of the civilized world.<sup>158</sup>

In the modernization process of the western world in the second half of the nineteenth century, railways were celebrated as a symbol of industrial progress in the railway-building countries of Europe. It’s understandable that the financiers and the governments had words to say and credit but also for the many European liberals’ hope the railways carried meanings. Moreover, Neilson and Otte signify that within the 1848’s revolutionary spring of the continental Europe, many revolutionaries’ arrival at Berlin had a symbolic meaning.<sup>159</sup>

In Europe the most significant cases were Britain, Germany and Russia which marked the fast growth of the railways. Especially Britain played a pioneering role in the development of modern railways.<sup>160</sup>

---

<sup>158</sup> Keith Neilson and T.G. Otte, “‘Railpolitik’: An Introduction”, *Railways and International Politics: Paths of Empire, 1848-1945*, eds. T.G. Otte and Keith Neilson, London and New York: Routledge, (2006) pp. 1-20., p.1

<sup>159</sup> Neilson & Otte, p.9

<sup>160</sup> Neilson & Otte, p.1

### 3.3.1 Re-Territorialization in the Age of Industry - Integration of the Empire

Many paradigm come together in order to explain the Russian boom of railroad construction throughout the second part of the nineteenth century. Mainly it's a major part of the national market building process and integration of differentiated industrial regions as well as connecting the rapidly growing urban centers. Moreover an imperial interest with military concerns also intensifies the need for railways. Thus, economic, political, military, social and geographic factors have to be considered altogether in order to make sense of the Russian railways.

According to Metzger, the students of Russian economic history assign the construction of railroads in tsarist Russia a central role in the economic development of Russia in late nineteenth century. The studies in this respect:

...have run from very general proportions, like "...the construction of the railways was the chief single factor in fostering Russia's economic progress," and the railroads were "possibly the most important structural change in the Russian economy during the pre-revolutionary period," to more specific ones, emphasizing their dominant role in the development of commercial agriculture and a national market, as well as in improving resource allocation, and generating demand for industrial production.<sup>161</sup>

Kagarlitsky points out that the need for the Russian economy's reorientation toward the internal market appeared in the beginning of the nineteenth century. It could only grow on the basis of a change into a freely hired labour and a rise in the cost of labour power. Moreover, in order to succeed Russia's transformation from a

---

<sup>161</sup> Jacob Metzger, "Some Economic Aspects of Railroad Development in Tsarist Russia", *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol.33, No.1, The Tasks of Economic History. (Mar., 1973), p.314.

peripheral empire into an economically independent country, the internal goals rather than external ones were dominant.<sup>162</sup>

In these terms the economic need for railways to be catalyst for the unified internal market was also an instrument to the realization of market reforms which demanded a more complex inventory of regional differences.

In order to transform the country into a “united and indivisible Russia,” into a single economic space, it was first necessary to resolve issues regarding the optimal distribution of industrial enterprises, market infrastructures, new population settlements, and market centers. Here railroad played a major role. The problem of regionalization had become part of the problem of the empire’s economic modernization.<sup>163</sup>

The creation of a unified internal market has to be considered with the process of Russia’s transformation from a state of pre-industrial and pre-capitalistic backwardness into the path of modernization and industrialization. Here the reduction of transportation costs also played a decisive impact for railway construction. The price differentiations of the products - especially grain - between regions were because of the high transportation costs. Thus, reducing these costs played a major role for railway construction, as well.<sup>164</sup>

The construction of railroads itself also emerged as an industry, strengthening the development of iron and steel industry and contributed the industrial

---

<sup>162</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.181.

<sup>163</sup> Tagirova, p.129.

<sup>164</sup> Jacob Metzger, “Railroad Development and Market Integration: The Case of Tsarist Russia”, *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol.34, No.3. (September, 1974), p.548.

infrastructure. Furthermore, “the construction program also helped to open up backwards areas to industrial development.”<sup>165</sup>

As Heywood remarks the relationship between railways, state and empire in late tsarist Russia became distinctively significant. After the defeat in the Crimean War in mid-1850s, the economic, political and military urgency of creating a public railway network occurred. The following half-century’s development of railway construction “facilitated economic modernization, increased central control over the periphery, abetted diplomatic resurgence, and furthered imperial expansion.”<sup>166</sup>

Actually the importance of railways during in a battle or short war could be considered from two main aspects. The first was “to move the troops from assembly points to the concentration areas during mobilization.” This task focused attention on about eight trunk routes from the cities such as St Petersburg, Moscow, Orel, Kursk, Poltava and Odessa on the western borders. Second task was “to maximize the army’s scope for operational manoeuvre by enabling troops to be moved between different sectors of the front...” The term “strategic railways” were identified by army planners. They assessed their adequacy primarily in relation to these two tasks.<sup>167</sup>

It is worth indicating that with the beginning of nineteenth century, there had been early attempts to upgrade the transportation system in Russia. Up to nineteenth century the rivers and lakes continued to play an extremely important role in trade and travel. Concordantly, a number of canal projects designed and practiced in order

---

<sup>165</sup> Neilson & Otte, p.6

<sup>166</sup> Anthony J. Heywood, “‘The Most Catastrophic question’: Railway Development and Military Strategy in Late Imperial Russia”, *Railways and International Politics: Paths of Empire, 1848-1945*, eds. T.G. Otte and Keith Neilson, London and New York: Routledge, 2006, pp. 45-67., p.45.

<sup>167</sup> Heywood, p.50.

to create connections and improve the usefulness of the water network. For instance linking Western Dvina to the Dnieper and St. Petersburg to the Volga, was desired to make it possible to send goods from the upper Volga to the Baltic Sea.<sup>168</sup>

### **3.3.2 Iron Routes – Making the Russian Rail Network**

#### **3.3.2.1 *Early Attempts of the 1830s***

During 1830s the discussion about need for the construction of railways in Russia became apparent in public. Alongside the Russian merchants and industrialists who pressed for railway links, not only between the two capitals, but also from Russia's interior to the Black Sea; it's widely discussed and supported in academic and scientific circles. Articles and books presenting the economic and technical advantages of railroads to the public were published. However opposition to Russian railroads was also widespread. Some journalists and engineers were against the railways but most importantly people in the upper echelons of the bureaucracy were in opposition, concerning with planning, financing, and administrative implementations. It was not surprisingly reflecting "the conservatism of intellectual and official circles of the Nicholean period: resistance to change, to innovation, to departure from past procedures, to threats to economic or bureaucratic vested interests, to experimentation or needless risks, and to extravagance in ideas or money matters."<sup>169</sup> However, the tsar himself wanted a railroad at least between St. Petersburg and Moscow.

---

<sup>168</sup> Riasanovsky & Steinberg, p.320.

<sup>169</sup> Blackwell, pp.272-273.

The first public Russian railroad was opened to function in 1837 connecting St. Petersburg with the suburban imperial residence of Tsarskoe Selo-present-day Pushkin. As well as the imperial intentions the line also joined the St. Petersburg society with suburban Tsarkoe Selo and Pavlovsk. This first Russian railroad, thereby, considered not much more than an excursion line. But this first step showed and proved that a railroad could function in Russian climate and geography. Moreover, the construction of the first trunk line constituted the first segment of a trunk line between St. Petersburg and Moscow.<sup>170</sup>

The construction of the Tsarskoe Selo railroad started in the spring of 1826 and finished in the fall of 1837. The materials used in the construction were imported; the rails and most of the locomotives from England, and some others of the locomotives from Belgium. The labor worked at the site was unskilled, consisting of 2,500 serfs and 1,400 soldiers.<sup>171</sup> The distance that the railroad spanned was about fourteen miles. Jakob Metzger qualifies the St. Petersburg - Tsarkoe Selo railroad as “the Tsar’s toy,”<sup>172</sup> however this “toy” could be considered as response to the opponents of the railroad construction in Russia.

### ***3.3.2.2 The Moscow–St. Petersburg Line***

If the Tsarskoe Selo railroad is considered as an early experiment in Russia, the first major railroad project was the St. Petersburg – Moscow railroad. The Finance Minister of the Tsar Nikolai I, Count Egor Frantsevich Kankrin was in opposition to this railroad project as well as all the railway projects in Russia as they

---

<sup>170</sup> Blackwell, p.274.

<sup>171</sup> Blackwell, p.277.

<sup>172</sup> Metzger, 1974, p.535.



would lead to “frequent and useless travel, thus fostering the restless spirit of our age.”<sup>173</sup> But the Tsar overrode his minister and upheld the construction of the railroad.

What motivated Nicholas I to override his ministries and favor the railroad? Military considerations were uppermost, most students of the subject would agree. According to Mel’nikov, Nicholas stated that it was cheaper to garrison guards regiments in Moscow and a railroad meant that these units could safely be stationed at such a distance, because they could be brought into action in the Baltic capital with full supplies and horses in less than twenty-four hours.<sup>174</sup>

Tsar’s opinion to put a quick connection between St. Petersburg and Moscow for military purposes and safety can be interpreted together with his political campaign of nationalism. May be a point of interpretation could be risen to say that the Tsar’s political position on the so-called “official nationality” and favor to Moscow led him to strengthen the ties between the twin capitals. So that the heart of Russia would also garrison a remarkable part of army to secure St. Petersburg.

Shevyrev also indicates St. Petersburg – Moscow railway had a more state significance than the economic one. He draws the attention on the role of the railway connection to provide the capital city more efficient control over the country. And reversely the rest of the country benefited from the closer accession to St. Petersburg.<sup>175</sup>

---

<sup>173</sup> Neilson & Otte, pp.4-5

<sup>174</sup> Blackwell, p.283.

<sup>175</sup> Shevyrev, p.73.

On February 1842, Tsar Nikolai I issued a decree (*ukase*) about the construction of St. Petersburg – Moscow railway, saying that “for general usage is the communication, so much important for the whole industry and life of the state.”<sup>176</sup> The project of the construction was planned by the engineers P.P. Melnikov and N.O. Kraft. The distance between St. Petersburg and Moscow was divided equally into two as northern and southern commands (*direktsii*) and the construction of the rails and the related bridges and stations were planned within these divisions. The northern part which started from St. Petersburg to the town Bologoe was headed by Melnikov, and the construction of the southern part which started from this point to Moscow was headed by Kraft.<sup>177</sup>

The whole line was almost straight because it was very practical to build like that depending on the flatness of the land and absence of large bodies of water and high hills. Tsar Nikolai I himself demanded the cheapest and shortest possible connection between the capitals. Thus, rather than including the city Novgorod in the railway which would create a curve, the city was omitted from the project as the tsar interested more in the military effectiveness of the line than the economic development and needs of the province of Novgorod.<sup>178</sup>

The excavations began in 1844 and the construction began in 1848. The hard conditions of Russian climate affected adversely both excavations and construction. Working mostly in sand and clay, the summer rains made digging almost done by handwork and the cold weather made it unfeasible. Moreover problem in the

---

<sup>176</sup> A. Vaskin, Y. Nazarenko, *The Architecture and History of Moscow Railway Stations*, Moscow: Sputnik+, 2007, p.54. (А. А. Васькин, Ю. И. Назаренко, *Архитектура и История Московских Вокзалов: Фотоальбом-путеводитель*, М.: Компания Спутник+, 2007.)

<sup>177</sup> Blackwell, p.285.

<sup>178</sup> Blackwell, p.285.

management and financing and the corruption conducted to prolonging the construction schedule. During the peak of the warm season the number of the workers climbed the number between 40,000 and 60,000.<sup>179</sup>

The railway opened to public officially in 19th August 1851:

On that very day Emperor Nikolai I and his spouse, the heir to the throne, princes, four German princes and the court, the suite and two Guards' battalions of Semenovskij and Preobrazhenskij regiments, all of them went from Petersburg to Moscow by train. The High Committee left Petersburg at 3 a.m. and arrived in Moscow at 11 p.m. The journey took them 19 hours. The Emperor liked travelling a lot.<sup>180</sup>

The line was called "St. Petersburg-Moscow" but in 1855, when Alexander II became tsar, he ordered that the name of the railway would be Nikolayevskaya in honor of Nikolai I. When opened the St. Petersburg – Moscow railway was the longest two tracked way in the world and had one of the most complicated technology.<sup>181</sup>

The St. Petersburg – Moscow railway started with the initiative of state and when completed in 1851 a private company had the responsibility.<sup>182</sup> But the source needed to fund the construction was supplied from abroad. The railway linking the two capitals in Russia was built with the help of foreign loans. Kagarlitsky indicates that British capital played a decisive role in the first cycle of railway construction in Russia. With reference to Soviet historians he addresses that "at the time of

---

<sup>179</sup> Blackwell, pp.291-298.

<sup>180</sup> Vaskin & Nazarenko, p.55.

<sup>181</sup> Vaskin & Nazarenko, p.55.

<sup>182</sup> Ames, p.57.

subscribing, British capital accounted for approximately half of the total sum of all the loans for financing railway construction.”<sup>183</sup> As an architectural expression of the railway the station buildings were designed by the same architect and constructed in the twin capitals simultaneously with almost same design.

### ***3.3.2.3 Iron Network in Russia***

Discussions about the need for railways in Russia continued after the construction of St. Petersburg – Moscow and oppositions were still in question. But the outbreak of Crimean War changed the situation. The war (1853-1856) between Russian Empire and the alliance of French, British and Ottoman Empires ended with the defeat of Russia. What was crucial factor causing the defeat of Russia was the lack of a developed railway network.<sup>184</sup> The same technological deficiency was pointed to the Ottomans after the war.

The Crimean War had put a question mark over the place of the Russian empire in Europe. This place had to be regained and consolidated with the help of reforms, diplomacy, military construction, the building of railways and expansion of education. In Russia’s twin capitals the liberal public was well aware that an autocratic state could act as a tool for modernisation.<sup>185</sup>

Neilson and Otte argue that it was the shock of the Crimean War which alerted St. Petersburg to the potential of the railways. In 1857 Tsar Alexander II

---

<sup>183</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.186.

