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NEW PETROGRAD DISTRICT IN ST. PETERSBURG:
A SYMBOL OF MODERNITY

Master's Thesis

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Hereby I declare that I worked out this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature, and I did not present it to obtain another academic degree.

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Abstract

As a consequence of its urban development in the beginning of the 20th century, *Petrogradskaya storona*, the district of St. Petersburg, turned from an abandoned area into a well-developed territory with modern tenement houses and public places, contemporary infrastructure, industrial enterprises and educational organizations.

Caused by the population increase in the city, as well as the presence of non-built space in the district and the construction of the Trinity Bridge to serve as a connection with the center of St. Petersburg, this urban development was influenced by the socially-mixed population of the area – representatives of bourgeoisie and intelligentsia initiated urban projects and common people created demand for them.

The urban development of the Petrograd district, analyzed through the use of modern infrastructure as well as the construction of new tenement houses and public places as its main processes, is characterized by certain common tendencies. The most important of them are the following ones: the primacy of private initiative and charity under governmental regulation; attention to the requirements of representatives of different social groups and the provision of equal access to conveniences in tenement houses and to events in public places. The use of modern architecture, infrastructure and innovations in order to increase the comfort of residential and public buildings of the district is considered to be another principal feature of reconstruction of the territory.

The successful urban development of *Petrogradskaya storona* led to the formation of a positive image of the district among the inhabitants of St. Petersburg, to an increase of investments in the territory, and to an augmentation in the number of intelligentsia living there, what determined the future prosperity of the area. The experience of the urban development of the Petrograd district was applied in USSR: the planning of the tenement houses was used in the 1950s – 1960s during the construction of mass housing; the public gardens were the predecessors to the Soviet Parks of Culture and Rest.

The successful methods and main tendencies of the urban development of *Petrogradskaya storona* in the beginning of the 20th century could also be applied during the reconstruction of contemporary district that faces the same challenges as a hundred years ago.

Resumé

Conséquence de son développement urbain dans le début du 20ème siècle, le quartier de Saint-Pétersbourg *Petrogradskaya storona* s'est transformé d'une zone abandonnée en un territoire bien développé avec des maisons de rapport et des espaces publics modernes, de l'infrastructure contemporaine, des entreprises industrielles et des organisations éducatives.

Suite à l'augmentation de la population de la ville, ce territoire non bâti dans un quartier qui a été relié avec le centre de Saint-Pétersbourg avec la construction du pont de la Trinité a été influencé par la population socialement mixte de *Petrogradskaya storona*. Les représentants de la bourgeoisie et de l'intelligentsia ont été les initiateurs de projets urbains dont les gens ordinaires étaient les demandeurs.

Le développement urbain du quartier et ses principaux processus étudiés, notamment la mise en œuvre d'une infrastructure moderne, la construction de nouvelles maisons de rapport et des espaces publics est caractérisé par les tendances communes. Les plus importantes sont les tendances suivantes : la primauté de l'initiative privée et de la tolérance réglementaire ; prise en considération des exigences de représentants des différentes classes sociales et une mise en disponibilité égale des commodités dans les maisons de rapport et des événements dans les espaces publics à chaque classe sociale. L'utilisation de l'architecture, de l'infrastructure et des innovations modernes pour augmenter le confort des bâtiments résidentiels et publics du quartier est considéré comme une autre caractéristique principale de la reconstruction du territoire.

Le développement urbain réussi du *Petrogradskaya storona* a permis de créer une image positive du quartier parmi les habitants de Saint-Pétersbourg, à une augmentation des investissements sur ce territoire et à une augmentation de la quantité d'intellectuels qui y vivaient. Tout ceci a déterminé la prospérité future de la région.

L'expérience du développement urbain de *Petrogradskaya storona* a été appliquée en URSS : les maisons de rapport ont été construites massivement dans les années 1950 - 1960; les jardins publics du quartier sont devenus les prédécesseurs des Parcs de Culture et de Repos. Le mécanisme et les tendances principales du développement urbain de *Petrogradskaya storona* au début du 20ème siècle pourraient être également appliqués lors de la rénovation du quartier actuel qui fait face aux mêmes défis comme il y a cent ans.

Abstrakt

V důsledku celkového rozvoje infrastruktury počátkem 20 století, se do té doby téměř opuštěné předměstí, *Petrogradskaya storona*, stalo čtvrtí s moderními bytovými domy a veřejným prostranstvím, rostoucím počtem průmyslových podniků i vzdělávacích organizací.

Rozvoj této části města s sebou přinesl především snahu využít nezastavěnou plochu a využít k její výhodě konstrukci mostu Trojice, coby hlavního spojení s centrem Petrohradu. Iniciátory městských projektů byli zástupci buržoazie a inteligence, užitek z tohoto měli především pak obyčejní lidé. Sociálně smíšené obyvatelstvo této části města bylo tak hlavním důvodem jeho rozvoje.

Rozvoj Petrohradské čtvrti můžeme analyzovat prostřednictvím stylu realizace moderní infrastruktury, výstavby nových bytových domů a veřejných míst, kdy jeho hlavní procesy nesou do značné míry společné rysy. Mezi nejdůležitější patří následující: primárně soukromá iniciativa místních obyvatel bez zásahů vládních nařízení, zohlednění požadavků zástupců rozdílných společenských vrstev a umožnění dostupnosti nových nájemních domů a veřejných prostranství, která byla všem přístupná. Dalším z hlavních rysů přestavby území je využití moderní architektury, vybudování infrastruktury a inovace za účelem zvýšení komfortu obytných budov i veřejných míst v dané čtvrti.

Úspěšný rozvoj čtvrti *Petrogradskaya storona* vedl k pozitivnímu postoji obyvatel Petrohradu vůči této části města a zvýšení investic do této oblasti. Rovněž nastalá situace přivedla do čtvrti zástupce inteligence což značně přispělo k budoucí prosperitě celé oblasti. Získané zkušenosti z rozvoje Petrohradské čtvrti byly následně aplikovány v SSSR, kdy bylo např. plánování činžovních domů využito při výstavbě sídlišť v letech 1950-1960. Veřejné zahrady se staly předchůdci sovětských parků kultury a oddechu.

Mechanismy a hlavní tendence urbanistického rozvoje čtvrti *Petrogradskaya storona* na počátku 20 století by mohly být z důvodu jejich úspěchu použity při její současné rekonstrukci, neboť tato část města aktuálně čelí stejným problémům jako tomu bylo před sto lety.

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Introduction

Definition of the subject, aims, and tasks of the research

This research focuses on the reconstruction of *Petrogradskaya storona* [the Petrograd part of the city] in St. Petersburg in the beginning of the 20th century as an example of complex urban development that combines the creation of modern infrastructure, new tenement houses and public places. The choice of the subject is determined by the unique place of *Petrogradskaya storona* in the St. Petersburg region, where a new and successful model of urban development was formed from the primacy of private initiative and corresponded to the requirements of the district's inhabitants.

The analyzed period is considered to be one of the most important in the urban development of *Petrogradskaya storona*, because during 10-15 years, it transformed from a suburban area into a modern district with new, many-storied stone tenement houses, contemporary public places (theatres, cinemas, parks, gardens, and sports grounds), and new, up-to-date infrastructure (first tramways, water pipes, electricity).

The aim of my work is to analyze the particularities of urban development in *Petrogradskaya storona* in general, as well as the construction of apartment houses and public places as its main directions and the ways in which they have influenced the creation of a new image of the district. In order to achieve this goal, I propose to solve the following tasks: to investigate the geographical, social and political features of the Petrograd district and to establish their impact on its urban development; to study the history, prerequisites and characteristics of this development; to analyze legislative regulation and participants in the reconstruction of *Petrogradskaya storona*; to understand the advantages and disadvantages of its mechanism; and to examine the consequences of urban development in the Petrograd district.

In the beginning of the 20th century, being the most European part of the city, *Petrogradskaya storona* embodied the following principles in its urban development: primacy of private initiative; orientation to the requirements of all social strata of the district; increased comfort; and use of modern architectural trends and innovations. The topicality of the subject of this research consists in the possibility of applying the analyzed successful experience of urban development of the Petrograd district in contemporary St. Petersburg.

The current work is divided into five parts. The first chapter is composed of an introduction, methodology, and literature and sources survey. The second part is dedicated to

a description of characteristics of the Petrograd district in historical, geographical and social terms. The third chapter is dedicated to an analysis of the mechanism of urban development of *Petrogradskaya storona* in the beginning of the 20th century and explores its prerequisites, characteristics, legislation and participants, directions, and consequences.

The fourth chapter consists of an investigation of new tenement houses in the Petrograd district, primarily their peculiarities and reasons for appearing. The fifth part is dedicated to the new public places of *Petrogradskaya storona*, and includes a comparison with old ones as well as an analysis of their crucial elements and main functions. The aim of these chapters is to understand how the above-mentioned principles of urban development in the Petrograd district are reflected in particular features of apartment houses and public places.

Methodology and presentation of sources

In my work, I apply qualitative and comparative research methods. The qualitative method consists of an analysis of available primary sources - newspapers, magazines, statistical reports, state documents, memoirs, and diaries. The first part classifies documents by their topics (processes of urban development, tenement houses, public places, architecture, local lore, everyday life in the Petrograd district) and information that could be found there (description or investigation of certain facts; statistical data; drafts, sketches and photos of houses and public places; maps of the district). The second section of the qualitative method is a contents analysis and conclusions based on it.

In this research, I make a diachronic type of comparison between two analogical subjects – traditional tenement houses and public places, created in the centre of St. Petersburg during the 19th century, and modern ones, constructed in *Petrogradskaya storona* in the beginning of the 20th century. In the case of apartment houses, I use the following criteria for comparison: planning, structure, interior, yards, presence of modern conveniences (water pipes, sewerage systems, electricity, etc.) and architecture.

These public places are analyzed and compared according to their fundamental elements, such as activity (actors and events taking place there; régime of functioning); built form (peculiarities of location, architecture and interiors); meaning (history and perception by the inhabitants). By applying this comparative method, I would like to better understand the

particular features of new buildings and public places, and to determine the trends of urban development in the Petrograd district that are reflected in them.

Before presenting secondary sources, I would like to note that the majority of literature used for this research is in the Russian language, because the topic of the urban development of St. Petersburg in the beginning of the 20th century is not very popular among foreign scholars. On the other hand, practically all foreign works, used for this thesis, are dedicated to theories of urban development and public places, which are not investigated in Russian scientific literature due to the low level of development of urban studies in this country. In other words, secondary sources or literature in my research represent a combination of English and French theoretical works, as well as Russian books with concrete factual data on the urban development of St. Petersburg.

Literature used for this research can be divided into several groups. Foremost, the works dedicated to the theory and process of urban development in general should be mentioned. The most important of them is the book “The Image of the City” by American urbanist Kevin Lynch, whose rules for cognitive mapping I use during my analysis of the public places of the Petrograd district.

The second group of secondary sources consists of theoretical literature dedicated to the concepts of district and public place. For instance, the book “*Le quartier: enjeux scientifiques, actions politiques et pratiques sociales*” by sociologists Marie-Hélène Bacqué, France Guérin-Pace, and Jean-Yves Authier is dedicated to the theoretical definition and different conceptions of the district, and investigates its geographical, social and political features. The works “The Public Realm” by sociologist Richard Sennet, “The Psychology of Place” by psychologist David Canter, “Cultural Quarters as Mechanisms of Urban Regeneration. Part 1: Conceptualizing Cultural Quarters” by scholar John Montgomery, and “*Cités, villes, métropoles*” by sociologist Michel Bassand define and analyze the main components and characteristics of public places and spaces.

Among the works dedicated directly to the history and urban development of St. Petersburg, I would like to highlight historians Vladimir Berelowitch and Olga Medvedkova’s book “*L’histoire de Saint-Pétersbourg*”, which contains statistical data, analyses of urban and social processes, and information about legislative regulation of urban development and about the city’s architecture and districts. The work of scholar James H. Bater titled “St. Petersburg: Industrialization and Change” gives information and statistical data about the urban development of the city.

The books of historian of architecture Sergey Sementsov, most notably “*Gradostroitel'noe razvitie Peterburga 1703-2000*” [Urban Development of St. Petersburg], likewise analyze urban processes in *Petrogradskaya storona*. Another important work on this topic is “*Russkoe gradostroitel'noe iskusstvo. Gradostroitelstvo Rossii serediny 19 – nachala 20 veka*” [Russian Art of Urban Development. Urban Development of Russia in the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th centuries], edited by architectural historian Evgeniya Kiritchenko.

Legislative regulation of urban development is analyzed in historian Valeriya Nardova’s book “*Samoderzhavie i gorodskie dumy v Rossii v kontse 19 – nachale 20 veka*” [Autocracy and City Municipal Institutions in Russia on the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th centuries] and in the doctoral thesis of Anna Sukhorukova, “*Peterburgskaya Gorodskaya Duma i problemy gradostroitel'stva v kontse 19 - nachale 20 Veka*” [Municipal Council of St. Petersburg and Problems of Urban Development in the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th centuries].

Another important source is historian of architecture Jean-Louis Cohen’s article “*Les stratégies de réforme urbaine entre 1900 et 1935*”, published in the book “*Saint-Pétersbourg: une fenêtre sur la Russie: ville, modernisation, modernité, 1900-1935*”, edited by historian Ewa Bérard. The work contains an analysis of plans for the urban development of St. Petersburg and methods for their realization.

A large amount of research is dedicated to the history of the Petrograd district and descriptions of its local lore; the most significant are “*Ulitsy Petrogradskoy storony. Doma i ludi*” [Streets of Petrograd district. People and Houses] and “*Kamennooostrovskiy Prospekt*” by historian Valeriy Privalov.

Many works are dedicated to the architecture of *Petrogradskaya storona*. Among them are the books of historian of architecture Boris Kirikov: “*Architektura peterburgskogo moderna. Osobnyaki i dohodnye doma*” [Architecture of Art Nouveau of St. Petersburg. Private Residences and Tenement Houses], “*Architektura peterburgskogo moderna. Obschestvennye Zdaniya*” [Architecture of Art Nouveau of St. Petersburg. Public Places], and “*Pamyatniki architektury i istorii Sankt-Peterburga. Petrogradskiy rayon*” [The Monuments of Architecture and History of St. Petersburg], edited by Boris Kirikov. Another important work is the article “*Le style moderne a Saint-Pétersbourg*” by historian of architecture William Craft Blumfield, published in the above-mentioned book by Ewa Bérard.

There are several books about tenement houses in St. Petersburg, including “*Istoriya razvitiya nmogokvartirnogo zhilogo doma s 18 po nachalo 20 veka*” [History of Tenement Houses Development from the 18th to the beginning of 20th centuries] by Evgeniya

Kiritchenko and “*Peterburgskiyeh dohodnyeh doma*” [Tenement Houses in St. Petersburg] by historian Ekaterina Yuhneva.

New public places are analyzed in the following works: “*Teatr i zritel rossiysskikh stolits: 1895 – 1917*” [Theatre and Spectator of Russian Capitals: 1895 – 1917] by culturologist Irina Petrovskaya; “*Uveselitelnye zavedeniya starogo Peterburga*” [Entertainment Organizations of Ancient St. Petersburg] by historian Yuri Alyanskiy; “*Metamorfozy Narodnogo Doma*” [Metamorphosis of People’s House] by historian Andrey Apsidov. The book “The European City and Green Space. London, Stockholm, Helsinki and St. Petersburg, 1850–2000” edited by Peter Clark likewise contains an analysis that compares public places in the city with those of other world capitals.

Primary sources for this research can be sorted into several groups. The first one is plans for the urban development of St. Petersburg and *Petrogradskaya storona*, elaborated by municipal institutes (“*Plan stolichnogo goroda Sankt-Peterburga s pokazaniem predpolagaemogo uregulirovaniya ulits*” [Plan of St. Petersburg as a Capital with Proposed Plan of the Regulation of the Streets] (1880), and by professional architects and engineers (“*Plan preobrazovaniya Peterburga*” [Plan for Regulation of St. Petersburg] (1910) by Leontiy Benois, Fedor Enakiev; “*Osnovy razvitiya sovremennyh gorodov*” [Basic Features of Development of Contemporary Cities]; “*Zadachi preobrazovaniya Sankt-Peterburga*” [Tasks of the Reformation of St. Petersburg] (1912) by Fedor Enakiev. The plans give information about the conception and projects of complex urban development in *Petrogradskaya storona*.

Another significant group of primary sources includes books edited in the beginning of the 20th century. Foremost the works that analyze the problem of housing scarcity in big cities, and strategies accepted for its resolution in European countries should be mentioned (for instance “*Zhilischniy vopros s ekonomicheskoy tochki zreniya*” [The Housing Question from the Economical Point of View] (1902) by Vyacheslav Svyatlovskiy and “*Kvartirniy vopros i sotsialnye opyty ego resheniya*” [The Housing Question and Social Experience of its Solution] (1908) by Mikhail Dikanskiy). Among books dedicated to public places, it is necessary to mention “*Peterburg nochyu*” [St. Petersburg at Night] (1903) by Piotr Nikitin and “*Peterburgskiy teatr*” [Theatre in St. Petersburg] (1907) by Nicholas Tamarin.

The journals “*Zodchiy*” [Architect], “*Stroitel*” [Builder], “*Nedelya Stroitelnya*” [Week of Builder] (analyzed in period 1893 – 1913) consist of articles with professional discourse on urban development. They are dedicated to a wide range of questions, primarily about district infrastructure, with plans, reports, descriptions of particular actions and statistical data about

the construction of *Petrogradskaya storona*.¹ These magazines likewise contain information about projects, the structure and function of tenement houses, and public spaces situated in the area.² Drafts, sketches and photos of the buildings, printed in the journals, are used as an important visual source.³

Other valuable primary sources are the everyday newspapers “*Peterburgskaya gazeta*” [Newspaper of St. Petersburg], on city life, and “*Peterburgskiy listok*” [Sheet of St. Petersburg], analyzed from 1906 to 1916. Both contain announcements for flat rents in the tenement houses with detailed data, descriptions of events in public spaces, and information about the activities of the Municipal Council. The target audience of the newspapers represented different social strata (intelligentsia, semiintelligentsia, functionaries, militaries, students, high-qualified workers, servants)⁴ and therefore they can be considered the source that gives the widest information about St. Petersburg in the analyzed period.

Statistical and factual material is found in address books, touristic guides and statistic reports of the time, for instance “*Illustrirovanniy putevidotel*” [Touristic Guide with Illustrations], edited by Oleg Iodko in 1902, the address book “*Ves Peterburg*” [All St. Petersburg], printed in 1913, and “*Kratkiy svod statisticheskikh dannyh po gorodu Petrogradu, 1913 – 1914*” [Brief Statistic Data of Petrograd, 1913 – 1914], written in 1915.

Important sources of information about the everyday life of people in different types of apartment houses and about the meaning of public places in *Petrogradskaya storona* are the memoirs of people who lived in the district and participated in its life and events. In this research, books written by representatives of various social strata are used in order to ensure a description and analysis that includes various points of view. The most valuable among the investigated sources are the following ones: “*Vospominaniya*” [Memoirs] by painter Mstislav Dobuzhinskiy, “*Vospominaniya*” [Memoirs] by scholar Dmitriy Likhachev; “*Peterburg 1910 godov. Progulki v proshloe*” by theatre artist Mikhail Grigoryev [St. Petersburg in the 1910’s.