<sup>184</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.192.

<sup>185</sup> Kagarlitsky, p.219.

issued a decree and declared that “our fatherland, equipped with abundant gifts but divided by huge spaces, especially needs suitable communications.”<sup>186</sup>

After Crimean War an important turning point in Russian history is the abolition of Serfdom in 1861 by Tsar Alexander II. With this event the country entered the way of economic liberalization and capitalist development. In Russian history the tsar’s declaration made the autocrat called ironically as “the liberator.”

When serfdom was abolished (1861) and the expansion of railroads started to occupy a prominent place in development policy toward the end of the nineteenth century, Russia was launched on a transformation from a state of pre-industrial and pre-capitalistic backwardness into a path of modernization and industrialization.<sup>187</sup>

With the connection of St. Petersburg and Moscow by railways the relative position of two capitals in the communication system of the country developed. But now, joining other parts of the country with the capitals became an important goal Shevyrev expresses that after the construction of St. Petersburg – Moscow railway; two other important lines were taken into consideration. These were the proposals for the construction of lines from St. Petersburg to Warsaw and from Moscow to the Black Sea.<sup>188</sup> More generally, after the opening of St. Petersburg – Moscow line for commercial use, the commercial and industrial centers of the central and western parts of the Empire or the European Russia were planned to be integrated with a rail

---

<sup>186</sup> Neilson & Otte, p.4-5

<sup>187</sup> Metzger, 1974, p.529.

<sup>188</sup> Shevyrev, p.73.

network. But with the beginning of the Crimean War, all railroad planning and construction ended.<sup>189</sup>

In Metzger's periodization there are two distinct waves in Russian railway construction: the first one was between 1866 and 1875, and the second one was between 1893 and 1905. The main feature of the first period was the construction of primary trunk lines concentrated mostly in the European part of Russia. With these lines several parts or "wings" of European Russia were connected. The Baltic Region, the western region, the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov interconnected. Meanwhile the central region containing Moscow obtained connection the northwestern, western, southern, and Volga regions. In the second period mostly the secondary branch lines which were going deeper into the countryside and increasing the network's density were constructed.<sup>190</sup>

Two periods also differs from each other in economic tendencies of the state. In the first case what is significant was the liberal economy policy in relation to the western financiers, while in the second case more control of the state and reforming the "chaotic" railway system was significant. In respect to this the ministry of finance and the ministers played important roles in Russian railway construction and development process.

Mikhail Khristoforovich Reutern was finance minister between 1862 and 1878. This period which witnessed a peak in railway construction is regarded as a pioneer era in Russian railway building. In this period technical innovations were introduced into financial administration. Before his ministry he worked in the special committees on railroad development and the banking system. And one year before he

---

<sup>189</sup> Blackwell, pp.320-321.

<sup>190</sup> Metzger, 1974, p.535.

became the minister the Nikolayevskaya Railway was sold to the company “Grande Société des Chemins de fer Russes.” This was the precursor of his liberal economy policy which would cause to “the construction and management of railways lay in the hands of private enterprise.”<sup>191</sup> Thus, in this period foreign investment -especially French which replaced by the British- became dominant in Russian railway industry.

The initial method of state financing and control of railroad construction and operation was abandoned after the death of Nicholas I for experiments with private enterprise. With the imperial confirmation in 1857 of the Grande Société des Chemins de fer Russes, Russia became the happy hunting ground for foreign investors, capitalists and, engineer-entrepreneurs.<sup>192</sup>

As indicated before the main concentration of Russian railway construction in the 1860s was the Moscow area. The characteristic radial system around Moscow, including the lines to Brest, Vologda and Rostov, became apparent in this period.<sup>193</sup> The first major railway in Russia which was connecting the two capitals was built in more military and governmental intention. However the opening of the line enabled Moscow to send goods outside more effectively. Thus, in Moscow and correlatively in the Central Industrial Region the acceleration of industrial development increased immensely. Along Moscow that region included the towns along northern Volga-Yaroslavl and Ivanovo as a textile center.<sup>194</sup>

---

<sup>191</sup> Neilson & Otte, p.4-5

<sup>192</sup> Blackwell, p.321.

<sup>193</sup> Ames, p.62.

<sup>194</sup> Ames, p.67.

This industrial development of the region required more integration with the remaining parts of the country. In 1861 a new railway line departing from Moscow to Nizhny Novgorod (Gorki) built. In 1864 the Moscow-Ryazan line was constructed and in 1870 the Moscow-Yaroslavl line; in 1868, the Moscow-Kursk line; and in 1894, the Moscow-Kazan line. “These lines formed part of the radial system centering in Moscow, and permitted the expansion of markets and food sources for the city.”<sup>195</sup>

In the second period or “boom” of Russian railway construction the key figure was Sergei Yulyevich Witte.<sup>196</sup> Witte in his early career in Russian political life, before being the Chairman of the Council of Ministers which was the equivalent to prime minister in 1905, played an important role in Ministry of Finance in Russia. After taking his degree from the university he “began a career in railroading.” In 1889 he was the director of the Department of Railroad Affairs under the Ministry of Finance. Three years later he became the minister of ways and communications and finally in 1893 he was the minister of finance.<sup>197</sup> The second period that Russian railroad construction upsurged and as Metzger dates between 1893 and 1905 is remarkable for Witte’s political efficiency.

Neilson and Otte evaluate Reutern’s liberal railway policy as creating a chaotic railway system. But Witte is credited with reforming that system. Actually liberal policy was started to be gradually replaced from 1877 onwards. Like Crimean War which showed the urgent need for railways in Russia the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 had demonstrated the inadequacy of the existing railway network for military

---

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

<sup>196</sup> Russian: Сергей Юльевич Витте

<sup>197</sup> Sidney Harcave, Ed. *The Memoirs of Count Witte*, Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 1990, pp.xiv-xv.



usage. Then the term “strategic railways” was introduced to Russian public. Rather than directing the railways merely for profit, the apprising the rail network and the future designs according to the needs of state and turning them as instruments to serve for economic and military purposes became crucial under Witte’s railway policy.<sup>198</sup>

Another important feature of the period unlike the first spurt was Witte’s attempts to purchase privately owned railway companies for the state:

By 1903, nearly 70 percent of all lines were in the hands of state. Between 1893 and 1900 the Russian government invested 2,226.6 million roubles in the railways. During the Witte period the railway network more than doubled in size, from 18,134.6 miles in 1891 to 36,689 miles in 1906.<sup>199</sup>

In Witte’s industrial development intention the construction of Trans-Siberian railway took an important place. The line was considered as the European Russia’s crucial link with the Far East and “it was to be a vehicle of Russia’s *pénétration pacifique* of East Asia.”<sup>200</sup> In a wider context it was a part of a “programme of laying double tracks on existing lines, shortening connections and building branch lines to the West and South of the Urals”<sup>201</sup> In that regard another aspect of the railway construction after 1890 onwards was contribution to the improvement of the domestic market besides the political intentions.<sup>202</sup>

---

<sup>198</sup> Neilson & Otte, pp.5-6.

<sup>199</sup> Neilson & Otte, p.6

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> Neilson & Otte, p.7

<sup>202</sup> Metzger, 1974, p.541.

Another peak in Russian railway construction was during the First World War for military purposes. But almost at the end of the nineteenth century Russian railway system gained the basic guidelines. After summarizing the political principals and the remarkable policy makers behind the periodical railway construction in Russia, it is important to remind that different aims and intentions in Russian railway construction process came together and contributed to create the system.

Russian railway system was a living product of many different schemes of intentions which would create a whole. From this point Ames groups Russian railways into six principal classes. The first category contains “the lines of military significance.” The St. Petersburg – Warsaw line of 1861 and Moscow – Brest-Litovsk - Warsaw line of 1871 were significant for providing connections between the frontier and the major industrial and population centers of the country.<sup>203</sup> The second category contains “the lines built to stimulate the export trade.” These lines significant especially for grain trade were the lines running both the Baltic and Black Sea ports.<sup>204</sup> The third group consists of the lines “built within existing industrial complexes.” These lines were concentrated mainly in the three important industrial regions of the country: the Moscow or the central industrial region, the Urals and the Ukraine. Each of these lines created nodal points in the railway systems of Russia.<sup>205</sup> The fourth group is significant for “connecting existing industrial complexes.” The fifth category helped for “opening up undeveloped areas,” which were Siberia, the

---

<sup>203</sup> Ames, p.64.

<sup>204</sup> Ames, p.65.

<sup>205</sup> Ames, p.66.

Far East, Kazakhstan and Central Asia; and far northern European Russia.<sup>206</sup> Finally the last one is significant for the development of regional lines along main transit route. These were the numerous short lines in the Volga are and the branches of Trans-Siberian railway.<sup>207</sup>

All these categories of lines created the Russian railway system. This system made Moscow the center of the national communication system:

In the mid-1870s, there were already six railways radiating from Moscow, and Petersburg still remained on the periphery of the communication system. ... By the end of the century, Moscow was connected by direct lines with twelve seaports on the Baltic, Black, and Azov seas; with seven river ports on the Volga; and with the regions of the northern Caucasus and the Urals. By World War I, Moscow had nine railway stations with ten main lines originating from them. And in the end, Petersburg came to be situated on one of these lines of the network, which centered on Moscow.<sup>208</sup>

In Shevyrev's words if it was the railways that had promoted the transformation of Moscow to become the genuine national center,<sup>209</sup> it indicates that it was not only the "revolutionary will" of the Bolsheviks when they declared Moscow as the capital city of the new regime in 1918. The creation of "domestic" market and industrialization which gained its "spine" in iron with railways enabled Moscow to be celebrated not for becoming "Third Rome", but for being the "first capital city of world socialism."

---

<sup>206</sup> Ames, p.72.

<sup>207</sup> Ames, p.74.

<sup>208</sup> Shevyrev, p.74.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid.



**Figure 9** The Russian Railway Network in 1910 showing only the lines radiating from Moscow and St. Petersburg. (Sheviyrev, p.75.)

## CHAPTER 4

### MOSCOW AND THE RAILWAY STATIONS

#### 4.1 RAILWAY STATION BUILDING AS A NEW TYPE OF ARCHITECTURE

As a result of the “Industrial Revolution”, which provided Britain a pioneered position in the new relations of production and modes of transportation related to the country’s advance in steam and iron-making technology, railway station emerged as a new building type in the nineteenth century. From the basic principle that every new type of building owes its birth to a requirement, the emergence of railway station could be defined as a matter of necessity rather than pleasure,<sup>210</sup> posing new problems of architectural design.<sup>211</sup>

For its advance in industry, which created the necessity for railways, Britain witnessed the emergence of the first railway buildings in the early nineteenth century; immediately after, the United States shared this advance. It was in 1821 when the Stockton and Darlington Railway was authorized with the intention of serving for the public on payment of tolls, like a highway.

The tollhouse or a ticket office was the only special building during the transition era of railways. “The first obvious requirement for passengers, after the purchase of a ticket, was waiting space and, when this concession was made to

---

<sup>210</sup> “The Inception of English Railway Station”, in *Architectural History*, Vol.4, (1961), p.63.

<sup>211</sup> Carroll L. V. Meeks, *The Railroad Station: An Architectural History*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956, p.ix.

amenity and shelter provided, the simplest form of station building came into being.”<sup>212</sup> Another characteristic feature of the nineteenth century station was the vast train-shed. The ancient dream “to roof the largest possible unencumbered area”<sup>213</sup> proceeded to a new dimension with railway stations, as resulted from the potential of contemporary technical innovations.

During the pioneering period of railways, in many cases, station buildings were adaptations of existing structures which were given new uses. The opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in 1830 was regarded as an important step for the emergence of railway station building as a new type of architecture. The station of the railway in Liverpool, at Crown Street, was accepted as the first building of any substance to be designed specifically to meet the needs of railway travel. In England it established a precedent which was followed by later important station buildings; it was interpreted as fulfilling the fundamental requirements of safety, control, shelter and convenience, while providing the two essential elements of accommodation for passengers and accommodation for trains.<sup>214</sup>

Through the mid-nineteenth century, just a few decades after the construction of the first experimental railway stations, it could be possible to make a classification of the station types. In this context, three major styles were identified in railway station buildings as head type, one-sided type, and two-sided type. In the head type, the arrival and departure of trains were operated in a single building at the end of the tracks, thus the building and the tracks were perpendicular to each other. In the one-sided type, the arrival and departure were operated on one side of the tracks, hence

---

<sup>212</sup> “The Inception of English Railway Station”, pp.63-65.

<sup>213</sup> Meeks, p.36.

<sup>214</sup> “The Inception of English Railway Station”, pp.67-69.

the tracks and the building were parallel to each other. Thirdly, in the two-sided or twin type, the arrival and departure were handled on opposite sides of the tracks. In this type the plan of the station building could be “U” or “L” shape.<sup>215</sup> These types were an outcome of standardization and reflect the basic spatial planning of railway station buildings. In time there emerged more complex organizations of station planning, presenting some mixture of these types.