¹ For instance, *Rasshirenie stolichnogo vodoprovoda* [Widening of water pipes in the capital], in: *Nedelya Stroitel'ya*, 1893, 12, p. 52; *Domostroitelstvo v Peterburge* [The House-building in St. Petersburg], in: *Nedelya Stroitel'ya*, 1894, 27, pp. 131-132; *Statisticheskie dannye o stroitelstve novykh domov na Peterburgskoy storone*” [Statistics of construction of new houses in Petrograd district], in: *Nedelya Stroitel'ya*, 1890 – 1902).

² For instance, *Deshevyye i zdorovyye zhilischa dlya rabochikh* [Cheap and healthy houses for workers], in: *Nedelya Stroitel'ya*, 1896, 20, pp. 85-86; 1900, 32, pp. 204-205; *Novoye stroitelstvo v Peterburge* [New Buildings in St. Petersburg. House of Lidval], in: *Apollon*, 1, 1909, pp. 16-17; *Dom trekh Benois* [House of Three Benois], in: *Zodchiy* [Architect], 1913, 14, p. 1 (apartment houses); *Stroitelstvo Narodnogo Doma* [People’s house construction], in: *Stroitel*, 1896, 32, pp. 167-169; 1897, 24, pp. 121-123; 1900, 33, p.215; 1901, 21, pp. 142-145; *Noviy teatr Nemetti v Sankt-Peterburge*. [New Theatre Nemetti in St. Petersburg], in: *Zodchiy* [Architect], 1904, 40, p. 444 – 445 (public places).

³ See in detail Project of tenement house of Lidval, *Zodchiy*, 1912 – 1913; Project of tenement house of Benois, *Zodchiy*. 1911; Final version of tenement house of Benois, *Zodchiy*. 1913.

⁴ E. Sonina, *Gazetnyy Peterburg* [Newspapers of St. Petersburg], 2011, p. 85.

The Walks to the past]) (intelligentsia), “*Mily stariy Peterburg*” [Dear Ancient St. Petersburg] by accountant Piotr Piskarev, “*Iz zhizni Peterburga*” [About Life in St. Petersburg] by students, sons of functionaries, Dmitry Zasosov, and Vladimir Pyzin, and “*Zapiski domovogo*” [Memoirs of House-Spirit] by workers’ representative Boris Filippov.

Precious primary sources are the diaries of people who lived in the district or were connected with its urban development. Created only for the private use of their authors, they contain the most sincere and precise information. Among the works used for research it is necessary to mention “*Dnevnik*” [Diary] written by scholar Ivan Tolstoy, mayor of St. Petersburg from 1913 – 1916. This includes facts about his contribution to the urban development of St. Petersburg and his work for the Municipal Council. The unpublished diary of actress Sofia Smirnova-Sazonova, wife of the director of People’s House, the theatre in Alexandrovskiy park, contains information about the functioning of different public places in the Petrograd district.

All the above-mentioned sources help me to achieve the main goals of my research - to analyze urban development of *Petrogradskaya storona* in the beginning of the 20th century; to investigate its origins, history, traits, causes and effects; to examine the advantages and disadvantages of its mechanisms; and to analyze new tenement houses and public places as its most important developments.

Particularities of the Petrograd District

Theoretical definitions and conceptions of “district” applied to the urban development of *Petrogradskaya storona*

Interpretations of “district.” Petrogradskaya storona in a geographical context

In the beginning of my research, I would like to present theoretical definitions of “district” from various sciences that are pertinent to *Petrogradskaya storona*. Another aim of this part is to analyze the distinctive aspects of the Petrograd district (geographical, social, and political) and their influence on the urban development of the area.

The term district could be the object of various fields of study, such as geography, sociology, anthropology, economics, history, and political sciences. It is necessary to emphasize that in all the above-mentioned sciences there is no exact definition of the district as an interdisciplinary concept. In most cases, the district is investigated as a result of interactions between space and society.⁵ In my work, I study the Petrograd district from both spatial and social perspectives, as well as from the perspectives of geography, social studies, and political studies.

In geography, district is traditionally defined as an administrative unit divided from other parts of the city by certain qualities of its landscape.⁶ In geographical terms, *Petrogradskaya storona* could be characterized as a separate territory on the left bank of the Neva river, situated on three large islands: Petrogradskiy, Aptekarskiy, and Krestovskiy, and several small ones: Elagin, Kamenniy, Zayachiy, and Petrovskiy. It was one of the first districts of St. Petersburg, and it remained in its initial frontiers from the beginning of the 18th until the beginning of the 20th centuries, the time of its considerable expansion.

Geographical position has significantly influenced the urban development of *Petrogradskaya storona*. In the beginning of the 18th century, it was chosen by Emperor Peter the Great as the first central part of the city because it was difficult for the Swedish army to access in the period of The Northern war (1700 – 1721). From the middle of the 18th to the end of the 19th centuries, *Petrogradskaya storona* developed as an industrial and merchant district because of the proximity of the river and the port.

On the other hand, during this period it remained an outlying district because of the absence of any connection with the central part of the city, which was situated on the other

⁵ J.-Y. Authier, M.-H. Bacqué et F. Guérin-Pace, *Le quartier: enjeux scientifiques, actions politiques et pratiques sociales*, Paris, 2006, p. 10.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

bank of the Neva river. The construction of the Trinity Bridge in 1903 as a permanent link with the city core turned *Petrogradskaya storona* into a modern and popular district, an alternative to the ancient centre of St. Petersburg.

Definition and traits of the Petrograd district in social and political terms

There are two main definitions of district in social sciences: *le quartier "institute,"* an abstract notion with artificially formed frontiers, and *le quartier "vécu,"* the real place where the inhabitants live, and which they use. These definitions correspond to two dimensions of the district: spatial (types of the buildings, infrastructure) and social (different social classes, everyday life in the district, and interactions between them). In social studies, the district is viewed as a result of the interconnection between the material organization of the built-up space and the social practices of its inhabitants.⁷

One of the ways to investigate the social dimension of the district is to study the distribution, movement and mutual practices of its inhabitants. In French sociology, there are several definitions of the quarter from this point of view. The most suitable for *Petrogradskaya storona* in the beginning of the 20th century is conceived by Jean-Claude Chamboredon and Madeleine Lemaire, who characterize district as a “big ensemble of houses where populations of different social origins coexist [my translation].”⁸ It is likewise necessary to mention a definition of district as a place where representatives of similar or different social classes live, meet, interact and realize collective or individual public practices and actions.⁹

In the analyzed period, due to the multiple factors, the size of the population of the Petrograd district grew and its social structure changed: soldiers, craftsmen and merchants, who lived in the area throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, were supplemented by representatives of the bourgeoisie, intelligentsia, high and low-qualified workers, servants and peasants. In other words, in the beginning of the 20th century, *Petrogradskaya storona* contained a combination of all the social strata in the Russian Empire. This fact distinguishes the quarter from other districts of that time, which were characterized by a certain social

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

homogeneity (for instance, the centre of St. Petersburg was a space for the aristocracy and high bourgeoisie; *Vyborgskaya storona* was an area for workers).¹⁰

In the works of French scholars, one can find a functionalist approach to the concept of district as a technical and social division of space that uses different categories like “residential district,” “work district,” and “business district.”¹¹ English sociologist John Montgomery analyzes the notion of “cultural district.”¹² *Petrogradskaya storona* could not be characterized as any of the above-mentioned areas, because due to intensive urban development, it combined the features of all of them.

In this manner, the presence of a significant quantity of tenement houses allows one to define it as a residential district; enterprises with housing estates for workers near them qualify it as an industrial area. The creation of innovative educational organizations and enterprises allows for the possibility of characterizing it as a scientific district open to new trends in technical progress. The large number of public places (theatres, cinemas, parks and gardens) with various events held in them allows one to qualify it as cultural district.

During the analysis of *Petrogradskaya storona* from a spatial perspective, I conclude that the above-mentioned sides of the district were not mixed but separated from each other. The character of their location corresponded to the particularities of the urban structure of the area due to the application of the main paths and edges of the district (in terms of Kevin Lynch’s concept)¹³ as the frontiers between them.

For instance, the central cultural part of the district was situated in the beginning of the area and had the Kamennostrovskiy prospect, Bolshoy prospect, and the Neva river, principal paths and edges of the quarter, as its borders. The Elagin and Petrovskiy islands, situated in the suburbs, were seasonal cultural parts of the district, and were divided from other territories by the Neva and the Srednyaya Neva rivers, and by the Malaya Neva and the Zhdanovka rivers respectively.

The residential part was located next to the central cultural one and was separated by the Bolshoy prospect, Geslerovskiy prospect and the Karpovka river. These composed its main paths and edges. The Krestovskiy island, a residential country area in summer, was divided by the Malaya Neva and the Srednyaya Neva rivers. The industrial part of the district was situated in the suburbs and had the Geslerovskiy prospect, the Karpovka, and the

¹⁰ *Kratkiy svod statisticheskikh dannykh po gorodu Petrogradu, 1913 - 1914* [Brief statistic data of Petrograd, 1913 – 1914], Petrograd, 1915, p. 15.

¹¹ J.-Y. Authier, M.-H. Bacqué et F. Guérin-Pace, *Le quartier* cit., p. 42.

¹² J. Montgomery *Cultural Quarters as Mechanisms of Urban Regeneration. Part I: Conceptualizing Cultural Quarters*, in: *Planning, Practice and Research*, 2003, Vol.18, 4, p. 300.

¹³ K. Lynch, *The Image of the City*, Cambridge, 1960, p. 47.

Zhdanovka rivers as its borders. The scientific area was divided from the others by the Karpovka and the Malaya Neva rivers. (Fig. 1).

The spatial dimension of the district that is investigated above was connected with its social structure. The distinct categories of the areas, situated in one quarter, corresponded to the district's social heterogeneity and met the requirements of inhabitants from different social strata. For instance, representatives of the intelligentsia had the opportunity to live in a residential area, to realize social activities in a cultural area and to work in an industrial, scientific or cultural area. Common people lived in both industrial (low-qualified workers) and residential (high-qualified workers and servants) areas. In most cases, they worked in the industrial area, and enjoyed recreational activities in the cultural area.

Consequently, the spatial dimension of *Petrogradskaya storona* was characterized by the coexistence of different profiles (residential, industrial, cultural and scientific), and their harmonious location within one area. It was determined by the presence of distinct social strata within one territory, and it met their diverse requirements, providing them with the possibility to live, work and carry out their social activities together in the same district.

After investigating the spatial dimension of the Petrograd district and the methods of its application by inhabitants, it is necessary to study their social activities in detail. In certain cases, *Petrogradskaya storona* could be identified as a “district of integration” (a definition of English sociologist Simon Hix),¹⁴ where the representatives of different social classes not only live together, but interact with each other.

The cooperation of representatives from distinct social strata took place primarily during events in the public places of the Petrograd district. Although realized to a low degree, the communal activity of various social classes was nevertheless an important feature of *Petrogradskaya storona* due to its contrast with the traditional partition of different social strata in St. Petersburg and the Russian Empire as a whole in the beginning of the 20th century.

The coexistence of different social strata influenced the urban development of the Petrograd district - primarily its spatial dimension - by creating a demand for new buildings that corresponded to the needs of all the inhabitants of the area. Therefore, in early 20th century *Petrogradskaya storona*, modern types of tenement houses appeared, with architecture, planning and functions that met the requirements of the multiple social layers within them.

¹⁴ J.-Y. Authier, M.-H. Bacqué et F. Guérin-Pace, *Le quartier cit.*, p. 29.

Another example of such an impact was the creation of new public places that were used by the inhabitants of the district - representatives of different social strata - for their common activities, and reflected their principles and needs. Consequently, the social characteristics of the district determined its spatial dimension.

Certain sociologists emphasize the separateness of the district and characterize it as “the part of the city’s territory with a physiognomy and set of distinctive features that impart it with a certain unity and individuality [my translation.]”¹⁵ In other words, they consider district as a territory with its own image and identity. *Petrogradskaya storona* could be interpreted as an exceptional district of St. Petersburg by various parameters, foremost by its social structure, history, and qualities of its urban development. One of the aims of my research is to study how the urban development and the identity of the Petrograd district influenced each other in the beginning of the 20th century.

According to French sociologist Yankel Fijalkow, who conceived the idea of the “*quartier-village*”, the identity of a district is determined by the following factors: the distinctive features of the architecture, the monuments and the public places, and the collective negotiations of the inhabitants about their development. These factors help not only to define a place, but to empower the people living in the district; their change leads to the formation of a new identity for the area and ensures its development from a village into a popular contemporary district.¹⁶

This concept can be applied to the urban development of the Petrograd district in the beginning of the 20th century. The new, *art nouveau* style public places and tenement houses, which were available for people of all social strata in *Petrogradskaya storona*, led to the formation of a modern district characterized by a social awareness and an application of innovations in various spheres of life. In addition to these features, the identity of the Petrograd district is reflected in its contrast to the centre of St. Petersburg by the following parameters, formed as a result of its urban development: classical and modern buildings; homogeneity and diversity of architectural ensembles; and elite public places that were available to all social groups.

In the political sciences, the district is defined and investigated as a space that is organized, managed and developed by governmental institutions.¹⁷ From the point of view of public politics, *Petrogradskaya storona* is characterized as an area where, for the first time in

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁶ Y. Fijalkov *Construction et usage de la notion de quartier-village*, in: J.-Y. Authier, *Le quartier* cit., p. 75.

¹⁷ J.-Y. Authier, M.-H. Bacqué et F. Guérin-Pace, *Le quartier: enjeux scientifiques* cit., p. 16.

St. Petersburg, the private initiative of citizens prevailed over the activity of municipal organizations in the urban development of the district.

The construction of new tenement houses, creation of public places, and maintenance of infrastructure were the district's main directions of urban development and were initiated by the inhabitants of *Petrogradskaya storona*. These developments were financed by private developers (middle bourgeoisie and landlords), and projected and fulfilled by representatives of the intelligentsia (architects, engineers, and producers), while the Municipal Council only confirmed or declined the proposed ideas.

Such features were determined by the social qualities of the district: the cohabitation of the above-mentioned social groups within one territory. Another cause was the geographical dimension of *Petrogradskaya storona*: the absence of any strict governmental control over the area, a result of its distance from the ancient city centre, created a certain freedom for private actors of urban changes. Therefore, the primacy of private initiative over municipal organizations in the district's urban development was one of the particularities of the Petrograd district in political, social and geographical terms.

Consequently, after analyzing *Petrogradskaya storona* in all the above-mentioned dimensions, and after defining the image and identity of the district, it is possible to conclude that the urban development of this area was characterized by a social awareness, innovation, and an appreciation of private initiative.

Mechanism of Urban Development of *Petrogradskaya Storona* in the Beginning of the 20th Century

History of urban processes of *Petrogradskaya storona*

Petrogradskaya storona is considered to be a unique district of St. Petersburg due to the peculiarities of its history and urban development. It is generally known that St. Petersburg was constructed by Peter the Great as the ancient capital, using principles of urban development that were revolutionary for Russia: wide, straight streets with standardized models of different types of the houses (public and private ones), and accurate plans made in accordance with urban projects approved personally by the Emperor. From the era of Peter the Great, the urban development of St. Petersburg remained very important for future emperors as an indicator of the prestige of the state. All famous architectural ensembles in the centre of the city were built after careful problem-solving and confirmation of plans. In this way, *Petrogradskaya storona* is an exceptional district of St. Petersburg that developed independently from the beginning of the 18th till the end of the 20th centuries.

In order to understand the particularities of *Petrogradskaya storona* and the reasons for its urban development in the beginning of the 20th century, it is necessary to turn to the history of this area. It appeared in 1703 as the administrative, commercial and educational centre of St. Petersburg. The city's first government buildings, markets, taverns, customs centres and exchange centres were built in the Troitskaya Square of *Petrogradskaya storona*. The first school and printing house were likewise situated there. Streets near to the square were laid out chaotically, depending on the particular features of the river Neva, such as troughs and banks.¹⁸ It was a special area of St. Petersburg that started to develop before the beginning of governmental urban planning.

By 1715, when regular urban development of St. Petersburg began, the largest part of *Petrogradskaya storona* was already built up with palaces, military barracks and houses for functionaries and workers. Therefore, Peter the Great made the decision to transfer the city centre to Vasilievskiy Island. The Petrograd district was not mentioned in the first urban plans - "General plan of St. Petersburg" (1716) by Italian architect Domenico Trezzini

¹⁸ M. Tischenko, *Tri veka Petrogradskoy storony* [Three Centuries of Petrograd district], in *Istoriya Peterburga*, 2003, 2, p. 14.

and "*Le plan général de Saint-Pétersbourg*" (1717) by French architect Jean-Baptiste Alexandre Le Blond - and consequently its urban development was interrupted.

In 1737, the first attempt to replan the Petrograd district was made. "The commission for the Construction of St. Petersburg" confirmed that the plan complied with the Bolshoy prospect, the main path of *Petrogradskaya storona*, and several straight, perpendicular streets were laid.¹⁹ In 1762, "The Commission for the Stone Buildings of Moscow and St. Petersburg", headed by architect Andrey Kvasov, elaborated on the second project of district reconstruction by laying straight, wide streets radiating from the central axis. The project was not realized, and the majority of the streets of *Petrogradskaya storona* - with the exception of several main avenues (the Bolshoy prospect, Maliy prospect, and Kamennooostrovskiy prospect) - have been preserved with irregular and independent planning, which distinguishes the district from others in St. Petersburg.²⁰

By the 19th century, *Petrogradskaya storona* has developed as an industrial district due to the prohibition to build the new factories in the centre of the city. About 36 small enterprises (textile and chemical, among others) and a significant quantity of handicraft workshops were situated there. The growth of trade was another significant aspect of the urban development of that period: The Sytniy market, the largest market in St. Petersburg, and multiple small shops were located there. The Western part of the Petrograd district (which includes the Elagin and Krestovskiy islands) was built up by the *dachas* (country houses) of aristocratic families.²¹ Such distinct features of the district's urban development were determined by geography: by the proximity to the river and the port, as well as by the presence of green areas. Consequently, in the 19th century, *Petrogradskaya storona* continued to develop under the influence of geographical idiosyncrasies rather than governmental plans, in contrast to the other parts of the city.

In spite of the presence of small enterprises and shops, new stone residential houses were not built and the infrastructure of the city was not developed. In the 1870's and 1880's, the majority of the buildings in *Petrogradskaya storona* were temporary military barracks and wooden one-storied houses (87% of all the buildings).²² The population of the district consisted of soldiers, merchants, artisans, seasonal workers and farmers. Due to the absence of a permanent stone bridge, the inhabitants of the outlying streets did not visit the centre of

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²⁰ M. Sementovskaya, *Mesta za Kronverkskim kanalom* [The area behind Kronverkskiy Canal], in "*Leningradskaya panorama*", 1983, 2, p. 25.

²¹ M. Tischenko., *Tri veka cit.*, p.20.

²² E. Yuhneva, *Peterburgskiyeh dohodnyeh doma* [Tenement Houses in St. Petersburg], St. Petersburg, 2010, p.12.

the city for decades, and their everyday lives were similar to the lives of those in small provincial towns.