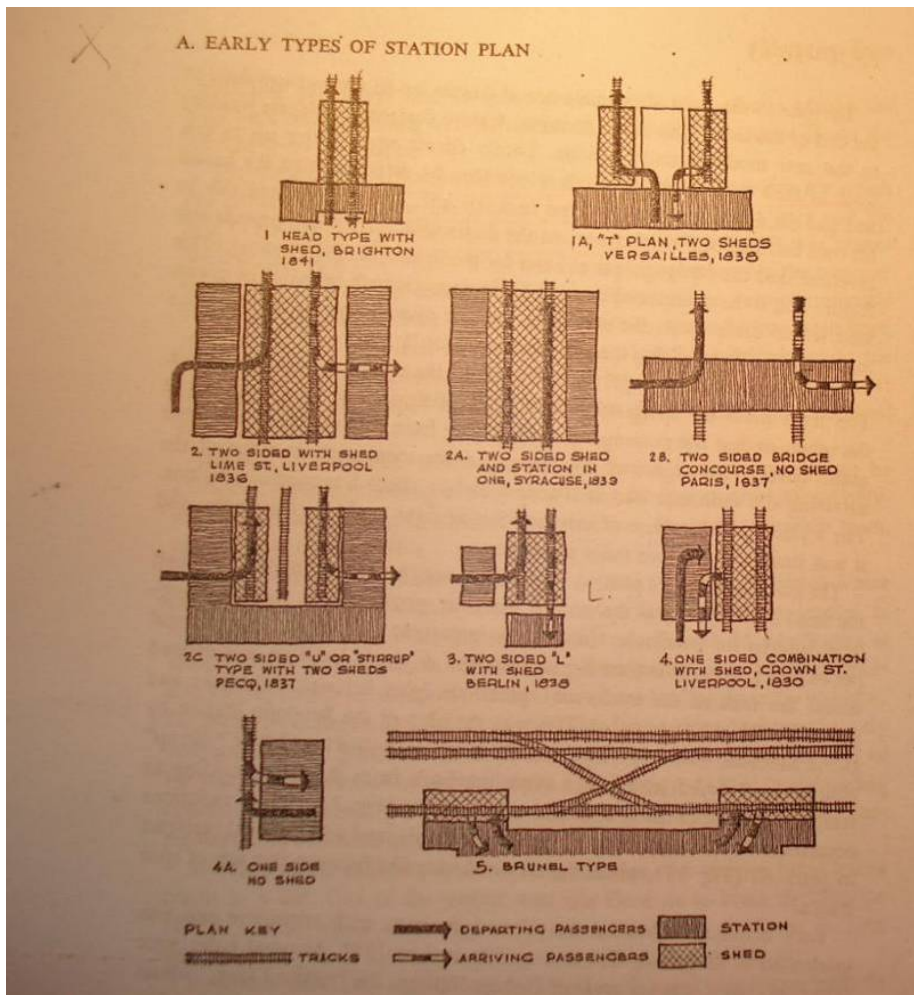


Figure 10 Early station plan types according to Meeks (Meeks, p.30.)

<sup>215</sup> Meeks, p.30.

The architectural characteristics of railway station buildings in the first half of the nineteenth century represent the general tendency of architectural movements of the period. Meeks calls “Picturesque Eclecticism” as the nineteenth century style. This was unified with the possibilities of new building materials and techniques. According to the writer, the new aesthetic and technical concepts born in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century produced the novel architectural attitudes and inventions of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>216</sup>

In order to identify the unifying factors in 19<sup>th</sup>-century architecture, it is essential first of all to define and trace the persistence of the picturesque aesthetic. Christopher Hussey... felt that the picturesque was the special mode of vision of the whole century. ... He held that the picturesque was not in itself a style but rather a method of combining and using styles. These observations mark the first penetration beneath the superficial notions of revivalism. The second person to advance the conception was James Mac-Quedy, who noted that “early Victorian buildings have enough in common to outweigh all their differences. As a group, they are in reaction against the constraint of academism.”<sup>217</sup>

Among the features of the new approach, one of the most prominent was the emphasis on visual qualities. With the industrial era, the quality of the visual impression provided by the exterior of buildings had major importance, and the effects of light and shade and the balance of form attracted attention. Meeks draws five principal qualities about the picturesque aesthetic, which are variety, movement, irregularity, intricacy and roughness.

---

<sup>216</sup> Meeks, p.1.

<sup>217</sup> Meeks, pp.2-3.



The first picturesque quality, variety, was achieved by the arrangement of chimneys, towers and gables which were sprouted from the roofs in the silhouette and on the surface through asymmetry. The repetition of identical motives associated with classical styles was avoided. The second picturesque quality, movement, was concerned with “the rising and falling, advancing and receding, with the convexity and concavity, and other forms of the great parts” The third picturesque quality, irregularity, was achieved by the designers’ preference of “spontaneity and accident to calculation.” Asymmetry and sudden breaks and variations of form were the helping features of this quality. The fourth picturesque quality, intricacy, signified that the relationships of the parts were complex, not to be discerned immediately. “The beholder must make an effort to decipher the relationships; his interest will be increased by the temporary perplexity.” Finally, the fifth picturesque quality, roughness, was “directly opposed to the smooth surfaces, carefully finished joints, and precise clarity of classic practice” and involved “emphatic stone joints, quarry-faced ashlar, and roofs of coarse tile or stone.”<sup>218</sup>

After specifying the qualities of the picturesque eclecticism, which was seen as an appropriate and descriptive term for the architecture of romanticism in the nineteenth century, Meeks draws three phases of the style: “As the 18<sup>th</sup> century waned and academism lost its hold, eclecticism was first primarily governed by symbolic association. Later on it became synthetic. This phase prepared the way for its third and most creative phase at the end of the century.”<sup>219</sup>

The first phase, or the early phase of picturesque eclecticism, which the writer defines as “symbolic eclecticism” begun in the late eighteenth century, was found

---

<sup>218</sup> Meeks, pp.5-7.

<sup>219</sup> Meeks, p.11.

more on urban scale rather than in one building. That is to say, it was prominent in the coming together of buildings in different styles in one area such as a garden, square, or street. It was the second phase in which the elements from several styles were combined together in a single building. The third phase of eclecticism was predominated by putting more emphasis on the desire to be original and the wish to be creative.<sup>220</sup>

“Throughout the nineteenth century the principles of picturesque eclecticism controlled the architect’s arrangement of masses and silhouettes, while the changing concepts of eclecticism suggested the shapes of his arches, roofs, and towers.”<sup>221</sup> The railway stations which could be regarded as the most prominent architectural outcomes of the industrial era highly reflected this picturesque eclecticism.

In the age of industrialization the railway station not only became an essential part of the new system of transportation and reflected the impact of the technology and mobility of the masses, but also “played its part in the opening up of the frontier; it is associated with conurbation, the spread of suburbs, the development of resorts.”<sup>222</sup>

Like Europe, railroad stations played a key role in technological development and cultural life in America as well. From the places for waiting and ticket counter, the stations soon developed into the “nerve” centers of the transportation system in Europe and America, and in the neighboring regions like the Balkans, the Middle East as well as in Russia. Moreover, on the city level they played significant roles in

---

<sup>220</sup> Meeks, p.14.

<sup>221</sup> Meeks, p.25.

<sup>222</sup> Meeks, p.ix.

the development of their surrounding districts, serving as major components of urban plan. As such, they had “far-reaching effects on the cities they served.”<sup>223</sup>

## 4.2 MOSCOW RAILWAY STATIONS

When Moscow became the hub of Russia’s railway network it gained nine railway stations serving as terminals for ten major lines spreading from the city through the whole country. All the railway stations built out of the city center however the changing atmosphere of the second half of the nineteenth century enabled the railway stations be organically integrated to the built environment of the city. Moreover they affected urbanization of outskirts.

Before analyzing the integration of railway stations to the built environment of Moscow, reconsidering the city’s urban and architectural transformation in the nineteenth century with general features will provide a concise background.

As an urban strategy of the autocracy creating the hierarchical city plan with opening up boulevards and secondary squares among the demolished city walls continued after Catherine II, in Moscow. Finally, during the reign of Catherine II’s grandson Alexander I, as an outcome of the fire of 1812, the remaining parts of the Belyi Gorod and Zemlianoi Gorod ramparts clearly turned out to the Boulevard and Garden rings as successful projects in central Moscow. Belyi Gorod walls had been started to be demolished in the mid eighteenth century, but it required the fire of

---

<sup>223</sup> Sally A. Kitt Champbel, “Urban Ideals and the Design of Railroad Stations”, in *Technology and Culture*, Vol.50, No.2 (April, 1989), pp. 354-5

1812 to clear the remaining obstacles to a boulevard ring. The Garden Ring emerged on the ramparts of Zemlianoi Gorod, enveloping the central Moscow.<sup>224</sup>

However Kamer-Kollezhsky Val kept its existence as an earthen rampart. By 1806, Kamer-Kollezhsky Val became Moscow's police border. In 1852 checkpoints were abandoned and by 1864 the wall became the administrative border between the city, which is controlled by Moscow City Hall, and the country.

After the mid nineteenth century new architectural styles emerged in relation with the reforms of 1861 in Alexander II's reign. The flourishing of capitalism opened the way to change in every aspects of everyday life. The increasing importance and dominance of merchants and industrialists or entrepreneurs changed the patronage relations of architectural practice as well. In this context, while the role of state and the central control over the built environment were decreasing, the tastes of the private clients and public opinion increased.<sup>225</sup>

This felt its reflection on the diversity of architectural eclectic styles used in the newly constructed buildings contrast to the single-minded discipline of the past.

In this period another significance of the city was rapid expansion of the population. Between the end of eighteenth century and 1862 the population of Moscow increased by 115 percent to reach nearly 400.000 inhabitants. By the turn of the century the population had already reached one million. This growth of population was directly related with the industrial development of the country. Unlike the classical tsarist policy to put people under control of movement, the liberation of serfs and development of capitalism enabled people to flow the industrializing cities. At this point the railways took major importance for the

---

<sup>224</sup> Albert J. Schmidt, "Restoration of Moscow after 1812", in *Slavic Review*, Vol.40, No.1 (Spring, 1981), p.47.

<sup>225</sup> Shvidkovsky, p.329

growing need of transportation of goods and people. Railways entered to Moscow “speeding up the communications network with other cities and changing nature of Moscow by making possible the growth of suburbs at some distance from the center.”<sup>226</sup> It was the year 1900 that a circular railway was built around Moscow.

The railway stations also meant the modern checkpoints in that manner. It was not surprisingly that many of the railway stations were located on the former *zastavas* or the check points of Kamer-Kollezhsky Val.

However the first railway station connecting Moscow to St. Petersburg, Leningradsky Railway Station, which was built during the reign of Nikolai I before the emancipation of serfs, built out of the Garden Ring but within the Kamer-Kollezhsky Val.

The first proposals for the site for construction had two variants: the first one was near Tverskaya Zastava and the second was in Trubnaya Square. Both of the places were already built up areas. The reason of rejection was the possibility of fires which would be caused by the spark of the steam engine’s heating. Another factor for not allowing the station to enter deeper to the city center was the noise that would occur.<sup>227</sup>

Finally the site on Kalanchevskoye field, which was outside of the Garden Ring, was found suitable for the new architectural function. The open field on the south of the square was a result of fires occurred during the occupation of Moscow by Napoleon in 1812. Before the war, on the area there located a military complex of

---

<sup>226</sup> Kathleen Berton, *Moscow: An Architectural History*, London and New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd Publishers, 1990, 172.

<sup>227</sup> Vaskin & Nazarenko, p.54.

wooden buildings. When the explosions of the guns damaged the buildings, the location became vacant and was not built up, again.



**Figure 11** Kalanchevskaya Square highlighted on the Moscow plan of 1807. (Планы Москвы на рубеже эпох, Част вторая. XIX- начало XX вв. М. 2008.)



After the construction of Leningradsky Railway Station, the Kalanchevskaya Square became an important location for railway stations. In 1862, the Yaroslavsky railway station and the Ryazansky station which would later transform to Kazansky station were built there. The site became an important urban center of Moscow.



**Figure 12** Plan of Moscow in 1856 showing the Nikolaevskaya railway line. (Планы Москвы на рубеже эпох, Част вторая. XIX- начало XX вв. М. 2008.)

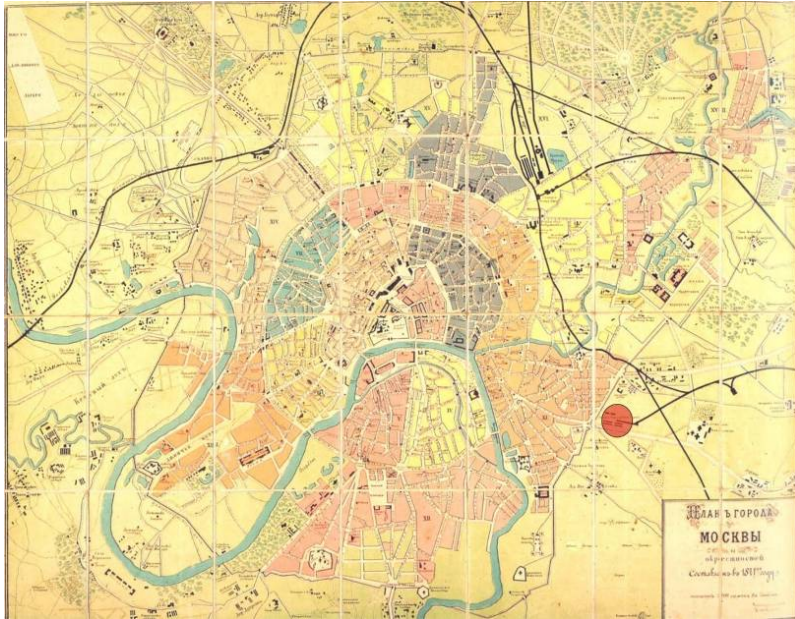
In 1870, another railway station started to function in Moscow. The new railway was connecting Moscow with the city Smolyensk. This Smolyensky railway station which would later be Belorussky, was located on Tverskaya Zastava, which was before one of the check points on the north-west of Kamer-Kollezhsky Val connecting with Tverskaya Street.



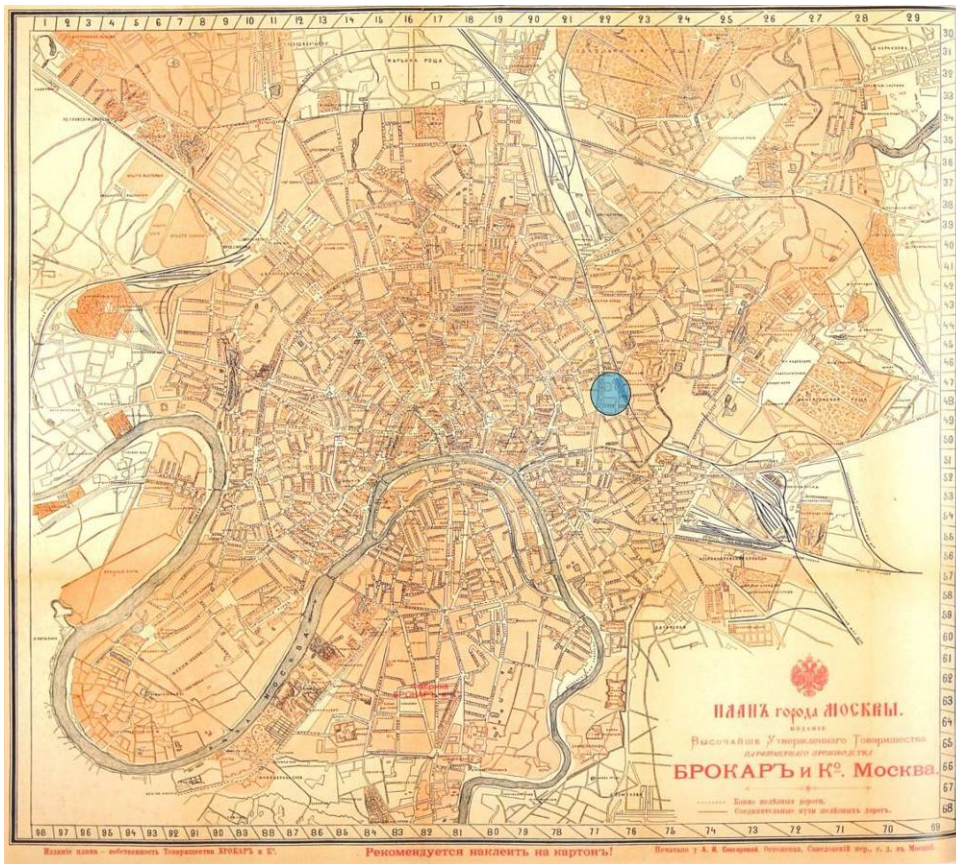
**Figure 13** Location of Belorussky (Smolyensky) Railway Station. (Планы Москвы на рубеже эпох, Част вторая. XIX- начало XX вв. М. 2008.)

At the same period a small wooden station building started to function out of Kamer-Kollezhsky Val, near Pakrovskaya Zastava. This small station building was Nizhegoradsky station. Later it was absorbed by the Kursky railway station which became the closest station building to the city center having located near the Garden Ring.



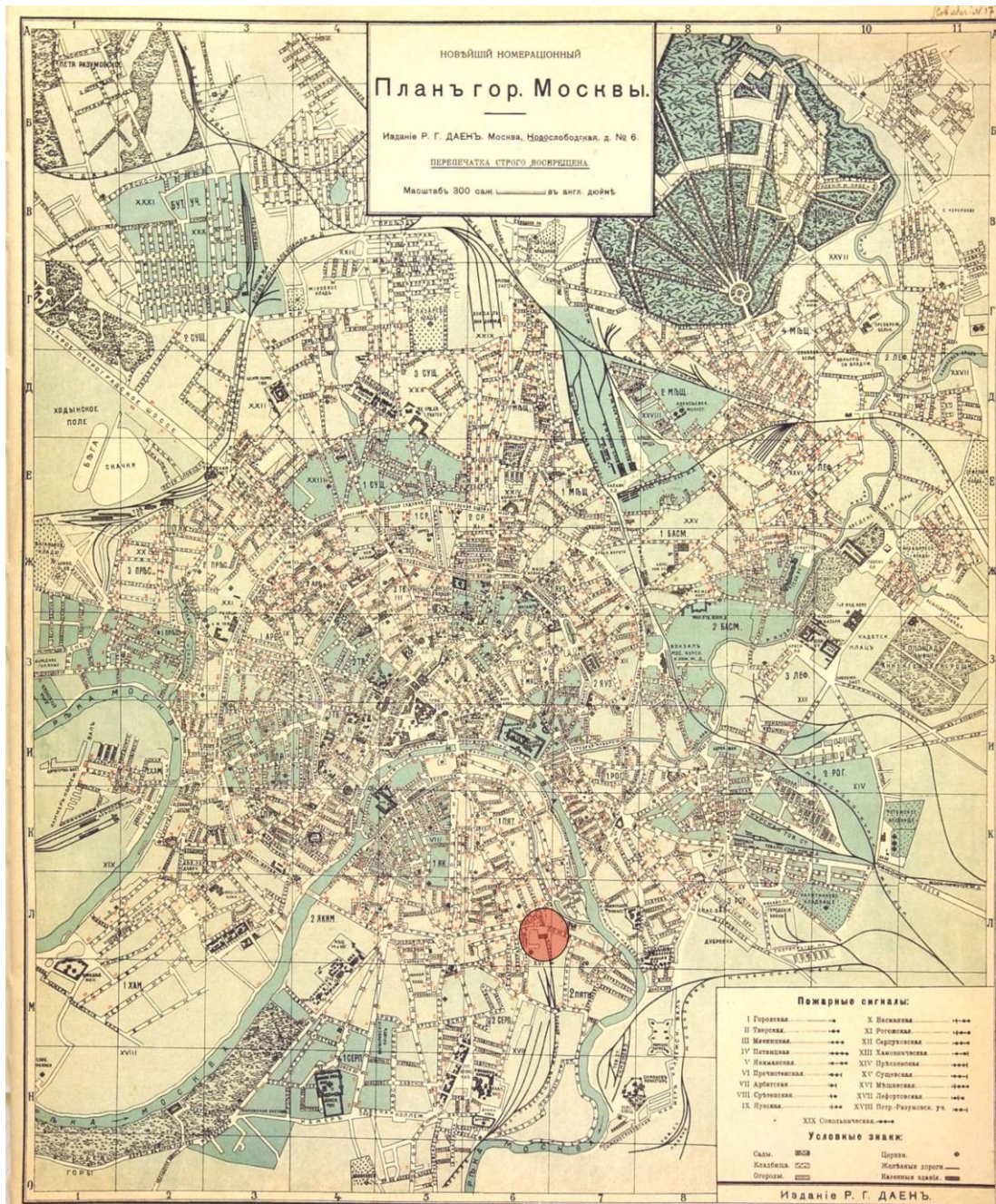


**Figure 14** Location of old Nizhegorodsky Railway Station. (Планы Москвы на рубеже эпох, Част вторая. XIX- начало XX вв. М. 2008.)



**Figure 15** Location of Kursky Railway Station. (Планы Москвы на рубеже эпох, Част вторая. XIX- начало XX вв. М. 2008.)



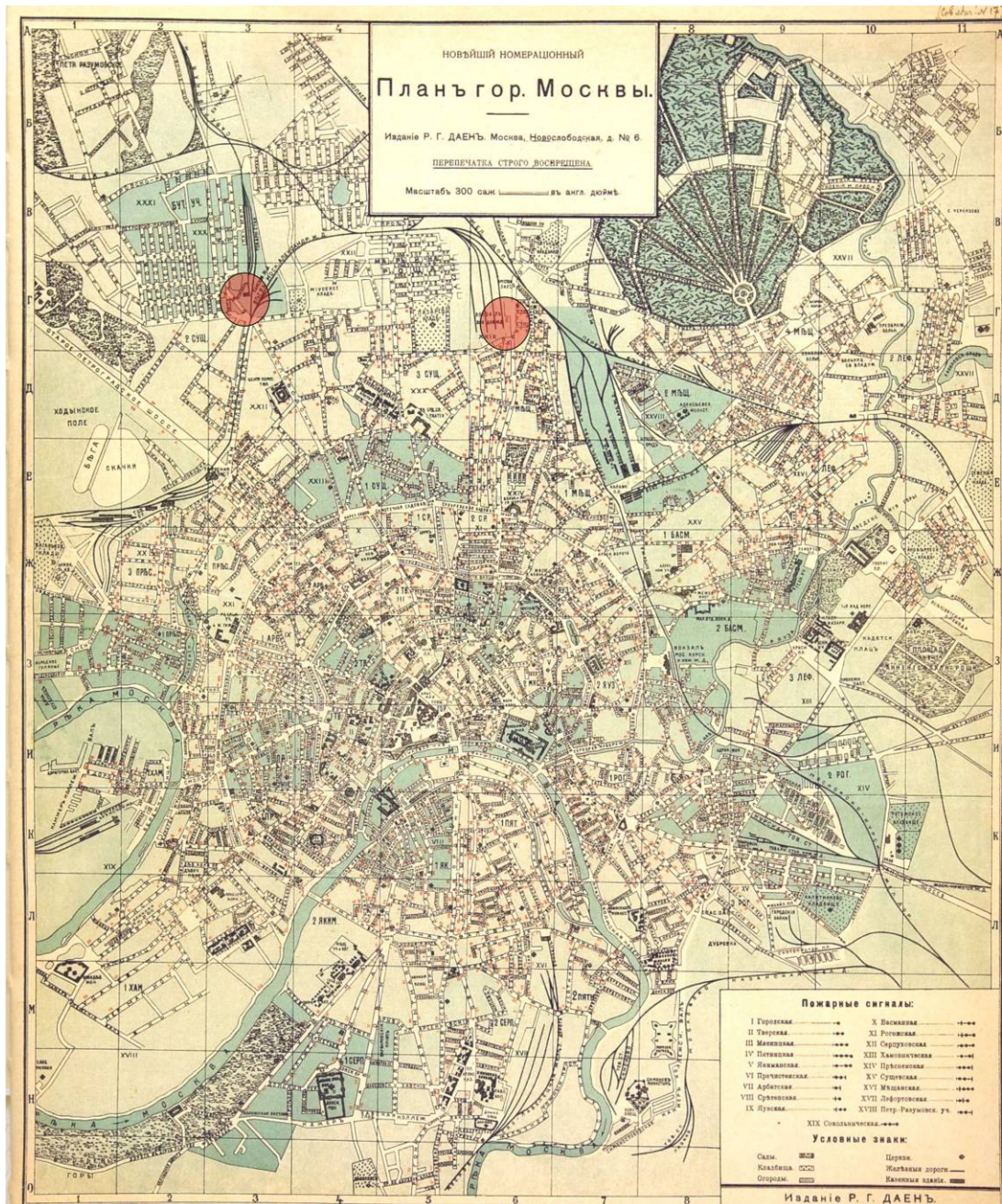


**Figure 16** Location of Paveletsky Railway Station. (Планы Москвы на рубеже эпох, Часть вторая. XIX- начало XX вв. М. 2008.)

Through the end of nineteenth century Paveletsky railway station started to function on the south of the city near the Garden Ring, the location was an old part of the river. By the turn of the century two other stations built near the check points of

Kamer-Kollezhsky Val on the north. In 1901 Rizhsky railway station started working near Krestovskaya Zastava and Lazarevskoe cemetery. Similarly Savelovsky railway station was built in Butyrki near the Miyuzkaya Zastava of Kamer-Kollezhsky Val. In 1899 Bryansky which would later be replaced by Kievsky station was built near the Moskva River. While railways were reaching to Moscow, the city was gradually experiencing tramway construction integrating the different parts of the city to each other.



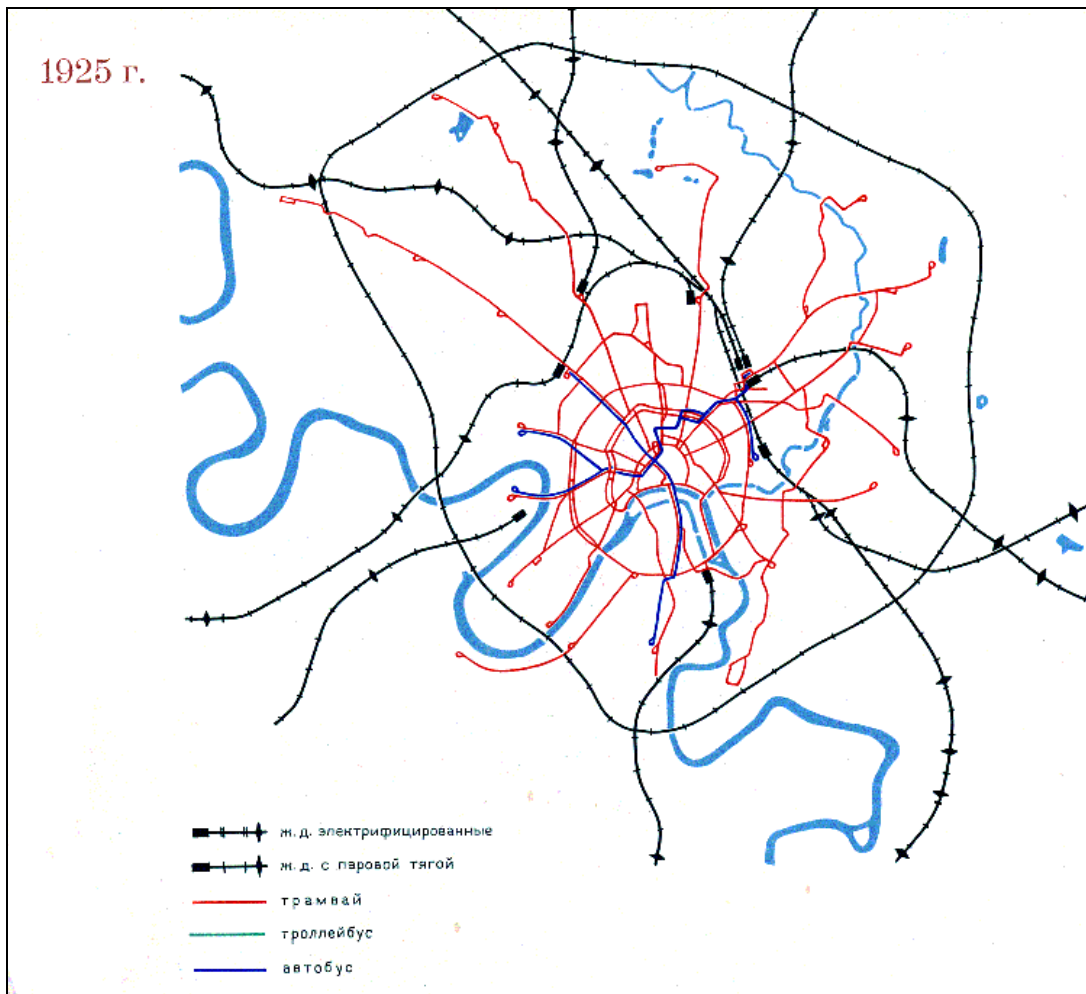


**Figure 17** Locations of Rizhsky (right) and Savelovskiy (left) Railway Stations. (Планы Москвы на рубеже эпох, Част вторая. XIX- начало XX вв. М. 2008.)