The following passage describes mid-19th century *Petrogradskaya storona*: “The Kamennooostrovskiy prospect lied among waste grounds, dark alleys and twisted, dirty streets without pavement or street lamps. In spring and autumn, such streets turned into bogs. The Alexandrovskiy park was abandoned and visited only by merchants and peasants living in the neighborhood; on autumn and winter evenings, it was considered a dangerous place [my translation].”²³

Taking into account all the above-mentioned features, governmental institutions perceived the Petrograd district as an outlying district. "*Plan Stolichnogo Goroda Sankt-Peterburga s Pokazaniem Predpolagaemogo Uregulirovaniya Ulits*" [The Plan for St. Petersburg as a Capital with a Proposed Plan for the Regulation of its Streets] (1880) did not list *Petrogradskaya storona* as an area suitable for urban development, and it indicated other zones of the city (*Vyborgskaya storona* and Goloday Island, among others) as more appropriate for the creation of new streets and construction of buildings.²⁴

Preliminary causes and Qualities of the urban development of *Petrogradskaya storona* in the beginning of the 20th century

Due to the historical and urban processes analyzed above, by the end of the 19th century, *Petrogradskaya storona* was viewed as a suburban area without any strong potential for urban development. Nevertheless, over the next 15 years and by 1914, without any preliminary planning for urban development, it had turned into a modern district, an alternative to the ancient centre of the city. The implied reasons for this phenomenon are, on the one hand, the social processes that took place in St. Petersburg in this period, and on the other hand, the qualities of pre-existing built structures in *Petrogradskaya storona*.

The end of the 19th century is characterized by the beginning of a mass migration of peasants from villages to the big cities, foremost the capital. This movement was caused by the abolition of serfdom in 1861 and the development of capitalism in Russia. Due to this, the

²³ A. Mikhailov, *Peterburg utrom, dnem i vecherom* [St. Petersburg, in the morning, during the day and in the evening], St. Petersburg, 1867, p.28.

²⁴ *Plan Stolichnogo Goroda Sankt-Peterburga s Pokazaniem Predpolagaemogo Uregulirovaniya Ulits* [Plan of St. Petersburg as a Capital with Proposed Plan of the Regulation of the Streets], in: box 167, folder 14, collection of Technical and Building Committee of Ministry of Internal Affairs, Central Governmental Historical Archives (TsGIA SPb).

population of St. Petersburg grew from 539,122 in 1864 to 1,265,000 citizens in 1897, which put it in the range of leading world capitals like London and Paris.²⁵

Like those capitals, St. Petersburg went through social crises typical of large cities, which were caused by a significant increase in the number of inhabitants. Housing, transport and infrastructure crises occurred.²⁶ *Petrogradskaya storona*, one of the most rapidly-developed districts, could be considered a good source for researching the peculiarities of this crisis, and methods for overcoming it.

The increase in the quantity of inhabitants led to a significant deficit of living space, particularly of flats in the city. A considerable part of the centre of St. Petersburg was already built; the suburbs (*Vyborgskaya storona*, *Moskovskaya chast* [district] and *Rozhdestvenskaya chast*) were situated far from the core of the city or had no connection with it (*Petrogradskaya storona*).

Therefore, the most important impact on the development of the Petrograd district was the construction of the Trinity bridge (1897-1903) as a permanent link between the district and the other bank of the river, and the presence of large, unbuilt space in this territory that was situated near the city centre and not overpopulated.

Because of the acute deficit of flats, the crucial focus of the urban development of *Petrogradskaya storona* became the construction of new buildings: more than 250 stone tenement houses were built there per year. In other words, in the beginning of the 20th century, every second new house in the city was constructed in this district.²⁷ Nevertheless, even in 1907, after the intensive construction of the analyzed area, the average inhabitant of the centre accounted for 5.9 square *sazhen* (26.5 m²) of territory, whereas the average inhabitant of the Petrograd district accounted for 19.1 square *sazhen* (86 m²),²⁸ which permitted the continuation of the construction of new apartment houses and general urban development of the area.

A significant factor in the building boom in *Petrogradskaya storona* was the absence of the tall architectural creations there, with the exception of the Petropavlovskaya fortress, which simplified the requirements for the height of new houses. The district was the first

²⁵ E. Yuhneva, *Peterburgskiye cit.*, p. 20.

²⁶ A. Sukhorukova, *Peterburgskaya Gorodskaya Duma i problemy gradostroitelstva v kontse 19 - nachale 20 Veka* [State Municipal Duma of St. Petersburg and Problems of Urban Development in the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th Centuries], St. Petersburg, 2000, p. 124.

²⁷ L. Lurie, *Smeshenie zhanrov* [Mixture of genres], in *Kvartalnyi nadziratel*, 2004, 19, p. 37.

²⁸ F. Enakiev, *Zadachi Preobrazovaniya Sankt-Peterburga* [Tasks of the Reformation of St. Petersburg], p. 28, in: box 789, folder 80, dossier 80, collection of the projects of reconstruction of St. Petersburg, Russian Governmental Historical Archives (RGIA).

place in the city where it became possible to build 5 or 6-storied tenement houses of the maximum allowed height (23.5 m), with a considerable number of flats in each one.²⁹

Due to all the above-mentioned circumstances, the Petrograd district became the most quickly growing part of the city: its population grew from 77,000 people in 1890 (8.1% of all the inhabitants of St. Petersburg) to 289,000 people in 1915 (12.9 %),³⁰ with representatives of all social classes living there: the bourgeoisie, intelligentsia, functionaries, militaries, high and low-qualified workers, servants and peasants.

During the study of the urban development of *Petrogradskaya storona* in the analyzed period, one can find a contradiction between the rapid construction of new buildings - which aimed to circumvent the housing crisis and were supported by private investments - and the slow development of urban infrastructure, which could supply the increased quantity of houses and inhabitants. For instance, even though the population of the district significantly increased, the first tramway was only laid along the Kamennostrovskiy prospect - the central street of *Petrogradskaya storona* - in 1908, and the second line was constructed on the Bolshoy and Kronverkskiy prospects in 1911.³¹

Other infrastructural projects were realized with significant delay or were cancelled after the years of reworking. For instance, a project of collecting water from Lake Ladoga into water pipes was presented to the municipality in 1883, but the works started only in 1914 after several epidemics of cholera and typhus and nevertheless were not finished.³² Another example of obstructed infrastructural development was the absence of any central canals in the Petrograd district till 1917.³³

The above mentioned facts prove that the important focuses of urban development in *Petrogradskaya storona* were those initiated by private investors, foremost the construction of tenement houses and public places. The development of infrastructure that needed governmental support and finance was delayed and was not ultimately fulfilled. In other words, in the urban development of *Petrogradskaya storona*, private initiative eclipsed the governmental regulation that contrasted to the other districts of St. Petersburg throughout its history.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

³⁰ L. Lurie, *Smeshenie zhanrov* cit., p. 29.

³¹ *Materialy po statistike Petrograda* [Materials for the statistics of Petrograd], Petrograd, 1920, p. 10.

³² V. Berelowitch, O. Medvedkova *L'histoire de Saint-Petersbourg*, Paris, 1996, p. 367.

³³ E. Yuhneva, *Peterburgskiye* cit., p. 237

Moreover, the urban development of the Petrograd district was realized without preliminary governmental planning or resolution. Therefore, in the example of *Petrogradskaya storona*, one can observe a process of urban development based primarily on private initiative and on the requirements of the inhabitants of the district, which are reflected in the following processes.

Landlords initiated the construction of new tenement houses in order to use free space connected with city centre, and to gain profit from it. They tried to buy the new land from the government and previous owners, and to build it as soon as possible because of its significant increase in value.³⁴ The rental costs of flats in *Petrogradskaya storona* were lower than in the city centre, which led to the departure of a significant number of the middle bourgeoisie and intelligentsia in this district, situated near the core of St. Petersburg.

The appearance of large industrial enterprises and the development of medium-sized businesses on abandoned territory resulted in an increase in the number of workers and servants living in this area. Their accommodation requirements in the early 1910s caused the creation of a new type of tenement houses with both expensive and cheap flats in them. Such houses were available for all social groups in the district: intelligentsia and middle bourgeoisie on one hand, and students and high-qualified workers on the other.

The new, mixed population needed new areas for social activities, so contemporary public spaces with educational and entertainment purposes - accessible for different social groups - were created in the Petrograd district. The self-regulatory mechanisms of the city's urban development led to a rapid transformation of suburban *Petrogradskaya storona* into the new, modern centre of the city, an alternative to ancient one. It is necessary to analyze those who participated in these mechanisms, as well as the role of state regulation and private initiative in them.

Legislative regulation and participants in urban development

From the end of the 19th until the beginning of the 20th centuries, legislative regulations defined the *Gorodskaya Duma* of St. Petersburg [institution of city public administration, Municipal Council], Ministry of Internal Affairs, and state government as the official architects and managers of urban development. Nevertheless, in reality, the process of

³⁴ The price for the land increased from 6 roubles per square *sazhen* (about 4.5 square meters) in 1885 to 195 roubles in 1915. Source: L. Lurie, *Smeshenie zhanrov* cit., p.30.

urban development and its participants differed from those established by law. The process of legislative regulation and the mechanisms of urban development that are described below relate to St. Petersburg in general, but *Petrogradskaya storona* in particular, due to its intensive reconstruction in this period.

From the first years of the construction of St. Petersburg, its urban development and its urban processes - from the creation of the new streets to the refinement of typical constructions of new buildings - were confirmed personally by the Emperor. Tsar Alexander II limited his participation in the management of the urban development of the city: according to the “*Gorodovoe polozhenie*” [City law] of 1870, urban accomplishments and developments, in addition to plans for the construction of the non-central districts of St. Petersburg, should be planned and realized by *Gorodskaya Duma*.³⁵ Consequently, the initiative for urban development was officially transferred from the government to municipal institutions and experts.

In reality, all the activity of *Gorodskaya Duma* was supposed to be altered by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and confirmed by the Head of the Police. Therefore, in the majority of cases, the Municipal Council had no administrative power to fulfil the projects connected with the interests of the city or district, and was supposed to take into account only governmental interests.³⁶

Regarding the inhabitants of the city, the majority were unable to influence the work of *Gorodskaya Duma*. Due to particularities of the electoral system and voting qualifications, only house owners and the tenants, who paid a high housing tax, more than 90 roubles per month, were permitted to elect and to be elected. According to these rules, in 1903 only 0.8% of the citizens, including the high bourgeoisie, functionaries, and a small number of intelligentsia, were the electors of *Gorodskaya Duma* of St. Petersburg.³⁷

Those who were elected and confirmed by the Emperor’s deputies did not actually possess any real power or ability to fulfil their initiatives. Representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs – police officers – made decisions on the local level, but were not specialists in urban processes and prevented their successful fulfilment.³⁸

³⁵ S. Sementsov, *Gradostroitel'noe razvitie Peterburga 1703-2000* [Urban Development of St. Petersburg], St. Petersburg, 2011, p. 167.

³⁶ A. Sukhorukova, *Peterburgskaya cit.*, p. 62.

³⁷ V. Nardova *Samoderzhavie i gorodskie dumy v Rossii v kontse 19 – nachale 20 veka* [Autocracy and city municipal institutions in Russia on the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th centuries], St. Petersburg, 1994, p. 37

³⁸ A. Sukhorukova, *Peterburgskaya cit.*, p. 69.

Such supervision limited the potential of the municipal institution and made its decisions ineffective, which together with the lack of financial resources for urban development, led to the stagnation of urban activity in *Gorodskaya Duma*. The mayor of St. Petersburg, Ivan Tolstoy, wrote in his diary that the existing legislation excluded the possibility of realizing necessary urban projects and aimed to discredit the idea of elected municipal power as a whole.³⁹ Due to the existing laws, the citizens of the city were de jure prevented from the possibility of influencing and participating in the process of its urban development. Nevertheless, they tried to do it by means other than electoral activity.

An important example of such influence was the creation of *Obschetvo obyvateley i izbirateley Peterburga* [Societies of the residents and electors of St. Petersburg] (1906 – 1910) in every district. Their members discussed questions of urban development, grew areas of the city through collected funds, and nominated candidates to the deputies of the Municipal Council. The activity of the societies permitted professionals, interested in the urban development, to participate in the work of *Gorodskaya Duma*.

Among them the most important were Lev Velikhov, elected to the Municipal Council in 1909, and Ivan Tolstoy, the mayor of St. Petersburg (1913 – 1916). Lev Velikhov created the political group *Obnovlenie* [Renovation], which took an active part in the work of *Gorodskaya Duma* and managed to make it more progressive.⁴⁰ The members of the group began to influence questions of urban development that were urgent for the time, such as hygiene, transport, size, and distribution of the municipal budget. They started to push forward actual projects for complex urban reconstruction and insist on their consideration in *Duma*.⁴¹

Ivan Tolstoy initiated considerable changes in the infrastructure of the city, but the beginning of World War I interrupted their work.⁴² Nevertheless, in 1913, he managed to complete important projects. Several of them were connected with the Petrograd district. For instance, due to his activity, the gas factory and gas-holder situated in *Petrogradskaya storona* were modernized and a new gas pipe line was built.⁴³

The second project improved the water purification station with ozone filters, and was opened in the Petrograd district on 27, March, 1911 by the private initiative and financing of

³⁹ I. Tolstoy *Dnevnik* [Diary], 1906 – 1916, St. Petersburg, 1997, 31 December, 1913, p. 230.

⁴⁰ A. Bérard (ed.), *Saint-Petersbourg: une fenêtre sur la Russie: ville, modernisation, modernité, 1900-1935*, Paris, 2007, p. 7.

⁴¹ V. Berelowitch, O. Medvedkova *L'histoire cit.*, p. 373.

⁴² A. Bérard (ed.), *Saint-Petersbourg: une fenêtre sur la Russie cit.*, p. 29.

⁴³ I. Tolstoy *Dnevnik* [Diary], cit. 5 July, 1913, p. 136.

General Alexander Greig.⁴⁴ By the end of 1913, due to the activity of Ivan Tolstoy, its capacity was increased to 4,600,000 buckets of water per day.⁴⁵ Another important project, realized with the help of the mayor, was the construction of a waste incineration plant⁴⁶ that cleaned garbage from the streets and rivers of the Petrograd district.

Except for the above-mentioned examples, the inhabitants' influence on urban development via *Gorodskaya Duma* was significantly limited. Moreover, as already mentioned, the Municipal Council's activity in this sphere was restricted due to pre-existing legislation. Therefore, in the majority of cases, the citizens of St. Petersburg and foremost of *Petrogradskaya storona* used independent private initiative to realize their goals for urban development.

I have classified and highlighted the following achievements that were fulfilled due to the initiative of the city's inhabitants: complex urban development; development of infrastructure; and the creation of new types of buildings, primarily tenement houses and public places. The private actors, achieved these goals, were engineers and architects, who drafted plans for urban development and infrastructural projects; landlords, charity men, and developers, who initiated and sponsored the construction of buildings; and architects, who applied modern architectural styles and strategies to them.

Before being realized, these plans for new buildings, public places and infrastructure were presented and discussed in the professional press. For instance, the magazine "*Zodchiy*" (1872 – 1917), an official publication of the Society of Architects of St. Petersburg, was focused on questions of architecture and urban development. In this journal, articles about the city and district's accomplishment, the housing crisis and methods for overcoming it, and projects for improving the district's infrastructure were published.⁴⁷

The newspaper "*Gorodskoe delo*" (1909 – 1913), headed by the leader of the group *Obnovlenie*, Lev Velikhov, was dedicated to a discussion of problems of urban development and ways to manage them in social and everyday spheres. Details of urban funding, legislative

⁴⁴ M. Shtiglits *Pamyatniki Promyshlennoy Arkhitekturi Sankt-Peterburga* [The monuments of Industrial Architecture of St. Petersburg], St. Petersburg, 2003, p. 157.

⁴⁵ I. Tolstoy *Dnevnik* [Diary], 9 November, 1913, p. 182.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 23 December, 1913, p. 213.

⁴⁷ *Polozhenie gorodskoy kanalizatsii v Peterburge*. [Situation with Sewerage in St. Petersburg]. In: *Nedelya Stroitel'ya*. No.1, 1898, pp. 4-5; *Rasshirenie stolichnogo vodoprovoda*. [Widening of Water Pipes in the Capital]. In: *Nedelya Stroitel'ya*. No.12, 1893, pp. 52; *Vodoprovodnoe delo v Sankt-Peterburge*. [Water Pipe System in St. Petersburg]. In: *Nedelya Stroitel'ya*. No.12, 1895, p. 63, etc.

and juridical regulation, problems of housing estates, public places and charity organizations of different districts were discussed in it.⁴⁸

The practice of publishing notes on projects and articles on various questions of urban development opened up a public discussion with feedback from the inhabitants of the city and areas under debate. Moreover, in the majority of cases, the authors of the projects were citizens of the district they would like to improve, and therefore they knew the concrete requirements of its urban development and successfully satisfied them.⁴⁹

The qualities of the new tenement houses and public places will be discussed in the fourth and fifth chapters of the thesis. In this part, I will analyze the contribution of private actors to the complex urban and infrastructural development of the Petrograd district.

Focuses of urban development in *Petrogradskaya storona* and the role of private initiative in them

In the beginning of the 20th century, the initiative for the complex urban development of the Petrograd district belonged not to the government, but foremost to the citizens of St. Petersburg. The plans of engineer Fedor Enakiev and architect Leontiy Benois are examples of such initiative, and are analyzed below.

The last governmental plan that demonstrates complex urban development, "*Plan stolichnogo goroda Sankt-Peterburga s pokazaniem predpolagaemogo uregulirovaniya ulits*" [Plan of St. Petersburg as a capital with a proposed plan for the regulation of its streets], was confirmed by the Emperor in 1880. Since that time, several supplements to this plan were added ("*Proektnyi plan na uregulirovaniye St. Peterburga*" [Project plan for the regulation of St. Petersburg] of 1901, 1904, and 1908-1909). However, the supplements only fixed changes in city planning that had already independently happened, but they did not contain any future plans for complex urban development.⁵⁰

As was already mentioned, municipal authorities were rather limited in terms of urban development; in most cases, they did not have the opportunity to think about urban development in general. An understanding of the necessity of complex urban development appeared foremost in the unofficial plans developed through the private initiative of architects and engineers.

⁴⁸ E. Sonina, *Gazetnyy Peterburg* [Newspapers of St. Petersburg], 2011, p. 91.

⁴⁹ For instance, Ivan Tolstoy, architects Fedor Lidval, Grigoriy Lutsedarskiy, Andrey Belogrud and Nicholas Vasikiev were the dwellers of *Petrogradskaya storona*

⁵⁰ S. Sementsov, *Gradostroitel'noe* cit., p. 193.

In 1908, the report “*O neobhodimosti sostavleniya polnogo proekta oborudovaniya Sankt-Peterburga*” [On the necessity of the creation of a comprehensive project for the urban development of St. Petersburg], was presented in the Academy of Arts by Leontiy Benois. The author emphasized the necessity of developing a detailed plan for the newly constructed districts of the city, taking into account not only their architecture, but likewise the development of infrastructure (water pipes, canals, roads) and the creation of gardens, squares and other public places.⁵¹

The aim of such plans was “the transformation of the city and its districts into a comfortable place to live in, move in, and transport goods to [my translation].”⁵² The report was approved by the Academy of Science, but rejected by *Gorodskaya Duma*. Nevertheless, the main ideas of the document were reflected in the urban development of the Petrograd district, and were organized primarily due to private initiative.