**Figure 18** Location of Kievsky Railway Station. (Планы Москвы на рубеже эпох, Част вторая. XIX- начало XX вв. М. 2008.)



**Figure 19** Tramway and railway network of Moscow in 1925 showing the nine railway stations, as well. (Retrieved 2010-12-14, <http://tram.ruz.net/maps/sh19250001.gif>)

#### 4.2.1 Leningradsky Railway Station<sup>228</sup>

It was mentioned before that the construction of first major railway was linking the two capitals St. Petersburg and Moscow; and the Tsar Nikolai I put his personal power on the process of the construction. Accordingly the tsar chose the architect himself. While chosen as the architect who would design the first train station in Russia, Konstantin Andreyevich Ton<sup>229</sup> was already one of the most favorite and closest architects of the time to the authority.<sup>230</sup>

Before his career on the railway architecture his masterpieces were all built in Moscow in the styles of Russian-Byzantine Revival or Neo-Russian. The important projects of the architect were the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour, Grand Kremlin Palace and the Kremlin Armoury. The Cathedral of Christ the Saviour was in Russian-Byzantine Revival style and were (and still is) tallest Orthodox church in the world. The architect's traditional references in his design actually made his architecture served as supplementary to the "official nationality" of tsar Nikolai I. The architect was responsible for the projects of stations both in Moscow and St. Petersburg. The construction of the station started in 1844 and when finished in 1849, it was called "Peterburgsky" as the railway itself was called "Peterburg-Moscow." When the tsar and his entourage took the opening ceremonial trip, the tsar expressed his appreciation to the work of architect Ton.

In parallel with the name changes of the "St. Petersburg-Moscow" line, the name of the station changed several times as well. When the tsar Alexander II ordered the change of the line as "Nikolaevskaya" in the honor of tsar Nikolai I, the

---

<sup>228</sup> Russian: Ленинградский вокзал

<sup>229</sup> Russian: Константин Андреевич Тон

<sup>230</sup> Vaskin & Nazarenko, pp.54-59.

station started to be called “Nikolaevsky” in 1856 till 1924. Because, after the October Revolution, now for the honor of the revolution the railway and the station called “Oktyabrskaya.” Finally with the change of the name of St. Petersburg (Petrograd in Russia at the time) into “Leningrad” the station started to be called “Leningradsky.”

The architect designed very similar – almost same projects for the both capitals, in the two ends the same building welcomed the passengers. The station was an example of “head-type” stations. The tracks were perpendicular to the building. The architectural principles of the building had references to Neo-Classism. Actually the architect used the characteristics of the style as combination of strict forms and the symmetry of composition.<sup>231</sup> The walls were covered with ornamental elements like little arches, and columns. The front façade of the station has a strict symmetry with a two-storeyed clock tower expressing the central axis. The windows of the first storey were marked with double-arches.

---

<sup>231</sup> Vaskin & Nazarenko, p.58.





**Figure 20** Leningradsky Railway Station. (Museum of History of Moscow)



**Figure 21** Leningradsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 22** Sign of Leningradsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 23** Leningradsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)





**Figure 24** Leningradsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 25** Platform of Leningradsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)

#### 4.2.2 Yaroslavsky Railway Station<sup>232</sup>

In 1862 new railroad began to function from Moscow to the north, lasting in the city Sergiev Posad where there was one of the greatest monasteries of the country - Troitse-Sergiyeva (Trinity) Lavra. The length of the line was only 69 km. The station of this line was constructed next to the Nikolaevsky station again on the Kalanchevsky Square. Actually the station was supposed to build on the 1st Meshanskaya Street in Moscow, on a place which belonged to the Botanical Garden of University of Moscow. But the directorate of the university refused to give the site for the station. Then it was decided to build all the railway stations on the Kalanchevsky field. So the area between the first and the only constructed station of Moscow and Krasny Prud (Red Pond) was chosen as the site for the new railway station. On the 17th of August 1862 the newspapers of Moscow celebrated and declared the start of serving of the station and railway the next day. In addition the newspapers also declared that the railway and the station which were instruments to get the holy monastery would be consecrated.

The station was called “Severny” (Northern) and the railroad “Troitskyaya.” The architect of the station was R.I.Kuzmin. The design of the architect had similar references to the first station building of architect Ton; it was again Neo-Classical but new station was lesser in scale than the former. The front façade was an outcome of a symmetrical composition and again the strict forms were used. The axis of the front façade was not expressed by a clock tower but a pediment.

In the 1870s the railroad was already reached to the city Yaroslavl, thus preconditions for the further development of ways to the north and the east of Russian Empire were created.

---

<sup>232</sup> Russian: Ярославский вокзал



**Figure 26** First Yaroslavsky (Severny) Railway Station. (Museum of History of Moscow)

During Vitte's Ministry of Transport in the end of the nineteenth century, within the concentration of rapid railway construction in Russia, the interrelation between the Russian north and the center satisfied with railroads. In particular, the Moscow-Yaroslavl line was reached to the city Arkhangelsk and three more tracks were added to the existing one.

In 1902 the board of the joint-stock company of the Moscow-Yaroslavl railway decided to reconstruct the station building since the length of the line increased and the passengers as well. In the patronage of Savva Mamontov who was the owner of the railway and the chairman of the company, the famous architect F. O. Shehtel was invited to design and construct the new station.

The project of Shehtel was immediately approved by the authorities including the Tsar Nikolai II. The significance of the project was its economical solution and

the usage of new construction techniques and materials. In order to decrease the expenses, rather than the traditional methods of plastering, new materials like reinforced concrete with some metal constructions and tiles were used.

The new station occupied a three times more area than the former one. In the former station, in the right wing there were service and office rooms whereas in the left there was a hall for the people welcoming the departures. The second floor was totally assigned to the management of the railway. The architect tried to keep the principals of the spatial organization of the former station as well as making the new building a modern station, answering the needs of the time as a large public building. In Shehtel's solution a spacious hall of booking lobby and big waiting rooms were combined with comfortable passages to the platforms and numerous office rooms. The plan of the building complex was "U". The old side parts around the platform were saved in Shehtel's design, making the station an example of "two-sided" stations. Both the styles of the different periods in the railway station complex can be seen clearly on the side façades.

The references to the old station building designed by Kuzmin in 1862 can be seen on the main façade. The repetition of the small windows on the left of the main entrance tower could be seen as a heritage of the older design.

Shehtel's approach in his design had strong references to Neo-Russian style. (It was probably related to the patronage of the railroad. The joint-stock company of Moscow-Yaroslavl railroad was the first Russian private company holding a railroad construction and management.) The façades and the interior decoration of the building had included architectural figures or elements of traditional Russian architecture of northern parts of Russia. The front façade has an asymmetrical design having two "fortress" towers at each corner. The main entrance gate is not located on

the central axis rather it's closer to the right corner. The architect is expressed the gate designing it as gigantic arch having a hipped roof making a tower effect. This tower was achieved by a vault having similarity to "kokoshnik," which was Russian women's hair-dress.<sup>233</sup>

On the pediment of the vaulted entrance the architect put the embossed pictures of three coats of arms of the greatest cities existed in the Northern railway line: Moscow, Yaroslavl and Arkhangelsk.

The towers located on the each corner have hipped roofs and are tiled. The tower on the right corner more looks like a fortress tower and reminds of the Moscow Kremlin. Moreover, the pale colors used in the façades and the majolica panel and the other elements were used to create a heroic-epic image of Northern Russia.

The regional traditional architectural elements of Russian North also used in the interior decoration of the building. The interior decoration of the building is much more eclectic than the façades. The architect used different figures and elements of different times in Russian architecture like majolica panel and other elements of northern region were associated with the Russian Baroque and the earlier trends of tenth century.<sup>234</sup>

---

<sup>233</sup> Vaskin & Nazarenko, p.105.

<sup>234</sup> Vaskin & Nazarenko, pp.102-107.





**Figure 27** Yaroslavsky Railway Station. (Museum of History of Moscow)



**Figure 28** Yaroslavsky Railway Station. (Museum of History of Moscow)





**Figure 29** Yaroslavlsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 30** Yaroslavlsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 31** Kalanchevskaya Square, Nikolaevsky station on the left and Yaroslavl station on the right. (Museum of History of Moscow)



**Figure 32** Leningradsky and Yaroslavl Railway Stations from Komsomolskaya Square (Kalanchevskaya Square). (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 33** Yaroslavsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)





**Figure 34** Yaroslavsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)

### 4.2.3 Kazansky Railway Station<sup>235</sup>

In the year 1862 there started to serve another railway radiating from Moscow to the city Ryazan. The building serving as the station of the railway was a plain wooden building again located in Kalanchevsky field, but this time on the south of the square. The modest station was called as “Ryzansky” as the final arrival point of the railway was Ryazan.

In 1864, a stone station building which was designed by architect M. U. Levestam was built. The building had only one storey. Unlike the two other station buildings in the Ryazanski station the relation of the building with the tracks were parallel to each other. Thus it allowed the architect to design the roof of the building covering one of the tracks as well. The neoclassical façade of the building had a symmetrical composition with a clock tower over the main entrance expressing the central axis. On the each side of the entrance there were repetitions of arched windows.<sup>236</sup>

---

<sup>235</sup> Russian: Казанский вокзал

<sup>236</sup> Vaskin & Nazarenko, pp.167-173.



**Figure 35** Old Kazansky (Ryazansky) Railway Station. (Museum of History of Moscow)



**Figure 36** Kazansky Railway Station under construction. (Museum of History of Moscow)

In 1910 the administrative board of the joint-stock company of Moscow-Kazan railroad (by that time the line was extended to other cities of the Russian east) declared that the old building had not been satisfying the needs of the railroad as it was narrow and uncomfortable. Thus, an architectural competition for the new station building of Moscow-Kazan railroad was opened with the title “Gates to the East.” The famous architects of Russia of the period, like F. O. Shehtel, A. V. Shchusev, and A. N. Pheleisen, took part in the competition. The owners of the railway were Nikolai Karlovich and his nephew N.K. von Meck and they were known as “rail kings” among the Russian public. N. K. Meck played the key role in the selection of the project as the chairman of the joint-stock company. The demand of the company in the competition was to reach a specific public building symbolizing the relations between Russian and its east stressing the significance of the railroad.

Finally on 29<sup>th</sup> of October, 1911, the project of Alexey Shchusev was chosen for the new station building and the finishing date of the construction was announced as 1<sup>st</sup> of November, 1916. When the construction began on the Kalenchevsky Square, the area had already become an important transportation center of Moscow by the Nikolaevsky and Yaroslavlsky stations.

The construction team of the station complex included famous engineers, architects and artists of the time as well with the architect Shchusev’s personal invitation. New building techniques were used in the construction of the station. However, because of the First World War the project failed to be finished in projected time. By the winter of the 1916-1917 the construction of the roof was managed but there were some parts of the building under construction. The final official opening of the station could managed in the 2th anniversary of October

Revolution in 1919. However, the central tower of the complex was still to be completed. Moreover, some other little constructions and decorations within the station undergone during the Early Soviet period as well.

The architecture of the Kazansky station was aimed to be genuine as it was to be built on a center where another stations were serving for other directions of the country. First, the design of Shchusev was monumental. The complex had a façade longing more than 200 meters on Kalanhcevsky Square. The arrangement of spaces was not symmetrical and the architects created several rooms resulting in a range of forms of different height, width and rhythm. Within this vigorous arrangement there located a central clock tower. Each room had its separate sharpened roof. These all created an eclectic design containing different elements used in a complicated composition.

The entrance of passengers was under an arched and monumental tower to the right corner of the building. The tower was imitated by famous tower in Kazan: the Suumbeki Tower. While working on the project, the professionals had several trips to the cities like Kazan, Ryazan, Nizhniy Novgorod, Astrakhan, Rostov and Zveningorod which were in the “Russian East”. There, they studied and observed traditional architecture of the region. The outcome of this research was the usage of a vivid carved stone decoration on the red-bricked walls, which relates the construction to the architectural traditions of the seventeenth century Moscow.