In 1910, an unofficial plan for complex urban development, with a description of detailed projects, appeared - “*Plan preobrazovaniya Peterburga*” [Plan for the regulation of St. Petersburg] (1910, authors Leontiy Benois, Fedor Enakiev, Mariam Peretyatkovitch, and Nicholas Lanseray.) Projects for the urban development of St. Petersburg and the Petrograd district were also presented in the books of Fedor Enakiev “*Osnovy razvitiya sovremennykh gorodov*” [Basic features of the development of contemporary cities] and “*Zadachi preobrazovaniya Sankt-Peterburga*” [Tasks for the reformation of St. Petersburg] (1912).

In these works, one can find a comprehensive view on the modernization of the city and its districts with theoretical and statistical data, as well as an analysis and comparison of the European experience with the Russian one. The projects of transport development; laying of new prospects, water pipe and canals; construction of residential houses; and creation of contemporary park zones were all presented there. Some of them were realized in the urban development of the Petrograd district.

Fedor Enakiev’s methods for ensuring “good hygienic conditions for all the inhabitants of the city, comfortable and cheap connections between regions of the city, the creation of wide streets and passages, and the harmonious combination of ancient architectural monuments and new, modern buildings [my translation]”⁵³ reflected principles that were used in the urban development of *Petrogradskaya storona* at the time.

⁵² E. Kirichenko (ed.) *Russkoe gradostroitelnoe iskusstvo. Gradostroitelstvo Rossii serediny 19 – nachala 20 veka* [Russian urban art. Urban development of Russia in the middle of the 19th – beginning of the 20th centuries], Moscow, 2001, p. 121.

⁵³ F. Enakiev, *Zadachi cit.*, p. 31.

It is important to note that all the proposed projects were accompanied with detailed calculations that proved that, in spite of the significant expense of realizing them, they would be fully recompensed in several years and in the future would represent a source of permanent profit for the city budget. Such a combination of urban project-building with business planning for the economic profitability of those projects was unprecedented in Russian urban development.

Fedor Enakiev analyzed the experiences of European capitals in detail, and insisted that the urban development of St. Petersburg should be realized with them in mind. In his works, he proposed to apply the strategy and methodology for urban development created by European specialists and based on the use of statistical, cartographic and photographic data. The French architect and architectural historian Jean-Louis Cohen suggests that the projects of Fedor Enakiev corresponded to “*Etudes sur le transformation de Paris*” by Eugene Henard (1903 - 1908); the works of the Commission of the extension of Paris, managed by Louis Bonnier and Marcel Poete in 1911 – 1913; the plan for Grand Berlin (1910); and the plan made for Chicago by Daniel Burnham and Edward Bennett (1908 – 1910).⁵⁴

A considerable segment of the projects proposed by Fedor Enakiev was connected with the urban development of *Petrogradskaya storona*. The most important of them was the transfer of the railway station from the north-west of St. Petersburg to the Troitskaya square, which was situated in the beginning of the district, on the Petrovskaya embankment. When presenting this project, the author emphasized its economic and urban development benefits (such as the reduction of transport expenses and creation of comfortable connections between new railway stations in all the districts), and its aim: the formation of new businesses, public centres, and transport hubs in the Petrograd district.⁵⁵

Another significant project was the metropolitan stations on Troitskaya square, which could ensure communication between different parts of the city. Fedor Enakiev analyzed the underground in Hamburg and Berlin and highlighted the possibility of applying their examples. Moreover, the author made the revolutionary proposal to construct elevated metropolitan stations, due to the peculiarities of the geographical position and soil of St. Petersburg and particularly *Petrogradskaya storona*.⁵⁶ The project testifies the district’s readiness to apply innovative technologies: an important quality of its urban development.

⁵⁴ J. – L. Cohen, *Les stratégies de reforme urbaine entre 1900 et 1935*, in E. Berard (ed.) *Saint-Petersbourg: une fenêtre sur la Russie : ville, modernisation, modernité, 1900-1935*, Paris, 1997, p. 130.

⁵⁵ F. Enakiev, *Zadachi cit.*, p. 60.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

Another initiative of Fedor Enakiev was the laying of a new highway parallel to the Kamennooostrovskiy prospect, the main street of *Petrogradskaya storona*. The aim of the project was to facilitate the transport load and to divide the traffic streams: the tramway on the Kamennooostrovskiy prospect and cars on the new road. The other purpose was to connect the city centre with its outlying areas in the north of the district (foremost *Vyborgskaya storona*).⁵⁷

All the above-mentioned important reconstruction projects of *Petrogradskaya storona* related to the improvement of its transport system. Therefore, one of the aims of the urban development of this district, as the most rapidly growing area of the city, was ensuring its availability for the inhabitants and comfortable and cheap communication with other parts of St. Petersburg.

Besides projects designed to improve the transport system, there were some propositions for making use of wastelands and the old buildings situated on them. One of these ideas was connected to the creation of new public spaces there, which reflects an important focus of urban development in the Petrograd district.

For instance, Fedor Enakiev suggested reconstructing the Tuchkov *bujan* (river landing stage), a mid-18th century industrial building, and the nearby bank of the river Neva, to the public garden with the exhibition hall in it.⁵⁸ Another transformative project occurred in the Museum of the History of St. Petersburg for common people, which was considered to be equipped with a new cultural centre with rooms for lectures and conferences (1912, architect Mikhail Dubinskiy).⁵⁹

These ideas, which were not realized in the beginning of the 20th century, are now actual, because of the presence of multiple wastelands in the contemporary Petrograd district. Moreover, they are similar to the modern fashionable tendency to transform desolated industrial factories into cultural areas (for instance, the National Museum of Contemporary Art, Athens, Greece, (2000); Centre of Contemporary Art in Malaga and Madrid, Spain (2003); Vinzavod, Moscow, Russia (2007); Loft Project “Floors”, Saint-Petersburg, Russia (2007); Cultural Plant Korjaamo, Helsinki, Finland (2012)). This fact testifies to modernity as an important feature of the projects that were proposed by engineers and architects for the urban development of *Petrogradskaya storona*.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁵⁹ V. Bass *Peterburgskaya neoklassika 1900 – 1910 godov* [Neoclassicism in St. Petersburg in the 1900's – 1910's], St. Petersburg, 2005, p. 8.

Although rejected because of a lack of money in the city budget and stagnancy in the Municipal Council, these projects of Fedor Enakiev prove that the Petrograd district was perceived as an important central area of St. Petersburg in the beginning of the 20th century, with a high potential for development. Developed more than a hundred years ago and unrealized until now, the above-mentioned propositions remain relevant for contemporary *Petrogradskaya storona*.

Several of Fedor Enakiev's ideas for the complex urban development of the Petrograd district were realized. All of them were connected with the reorganization of the urban space, development of new territories and construction of modern architecture in them. For instance, during the creation of two squares (the Austrian square and Square of Leo Tolstoy) on the Kamennooostrovskiy prospect, his new method for constructing the area was applied.

For the first time in the urban development of St. Petersburg, the street sides were not formed by continuous solid facades of buildings, but were interrupted by public places such as squares and parks, following the examples of European capitals in order to animate the space of the city.⁶⁰ Other propositions, such as the continuation of the Bolshoy prospect to the Karpovka river and the laying of the Levashovskiy prospect, aimed to increase the space for new buildings.⁶¹

The realized projects of Fedor Enakiev testify that the development of new territories was one of the important focuses of urban development in the Petrograd district. The engineer likewise described ways to accomplish goals in these territories: the construction of tenement houses in order to regulate the flat deficit, and the creation of public places, primarily parks and gardens. I analyze these projects in detail in the fourth and fifth chapters of the thesis.

In his books, Fedor Enakiev defined three main components of complex development: "health, unhampered communication between regions of the city, and beautiful buildings and parks. [my translation]"⁶² He proposed to support these components with the following measures: laying new highways and metropolitan stations, reconstructing the railway system of the city; and developing infrastructure, primarily water pipes and canals; providing comfortable, cheap flats; and creating new public spaces and places. The above-mentioned propositions of Fedor Enakiev were not fulfilled due to a lack of governmental support for a framework of complex urban development in the Petrograd district, but were realized partially due to private initiative.

⁶⁰ S. Sementsov, *Gradostroitelvo* cit., p. 175.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁶² F. Enakiev, *Zadachi* cit., p. 81.

For instance, in addition to the plans that were written by Leontiy Benois and Fedor Enakiev, there were small, less costly projects developed by professionals. In some cases, primarily after the beginning of the progressive party's activity *Obnovlenie* in the Municipal Council, these plans were discussed with the mayor and deputies, confirmed by them and fulfilled with their support but with private financing. Examples include a plan for the construction of new types of pharmacies in the Petrograd district by doctor Alexander Asnes⁶³ and a project for the use of electrical energy by engineer Alexey Poret.⁶⁴

The new laying prospects and constructed areas in *Petrogradskaya storona* needed to correspond to the requirements developed in the beginning of the 20th century. Therefore, the creation of modern infrastructure became another focus of urban development in the district. Its construction was also realized with the participation of the quarter's inhabitants.

Foremost, the taxes that were withheld from the landlords and tenants of apartment houses were an important source of enrichment for the municipal budget, which was focused on the construction of infrastructure. The former paid 6% of profits from their immovable property, and the latter 10% of their rent, as a housing tax. Government buildings, as well as the houses of the emperor and members of his family, were not taxable.⁶⁵ In other words, it was not state organizations but citizens who were the main source of the city's and district's budgets, and it was their main contribution to urban development.

Nevertheless, the city budget was not sufficient for the creation of up-to-date infrastructure, and therefore it was supported by private investments. In the beginning of the 20th century, in different parts of the Petrograd district, *Obschestva blagoustroystva* [Societies for the Accomplishment of the Territory] appeared. Their purpose was to develop and finance infrastructure, primarily roads, hospitals, washing houses and schools. These were financed by their members, representatives of bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, and charity men, the citizens of the area.⁶⁶

Moreover, the duty of managing and developing urban infrastructure connected with the tenement houses and the territory near them was legislatively transferred to the landlords. Primarily, they were responsible for the paving, cleaning and lighting of the streets, as well as the maintenance of the rain canals on the streets next to their houses.⁶⁷ Secondly, they were

⁶³ I. Tolstoy *Dnevnik* cit., 5 July, 1913, p. 123.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 19 September, 1913, p. 165

⁶⁵ E. Yuhneva, *Peterburgskiye* cit., p. 127.

⁶⁶ See in detail about such society created in Krestovskiy island in "*Peterburgskaya gazeta*" [St. Petersburg Newspaper], 10 May 1910.

⁶⁷ E. Yuhneva, *Peterburgskiye* cit., p. 129.

obliged to control the sanitary state and fire safety of their houses, and to clean the chimneys.⁶⁸

Besides fulfilling these commitments, the landlords invested in the commodities of their houses in order to attract new tenants and increase their profitability. Therefore, *Petrogradskaya storona* was the second district in the city (after the central area) where central heating in houses, electrical lighting in buildings, and pavements appeared.⁶⁹

Consequently, the principal focuses of urban development are characterized by a primacy of private initiative. This fact explains a certain delay in the complex urban development and creation of infrastructure in the district: the cost of their realization was high. Engineers and architects could develop and propose the projects, but in most cases, they were unable to finance them or to convince the Municipal Council to sponsor them.

On the other hand, the construction of modern tenement houses and public places was the principal direction of urban development because of their high profitability and the possibility of recoupment. In spite of the different rates of infrastructural development and creation of new buildings, the prioritization of private initiative ultimately ensured the successful urban development of *Petrogradskaya storona* and its transformation into the one of the most modern districts of St. Petersburg.

Results and consequences of the urban development of *Petrogradskaya storona* in the beginning of the 20th century

This analysis of the district's process of urban development - its main influencers, its legislative regulation, and the role of private initiative and governmental management in it - allows one to define the advantages and disadvantages of its mechanisms. Among the disadvantages, it is necessary to first mention the absence of any initiative from the municipal institutes in the urban planning processes. This was caused on one hand by the lack of city budget funding, and on the other hand, by these institutes' dependence on instructions from the state government and Ministry of Internal Affairs, which was not interested in urban development.

The other disadvantage was the inhabitants' low level of participation in the urban development activity of the Municipal Council because of the high property qualification for

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

the deputy candidates and voters. The inhabitants were unable to officially express their requests and to achieve their goals through political means.

The stagnation of municipal institutes led to the prioritization of private initiative in urban development by the citizens of the district. Its principal focus was the development of projects, construction of new types of tenement houses and public places by professional engineers and architects, and financing by landlord or charity men. The second focus, expressed to a lesser extent, was the completion of local infrastructural elements and laying of new streets.

Such mechanisms of urban development, originating primarily in private initiatives, nevertheless had several advantages. The first one was a certain freedom and independence from governmental regulation, along with its interdictions and formalism. The second advantage was the correspondence of such urban development to the requirements of the inhabitants of the area. Another significant benefit is the openness of urban development and the possibility to discuss its processes and projects in professional journals, and then correct them before acting.

One more important advantage of private initiative as a force of urban development is the professionalism of the people who realized it, foremost architects and engineers, combined with the desire of private investors to gain profits from the high-quality results of urban development. Examples of such results include the construction of contemporary tenement houses with complete conveniences and up-to-date infrastructure, and modern public places with events that are interesting to participate in.

The early 20th century urban development of the Petrograd district was expressed not only in the construction of new residential buildings, public places, and modern infrastructure, but likewise in a great advance in all spheres of life. For instance, in this period, enterprises appeared in *Petrogradskaya storona* from many important branches of industry, such as metallurgy (for instance, the reinforcement, mechanical, and cast-iron plant of Langezipen and the iron-rolling factory of the Metallurgical Society of Donetsk and Yurievsk); woodworking (Kolobov's saw-mill and Semenov's factory); mechanical engineering (Semenov's machine-building plant, Geisler's electromechanical, telegraph, and telephone factory of Duflon, Konstantinovich's factory of electromechanical constructions, and the accumulator mill of Tudor) and the largest printing house in Russia, named after Emperor Nicolay II.⁷⁰ In the Petrograd district at the beginning of the 20th century, there were more

⁷⁰ V.Privalov, *Ulitsy Petrogradskoy storony. Doma i ludi* [Streets of Petrogradskaya storona. Houses and People], St. Petersburg, 2011, p. 152.

than 100 factories with 35,000 workers in them.⁷¹ The enterprises were provided with modern equipment and belonged to innovative industries, and therefore their creation should be viewed as a sign of the area's successful urban development.

Another important index of the evolution of the Petrograd district was the appearance of educational and scientific organizations such as the Electrotechnical Institute, where Russian inventor Alexander Popov worked, the Institute of Experimental Medicine, created due to the collaboration with French scientist Louis Pasteur, and the Women's Medical Institute, headed by Russian scholar Andrey Pavlov.⁷² It is necessary to mention that the majority of these institutes were created due to private initiatives: the Woman's Medical Institute was opened with funds from the Nobel family; the Institute of Experimental Medicine was founded by Prince Alexander Oldenburg.⁷³ Over ten years, the Petrograd district transformed into a large scientific district of St. Petersburg, where innovative research projects were realized.

The uniqueness of the urban development of *Petrogradskaya storona* was reflected not only in the type of organizations that appeared there, but also in the peculiarities of its construction. The largest part of the district consisted of short, irregular streets that were formed in the beginning of the 18th century, before complex urban development in the area. In the beginning of the 20th century, these streets were massively reconstructed by private investors with modernized houses, without any governmental influence.

Such an unusual combination of ancient, irregular streets and modern houses appeared due to the suddenness of the street construction in the beginning of the 18th century on one hand, and the predominance of private initiative in early 20th century construction on the other hand. These factors formed the unique urban landscape of the Petrograd district.

The following differences between the construction of *Petrogradskaya storona* and other areas of the city could be reckoned. Traditionally, the construction of St. Petersburg is characterized by regularity, a principle of harmony, and a complex development of the space, and was described by historians of architecture as "the unique urban development code of St. Petersburg [my translation]."⁷⁴ The architectural creations of the 18th and 19th centuries (the Nevskiy prospect, the Admiralty, the Summer Palace and the Summer Garden, among others) fully correspond to these principles.

⁷¹ M. Tischenko, *Tri veka* cit., p.22.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁷³ V. Privalov, *Ulitsy Petrogradskoy storony* cit., p. 167.

⁷⁴ S. Sementsov, *Gradostroitel'noe* cit., p. 25.

At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, the situation changed for the particular case of *Petrogradskaya storona*. Notably, there was no general plan for the urban development of the space. «*Plan na uregulirovanie Peterburga, vysochaishe utverzhdennyi 7 marta 1880*» [Plan for the regulation of St. Petersburg, approved by the Emperor 7 March 1880] permitted the use of all the architectural styles, without any compulsory templates of the projects for buildings. Therefore, the freedom of architects increased, and it was possible to take into account the individual tastes of the landlords who sponsored construction projects.⁷⁵

Consequently, in the Petrograd district, one can find buildings of different planning and architectural styles (eclecticism, *art nouveau*, neogothic, neorenaissance, neoclassicism) situated on one street. Sufficiently different at first glance, they represent individualistic, independent ensembles, and at the same time they are organically combined with each other, forming a unique image for the Petrograd district that sets it apart from other areas of St. Petersburg. In *Petrogradskaya storona*, individual buildings acquired for the traditional St. Petersburg a global look, with ensembles of streets, prospects and panoramas, without destroying the harmonious architectural appearance of the city.⁷⁶

Due to the private initiatives of developers and charity men, and the high professionalism of the architects, an alternative focus for urban planning and construction formed. Knowledge gained from its example could be applied to the urban development of contemporary St. Petersburg, which is characterized by the same qualities as *Petrogradskaya storona* in the beginning of the 20th century: a lack of money in the city budget, absence of governmental planning and control, and primacy of private initiative.

⁷⁵ A. Sukhorukova, *Peterburgskaya cit.*, p. 58.

⁷⁶ B. Kirikov, *Arhitektura Peterburgskogo Moderna. Osobnyaki i Dohodnye Doma* [Architecture of *Art Nouveau* of St. Petersburg. Private residences and Tenement Houses], St. Petersburg, 2003, p.139.

New Tenement Houses of the Petrograd District in the Beginning of the 20th Century

On the definition of the tenement house and the particularities of the old apartment houses in the centre of St. Petersburg

The tenement house is usually defined as “the type of architectural building, house with apartments destined for rent.”⁷⁷ It was the most common type of home in St. Petersburg from the beginning of the 19th century, because the majority of the population of the city were not the proprietors, but the tenants of the flats (94%).⁷⁸ The apartment house had a specific structure that was formed in the 1800s and remained unchanged for a hundred years, when in St. Petersburg, and foremost in *Petrogradskaya storona*, the modern type of tenement house appeared. In order to understand the distinctive features of the new kind of apartment houses, it is necessary to analyze the particularities of the old one.

The old tenement house in St. Petersburg, similar to those in other European capitals (Amsterdam, Vienna, Prague, Budapest, Paris), modeled the society in miniature, because representatives of all social classes (noblemen, merchants, craftsmen, servants, and workers) rented living space there. Nevertheless, in the majority of cases the inhabitants of different social strata were living in exclusive places: the rich tenants rented large flats on the first and second floors of the main building, and common people small rooms or corners on the upper floors or in the outhouses, which were situated in the yard.

The inhabitants of different social layers, even while residing in the same house, had different types of the flats and living conditions. In most cases, the entrances and staircases were likewise distinctive: the main one, for noble inhabitants and their guests, and the “black”, usual one, for common people and servants.⁷⁹ Therefore, the ideas of separating different social strata, living in one area, and providing distinctive conditions for them were expressed in the structure and planning of the apartment house.

The tenement house was traditionally a complex of buildings that consisted not only of residential apartments, but also of administrative and commercial centres (organizations and shops on the first floor), and household ones (workshops, ancillary and storage facilities in the court).⁸⁰ In the centre of the tenement house was the yard, an area for trade, production,

⁷⁷ E. Yuhneva, *Peterburgskiye cit.*, p. 10.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

household, conveniences and communication. The yard can be called the social and demographical model of St. Petersburg because representatives of all social strata, including those living in the tenement houses or dealing with them, met and interacted there.⁸¹

The traditional apartments in the old type of tenement houses had a particular type of plan. The average flat for the high bourgeoisie had 10 or 12 rooms, divided into the main ones, for receiving guests, and the residential ones, for living. The main rooms generally consisted of a hall, living-room, dining room, bedroom, where the hostess received special guests but did not sleep, boudoir and study. The interior rooms included bedrooms, the children's room, the dressing-room and the entresol.⁸²

Although they seemed rather luxurious, these flats had multiple inconveniences. Firstly, they were usually constructed as a suite of rooms, which caused draughts. Secondly, the apartments were of similar design, and different types of rooms had none of the particularities of planning that would ensure their comfort. Each of them could be the living-room, dining-room, bedroom and study by the choice of the tenant. The windows of main apartments traditionally looked to the street, while the windows of residential rooms faced to the stuffy sunless yards, which limited the amount of fresh air in them.⁸³ (Fig. 2)

The presence of modern facilities was not typical even in the rich flats of tenement houses. The water pipe was in most of cases the only convenience available for inhabitants; electricity and central heating were rather rare. The description of the interior of such an apartment house can be found in the memoirs of painter Mstislav Dobuzhinskiy, who lived with his father in 1886 in a 9-room flat in *Vyborgskaya storona*, the outlying district of St. Petersburg.

The author writes about their living conditions: "The rooms were lighted by kerosene lamps; in the dining room and children room they were hanging ones, in other rooms the wall mounted. The lamps had glass matt abat-jours, and above the glasses the small micaceous ventilators rotated and prevented them from the lamp-black [my translation.]" Describing the heating system in the old tenement house, he recalls that there were round cylindrical furnaces in the dining and children's rooms, and white tile furnaces in other apartments.⁸⁴ Consequently, the flats for high and middle classes in the tenement houses were rather uncomfortable to live in.

⁸¹ B. Kirikov, *Arhitektura Peterburgskogo Moderna* cit., p. 181.

⁸² E. Yuhneva, *Peterburgskiye* cit., p. 264.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

⁸⁴ M. Dobuzhinskiy, *Vospominaniya* [Memoirs], St. Petersburg, 1998, p. 25.

The living situation for those from other social layers was even worse. Functionaries without family and students mostly rented small one or two-room flats. Modern conveniences, situated in the apartments for rich people, were not available for all: in the end of the 19th century, only 47% of small flats had kitchens and 44% had water pipes.⁸⁵ Craftsmen and servants lived in the rooms where they worked; the former in workshops situated in the yards, and the latter in kitchens or closets – small rooms of 1.5x2 meters, with plywood partition instead of walls, and no windows.⁸⁶

Regarding the homes of the proletariat, it is important to note that the distance between high-qualified (metallurgists, typographers, railway men) and non-qualified workers was very large and the conditions of their life differed greatly. The former were more integrated into the social life of the city and district were more entrepreneurial had families, and better housing conditions.⁸⁷

The non-qualified workers, on the contrary, were unmarried and lived in the *artel*, ten or twelve people from same village or region together, with a common economy and a shared stock of food.⁸⁸ They did not rent separate apartments but corners of rooms behind curtains, single beds, or even “one third of the bed” - while one man was working in the factory, two other people were sleeping on his bed by turn.⁸⁹

Paradoxically, the cost of rent for corners and closets was relatively higher than that of multi-room flats: the *arshin* (0.711 m²) of space in large flats cost 19.3 roubles per year; the *arshin* of small rooms - 22.3 roubles per year, while the *arshin* of corners cost 46.8 roubles per year (two times higher).⁹⁰ This was caused by the high demand for corners and rooms instead of rich flats among poor common people, who constituted the majority of migrants and significantly augmented the population of the city.⁹¹ Therefore, landlords, especially in outlying districts, preferred to divide flats in their houses into closets and corners or even beds to rent, in order to gain more profit. They did not think about amenities and conditions of life there.

⁸⁵ E. Yuhneva, *Peterburgskiye cit.*, p. 291.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 297

⁸⁷ V. Berelowitch, O. Medvedkova, *L'histoire cit.*, p. 357.

⁸⁸ E. Yuhneva, *Peterburgskiye cit.*, p. 118.

⁸⁹ E. Yuhneva, *Muzei rabotchego zhilisha v kontse 19 - nachale 20 veka* [Museum of Houses for Workers], in “*Etnographicheskoye obozreniye*”, 2002, 6, p. 38.

⁹⁰ E. Yuhneva, *Peterburgskiye cit.*, p. 196.

⁹¹ In 1910 in St. Petersburg there were 751.167 workers (employed in industries, crafts and commerce), what amounted 48% of all the population. The source: V. Berelowitch, O. Medvedkova, *L'histoire cit.*, p. 347.

Along with being uncomfortable, such tenement houses were dangerous to live in. Because of the flat shortage, they were built very quickly, without regard to construction rules or protocols for shrinkage and dehumidification necessary in the climate of St. Petersburg. In order to receive profits as soon as possible, the owners began to sell or lease the flats in wet houses, which were not yet suitable for living by hygienic standards. This led to the appearance of diseases caused by humidity.⁹²

According to statistical data that compares the sum of the rent and the percentage of mortality in different types of buildings, in the cheapest small rooms with many inhabitants, mortality was three times higher than in expensive flats. The reasons for death were primarily consumption, typhus, exhaustion, and diseases of the digestive system. These were directly connected with poor living conditions.⁹³

Yards, which were important structural components of tenement houses, likewise had multiple disadvantages. The official norms of the courts, established by building commissions, were insufficient for the comfort of the inhabitants: they specified that the main yard should be no less than 30 square *sazhen* (135 m²), and the distance between outhouses in it no less than 3 *sazhen* (6.4 meters). The supplementary yards were even smaller: their total square, no less 4 square *sazhen* (18 m²), and the distance between outhouses, 2 *sazhen* (4.26 meters.)⁹⁴ Such small dark courts surrounded by the walls of 5-6 storied houses and traditionally named *kolodtsy* (yards-wells), were uncomfortable to live in.

In the end of the 19th century, the situation with yards became worse because of the increase of tenants in houses and outbuildings caused by the growth of the population of St. Petersburg. New inhabitants required supplementary infrastructure, which was traditionally situated in yards – common water pipe faucets or water-conduit wells; toilettes; outhouses; horse stables; ice houses for the keeping of products. Because of the emergence of these buildings, the square of the courts significantly decreased. Sanitary conditions likewise deteriorated: due to the absence of central city canalization, in the end of the 19th century, there were more than 10 cesspools in some yards.⁹⁵ Dmitry Zasosov and Valeriy Pyzin, inhabitants of St. Petersburg, described in their memoirs the old tenement house of merchants Gavriil and Ivan Tarasovy, who lived there with their parents, middle functionaries, in 1890. The building was situated on the embankment of the Fontanka river, near the centre of

⁹² E. Yuhneva, *Peterburgskkiye* cit., p. 181.

⁹³ F. Enakiev, *Zadachi* cit., p. 30.

⁹⁴ E. Yuhneva, *Peterburgskkiye* cit., p. 88.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

St. Petersburg, and gave the impression of the traditional large apartment house of the end of the 19th century. The authors highlighted the social diversity of the house's inhabitants and the social segregation of their living space. They likewise paid attention to the majority of the services proposed for the yard and the bad sanitary conditions that some caused.

“In the court was the joiner’s workshop, manufactory of keyboard instruments, and forge, which functioned for 12 hours per day. Their owners, together with the employees and apprentices, lived in the same space where they worked. In the small rooms of the outhouses, located in the same yard, common people, craftsmen, tailors and shoemakers, lived and laboured. The bath-houses were located along the back of the court. The distinctive buildings that were situated and operating in the yard made it dirty, smelly and noisy all day long.

The main building of the tenement house was equally the place for various organizations. On the first floor of its front side there were tobacco and milk shops, along with a pharmacy and bakery. The owners lived in the flats near their shops, with an entrance from the black staircase. The private women's gymnasium and city specialized school were situated in the same building. Their employees rented apartments in the same tenement house too [my translation.]”⁹⁶

Consequently, the old tenement house was a complex of buildings where inhabitants of all social strata lived, and where all kinds of services could be found. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, the inhabitants of different social layers were divided from each other and lived in discrete conditions: the common people in the yard, in the workshops; the representatives of low bourgeoisie in the small flats on the ground floor next to their shops; intelligentsia and high and middle bourgeoisie on the first and second floors, in large apartments.

Mstislav Dobuzhinskiy described a more patriarchal and modest yard in the tenement house of *Vyborgskaya storona*: “The court was narrow and dark, with a little outhouse, firewood storage, barns, stables and cowshed. In the small shop with a window in a fence, an old man sold seeds and nuts [my translation.]”⁹⁷ The tendency for the yard to be a dirty place for common people to live in, outbuildings and shops not sure what verb this is connected to, while on a smaller scale, is the same as in the previous example.

All above-mentioned facts testify that by the end of the 19th century, the problem of uncomfortable tenement houses and yards with bad sanitary conditions was very acute and

⁹⁶ D. Zasosov, V. Pyzin, *Iz zhizni Peterburga* [About Life in St. Petersburg], St. Petersburg, 1991, p. 66.

⁹⁷ M. Dobuzhinskiy, *Vospominaniya* cit., p. 10.

needed urgent decisions. The situation was widely covered and discussed in professional press and literature. By analyzing the European experience, architects and engineers proposed projects to ensure common people with cheap rooms and comfortable flats.⁹⁸ One of the most interesting is an idea of Fedor Enakiev that he analyzed in his book *Zadachi Preobrazovaniya Sankt-Peterburga* [Tasks of the Reformation of St. Petersburg].

The engineer considered the construction of accessible flats one of the directions of urban development, and proposed to solve the problem of living space deficits in a holistic way. Fedor Enakiev described the following complex measures that are necessary for the provision of available living spaces: settling the citizens to suburban districts; laying a direct connection between these territories and the core of St. Petersburg; transfer of enterprises far from the centre with construction of housing estates for workers near them; and development of separate canalization in all parts of the city.⁹⁹

The realization of this project demanded large investments which could be provided only by the state budget. Therefore Fedor Enakiev insisted that the problem with the flats was governmental.¹⁰⁰ The project was not fulfilled due to the lack of money, and its several ideas (primarily the location of enterprises in suburbs to free space for new residential buildings, as well as the ensurance of a comfortable and fast transport connection between outlying residential and central districts of St. Petersburg) remain relevant for the contemporary city.

In spite of the absence of state governance, the problems of the housing deficit and the absence of comfortable flats and rooms available for various social groups of population were partly solved by the creation of a new type of tenement house in *Petrogradskaya storona* in the beginning of the 20th century. The reasons for the development of such living spaces were the particular traits of the district and the primacy of private initiative in its urban development. The distinctive features of these modern apartment houses in comparison with the old ones are analyzed in the next parts of the chapter.

⁹⁸ The following articles and books could be mentioned: *Domostroitelstvo v Peterburge* [The House-building in St. Petersburg], in *Nedelya Stroitel'ya*, 1894, 27, pp. 131-132; V. Svyatlovskiy, *Zhilischniy vopros s ekonomicheskoy tochki zreniya*. [Housing question from the economical point of view], St. Petersburg, 1902; M. Dikanskiy, *Kvartirniy vopros i sotsialnye opyty ego resheniya* [Housing question and social experience of its decision], St. Petersburg, 1908.

⁹⁹ F. Enakiev, *Zadachi cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

Statistical data about tenement houses in the Petrograd district in the beginning of the 20th century

Petrogradskaya storona was one of the first places in St. Petersburg where the situation with tenement houses improved. Foremost this improvement is reflected in statistics about how the district was built up in comparison with other parts of the city: in the beginning of the 20th century, every second new building in the city was constructed in this area.¹⁰¹ In newspapers of the time, news about the creation of new living spaces could be found. For instance, *Peterburgskiy listok* [Sheet of St. Petersburg], from 1911, contains information about the construction at Kamennostrovskiy prospect of 10 6-storied houses with 150-180 flats in each of them.¹⁰²

Flat rent listings testify that a considerable amount of the tenement houses with middle priced flats were situated in the Petrograd district, and that they were popular among the citizens of St. Petersburg. In this manner, the houses situated in *Petrogradskaya storona* amounted to approximately 50% of the total number of announcements about flat rents, published in newspapers of 1911 – 1912.¹⁰³ Besides advertisements for rent, there are likewise reports of people, primarily representatives of intelligentsia and students, who wanted to live in the Petrograd district.¹⁰⁴

Newspapers contain data on the average prices for the rent of flats and rooms and the social classes they targeted. For instance, a 7-room flat cost 80 roubles per month, a 5-room flat – 50 roubles, a 4-room flat - 40 roubles, a 3-room flat - 30 roubles a 2-room flat - 22 roubles and a 1-room flat - 15 roubles per month.¹⁰⁵ In comparison, apartment rents in the city centre were as following: a 7 room-flat – 105 roubles, a 5-room flat – 68 roubles, a 4-room flat - 55 roubles, and 3 rooms – 45 roubles.¹⁰⁶

The majority of flats in the Petrograd district were advertised to representatives of particular social groups. For instance, it was indicated that in a house at Monetnaya street, 9, a flat had an additional entrance from the street, which could be comfortable for sewer workers

¹⁰¹ L. Lurie, *Smeshenie zhanrov* [Mixture of genres], in *Kvartalniy nadziratel*, 2004, 19, p. 37.

¹⁰² “*Peterburgskiy listok*” [Sheet of St. Petersburg], 31 May 1911.

¹⁰³ For instance, 4 of 8 proposed flats (*Ibid.*, 14 October 1910); 5 flats of 13 proposed (“*Peterburgskaya gazeta*” [Newspaper of St. Petersburg], 12 July 1911); 11 from 27 proposed (*Ibid.*, 16 October 1911); 5 flats of 10 proposed (*Ibid.*, 27 December 1911); 5 from 6 proposed (*Ibid.*, 01 August 1912).

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 29 January 1911.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 12 July 1911; *Ibid.*, 27 December 1911.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 02 October 1911; *Ibid.*, 16 October 1910.

or other craftsmen.¹⁰⁷ In another announcement (for a house at Bolshaya Monetnaya street, 32, with flats with 5 and 3 rooms), the presence of a place suitable for an artist's studio is highlighted, which would attract representatives of the creative intelligentsia.¹⁰⁸ The above-mentioned examples testify that the middle and low bourgeoisie, as well as the intelligentsia, were perceived as the target tenants of the flats in the district.

The focus on the above-mentioned social classes is also reflected in statistical data about the average number of inhabitants in one room, and the apartments in one flat of tenement houses of the Petrograd district in comparison with other parts of St. Petersburg. For instance, in the city in general, the quantity of the rooms in the flats differed greatly: from 10-15 rooms in the apartments of the rich, where 7 people lived, to tiny one-room flats for common people, with 4-5 inhabitants.¹⁰⁹ In *Petrogradskaya storona*, the majority of the flats had, on average, 3-5 apartments with 1-2 people per room.¹¹⁰

The above-mentioned statistical data testifies to the tendency of the price of flats in one house to average out, and the attempt to provide middle-sized, comfortable and available apartments to the majority of the people in the district – the intelligentsia, middle and low bourgeoisie, and high-qualified workers. In order to meet the requirements of the target audience, landlords asked architects to draft modern tenement houses with new structures and plans, and sponsored their creation.

The aim of these changes was to enlarge the owners' profits by attracting the maximum amount of the tenants. Therefore, private interest and initiative, along with the social structure of the area, enabled the creation of a new type of tenement house, which appeared during the urban development of the Petrograd district in the beginning of the 20th century.

Details of plans for different types of flats in the new type of tenement house

The first unique quality and difference of these modern buildings, in comparison with the old ones, was connected with the size and the planning of the rooms there. In the new tenement houses, the standard dimensions that were advised by the engineers of the time were

¹⁰⁷ "Peterburgskiy listok" [Sheet of St. Petersburg], 26 June 1908.

¹⁰⁸ "Peteburgskaya gazeta" [Newspaper of St. Petersburg], 05 September 1911.

¹⁰⁹ V.Berelowitch, O.Medvedkova *L'histoire* cit., p. 342.

¹¹⁰ E. Yuhneva, *Peterburgskiye* cit., p. 116.

used. For instance, in his book, Fedor Enakiev provided plans for smaller flats with 3-4 rooms for 2-4 people each.¹¹¹ Civil engineer Alexander Tilinskiy listed the following sizes for rooms: the cabinet, bedroom, boudoir, children's room and bonne room should be 6 square *sazhen* (27 m²); the hall and living-room, 12 square *sazhen* (54 m²); and the kitchen and room for servants, 6 square *sazhen* (27 m²).¹¹²

Another important quality was the use of sectional planning in the apartments, so that each room had its own function (dining room, living room, bedroom, children's room). Each room was planned specially for its role with all necessary conditions, and with similar plans for the flats situated under each other on one stack. Moreover, the flats were no longer suites, but had separate rooms with corridors, which made them more isolated and increased the living space. (Fig.3)

The other advantage of sectional planning was the possibility of comfortably arranging windows so that they faced to both sides of the house, and not only the street or yard, as in traditional tenement houses. Such locations allowed for the ventilation of flats and the conservation of warmth. Moreover, the new type of houses had *svetovoy* [light] yards without any entrances, projected only to provide the rooms with fresh air.¹¹³

The first building in the Petrograd district, where the sectional planning was applied, was the tenement house of architect Fedor Lidval, at Kamennostrovskiy prospect, 1-3, constructed in 1899 – 1904. (Fig.4) By the opinion of architectural critics, his contemporaries, Fedor Lidval's aim was not to construct the place with usual flats, but to plan comfortable and homely residences situated in one house, and he solved the task brilliantly.¹¹⁴

The proprietor of the land and the owner of the tenement house was the architect's mother, Ida Lidval, who gave her son the freedom to implement his idea and sponsored it.¹¹⁵ Consequently, the predominance of private initiative became a significant factor in the development and realization of this project as an important part of construction of a new type of tenement houses in the Petrograd district.