The interior of the station was highly decorative like Baroque interiors of the eighteenth century. Moreover, paintings played a specific role in the interior decoration. The architect called master painters of the country. “According to the



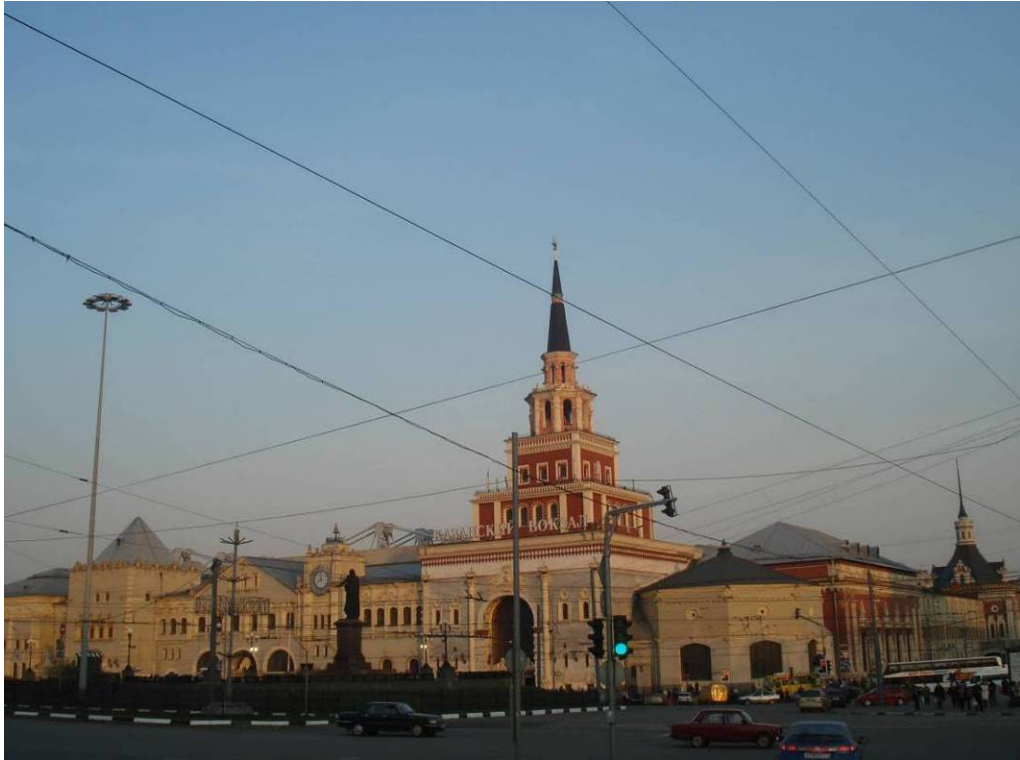
project, the paintings had to visually broaden the space, increase the height of the halls as if going far than the vault,<sup>237</sup> this desire was achieved with “flying colors.”



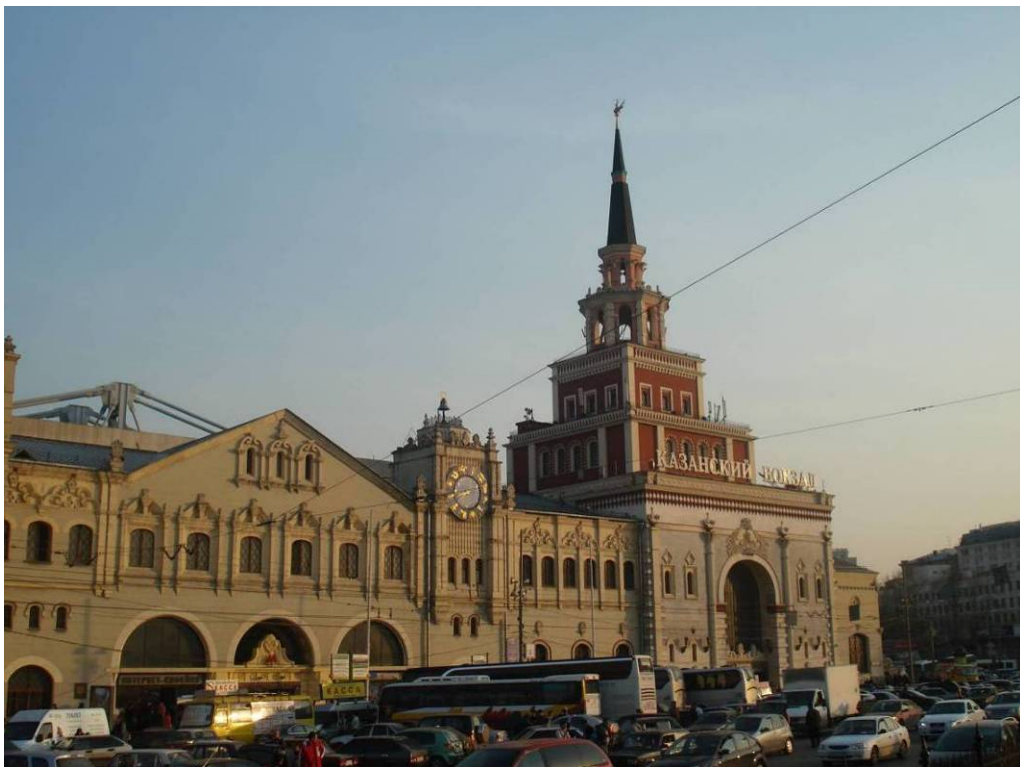
**Figure 37** Kazansky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)

---

<sup>237</sup> Vaskin & Nazarenko, p.173.



**Figure 38** Kazansky Railway Station from Komsomolskaya Square (Kalanchevskaya Square). (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 39** Kazansky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 40** Kazansky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 41** Kazansky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)





**Figure 42** Kazansky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)

#### 4.2.4 Belorussky Railway Station<sup>238</sup>

On 23 April 1868, Tsar Alexander II allowed the construction of a railway between Moscow and Smolensk assigning the general direction of the track. For the realization of this allowance, the efforts of the industrialists of the city Smolensk to connect their city with Moscow were effective.<sup>239</sup>

The construction works were started in April 1869. State Counsellor Nemchinov who was an entrepreneur and owner of brick-making plants was responsible for erecting all the buildings of the railway line.

The Moscow-Smolensk railway was officially opened on 19<sup>th</sup> September, 1870. The railway was connecting the growing towns of the western region of the Russian Empire and helped the economic development and integration of the region. When opened, the station was called as “Smolensky Station.”

When the station of the line opened in Moscow it was celebrated in Moscow press as a “very beautiful building” which would contribute the increase of the land prices of the location where the station was built. The site was Tverskaya Zastava.

In 1871, the railway was linked to the city Brest making the station called as “Brestsky Station.” With this linkage the Moscow-Brest railway became the longest line in Russia with a length of 1100 km.

In May, 1896, a temporary “Emperor’s Pavilion” was added to the station because of the future coronation of tsar Nikolai. Architect L. Kekushev was commissioned for the construction. The outcome of Kekushev’s works was a wooden “terem” in Russian style, with decorative figures belonging to traditional architecture. In the interior decoration of the pavilion expensive materials like velvet,

---

<sup>238</sup> Russian: Белорусский вокзал

<sup>239</sup> Vaskin & Nazarenko, pp.233-237.

leather and brocade were used. Moreover, the ceiling was decorated with golden ornaments. The pavilion was consisting of three divisions: in the middle there was a receiving hall, having two sheltered glass galleries on both sides. The pavilion continued to serving after tsar's arrival for the nobles till 1908.

In the first decade of twentieth century, it's decided to open an architectural competition for a new building of the railway station. The winning project was engineer Ivan Strukov's. The design was an arrangement of two blocks connecting with a "blunt"<sup>240</sup> angle. The corner was designed as tsar's restroom according to the project.

The new station building had many aspects to be celebrated among the public. The building was totally made of reinforced concrete and claimed to be fire safe, It had latest telegraph and booking equipments and in Moscow. Furthermore, it was the first station building using machines in order to print the tickets.

The design of the building was highly eclectic containing many figures or elements of architectural movements of Europe like Neo-Classic, Gothic and other styles. Like Kazansky station's being gate to the east the Belarussky Station was considered to be the gate to the west.

The station started to function on 25<sup>th</sup> of May, 1910. After two years a ceremony of sanctifying the left wing of the station building took place for the commemoration of the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the war of 1812. Same year on the 4<sup>th</sup> of May, the name of the Moscow-Brest railway was changed into "Aleksandrovskaya" and related the station in Moscow started to be called as "Aleksandrovsky Staiion." When the Aleksandrovskaya and Moscow-Baltic lines were united into the Moscow-Belarus-Baltic railway in August 1922, the station was named as "Belarus-Baltic."

---

<sup>240</sup> Vaskin & Nazarenko, pp.235.

Finally it was in May 1936 that the railway saw a reconstruction and the station started to be called as “Belorussky Station.”



**Figure 43** Belorussky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)





**Figure 44** Belorussky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)

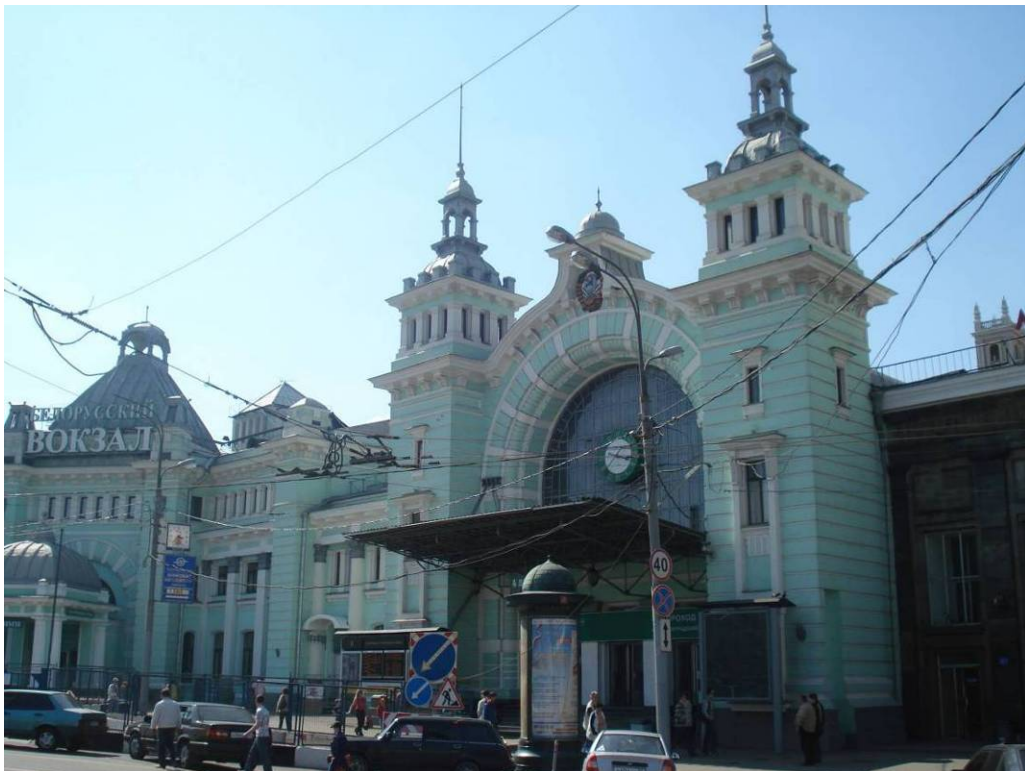


**Figure 45** Belorussky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)





**Figure 46** Belarusky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 47** Belarusky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 48** Belorussky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 49** Belorussky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)





**Figure 50** Platform of Belorussky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 51** Platform of Belorussky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)

#### 4.2.5 Kursky Railway Station<sup>241</sup>

The predecessor of Kursky Railway Station was Nizhegoradskaya Station which was built on another place rather than the current location of the Kursky Station. The Nizhegorodsky Station was a little and wooden building which was situated outside the city borders. When constructed it was seen as temporary. The traffic that the station served started in 1865, immediately the station couldn't be able to satisfy the need and extended in the same year.<sup>242</sup>

At the same time the railway in the Kursk direction was being lengthened. In 1866 a railroad to the city Serpukhov opened and then it was extended to Tula, Orel and Kursk. When the Russian government bought many railways through the end of the nineteenth century, it's decided to remove the former Nizhegorodsky station from its place and unite it with the new station of the "Moscow-Kursk-Nizhniy Novgorod-Murom" railway.

The "Moscow-Kursk-Nizhniy Novgorod-Murom" railway started to serving in the 1<sup>st</sup> of November, 1894, and old Nizhegorodsky station serving between Moscow and Nizhny Novgorod stopped giving this service. It was the new Kursky station that would host those trains.

When compared with its contemporaries the new Kursky station was again modest having one storey in the sides and two in the central part. It had Neo-classic references with a colonnaded entrance having two domed structures on both sides. (In Soviet period the station saw many reconstructions and lost its original front façade.)

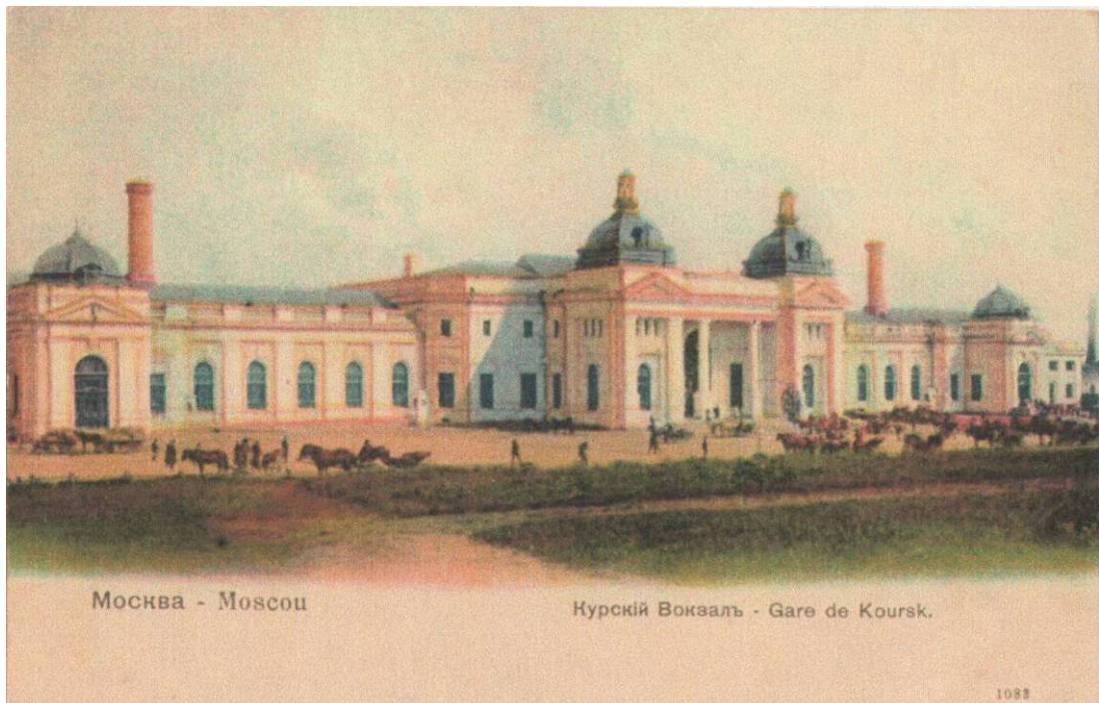
---

<sup>241</sup> Russian: Курский вокзал

<sup>242</sup> Vaskin & Nazarenko, pp.330-332.



**Figure 52** Kursky Railway Station. (Museum of History of Moscow)



**Figure 53** Kursky Railway Station. (Museum of History of Moscow)





**Figure 54** Platform of Kursky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 55** Platform of Kursky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 56** Kursky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 57** Kursky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



#### 4.2.6 Rizhsky Railway Station<sup>243</sup>

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> of March, 1897 tsar Nikolai II signed a decree allowing the construction of a railroad from Moscow to Vindana and Rybinsk under the assignment of “Moscow-Vindana-Rybinsk Joint Stock Company.”<sup>244</sup> The search of a location for the Vindavsky station building was also started after this decree. The company requested for the vacant location between Nikolaevskaya (Leningradskaya) railway and Lazarevskoe cemetery in the north of the city.

The city дума agreed the request of the company, demanding some improvements near and within the site. The company had to maintain equipping the streets with services and utilities and solve the existing and future problems of plumbing within the site. The station for goods was planned to be situated near the passengers’ one including a special place for unloading the wooden materials.

The significance of this railway was its linkage between Moscow and the newer freezing ports of Baltic cities of the Empire. The industrialist of the country appreciated this new railway because of its economic advantages. The total length of the Railway which contributed to the development of the region from Volga basin to the northwest of the country was 2453 km.

Architect S. Brzhozobsky who had designed a station building in St. Petersburg (Vitebsky Station) was chosen for designing the project. On the other hand the construction of the building was under another architects responsibility: Julius Ditrich (or J. F. Diderchis).

The railroad and the station started working on the summer of 1901, but it was officially opened on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September, 1902. When opened the comfort that

---

<sup>243</sup> Russian: Рижский вокзал

<sup>244</sup> Vaskin & Nazarenko, pp.259-263.

Moscow's new railway station provides were appreciated in all the newspapers of the country. The station had a developed technical support and had its own electric power plant for illumination.

However the station became working with an over capacity soon and the building became small for the crowded people. The name of the station changed for several times. In the mid 1930s it started to be called as "Baltizhsky" till 1942, then as "Rzhevsky" till 1946, and finally got the name "Rizhsky."

The architecture of the station building was influenced by the Neo-Russian style. The building was containing three "terem" like blocks connected with each other in the ground floor. The central part and the other two wings of the station consisted of two floors. There was a clock on the frieze of the main entrance. All the building was decorated with nearly all the elements of the traditional Russian architecture of the seventeenth century having windows in various shapes, kokoshniks and running elements. The façade of the building was very ornamental containing a variety of architectural decorative figures and elements.

One distinctive figure of the station was the building's relation the tracks. The location of the building was not perpendicular but parallel to the tracks, making the station an example of one-sided stations.



**Figure 58** Rizhsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 59** Rizhsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 60** Rizhsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 61** Rizhsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)





**Figure 62** Platform of Rizhsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 63** Platform of Rizhsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)

#### 4.2.7 Paveletsky Railway Station<sup>245</sup>

Through the end of the nineteenth century the Ryazan-Urals Railway Company, together with the Moscow City Duma and Ministry of Transport, was looking for a suitable location for the station of the line in Moscow. But the process went too long and a special committee was founded in order to solve the problem. The committee members were famous engineers, builders and entrepreneurs like I. F. Rerberg, v. I. Yakunchikov, G. A. Krestovnikov, A. A. Semenov.<sup>246</sup>

There were several alternatives for the future site of the station. Finally an area of large marsh lowland near the Moskva River was chosen. The location was the old part of the river and during the winter used for dumping snow and dirty ice pieces cleaned from the city streets. Thus, in order to make the site ready for the construction more than 70,000 m<sup>3</sup> soil was added to the lowland.

The construction of the building was started in 1898. On the 19<sup>th</sup> of January, 1900 the rail traffic between Moscow and Pavelets began. But, the official opening of the station took place on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September, 1900 with water sanctifying by a public prayer.

When opened, the station was called as “Saratovsky Station” with the name of Saratov, which was the biggest center of the Company of Ryazan-Urals Railway. During the widening of the railway, the line was connected with the cities like Astrakhan and Nizhnee Povolzhie through Saratov. After the World War II, the station was started to be called as “Paveletsky Station.”

---

<sup>245</sup> Russian: Павелецкий вокзал

<sup>246</sup> Vaskin & Nazarenko, pp.294-297.



The building was 39,3 sazhens long and 10,65 sazhens wide and was seen as the predecessor of the building of Rizhsky Station, although the two were contemporary. Thus, the design of the building had a similar attitude.



**Figure 64** Pavletsky Railway Station. (Museum of History of Moscow)

The symmetrical building had the main entrance on the center with a clock on the roof expressing the central axis. The main entrance and the two sides had a tower like, rising roofs or “terem”s, but this time only the main hall had two storeys where the sides had garrets. The foundation of the building was built of brick having a thickness of two and a half bricks. Brick was also used as a surface covering material of the walls.

In the center of the station there was an operating hall which separated the hall into three classes. This spatial organization was because of the decree of the Railway Department according to which for every 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> class passenger there should have up to one square sazhen (4,5 sq. m) while 3<sup>rd</sup> class passenger could only have only 0,33. In this station this regulation was strictly followed. Besides the main hall and passengers halls, the station was containing a luggage department, ticket boxes, a telegraph, a drugstore and a café. There were also service rooms for the family of tsar and gendarme from the railway side of the building.



**Figure 65** Pavletsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 66** Pavletsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 67** Pavletsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)





**Figure 68** Paveletsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 69** Paveletsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 70** Platform of Paveletsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)

#### 4.2.8 Kievsky Railway Station<sup>247</sup>

In 1895 the Kiev-Voronezh Railroad Company was allowed to start the construction of a railroad between Moscow and Bryansk, which had a convenient location between Moscow and Kiev in Western Russia. Between 1897 and 1899 the construction of the railroad affected the suburbs of Moscow. In the March of 1899 the station of the line was completed. The one-storey building had two entrances. The building had a wooden roof and was criticized as being provincial and not fitting to the capital city.<sup>248</sup> At the time the station was called as “Bryansky Station.” In 1912, the board of Moscow-Kiev-Voronezh railway company decided to acquire a new impressive station building to be the biggest in Moscow. Architect I.I. Rerberg was responsible for the project. Another architect V. K. Oltarzhevsky who will later become famous in the Soviet Era also took part in the project.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Russia and especially Moscow started to experience modernist style and even became host of one of the avant-garde movements of the period. However the new Kievsky railway station was designed with strong references to classicism. But the contemporary achievements in the construction techniques and building materials were used in the project.

---

<sup>247</sup> Russian: Киевский вокзал

<sup>248</sup> Vaskin & Nazarenko, pp.200-205.



**Figure 71** Kievsky Railway Station. (Museum of History of Moscow)

The site of the project was near the Moskva River, to the west of the city. The site was also close to the Borodinsky Bridge across which started one of the main arteries of the city.

The main façade of the building had columns with ionic column heads on the second level between arched windows. The monumentality of the building was achieved with a tall and splendid clock tower on the right corner and two arched and domed entrances on the both sides. The usage of concrete allowed the architect to create monumental arched entrances.

The length of the tower was 51 meter and it was breaking the symmetry of the façade. The tower was decorated with expressive sculptures of eagles with widely stretched wings.



The side façade of the building which was longed through the Moskva River had large opening providing a visual access to the river.

The waiting halls were spacious where the central area was 900 square meters. The inside decoration of the station was again achieved with the new material concrete by a young architect S. S. Aleshin. Moreover, the ceilings and walls were decorated with paintings of artists like I. I. Nivinsky and F. I. Rerberg.

The construction over the railway platform was personally designed by the architect I. I. Rerberg himself. The arches of that metal construction were a result of pairs of large metals connected on the top. The construction and installation was done by the company “Bari” where engineer V. G. Shukov worked. Shukovs attitude to the project was to simplify the process of production and reduce the costs. At the end the outcome was a “mighty, majestic and elegant construction made of glass and metal, which reminded of a transparent dome soaring in the sky.”<sup>249</sup> The platform covered by the large glass and metal construction had the dimensions of 321 m. length, 47 m. width, 30 m. height.

It was in 1935 that the station started to be called as “Kievsky” as Kiev was connected to the railway line.

---

<sup>249</sup> Vaskin & Nazarenko, pp.200-205.



**Figure 72** Kievsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 73** Kievsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 74** Kievsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 75** Kievsky Railway Station from Moskva River. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 76** Kievsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 77** Kievsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)





**Figure 78** Kievsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)

#### 4.2.9 Savelovsky Railway Station<sup>250</sup>

Trough the end of the nineteenth century another railway destination presupposed to connect with Moscow was to the village Savelovo which was situated on the Volga River opposite the village Kimry. First the company “Second Society of Access Railways” was chosen for the construction of the railway. However, later by the force of Savva Ivanovich Mamontov, who had played a key role in the construction of Moscow-Yaroslavl railway as the owner and the chairman of the board of the so-company, the Moscow-Yaroslavl Railway Company took the concession to construct the line. It was 1897 when the company received the allowance.<sup>251</sup>

The village Kimry was a trading lot that was popular with its boot makers. Close to it the ancient town of Kashin was situated. The railway was supposed to lengthen from that location to Kalyazin, Uglich and Rybinsk.

The railway was to be one tracked and in every twenty four hours only two pairs of passenger trains and five pairs of trains for goods were allowed to pass with a speed limitation of 20 km per hour.

The construction of the railway was under the engineer K. A. Savitsky’s control and planned to begin from both sides: Moscow and Savelovo. In Moscow the construction began from the 10<sup>th</sup> km of Moscow – Yaroslavl line with making a connection from it.

The supposed location of the station building was in Butyrki which was out of the borders of the city to the south. With the studies of Moscow City Duma the

---

<sup>250</sup> Russian: Савёловский вокзал

<sup>251</sup> Vaskin & Nazarenko, pp.315-317.



place administratively became a part of Moscow in 1900 and thanks to the railway station the citizens of the location became Muscovite.

The construction of the building was planned to be finished in the winter of 1899. The chief engineer of the construction works was A. S. Sumarokov, who was considered to be the designer of the project as well but without certainty.

The building was considered as being modest, with only one storey which had a second floor only in the center for services and without a direct access from the main front. (The building got its contemporary image of two-storeyed by the reconstruction undergone in 1992.)

With some delays the construction of the building totally finished in the spring of the year 1902. When opened it was called as “Butyrsky Station.” The opening of the station also helped for the development of the suburb of the city where it located.



**Figure 79** Savelovsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 80** Savelovsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)



**Figure 81** Platform of Savelovskiy Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)





**Figure 82** Savelovsky Railway Station. (Author 06.2009)

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

In their comprehensive study on Imperial Russia, Burbank & von Hagen express the importance of “beginning with territory rather than with people and their presumed kinds of allegiances.”<sup>252</sup> In political and social history, the Russian case imposes to pay particular attention on spatiality and geography. The infrastructures, the economic and commercial factors, the superstructure, as well as the socio-political and cultural atmosphere of the Russia were marked by geographic conditions. In this context spatiality in every scale was effective in the construction of the Russian civilization.

The first state apparatus for providing control over its territory was to answer the need of security of the trade done via the rivers between the borderlands - the Mediterranean and the Baltic. This interaction offered the possibility to lay the foundations of the Russian civilization. When this system of commerce was broken, the territorial configuration went through the process of deterritorialization. However the unification of the lands around Moscow remarked the reterritorialization of the geography that was to become Russia.

Muscovy was a spreading center and the city of Moscow was started from a small fortified settlement.<sup>253</sup> During the construction of the Muscovite state, Moscow took central importance as the operative basis for the territorial construction. The urban environment of the city gradually developed with several cycles of fortified

---

<sup>252</sup> Burbank & von Hagen, pp.21-22.

<sup>253</sup> Burbank & von Hagen, p.22.

walls in order to be protected while trying to control the state's territoriality. The rivers and their geographic dispersion among the Russian continentality forced Moscow to be expanded.

The empire building process created more complex conditions in terms of the territorial relations of the center and the periphery. Russian imperial policy did not follow the classical dichotomy of periphery and center. Rather the empire's spatiality had at least two "metropolises", St. Petersburg and Moscow.

The transfer of the capital city from Moscow to St. Petersburg was itself a part of the territorialization in a greater scale. Becoming an empire required becoming a part of the European system, territorially as well. Thus, St. Petersburg became the capital city of an imperial policy that was concentrated on exteriority rather than the interiority.

The capital city function moved to St. Petersburg as part of a more encompassing programme of Europeanization, Russian style. The capital city was relocated to the extreme western periphery of the country and was supposed to be the precursor of external political, economical and military expansion. At the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when Peter the Great was building his empire (officially Russia was declared an Empire in 1721), the external political functions of the capital city became more important than the internal ones.<sup>254</sup>

Within the industrialization and rapid economic development of the country the economic division of both capitals was established. The northern capital St. Petersburg had mainly developed in relation to external trade while Moscow was

---

<sup>254</sup> Gritsai & van der Wusten, p.35.

becoming a center of interior of transports and economic activity. Moscow was using the advantage of its central position in the home market. St. Petersburg was the capital city but actually it was closer to the European cities than the other Russian cities, while the interior communication network was meeting in Moscow. “The popular proverb of that time marked its central position: Moscow is under whole Russia-everything is sliding down here.”<sup>255</sup> With the impulse of the railways and industry, the city witnessed a rapid growth from 400,000 inhabitants in the beginning of 1860s to 1,5 million in 1910.<sup>256</sup>

The transportation revolution diminished the cultural isolation of provincial towns. It brought the capitals and their far-flung commercial hinterlands into close contact and offered more opportunities than ever before for city and countryside to collaborate. The iron rail was a lifeline for rapidly growing urban centers scattered across European Russia. Moscow in many ways was exemplary of the new city emerging in these conditions: its railroad stations were the funnels through which poured goods and people. In a somewhat idealized form it symbolized the new Russia of the late nineteenth century.<sup>257</sup>

The territorialization process of Russia over its continent created an integrated territory with Moscow in the center. Moscow became both the *terminus a quo* with the central expression of autocracy, and the *terminus ad quem* of the system constructed over the Russian and the associated people’s territoriality with the meeting of the rail networks in the city.