The project of sectional planning by Fedor Lidval was considered an exemplary one, and therefore it enjoyed popularity among the landlords and was used in multiple tenement

¹¹¹ F. Enakiev, *Zadachi* cit., p. 34.

¹¹² A. Tilinskiy, *Rukovodstvo dlya proektirovaniya i postroiki zdaniy* [Instruction for the Project and Construction of Buildings], St. Petersburg, 1912, p. 25.

¹¹³ E. Yuhneva *Peterburgskkiye* cit., p. 120.

¹¹⁴ Y. Roch, *Novoe stroitelstvo v Peterburge* [New building in St. Petersburg], in *Zodchiy*, 1903, 17, p. 227

¹¹⁵ B. Kirikov, *Architektura Peterburgskogo Moderna. Osobnyaki i dohodnye doma* cit., p. 122.

houses in the Petrograd district. It was targeted to rich people, representatives of the intelligentsia, and middle bourgeoisie.

A typical example of such a building is the *art nouveau* house at Bolshaya Dvoryanskaya, 21, built by architect Konstantin Baldi in 1911. Besides its comfortable sectional planning, its advertisement describes the house as featuring all modern conveniences of the time. The innovative commodities were special units for absorbing dust and steam in laundries, which were situated on the ground floor. In the centre of the yard, a fountain was situated in order to highlight the elite character of this building. Consequently, the rent was rather high (up to 100 roubles per month), and available only to the middle bourgeoisie and rich intelligentsia.¹¹⁶

Meanwhile, as mentioned, in contrast to the centre of St. Petersburg, *Petrogradskaya storona* was a place where representatives of different social classes lived. In order to ensure the accommodation of all the inhabitants in the district, architects combined in the houses the rich flats with sectional planning situated on the first and second floors, and small dwellings for students, functionaries, craftsmen and high-qualified workers located on the upper floors.

Such places were distinct from the old tenement house analyzed above, where the representatives of different social classes were also living in the same building. The main difference was the comfort of flats for common people and the availability of modern conveniences in the house for the inhabitants of both large and small apartments.

The new type of flat for poor people was a studio with 1 or 2 rooms, a hall, and a wash-stand in the bay. In the cheap flats, the ceiling was lower than in the expensive ones (2.8 meters instead of usual 4.2); the size of the room also decreased and reached 11 m² on average. Such flats, in most cases, had rebuilt furniture for the economy of the space.

In the free place at the end of the corridor, the shared water closet and kitchen for ten or twelve small flats was situated. All other modern conveniences (lifts, electricity, water pipes, sewage system, and water heating) were also available for the inhabitants of these apartments. Therefore, common people were given the opportunity to use similar commodities to those that the representatives of intelligentsia and middle bourgeoisie used.¹¹⁷

A particular example of such planning is the *art nouveau* tenement house of Evgeniy Kavos, at Kamennostrovskiy prospect, 24, built in 1907 by architect Leontiy Benois, who

¹¹⁶ “*Peteburgskaya gazeta*” [Newspaper of St. Petersburg], 10 November 1911.

¹¹⁷ E. Yuhneva *Peteburgskiye cit.*, p. 94.

reformed the planning of flats along with Fedor Lidval.¹¹⁸ (Fig. 5) An announcement for the rent of this house consists of large flats of 11 rooms for the middle bourgeoisie, medium flats of 5 or 6 rooms for the intelligentsia, and 1 room available for high-qualified workers and students. An advertisement for small flats, situated on the first floor, describes a shared bathroom with hot water, a kitchen, and a telephone available for several apartments.¹¹⁹

It is important that, as in the previous case of the house of Fedor Lidval, Evgeniy Kavos, the landlord, was the cousin of Leontiy Benois, and therefore he trusted him and sponsored his new project with different types of flats combined in one house, and with conveniences available for all inhabitants.¹²⁰ This is another illustration of the predominance of the architects' and landlords' private initiative when developing new types of tenement houses in the Petrograd district.

A similar type of plan was applied in other houses in the Petrograd district. An example is the *art nouveau* tenement house of Mariya Rudinskaya, at Malaya Dvoryanskaya street, 6, built in 1909 by the architect Ilya Pryakhin.¹²¹ The rent announcement contains information on the 7-room, 3-room and 1-room flat, with commodities available for all of them (individual bathrooms, toilets and kitchens for large apartments, and shared ones on the floor for studios).¹²²

The *art nouveau* tenement house of Petr Nikitin, at Lakhtinskaya street, 8, constructed in 1911 by architect Pavel Rezviiy¹²³ also contained flats of 6 rooms, 3 rooms and 1 room, with equally available conveniences.¹²⁴ In some cases, the building consisted of only small apartments with shared commodities. For instance, in the tenement house of Mikhail Gribkov at Zverinskaya street, 31, built by civil engineer Nicholas Nikonov in 1913 in *art nouveau*¹²⁵, the flats of 3 rooms, 2 rooms and 1 room were set with bathrooms and water boilers in the corridors, and wash bays in every flat.¹²⁶

Besides the relatives' sponsorship of projects, one more case of private initiative in the construction of the new type of tenement houses was the practice of architectural competitions that were organized by landlords for future buildings. Such contests were

¹¹⁸ V. Lisovskiy, *Leontiy Benois i peterburgskaya shkola chudozhnikov-arkhitektorov* [Leontiy Benois and the School of the Architects and Painters of St. Petersburg], St. Petersburg, 2006, p. 121.

¹¹⁹ *Peterburgskaya gazeta* [Newspaper of St. Petersburg], 16 October 1908.

¹²⁰ V. Lisovskiy, *Leontiy Benois* cit., p.122

¹²¹ B. Kirikov, *Arkhitektura Peterburgskogo Moderna. Osobnyaki i Dohodnye Doma* cit., p. 147.

¹²² "*Peterburgskaya gazeta*" [Newspaper of St. Petersburg], 24 July 1910.

¹²³ B. Kirikov, *Arkhitektura Peterburgskogo Moderna. Osobnyaki i Dohodnye Doma* cit., p.122.

¹²⁴ "*Peterburgskaya gazeta*" [Newspaper of St. Petersburg], 14 December 1911.

¹²⁵ B. Kirikov, *Arkhitektura Peterburgskogo Moderna. Osobnyaki i Dohodnye Doma* cit., p. 196.

¹²⁶ "*Peterburgskaya gazeta*" [Newspaper of St. Petersburg], 12 July 1913.

announced by the Society of Architects and judged by its members, who published and discussed the proposed projects in architectural journals. Finally, the owners paid the reward to the winner, confirmed it in the Society, and applied his apartment house project.

Such competitions were useful for all who participated in the construction of new houses: the architects received an opportunity to present and realize their new ideas in the field of house planning, and the owners could choose an appropriate variant with the help of specialists. It is also important that potential landlords who did not have money to organize their own competitions were, in this way, able to study the new projects for house planning and order them.

An example of a house created as the result of a contest like this is the tenement house constructed by Leontiy, Nicholas and Alexander Benois in 1911 – 1912 at Kamennooostrovskiy prospect, 26 – 28, for the First Russian Insurance Society. Before its construction, a competition of 31 projects was held. The most important criteria were the comfort of flats and interiors, and the rationality of infrastructure in the courts. The idea for new types of yards proposed by the brothers Benois was confirmed by the Society of Architects of St. Petersburg and successfully applied in this tenement house.¹²⁷

Modern conveniences in interiors and yards and architecture of the new type of tenement houses

The primacy of private initiative in the construction of new tenement houses, in addition to ensuring the availability of basic commodities to all inhabitants, led to an increase in their quantity in general, and to the appearance of innovative modern conveniences. A 1908 statistical report on the city gives second place to *Petrogradskaya storona*, after the central districts, by the presence of utilities in the apartment houses (bathrooms were in 18% of the flats, water closets in 60%, water pipes in 64%, heating system in 58%, and electricity in 20%.)¹²⁸

In St. Petersburg, there was no central city infrastructure, and in most cases these commodities were private ones organized by landlords only in their tenement houses.¹²⁹ In

¹²⁷ The detailed analysis of all the propositions could be found in magazine “Zodchiy”. See in detail: *Zodchiy* [Architect], 1911, 9, pp. 27 - 44.

¹²⁸ E. Yuhneva, *Peterburgskiy cit.*, p. 130.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

address books, the advertisements of separate sewage systems,¹³⁰ water pipes,¹³¹ and heating systems of different types (coal, water or steam)¹³² for tenement houses could be found.

The small electrical stations that provided electricity to houses were situated in the yards.¹³³ All the waste pipes on the floors were united to the principal one for the whole house, and it was sometimes connected with the city one, but in most cases, due to the absence of central canals, it led to the development of large cesspools in the yards, which were emptied weekly at the expense of the landlords.¹³⁴

The eagerness of the owners to ensure and sponsor the presence of utilities in houses was caused by their desire for comfort and, therefore, profitability. Consequently, the proprietors' private initiative led to an increase in modern conveniences in the tenement houses of the Petrograd district, which in its turn formed an image as a comfortable place, and increased its number of inhabitants.

The above-mentioned utilities were rather usual for tenement houses of the Petrograd district. In the 1910s, some landlords and organizations began to sponsor the creation of buildings that had supplementary modern conveniences and considered spreading them to all houses in *Petrogradskaya storona* later. In spite of the fact that the beginning of First World War and Revolution stopped the process of modernization, the phenomena of such tenement houses should be investigated as one of the possible focuses of urban development of the Petrograd district.

An illustrative example of a house with innovative modern conveniences is the neoclassicist house at Kamennooostrovskiy prospect, 73-75, the project of civil engineer Alexander Zaozerskiy, built in 1913. Its creation was sponsored by members of the Third Petrograd Society of Permanent Flats; they built the cooperative flats for themselves. It is obvious that future inhabitants asked the architect to construct innovative commodities in the interior of the house and were able to pay for them.¹³⁵

Besides usual conveniences (elevator, water pipe, etc), the building had laundry with special washing machines on the mansard, and balconies on the side of the black staircase for cleaning and airing clothes. Another novelty was a station for absorbing dust, a predecessor of the vacuum cleaner, and ventilation system. The kitchens had cold larders for products, and

¹³⁰ *Ves Peterburg* [All St. Petersburg], St. Petersburg, 1913, p. 1187.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p.1155.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 1276.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 1277.

¹³⁴ E. Yuhneva, *Peterburgskie cit.*, p. 137.

¹³⁵ V. Privalov, *Kamennooostrovskiy Prospect*, St. Petersburg, 2005, p. 129.

were prototypes of modern refrigerators. Alexander Zaozerskiy planned to install the above-mentioned commodities in future houses of the Third Petrograd Society of Permanent Flats, but the beginning of First World War in 1914 disturbed his plans.¹³⁶

Another example is the house at Bolshoy Prospect, 39, built in 1913 by Fedor Lidval in *art nouveau*, and sponsored by the professor and doctor Saveliy Lipavskiy.¹³⁷ The innovative conveniences of the building made it one of the most comfortable in the city. Firstly, it had all the traditional commodities: water pipes, electricity, and a lift from the second residential floor. On the ground floor of the house, a coal boiler room with steam heating system was situated.

Secondly, it had a new garbage collection system: in the wall niche on the back staircase of the building, there was a chute with a chain conveyor that would transfer the waste to the reservoir in the yard. This reservoir was, in turn, equipped with a mechanical elevator on the lifting floor, and it put the waste in the cart. The system of furnaces was also an innovative one. In the kitchens of all the flats, there were large stoves for peat or coal briquettes, which were more convenient than traditional firewood. The bathrooms with boilers and the same furnaces were also situated in every flat. On the attic floor, the laundry, with rooms for drying linen, was constructed.¹³⁸

The analyzed examples of houses demonstrate the priority of private initiative in the creation of tenement houses and modern conveniences for them. They also indicate one of the possible future focuses of the development of apartment houses in the Petrograd district that has not been fulfilled. All the above-mentioned commodities were used during a small period of time, because after the Revolution, the flats of the house of Saveliy Lipavskiy were occupied by poor people.

The new inhabitants immured the garbage chute and damaged the steam heating system. The large stoves for coal briquettes were replaced by old wood-burning furnaces for heating and oil-stoves for cooking, which were used till the 1950s, when gas stoves were installed. The lift was likewise broken and started to work only in the 1970s.¹³⁹

This house's example shows the mechanism of urban development of the Petrograd district in the USSR. The achievements of the comfortable houses that were applied in several buildings and considered to be spread throughout other houses of the district were abandoned

¹³⁶ D. Zasosov, V. Pyzin, *Iz zhizni Peterburga* cit., p. 299.

¹³⁷ B. Kirikov, *Architektura Peterburgskogo Moderna. Osobnyaki i Dohodnye Doma* cit., p. 192.

¹³⁸ V. Isachenko, G. Ol, *Fedor Lidval*, Leningrad, 1987, p. 138.

¹³⁹ G. Nikitenko, V. Privalov, *Petrogradskaya storona. Bolshoy Prospect*, St. Petersburg, 2008, p. 167.

and unused during the next 40 to 50 years. The future development of tenement houses was interrupted by political processes in the state.

Another important quality of the new tenement houses was the change of the plan for yards. The interior and infrastructure of the courts of the old tenement houses in the centre of St. Petersburg, described in the beginning of this chapter, were in bad condition. The mass migration to the city, which led to the population increase and overpopulated apartment houses, worsened the situation. In 1909, in the Municipal Council of St. Petersburg, special commissions for the improvement of the sanitary state of yards were created.¹⁴⁰

Nevertheless, due to the lack of finance and unprofessional members, the activity of these organizations was unsuccessful. Therefore, the landlords, aiming to increase the profitability of their houses, began to change the courts at their own expense, without municipal assistance. From this perspective, the two focuses of the modernization of new tenement houses could be divided: the creation of *courts d'honneur* as the first yards, and the installation of innovative commodities in the interior yards.

The *courts d'honneur* had simultaneously utilitarian and esthetical functions. The first one consisted in an increase in the yard's space, which should provide more sun and fresh air to the house's inhabitants, instead of narrow dark *kolodtsy* (yards-wells) that were typical for the other parts of St. Petersburg. The second function of *courts d'honneur* was to create beautiful facades for buildings, adding green space near them.

Such yards helped to form the new architectural ensemble of *Petrogradskaya storona*, which distinguished it from other areas of St. Petersburg.¹⁴¹ The combination of rational and esthetical features could be considered as an important quality of the architecture and interior of a new type of tenement house that appeared during the urban development of the Petrograd district in the beginning of the 20th century.

An illustrative example of building with *court d'honneur* is analyzed above tenement house of Fedor Lidval at Kamennostrovskiy prospect, 1-3, built in 1899 – 1904 in *art nouveau*. The house of architects Leontiy, Nicholas and Alexander Benois at Kamennostrovskiy prospect 26-28, constructed in 1911-1912 in neoclassicism, besides the parade *court d'honneur*, had a new interior system of multiple (more than 10) large and small yards, connected with each other by passages. Such planning of courts was aimed to increase their space and the amount of commodities and infrastructure located in them.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Rech [Speech], 30 April 1909.

¹⁴¹ B.Kirikov, *Architektura Peterburgskogo Moderna. Osobnyaki i Dohodnye Doma* cit., p. 65.

¹⁴² B.Kirikov, *Architektura peterburgskogo moderna. Osobnyaki i dohodnye doma* cit., p. 151.

The innovative conveniences that were situated in the yards of this house were several laundries, rubbish-burning ovens, units for snow melting, boiler-rooms and small electric power stations. Moreover, one of the first private garages for cars, as separate buildings with all necessary conditions, was located there. Important features in the system of yards were the special bends that were designed in order to separate the movement of automobiles and pedestrians.¹⁴³

Due to the presence of all above-mentioned buildings, these yards were described in the magazine “*Zodchiy*” as completely suitable for contemporary requirements in terms of the comfort and needs of the inhabitants. On the whole, the house of Benois was characterized as an ideal template for future houses of St. Petersburg, and it was indicated as necessary to apply its example when constructing new tenement houses.¹⁴⁴

The architectural details of the tenement houses, similar to the planning and interior of their flats and yards, testify to the specific nature of the urban development of *Petrogradskaya storona* in comparison to other areas of St. Petersburg. Foremost, the Petrograd district is a unique place in the city because the majority of apartment houses were constructed in an *art nouveau*. The buildings of this style are characterized by new forms, various architectural styles and methods, and unexpected or grotesque elements.¹⁴⁵

The above-mentioned features of the new tenement houses contrasted those of the old ones that had traditional architectural styles and were situated in the center of St. Petersburg. These qualities gave the architects the ability to express the individual tastes of the owners, unlike the supervised uniformity of classical buildings in the ancient city.¹⁴⁶

Another reason for the fashionability of *art nouveau* is its evident Europeanness and modernity, the qualities of which coincide with the common features of urban development of the area. Historians establish a connection of this style in the Petrograd district with the architecture of Scandinavian countries, so-called northern *art nouveau*. The most illustrative examples of this style are the above-mentioned houses at Kamennooostrovskiy prospect, 1-3, and Bolshoy prospect, 39, built by architect Fedor Lidval.

A Swede by nationality, he thoroughly investigated the architectural novelties of Scandinavian countries (represented by architects Ferdinand Boberg in Sweden and Armas

¹⁴³ V. Privalov, *Kamennooostrovskiy Prospekt* cit., p. 167.

¹⁴⁴ *Zodchiy* [Architect], 1913, 14, p. 1.

¹⁴⁵ A. Dmitriev *Sovremennoe dekorativnoe iskusstvo* [Contemporary decorative art], in “*Zodchiy*”, 1903, 39, p. 445.

¹⁴⁶ B. Kirikov, *Arhitektura peterburgskogo moderna. Osobnyaki i dohodnye doma* cit., p. 34.

Lindgren in Finland), which are known as northern *art nouveau*¹⁴⁷ The necessary elements of this style - images of Northern fauna (owl, eagle-owl, lynx) and flora (mushroom, berries and fern), - are presented on the fronts of the above-mentioned houses, constructed by Fedor Lidval.¹⁴⁸

On the other hand, the modern style of the Petrograd district, characterized by strict elegance and graphic clarity, was influenced by the architecture of Vienna Secession and foremost by Austrian architect Otto Wagner, as well as the art schools of Munich and Paris.¹⁴⁹ Such a connection with the architectural qualities of other countries reflects the focus on modern tendencies and European examples as one of the principles of the construction of tenement houses in *Petrogradskaya storona*.

The third reason for the choice of *art nouveau* for apartment houses is the rationality of this architecture, which corresponds to the trends of urban development in the area. The certain freedom of this modern style allowed for a change in the planning of flats and the organization of living spaces, for the payment of equal attention to the utility and comfort of the rooms, and for the beautification of the fronts of the buildings. Scholars characterize *art nouveau* as the first rational style, the main aims of which were the transformation of houses' features, reorganization of their space, and redesign of their flats and rooms.¹⁵⁰

Another way in which rationality as a particular feature of new tenement houses can be seen is the use of unusual building material, talc slate, which was typical for buildings in Finland and Scandinavia. The construction of the building from this stone is very reasonable for St. Petersburg: soft during treatment, it is not subject to the destructive influence of the humid climate of the city.¹⁵¹

Consequently, the combination of esthetical and rational functions of *art nouveau*, as well as its Europeanness and free use of different architectural elements, correspond to the primacy of private initiative, increase in comfort, rationality and modernization, which are the key features of urban development of *Petrogradskaya storona*.

¹⁴⁷ B. Kirikov, *Architektura peterburgskogo moderna. Osobnyaki i dohodnye doma* cit., p. 223.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

¹⁴⁹ B. Kirikov, *Architektura Peterburga kontsa 19 – nachala 20 veka. Eklektika. Modern. Neoclassicism*. [Architecture of St. Petersburg in the end of 19th – beginning of the 20th Centuries. Eclecticism. Art Nouveau. Neoclassicism], St.Petersburg, 2006, p. 269.

¹⁵⁰ E. Kirichenko *O nekotorych osobennostyah evolutsii gorodskih mnogokvartirnykh domov vtoroy poloviny 19 – nachala 20 veka* [About certain qualities of the evolution of functioning of tenement houses in the middle of the 19th – beginning of the 20th centuries], in *Arkhitekturnoe nasledstvo*, 1963, 15, p. 27.

¹⁵¹ B. Kirikov, *Architektura peterburgskogo moderna. Osobnyaki i dohodnye doma* cit., p. 62.

Conclusion

Therefore, during the urban development in the beginning of the 20th century in the Petrograd district, the new type of tenement house was created. Several distinct features of these modern apartment houses distinguished them from the old ones situated in the centre. Foremost, it is the tendency to average the number of rooms in flats and inhabitants there in order to meet the requirements of the majority of the population of the district – the middle class, bourgeoisie and intelligentsia.

Secondly, the new sectional type of planning was used instead of the old suite of flats, which increased the comfort of the large apartments. Finally, the principle of maintaining unequal conditions for distinct social groups that lived in one place, which was characteristic of the old house, was replaced by a provision for comfortable flats with dry, warm rooms for all inhabitants. Moreover, basic modern conveniences (bathrooms with hot water, toilets, kitchens, telephones, etc), were only situated in the rich flats of old tenement, while in the apartment houses of the Petrograd district, they were also available for common people, and were shared among 10-12 one-room flats on the first floor.

Finally, several tenement houses also had innovative modern conveniences in addition to basic ones and new, comfortable yard plans. The majority of apartment houses were built in *art nouveau*, the most modern architectural style of the time. The above-mentioned features reflect the principles of increased comfort, modernization, and attention to needs of all social groups, which were typical for the construction of new tenement houses as the focus of urban development in the Petrograd district.

The reasons for the appearance of these tendencies were primarily the cohabitation of distinct social groups in the area and therefore the combination of the demand and offer for a new type of comfortable flats. The former was expressed by the different social layers that lived in *Petrogradskaya storona*. On one hand, the common people, high-qualified workers, craftsmen, students, and single functionaries needed the small, comfortable rooms with basic conveniences for affordable prices, and had the ability to pay for them. On the other hand, the intelligentsia and bourgeoisie required houses with comfortable plans and innovative conveniences.

The offers for different types of flats were provided by the middle bourgeoisie, who sponsored the construction of modern houses, and by intelligentsia, architects and engineers who created and confirmed the new types of plans. The appearance of such offers was

possible due to the primacy of private initiative and the absence of state regulation in the construction of tenement houses.

These conditions led to a situation in which the landlords could choose the variants of plans they wished for, created by architects during multiple competitions and approved by the Society of Architects. The proprietors were ready to use the comfortable plans for both large and small apartments and for the yards, ensuring that they would be in demand with the inhabitants of the district, which finally would increase the profitability of tenement houses.

Therefore, the primacy of private initiative in urban development and the cohabitation of different social groups in the district led to the appearance of new types of plans, which were used in the tenement houses of the Petrograd district, and oriented to the requirements of the majority of the population as the target tenants. The new kind of apartment houses contributed to an image of *Petrogradskaya storona* as an area with comfortable and rather cheap flats and rooms to rent. Such a reputation in its turn made the Petrograd district a popular place among various social groups, which led to its successful development in the future.¹⁵²

Consequently, the new types of apartment houses that appeared in the Petrograd district in the beginning of the 20th century are characterized by comfortable plans for apartments and yards, and by the presence of multiple modern conveniences, with basic ones (water pipes, electricity, bathrooms, toilets, telephones) available for both rich and common inhabitants. The building of such houses reflects the tendencies of social awareness, modernization, increased comfort, and primacy of private initiative as the features of urban development in *Petrogradskaya storona*.

The new principles of planning that were used in the apartment houses of *Petrogradskaya storona* were widely applied in the Soviet Union, in the dormitories and in *khroustshevki* [small flats built during the rule of Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev] of the 1960s, and are still used in modern times. This fact demonstrates the innovativeness and forward-thinking qualities of the tenement houses and of the focus of urban development in the Petrograd district.

¹⁵² For instance, the representative of intelligentsia, future academician Dmitry Likhachev writes, that in 1910 his family moved to Petrograd district, and that they were happy to have cheap flat with all necessary utilities, see in detail D. Likhachev, *Vospominaniya* [Memoirs], St. Petersburg, 1995, p. 52.

The Creation of New Public Places as a Focus of Urban Development of *Petrogradskaya Storona*

Definition of public places and the public realm. Theoretical conceptions of public places applied in the research

English sociologist Richard Sennett writes that the public realm "could be identified by the squares, major streets, theatres, cafes, lecture halls, government assemblies, or stock exchanges, where strangers would be likely to meet."¹⁵³ The public realm is personified in a public place as a necessary and important part of the urban reality. In cities and districts, the public place becomes an area where society, time and space are intertwined: some social activities occur in a specific context, in a particular time and place.¹⁵⁴

The public realm is divided into public places with free entrance and passage (squares, major streets, stock exchanges) and semipublic commercial places, where the person should pay for entrance or buy something to stay inside (theatres, cinema houses, lecture halls, cafes).¹⁵⁵ Green space (parks and gardens) is another particular kind of public realm, combining both public and semipublic places. Green spaces were mostly widespread in *Petrogradskaya storona*, in the beginning of the 20th century, as former countryside districts.

Several conceptions of the public realm, and public place as its component, are used in contemporary literature. The first one is represented by American scholar Hannah Arendt, who analyzes the public realm mostly from a political point of view. She describes it as a place where people can discuss events and debate.¹⁵⁶ The second, which belongs to German sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas, widens the public realm from a physical dimension to a virtual one, primarily newspapers, where political events are discussed.¹⁵⁷ In my work, I apply the conception of Richard Sennett, with a less political and more cultural and anthropological approach to public places, investigating their social functions and the activities of people who form and visit them.

During this investigation, I use the classification of public places by English psychologist David Canter, who distinguishes three elements of them. The first one consists

¹⁵³ R. Sennet, *The Public Realm*, in: G. Bridge, S. Watson (eds.), *The Blackwell city reader*, Oxford, 2010, p. 262.

¹⁵⁴ P. Clark (ed.), *The European City and Green Space London, Stockholm, Helsinki and St. Petersburg, 1850–2000*, Oxford, 2009, p. 18.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁵⁶ H. Arendt, *The Human Conditions*, University of Chicago, 1998, p. 27.

¹⁵⁷ J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, 1989, Cambridge, p. 5.

of different types of activities that take place there: economic, in the form of trade; social, expressed in meetings and gatherings; and cultural, expressed in events. The second element is the built form of public places; in other words, the relationship between buildings and spaces there and in the city or district in general. The third component of a public place is its meaning, sense and image among the dwellers of the district and the city. The scholar argues for the importance of these aforesaid elements in the formation of a successful public place that meets the requirements and the identity of the area and its dwellers.¹⁵⁸ One of the aims of this chapter is to investigate the coincidence between particularities of public places and the inhabitants and the district they are located in; therefore the conception of David Canter corresponds to this purpose and should be used during the analysis.

Continuing an anthropological approach in my analysis of public places, I use the theory of Swiss sociologist Michel Bassand, which could be applied consistently with the classification of David Canter. The scholar defines the following elements of public places: actors, régime, atmosphere and events; architecture and history.¹⁵⁹ The first four components coincide with activity, distinguished by David Canter; architecture should be analyzed in the field of built form, and history in the field of meaning according to classification of this author.

Activity of public places is related to the particularities of their use by the dwellers of the area they are situated in. American writer Jane Jacobs proposed to draw attention to the human scale of urban space, investigating the application of urban areas and public places by people who inhabit them.¹⁶⁰ Michel Bassand specifies the following categories of people who use a public place: economic actors (sponsors of the creation); political actors (persons or organizations who agreed to and confirmed the creation of a certain public place); professional actors (the creators of events in a public space); and participants in the events.¹⁶¹

The meaning of public places is connected with their perception by the dwellers and their connection to the dwellers' identities, as well as the identity of the district on a whole. Michel Bassand argues that it is important that the public place corresponds with the interests of the dwellers of an area and is perceived by them as appropriate for different social activities.¹⁶² Dutch sociologist Jan Gehl proclaims the necessity of orientation of public places

¹⁵⁸ D. Canter, *The Psychology of Place*, London, 1977, p. 39.

¹⁵⁹ M. Bassand, *Cités, villes, métropoles: le changement irréversible de la ville*, Lausanne, 2007, p. 209.

¹⁶⁰ J. Jacobs, *The Economy of Cities*, London, 1969, p. 11.

¹⁶¹ M. Bassand, *Cités cit.*, p. 217.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 231.

to people living in the district or city, to their requirements and identity.¹⁶³ In addition to analyzing the particularities of public places and their application by the people, I investigate what features of identity of the dwellers of the Petrograd district are reflected in public places and how they influence each other.

John Montgomery enlarges the classification of David Canter, enumerates the important features of activity, built form and meaning of public places, and investigates how they conform with the cultural district they are situated in.¹⁶⁴ It is necessary to emphasize that the conception of John Montgomery is suitable for *Petrogradskaya storona* because the cultural quarter is considered one of the dimensions of the identity of Petrograd district due to the variety of public places situated there.

John Montgomery argues that development of the cultural quarter could be a successful mechanism of urban regeneration for the city on the whole.¹⁶⁵ Regarding *Petrogradskaya storona*, it is possible to observe that the development of a variety of public places, primarily cultural organizations (theatres, cinemas, lecture halls), helped to change the abandoned district of the end of the 19th century into the fashionable modern district of the beginning of the 20th century. Therefore, it is important and useful to analyze the mechanism of creation and development of these public places.

Qualities of public places in the centre of St. Petersburg

The history of the appearance of public places in St. Petersburg starts in the beginning of the 18th century, simultaneously with the creation of the city. Till the end of the 19th century, public places were situated only in the centre of St. Petersburg and corresponded to the identity of this area. In the beginning of the 20th century, during this process of intensive urban development, a significant number of public places appeared in *Petrogradskaya storona*.

Created in the new type of quarter, they met the requirements of its inhabitants and differed from the ancient ones. To understand the particular features of the modern public places of the Petrograd district, it is necessary to compare them with those situated in the centre of St. Petersburg, using the components conceived by David Canter and Michel Bassand as the parameters for comparison.

¹⁶³ J. Gehl, *Life Between Buildings*, Copenhagen, 1996, p. 41.

¹⁶⁴ J. Montgomery *Cultural Quarters as Mechanisms of Urban Regeneration*. cit., p. 300

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

Relevant examples of ancient public places are the Alexandrinskiy and Mariinskiy theatres, the former founded in 1832 and the latter in 1860. The political and economical actors of these public places were Emperors, Nicholas I in the first case and Alexander II in the second. The close connection of the theatres with the Tsar Family was evidenced by the fact that they had the adjective Imperial in their title and were named after the wives of the Emperors Alexandra and Maria.¹⁶⁶

The link stayed permanent till the beginning of the 20th century: the principal ballerina of the Mariinskiy theatre, Matilda Kshesinskaya, was the mistress of future Emperor Nicholas II and the wife of Prince Andrey Vladimirovitch, a member of Emperor's family.¹⁶⁷ Perceived as the property of the Tsars, from the year of their foundation till the beginning of the 20th century, the theatres were financed with the budget of the court of the Emperor.¹⁶⁸

Those who participated in events in ancient public places belonged to particular social groups. For instance, the spectators of Mariinskiy were representatives of the aristocracy and high bourgeoisie. The reason for such exclusiveness was primarily due to a tradition in which only noblemen were able to visit the theatre created and patronized by the Emperor.

Another reason was the high price for tickets in general and the small amount of places with moderate costs, an important problem of the theatre that was criticized in newspapers of the early 20th century.¹⁶⁹ An inhabitant of the Petrograd district, young student and future painter Mstislav Dobuzhinskiy wrote that he only once went to the Mariinskiy theatre in St. Petersburg, because he was waiting in the queue for the ticket all night in the winter, and decided to never go there.¹⁷⁰

Annual tickets for the lodges were likewise inaccessible, because obtaining them was a question of prestige for the aristocracy. Other people, even from educated class, were unable to acquire them without connections with the actors. Russian scholar Dmitry Likhachev writes that members of his family, representatives of the intelligentsia, obtained a season ticket with the help of theatre workers; he emphasizes that it was an exceptional case.¹⁷¹

From the middle of the 19th century, Alexandrinskiy theatre was a public place for the middle bourgeoisie and merchants, who had shops in *Gostiniy Dvor* [a large commercial

¹⁶⁶ P. Markov (ed.), *Teatralnaya entsiklopediya* [Encyclopedia of Theatre], Moscow, 1992, p. 159.

¹⁶⁷ V. Krasovskaya *Russkiy baletniy teatr nachala XX veka* [Russian Ballet Theatre in the beginning of the 20th century], Moscow, 2002, p. 128.

¹⁶⁸ I. Petrovskaya, *Teatr i zritel rossiysskikh stolits: 1895 – 1917* [Theatre and Spectator of Russian Capitals: 1895 – 1917], Leningrad, 1990, p. 38.

¹⁶⁹ *Peterburgskaya gazeta* cit., 1911, 244, p. 5.

¹⁷⁰ M. Dobuzhinskiy, *Vospominaniya* cit., p. 168.

¹⁷¹ D. Likhachev, *Vospominaniya* cit., p. 47.

complex], situated in the neighborhood. The representatives of the intelligentsia, functionaries and students, did not regularly visit the theatre, with the exception of several premieres.¹⁷²

Those who participated in these events influenced the régime in the theatres. The Mariinskiy theatre was inaccessible for most groups because of not only the high prices for tickets, but also the strict dress code for the performances established by aristocrats. Dmitriy Likhachev emphasizes that to buy the appropriate clothes and to rent jewelry for the theatre was so expensive for his family, that they were forced to go there by foot in order to economize at least on the cab.¹⁷³ In the Alexandrinskiy theatre, the atmosphere was connected with the everyday life of Russian merchants: Dmitriy Likhachev reminisces that in the interlude, the spectators in lodges drank tea from the samovar, the symbol of the merchant's way of life.¹⁷⁴

The target audience of the theatres also affected their repertoire. In most cases, the performances held in the Mariinskiy theatre were traditional; experiments and staging of contemporary choreography were impossible. The repertoire of the Alexandrinskiy theatre consisted of compositions dedicated to the merchant's life; pieces with new focuses, such as *Chaika* by Anton Chekhov, failed there, and plays on political and social topics were forbidden.¹⁷⁵

Concerning the meaning of the Alexandrinskiy and Mariinskiy theatres, in the early 20th century, they were perceived by inhabitants of St. Petersburg as the public places for the elite - aristocracy, high bourgeoisie and merchants - and were inaccessible or very difficult to enter for other inhabitants of St. Petersburg. Another meaning, which provoked the unwillingness to visit them, was connected with their conservative and uninteresting repertoire.

The built form of ancient public places corresponded to their activity and meaning among the inhabitants of St. Petersburg. The Alexandrinskiy and Mariinskiy theatres were built in a classical style that emphasizes their connection to imperial ideals and traditional forms of art. They were situated in the centre of the city - the Alexandrinskiy theatre was next to the Nevskiy prospect- which stressed the elite character of these public places. (Fig. 6)

Another ancient public place of St. Petersburg that is important to analyze is the Summer Garden. Created and financed by Emperor Peter the Great in 1704 as a park near its

¹⁷² I. Petrovskaya, *Teatr i zritel* cit., p. 189.

¹⁷³ D. Likhachev, *Vospominaniya* cit., p. 49.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p. 52.

¹⁷⁵ I. Petrovskaya, *Teatr i zritel* cit., p. 192.

palace, it was opened for the aristocracy in 1752 by Empress Elisabeth in order to glorify the Tsar's power and to emphasize the might of the empire to the public.¹⁷⁶

In the beginning of the 20th century, the situation changed only to some extent: the main economic influence on the garden remained the Emperor's treasure, and the aristocrats and high bourgeoisie were supplemented by rich merchants as the main participants of events. Nevertheless, the time of their visits varied: the first and second ones walked there in spring, autumn and winter; in summer, when they were in the countryside, the garden was open to merchants.¹⁷⁷ Such seasonal segregation of visits demonstrates the conservative character of the Summer Garden.

Representatives of other social groups – such as soldiers, sailors, workers, and peasants- were forbidden to enter.¹⁷⁸ The prohibition against poorly dressed people visiting the garden was criticized in the newspapers in the end of the 19th century,¹⁷⁹ but remained unchanged till the beginning of the First World War.

The audience of the Summer Garden determined the events and the rules of behavior there. For the aristocracy, the main activity was walking along alleys and riding on the horses on special roads. Dmitriy Zasosov and Vladimir Pyzin, inhabitants of St. Petersburg, write that aristocratic women in riding habits could be seen there,¹⁸⁰ which would seem anachronistic for other parts of St. Petersburg. (Fig. 7)

In summer, during merchants' visits, the régime was not so ceremonious, but more patriarchal; some traditions of this social group were reflected in their events. The inhabitants of the city recalled that among the tradesmen there was a custom of choosing brides from the young girls walking in the Summer Garden on Trinity day in June.¹⁸¹

The built form of the Summer Garden corresponded to its activities and meaning: it was constructed in a classical style and was full of ancient statues from the Roman period and the beginning of the 18th century.¹⁸² Located in the centre of the city, the Summer Garden was situated on the same line as the Winter Palace and other palaces of St. Petersburg, and continued their imperial style and form. For the inhabitants of St. Petersburg, the Summer Garden was seen as a place for walks for the aristocracy and bourgeoisie, unavailable to common people. Consequently, this analysis of the built form, activity and meaning of public

¹⁷⁶ G. Bolotova *Letniy Sad* [Summer Garden], Leningrad, 1981, p.4.

¹⁷⁷ D. Zasosov, V. Pyzin, *Iz zhizni Peterburga* cit., p. 33.

¹⁷⁸ P. Piskarev, *Miliy stariy Peterburg* [Dear Ancient St. Petersburg], St. Petersburg, 2007, p. 192.

¹⁷⁹ *Novoye Vremya* [New Time], 1881, 1952, p.3.

¹⁸⁰ D. Zasosov, V. Pyzin, *Iz zhizni Peterburga* cit., p. 34.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 35.

¹⁸² G. Bolotova *Letniy Sad* cit., p. 6.

places in the centre of St. Petersburg reveals their traditionalism, conservatism and availability to only the elite social groups of the city – the aristocracy, bourgeoisie, and rich merchants.

A unique example of public places without any dress code available for common people was the booths, which were organized annually till 1899. They functioned during a limited period of time – the late winter folk holidays of *Maslenitsa*, and were situated in the center of the city, on the *Champs de Mars* near Summer Garden. It was the only public place where representatives of all social groups could meet and have common leisure during one week per year.