---

<sup>255</sup> Shevyrev, p.73.

<sup>256</sup> Gritsai & van der Wusten, p.39.

<sup>257</sup> Daniel R. Brower, *The Russian City Between, Tradition and Modernity, 1850-1900*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1990, p.47.



In classical antiquity “all roads lead to Rome.” With the growing importance of maritime transportation of goods in the medieval times, the “Second Rome” became the hub of trade networks. Surprisingly, Moscow, which saw itself as the “Third Rome” mainly because of religious terms, acquired the real meaning of this identification in the railway age. All the iron networks lead to the “Third Rome” Moscow in this regard.

The territorial integration by the railways reflected the city’s radial central position. Moscow was becoming the nucleus of Russia, while in the city the nucleus was still the Kremlin.

The growth of the city from the center coincided with the direction of the railways from the periphery to the center on the outskirts of the last radial beltline of the city, which was indeed the track of the former walls. The railway station buildings, thus, found their locations on this beltline, representing both the radial character of the city and the geography of the country.

If Moscow was historically considered as the “heart of Russia”, then it was the railways which became the vital “vessels”. If we follow the analogy, the “gates” or the railway station buildings were the “heart valves” of the territorial system of the industrial Russia.

The integration of the railways to the built environment of the city marked its centrality for both the urban context and the whole country. Having been named with reference to the final destination of the line, each station building was a landmark of that direction in Moscow. The stations were not only the outbreaks of the spatial interaction of the capital city with its country, but also they enabled another level of control, that of the movement of people in the country.

Furthermore, creating a unity within the complex continental territoriality of Russia, each railway station building represented the identity of its destination in Moscow in architectural terms. In each case the architecture of the building had a unitary feature of different parts and cultures of the country. As the Kazansky railway station was a gate to the east, for example, architectural features of eastern Russia was used in thi building. Similarly, the Yaroslavsky railway station had references to the traditions of the northern Russian, while the railway stations serving for the western lines such as Leningradsky and Kievsky represented the classical traditions of the west.

In March 12, 1918 the revolutionary government gave the capital city status to Moscow again, making it the capital of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. From that time onwards Moscow became both the operational center of a new type of territorialization and itself an arena for the realization of socialist dreams of the working classes.

Just two months before the decision to move the capital city, the revolutionary government declared the basic principal of the new regime. It was the first time in contemporary history that the right of property ownership was demolished. On January 13, 1918 “Fundamental Rights of the Working and Exploited People” were declared, stating that:

The private ownership of land is eliminated; the entire territory is declared the property of all the people and handed over, without compensation, to the workers, on the basis of the common use of the territory. All forests, the riches of the land, the waters of public importance, the entire inventory of personal property and real estate

(belonging to the living and dead), all valuable and suitable establishments are hereby declared national property.<sup>258</sup>

The first crucial decision was the abolition of the private ownership of the land and the proclamation of the socialization of the territory, which had a direct impact on architecture and town planning.<sup>259</sup> Besides the revolutionary political power, the intellectual atmosphere of the revolutionary Russia was one of the important ideological apparatus of the new regime. Moscow already became an important center of the avant-garde movements of arts and architecture.

Actually the avant-garde culture had already existed in the pre-revolutionary period in Russia. In 1906 the Organization for Proletarian Culture (*Proletkult*) was founded in order to regenerate the culture through a new unity of science, industry and art.<sup>260</sup> After the revolution several institutions for education of art, architecture and design and organizations of artists and architects were founded. In a wide spectrum of avant-garde movements these intellectual cycles were dominated mainly by suprematism, productivism and constructivism.

With the decision of realizing socialism in one country, the main tasks of the revolutionary government were shaped by the intentions for:

the modernization of industry and agriculture, the campaign against illiteracy, the daily struggle to provide shelter and food, the drive to

---

<sup>258</sup> Manfredo Tafuri, *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1987, pp149-150.

<sup>259</sup> William J. R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture Since 1900*, Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1982, p.202.

<sup>260</sup> Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1992, p.168.

electrify the country and the ever-present need to forge a real link between the industrial, urban proletariat and a dispersed and vestigially feudal peasant society.<sup>261</sup>

In this respect the integration of the country had key importance for the Bolsheviks. Moreover, besides the decision of the “electrification” of the whole country, the Bolshevik leadership prioritized railway development as the stimulus for beginning economic modernization by allocating the forty percent of the Soviet gold reserve for funding the imports of railway equipment.<sup>262</sup>

The same period witnessed the development of the instruments of Soviet planning. A preparatory work had been done in 1921, defining the characteristics of economic regions, their internal divisions, and the interregional exchange and collaboration. The central economic region was the chief of the eight primary economic regions designated by the plans.<sup>263</sup>

This reterritorialization process was fundamentally different from the previous ones as this time public ownership was the key issue and, rather than colonization or exploitation of geography, it was the territorialization of communality. All in all, similar to the developments in its history, Moscow once again became the very center of its territory, this time for socialist modernization and development.

---

<sup>261</sup> Frampton, p.173.

<sup>262</sup> Anthony Heywood, *Modernising Lenin's Russia: Economic Reconstruction, Foreign Trade, and the Railways*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

<sup>263</sup> Tafuri, p157.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ames, Edward, "A Century of Russian Railroad Construction: 1837-1936", *American Slavic and East European Review*, vol. 6, no. 3/4. (December, 1947), pp. 57-74.
- Bassin, Mark, "Geographic Determinism in Fin-de-siecle Marxism: Georgii Plekhanov and the Environmental Basis of Russian History", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (Mar. 1992), pp.3-22.
- Berton, Kathleen, *Moscow: An Architectural History*, London and New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd Publishers, 1990.
- Blackwell, W. L., *The Beginnings of Russian Industrialization, 1800-1860*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968.
- Bradley, Joseph, "Moscow: From Big Village to Metropolis", *The City in Late Imperial Russia*, ed. Michael F. Hamm, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986, pp-9-41.
- Blumenfeld, Hans, "Russian City Planning of the 18th and Early 19th Centuries", *The Journal of the American Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol.4, No.1, The History of City Planning (Jan., 1944), pp.22-33.
- Brower, Daniel R., *The Russian City between, Tradition and Modernity, 1850-1900*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1990.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Urbanization and Autocracy: Russian Urban Development in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century", in *Russian Review*, Vol.42, No.4 (Oct., 1983), pp.377-402.
- Brumfield, William, C., *A History of Russian Architecture*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004.
- Burbank, Jane, Mark von Hagen, Anatolyi Remnev, Ed., *Russian Empire: Space, People, Power, 1700-1930*, Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007.
- Champbel, Sally A. Kitt, "Urban Ideals and the Design of Railroad Stations", in *Technology and Culture*, Vol.50, No.2 (April, 1989), pp. 354-375.
- Comins-Richmond, Walter, "The History of Moscow". Occidental College. Retrieved 2010-09-03.  
[http://faculty.oxy.edu/richmond/csp8/history\\_of\\_moscow.htm](http://faculty.oxy.edu/richmond/csp8/history_of_moscow.htm)

- Cracraft, James, Daniel Rowland, Ed., *Architectures of Russian Identity, 1500 to the Present*, Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 2003.
- Curtis, William J. R., *Modern Architecture Since 1900*, Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1982.
- Deleuze, Gilles and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.
- Frampton, Kenneth, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1992.
- Gritsai, Olga, van der Wusten, H., "Moscow and St. Petersburg, a sequence of capitals, a tale of two cities", *GeoJournal*, vol. 51 (2000), pp. 33–45.
- Hall, Thomas, *Planning Europe's Capital Cities: Aspects of Nineteen Century Urban Developments*, Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005.
- Haywood, Richard M., *The Beginnings of Railway Development in Russia in the Reign of Nicolas I, 1835-1842* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1969.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The 'Ruler Legend': Tsar Nicolas I and the Route of the St. Petersburg-Moscow Railway, 1842-1843", *Slavic Review* no. 37 (December 1978), pp. 640-650.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Russia Enters the Railway Age, 1842-1855*, Boulder, CO; New York: East European Monographs; Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1998.
- Harcave, Sidney, Ed., *The Memoirs of Count Witte*, Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 1990, pp.xiv-xv.
- Heywood, Anthony, *Modernising Lenin's Russia: Economic Reconstruction, Foreign Trade, and the Railways*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "'The Most Catastrophic question': Railway Development and Military Strategy in Late Imperial Russia", *Railways and International Politics: Paths of Empire, 1848-1945*, eds. T.G. Otte and Keith Neilson, London and New York: Routledge, 2006, pp. 45-67.
- Ilyin, M., *Moscow: Architecture and Monuments*, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1968.
- Kagarlitsky, Boris, *Empire of the Periphery: Russia and the World System*, London: Pluto Press, 2008.
- Khodarkovsky, Michael, *Russia's Steppe Frontier: The Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500-1800*, Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002

- Kind, Charles, *The Black Sea: A History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Knoespel, Kenneth J., "Building Space and Myth at the Edge of Empire: Space Syntax Analysis of St. Petersburg: 1703-1913", *4th International Space Syntax Symposium* London 2003.
- Kratochwil, Friedrich, "Of Systems, Boundaries, and Territoriality: An Inquiry into the Formation of the State System", *World Politics*, Vol. 39, No. 1. (Oct., 1986), pp. 27-52.
- Lenin, V. I., *The Development of Capitalism in Russia: The Process of the formation of a home market for large-scale industry*, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964.
- Marks, Steven G., *Road to Power: The Trans-Siberian Railroad and the Colonization of Asian Russia*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Meeks, Carrol L. V., *The Railroad Station: An Architectural History*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956.
- Metzer, Jakob, "Railroad Development and Market Integration: The Case of Tsarist Russia", *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 34, no. 3. (Sep., 1974), pp. 529-550.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Some Economic Aspects of Railroad Development in Tsarist Russia", *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 33, no. 1, The Tasks of Economic History. (Mar., 1973), pp. 314-316.
- Otte, T.G. and Neilson, Keith, *Railways and International Politics: Paths of Empire, 1848-1945*, eds. T.G. Otte and Keith Neilson, London and New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Paul, Michael C., "The Military Revolution in Russia 1550–1682", *The Journal of Military History* 68, No. 1 (January 2004).
- Parker, H., *An Historical Geography of Russia*, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969.
- Pipes, Richard, *Russia under the Old Regime*, London: Penguin Books, 1995.
- Riasanovsky, Nicholas V., Mark D. Steinberg, *A History of Russia: Volume 1: To 1855*, New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Rowley, David G., *Exploring Russia's Past: Narrative, Sources, Images*, New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2006.
- Sack, R., *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History*, New York, London: Cambridge University Press, 1986.



- Schmidt, Albert J., "The Restoration of Moscow after 1812", *Slavic Review*, vol. 40, no. 1. (Spring, 1981), pp. 37-48.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Architecture and Planning of Classical Moscow: A Cultural History*, Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1989.
- Shevyrev, Alexander, "The Axis Petersburg-Moscow: Outward and Inward Russian Capitals", *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 30, no. 1. (November 2003), pp. 70-84.
- Shvidkovsky, Dmitry, *Russian Architecture and the West*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Sonne, W., *Representing the State: Capital city planning in the early twentieth century*, Munich; London: Prestel, 2003.
- Sunderland, Willard, "Imperial Space: Territorial Thought and Practice in the Eighteenth Century", *Russian Empire: Space, People, Power, 1700-1930*, Ed: Burbank, Jane, Mark von Hagen, Anatolyi Remnev, Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007, pp.33-66.
- Tafuri, Manfredo, *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1987.
- Therborn, Göran, "Eastern Drama. Capitals of Eastern Europe, 1830s-2006: An Introductory Overview", *International Review of Sociology*, vol. 16, no. 2, (July 2006), pp. 209-242.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Monumental Europe: The National Years. On the Iconography of European Capital Cities", *Housing, Theory and Society* no. 19 (2002), pp. 26-47.
- Toynbee, Arnold, *Cities on the Move*, New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Tuathail, Gearóid Ó, "Political geography I: theorizing history, gender and world order", *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol.19, No.2 (1995), pp.260-272.
- Vaskin, A., Nazarenko, Y., *The Architecture and History of Moscow Railway Stations*, Moscow: Sputnik+, 2007. (Васькин, А. А., Назаренко, Ю. И., *Архитектура и История Московских Вокзалов: Фотоальбом-путеводитель*, М.: Компания Спутник+, 2007.) (Russian/English)
- Westwood, J.N., *A History of Russian Railways*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1964.

Wheeler, W.E., "The Control of Land Routes: Russian Railways in Central Asia", *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, no. 21 (October 1934), pp. 585-608.

Wortman, Richard, "Moscow and Petersburg: The Problem of Political Center in Tsarist Russia, 1881-1914," Sean Wilentz, ed., *Rites of Rulers: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics since the Middle Ages*, New Jersey: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999, pp.244-271.

"Moscow", in *The Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, 1979. Retrieved 2010-09-03. <http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Moscova>

"The Inception of English Railway Station", in *Architectural History*, Vol.4, (1961), pp. 63-76.

Планы Москвы и карты Московии: из собрания Музея истории Москвы, Часть первая. XVI-XVII вв. М. 2006.

Планы Москвы на рубеже эпох, Часть вторая. XIX- начало XX вв. М. 2008.