Regarding the activity of the booths, it is important to note that there were no political actors who initiated and controlled their creation; the tradition of their function was rooted in past centuries, and they were held in this place from the beginning of the 18th century, since the foundation of St. Petersburg.¹⁸³ The economic actors were the booth owners and the organizers of events there.

Therefore, the initiative for the creation of public places available to all social groups of the growing city did not belong to the state. In the end of the 19th century, such public places were part of the tradition, sufficient appropriate for one week per year. It was not perceived as a necessary, permanent element of the cultural life of St. Petersburg that met the requirements of the increased number of common people there.

The professional actors in the booths, who played roles during events, were primarily of the low social classes. The following description of such actors is found in the memoirs of painter Mstislav Dobuzhinskiy: “The old man with the artificial beard and young rosy face was sitting on the balcony of the booth. He was razzing and laughing at the young woman in tight breeches and hussar jackets staying near him [my translation].”¹⁸⁴ The described people were traditional actors for events in the booths since the Napoleonic war of 1812, which highlights the traditional character of this public place.

Regarding the visitors, as was mentioned, the booth was the only area where representatives of diverse social groups could meet and interact. Mstislav Dobuzhinskiy writes about the spectators coming to this public place: “I found myself in a crowd of very different people: cheerful peasant men with harmonics, guardian soldiers with small young women peasants, stout merchant’s wives.

¹⁸³ A. Konechniy, *Peterburgskie balagany* [Booths of St. Petersburg], St. Petersburg, 2000, p. 119.

¹⁸⁴ M. Dobuzhinskiy, *Vospominaniya* cit., p. 21.

Visiting the booths was considered fashionable and therefore young ladies who were representatives of the intelligentsia and high bourgeoisie, with their governesses, and guardian officers with ladies in furs walked alongside near peasants. Sometimes carriages of the court, with the high aristocracy and Emperor's family members, also rode along booths [my translation].¹⁸⁵

Mstislav Dobuzhinskiy describes the following events that took part in the booths: "I looked with delight at the huge signs on the booths, which show advertisements for the fairy tale 'About Seven Simeons' and 'The Battle with Kabardians.'" Another popular subject of the shows was heroic Russian history: the author writes of spectacles dedicated to the *Kulikovskaya bitva* held in 1380, and the show 'The Brave General', who "galloped in powder smoke on a white horse, and firing, trumpet signals, music and drums were heard [my translation]."¹⁸⁶

In other places, performances of sword-swallowers, tightrope walkers, voltigeurs, giants and dwarfs could be seen. Besides the booths, the *Champs de Mars* during the *Maslenitsa* were full of traditional Russian attractions, used for several centuries: "carousels, wooden horses, huge swings, small shooting ranges, giant ice mountains with flags on top [my translation]."¹⁸⁷ (Fig. 8) Therefore, the shows that took part in the booths and the attractions near them had primarily entertainment function.

It is important to note that the form of the booths remained unchanged from the beginning of the 18th century. Temporary, colorfully painted wooden barracks with three-coloured flags on top attracted the attention of the public and highlighted the fun character of the events. Therefore, the architecture of these public places, along with their repertoire, indicated their traditional nature and focus on entertainment.

Describing the shows that were held in the booths, Mstislav Dobuzhinskiy emphasizes their mix of Russian folklore stories, history and circus themes, which testifies that they were primarily targeted to common people. On the other hand, the painter argues that the high quality of these performances and their colorful decorations also attracted representatives of upper social classes.¹⁸⁸

Nevertheless, the meaning of the booths varied for different social groups. They were known by common people as a popular entertainment available once a year. The upper social

¹⁸⁵ M. Dobuzhinskiy, *Vospominaniya* cit., p. 28

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

classes – aristocracy, bourgeoisie, and intelligentsia - perceived them as an exotic activity; a visit there was considered a *bon ton*, expressed in a readiness to respect tradition.

The uniqueness of the booths' organization highlighted the segregation of public spheres and entertainment places for representatives of different social groups in everyday life. The representatives of high social classes had their public places available every day; common people were restricted from entering those of the higher classes, and were able to visit booths - their entertaining public place - only one week per year.

Meanwhile, at the end of the 19th century, the population of the capital had significantly increased on account of workers and peasants; the amount of intelligentsia and semiintelligentsia had also increased. The necessity of new common public places for these social groups was obvious, and it was realized in the creation of those in the Petrograd district, where the above-mentioned social groups were concentrated to a large extent.

Public places in the Petrograd district: classification and predecessors

Classification of public places in Petrogradskaya storona

One of the results of urban development in *Petrogradskaya storona* during the period of the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century was its transformation into a cultural district due to the appearance of a large number of public places in its territory. These new areas contrasted the traditional types of public places analyzed above by their activity, built form and meaning, and symbolized the modern character of the Petrograd district of St. Petersburg.

I distinguish the several types of public places in the Petrograd district. The most widespread are those with controlled access, which are defined by particular scholars as semipublic or commercial places (gardens and parks, cinema-houses, theatres, circus, sports grounds and clubs).¹⁸⁹ Another kinds of public place are that with free entrance and passage (squares and markets); and unofficial public places (meeting points for young workers near their residential areas, on the banks of the Zhdanovka river and the Koltovka river). In my work, I'm interested in the first type of public spaces; the other two are out of the scope of my research.

The most common public places in the Petrograd district in the analyzed period were gardens or parks. The reason for the appearance of a large number of such public places in

¹⁸⁹ P. Clark (ed.), *The European City and Green Space* cit., p. 21.

Petrogradskaya storona in the beginning of the 20th century was foremost the multitude of green areas situated there due to the rural character of the district throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. In this way, by the end of the 19th century, the green territory amounted more than 40% of the square of the district.¹⁹⁰

The second cause was the change in legislation connected with the creation of public gardens in the analyzed period. Due to the reform of the municipal board of St. Petersburg in 1870, the City Council was allotted the responsibility to make new squares and gardens under city jurisdiction. Nevertheless, the established system had multiple disadvantages, foremost the absence of any powerful administrative machinery and a lack of finance provided to City Council for this purpose.

On the other hand, the new system simplified the procedure of submission and confirmation of individual petitions asking for land grants that were designed to establish new public gardens, or for permission to modernize ancient ones. Therefore, the City Council used this opportunity to encourage the private initiative of developers and charity organizations to create parks and gardens.¹⁹¹ Such a process gave a certain freedom to private investors in establishing the management and the themes of events that took place in the gardens.

The public parks of *Petrogradskaya storona* could be divided into several groups by their availability to different social strata and by their functions. The first group consists of the gardens with theatres, cinemas, attractions, cafes, and sports grounds situated on their territory, which combined both education and entertainment and were available to all social strata of the district (examples include the Alexandrovskiy park and Zoo garden). Situated in the center of the Petrograd district, neat the Troitskiy bridge and the river Neva, these parks are considered the most modern public places of the Petrograd district.

The second group is composed of parks with entertainment events, targeted on particular social layer. Several of them are available to all social groups but primarily aimed on common people (the Petrovskiy park); others are accessible only for aristocracy and bohemia (the Elagin park). The above mentioned gardens were located in the suburbs of the district. By the events held there and the meaning among the citizens of the district, these parks are rather traditional, similar to those situated in the heart of St. Petersburg (Summer Garden).

¹⁹⁰ O. Iodko, *Illustrirovanniy putevidotel* [Touristic Guide with Illustrations], St. Petersburg, 1902, p. 128.

¹⁹¹ K. Semenov, *St. Petersburg's parks and gardens, 1850–1917*, in: *The European City and Green Space London, Stockholm, Helsinki and St. Petersburg, 1850–2000*, ed.: P. Clark, Oxford, 2009, p. 280.

The evolution of the gardens from the traditional (Petrovskiy, Elagin park) to the modern (Alexandrovskiy park, Zoo garden) reflects the direction of the urban development of the Petrograd district as a whole. In the next parts of this chapter I analyze the activity, built form and meaning of both old and new public parks of *Petrogradskaya storona* in order to understand better the particular features and novelties of the latter ones. Created by private developers and having different target audience and functions, these modern public gardens are the most important focus for my research, because they represent the specific character of urban development of the Petrograd district.

The second type of the public places in *Petrogradskaya storona* was cinema-houses. Their appearance and distribution was natural for this area, because it was there, on the territory of the Garden Aquarium, that the first cinema show in Russia was held, on 4 May, 1896.¹⁹² The number of such public places was considerable for that time: on the Bolshoy prospect, eighteen cinema houses were situated. Some of them were of a moderate size, for 150 – 200 persons, and were located on the first floor of tenement houses (such as the cinema house *Molniya*, Bolshoy prospect, 35, and the cinema house *Lux*, Bolshoy prospect, 74); others were small, for 40-50 people, and situated in flats.¹⁹³

By their particular features, actors, built form and meaning these public places contrasted the cinema houses located in the centre of St. Petersburg. The main difference was - similarly to the case of public gardens - the primacy of private initiative in the creation and the accessibility of cinema houses to people from various social groups in the Petrograd district.

The theatre of Vera Nemetti, circus Modern, and sports ground Sporting Palace were other types of public places situated in *Petrogradskaya storona*. Created by private investors, they continued the main trends of public places in the Petrograd district and contrasted those of the centre of St. Petersburg.

Traditional public parks in the Petrograd district

In the beginning of the 20th century in *Petrogradskaya storona* the traditional public parks, similar to Summer Garden in the city center, existed. To understand better the novelty of the modern parks situated on the territory, it is important to analyze the particular features of the old ones. The largest of them were Petrovskiy park on Petrovskiy island, where several

¹⁹² Y. Alyanskiy, *Uveselitelnye zavedeniya starogo Peterburga* [Entertainment Organizations of Ancient St. Petersburg], St. Petersburg, 1996, p. 18.

¹⁹³ *Ves Peterburg* [All St. Petersburg], address book, St. Petersburg, 1913, p. 142.

industrial enterprises were located; and Elagin and Krestovskiy parks on Elagin and Krestovskiy islands respectively, the fashionable parts of St. Petersburg with dachas of the rich people.

These parks, which were located in the outskirts of the district, on the territory where representatives of particular social groups lived, catered primarily to them. For instance, the target audience of the Petrovskiy Park was primarily the workers and peasants who lived near it and worked in the factories; those who visited the Elagin and Krestovskiy parks were high and middle bourgeoisie and rich intelligentsia who had countryside houses there or were coming to see their friends.

Such a division of social groups was reflected in the the meaning of these public places and the events that occurred there. For instance, the Petrovskiy Park was reconstructed in 1899 through the private initiative of the Society for the People's Sobriety specially for common people.¹⁹⁴ It proposed simple entertainment events and attractions for its visitors, with low prices or for free. In most cases, like in booths, traditional Russian entertainments could be found there.

Sofia Smirnova-Sazonova, the wife of the theatre director Nicolas Sazonov, describes one such attraction: "A novelty was used in the Petrovskiy Park: a mountain from which the people ride in boats directly to the water in the pond [predecessor of contemporary aquapark.] The attraction was very popular among simple people because it was rather cheap and during big holidays even free [my translation.]"¹⁹⁵ In the newspapers the announcement about the work of the skateboard and ice mountains are found.¹⁹⁶ Besides these attractions, there were several pavilions, stage for shows, stalls for selling of soft drinks and play grounds in the park.¹⁹⁷

Nevertheless, events were held there not every day, but during large holidays. For instance, a newspaper describes a show on New Year's eve: "In the middle of the square one can find a giant fir tree with electrical lights, located on the ice tower. Roundabouts, swings, a roller coaster, music, acrobats, clowns, riding dogs and deer, skiing – it is not even possible to list all the attractions [my translation.]"¹⁹⁸

In summer, shows that described heroic events of Russian history or were connected with folklore were held: "Multiple spectators could see brilliant pictures from the epoch of

¹⁹⁴ I. Petrovskaya, *Teatr i zritel* cit., p. 79.

¹⁹⁵ S. Smirnova-Sazonova, *Dnevnik* cit., 8 September, 1900.

¹⁹⁶ "Peterburgskiy listok" [Sheet of St. Petersburg], 30 December 1908.

¹⁹⁷ S. Smirnova-Sazonova, *Dnevnik* cit., 8 September, 1900.

¹⁹⁸ "Peterburgskiy listok" [Sheet of St. Petersburg], 29 December 1902.

Tsar Ivan IV. The bogatyr Ermak Timofeevitch was fighting against the khan Kuchum, and then gave the tsar the keys from Siberia [the popular story of Russian epos] [my translation.]” The journalist paid attention to the high quality of the performance and its decorations, as well as the technical novelties used in the show.¹⁹⁹ On typical days the events in the park were rather modest, and the rules for behaviour and service were also simplified and aimed at the tastes and demands of the most common people.²⁰⁰

Consequently, the Petrovskiy Park was a modernized version of the booths on *Maslenitsa* that are analysed above, with innovations used to organize shows and with more frequent, but not daily performances. These events and attractions had entertainment functions and were closely connected to those traditional for Russian common people.

Therefore, the Petrovskiy Park carried the image of a public place aimed at the poor citizens of the Petrograd district and in most cases it was uninteresting to the inhabitants of other social groups. It could not match the demand in public places that had permanent events available and interesting for different social groups.

Regarding the Elagin and Krestovskiy Parks, which were situated in the rich countryside of the district, they were, in contrast, aimed at the high social groups of both *Petrogradskaya storona* and the central areas of St. Petersburg. The most fashionable occupation among the *bohemiens* and rich bourgeoisie in the Elagin Park was to behold the Gulf of Finland at the sunset or sunrise.²⁰¹

This tradition was connected with the nightlife of the rich citizens of St. Petersburg. Dmitriy Likhachev describes the *noctambulisme* of the *beau monde* of the city: “In summer the *boheme* went to bed early in the morning, after watching the sunrise on Elagin Island; the nearby restaurants were full of people every night [my translation.]”²⁰²

In summer the so-called *corso* were held: beautiful equipages, and later automobiles, with well-dressed citizens rode around the island. This event was connected with the tradition of the *carrousel* of the knights, which highlights its aristocratic character.²⁰³ A newspaper describes the character of such an amusement: “Today the Elagin Park was full of fashionable citizens due to a special event held there –decorated automobile races, with luxurious prizes for the winners.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 18 July 1911.

²⁰⁰ S. Smirnova-Sazonova, *Dnevnik* cit., 15 of September, 1900.

²⁰¹ D. Zasosov, V. Pyzin, *Iz zhizni Peterburga* cit., p. 193.

²⁰² D. Likhachev, *Vospominaniya* cit., p.127.

²⁰³ D. Zasosov, V. Pyzin, *Iz zhizni Peterburga* cit., p. 196.

The spectators were brilliant guardian officers and aristocratic ladies who walked along the roads of the park. The competition was accompanied by a symphonic orchestra; afterwards, fireworks and illuminations were held [my translation.]”²⁰⁴ Consequently, the target audience of these events was the wealthy, and the main meaning of these public places was their vanity fair.

A similar activity was proposed for visitors of the Krestovskiy Garden, another fashionable public place of the Petrograd district. In theatres with large and small stages, cinema houses, and restaurants, different entertainment events were held: the women’s wrestling championship, balls and masquerades, so-called live pictures and exhibitions of women [the predecessor of beauty competitions.]²⁰⁵

A gypsy chorus, a necessary component of the *dolce vita* of the *bohemiens* of St. Petersburg, also performed there. Mstislav Dobuzhinskiy writes that he, together with his friends, representatives of golden youth, sat till late in the night in the Krestovskiy Park restaurants listening to the gypsies.²⁰⁶ The park’s restaurants had comfortable cabinets with exotic plants and good cuisine, and were called the most European *cafés chantant* of St. Petersburg.²⁰⁷

Consequently, the Elagin and Krestovskiy parks were similar to the Summer Garden in the centre of St. Petersburg in terms of their influencers, events and target audience. They were perceived by the citizens of St. Petersburg as luxurious places with amenities for the wealthy and *bohemiens*.

Therefore, in the suburbs of the Petrograd district, public places aimed at particular social groups existed; these public places provided them with the possibility to take part in entertainment events connected with their viewpoints. On the other hand, in the Petrograd district, there was a strong demand for public gardens aimed at representatives of different social groups, with not only entertainment, but also educational events. This demand was fulfilled in the central-district locations of Alexandrovskiy park and Zoological garden, the most popular public places in *Petrogradskaya storona*. The detailed analysis of their activity, built form and meaning could be found below.

²⁰⁴ “*Peterburgskiy listok*” [Sheet of St. Petersburg], 27 May 1903.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 26 June 1908.

²⁰⁶ M. Dobuzhinskiy, *Vospominaniya* cit., p. 125.

²⁰⁷ “*Peterburgskiy listok*” [Sheet of St. Petersburg], 13 July 1911.

Predecessors of the modern theatres of Petrograd district

The principal cause of the popularity of Alexandrovskiy park and Zoological garden was the presence there the theatres, available to different social strata, and primarily for common people - People's House (Drama Theatre) and Opera Theatre in Alexandrovskiy park, and the winter and summer theatres in the Zoo garden. Their success is explained by the fact that they were the first large public places of such type in the city.

Nevertheless, the idea of creation of public theatres accessible for different groups of population appeared before the creation of People's House and the theatres of Zoological Garden. The analysis of the predecessors of these public places helps to understand better their particularities and the reasons for their successful functioning.

In the end of the 19th century, several theatres were created in the outlying areas of the city, near the enterprises. They are considered the predecessors of those in *Petrogradskaya storona*. In order to understand the qualities and the principal innovations of the People's House and the theatres of Zoological garden, it is necessary to analyse the main components of these suburban theatres.

The first one was founded in 1887 on Vasilievskiy island. Its economic and political actors were the owners of enterprises and the intelligentsia who worked in them. From the beginning of 1894, it was supervised by the Society of Cheap Canteens and Tea Rooms²⁰⁸ Therefore, in a way that echoes the development of public places in the Petrograd district, it was private initiative rather than state governance that principally drove the creation and development of this theatre.

This public place was rather popular: all of its 700 places were full, especially during the weekends; the number of garden visitors near it reached 10,000 in summertime.²⁰⁹ Event participants were primarily workers; on weekends, servants and peasants from nearby areas also came to this public place. An inhabitant of Vasilievskiy island, the son of high-qualified worker, Boris Filippov highlights the demotic peasant clothes of the visitors of the theatre.²¹⁰

On the other hand, the students - pupils of gymnasium and functionaries - seldom went to watch plays there. Dmitriy Likhachev, a representative of the intelligentsia, writes that Vasilievskiy Island was perceived as a place without theatres by people of his social group²¹¹ The reason for such an attitude was the inconvenient location of the public place: it was situated in the suburbs, and was aimed only at the workers of the nearest enterprise.

²⁰⁸ I. Petrovskaya, *Teatr i zritel* cit., p. 82.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

²¹⁰ B. Filippov, *Zapiski domovogo* cit., p. 68.

²¹¹ D. Likhachev, *Vospominaniya* cit., p. 152.

Another cause of the theatre's unpopularity among upper social classes was its repertoire - Russian and foreign melodramas and plays of everyday life - which was uninteresting for educated social classes. An enlightenment function was not characteristic for such a type of public place; serious plays were not held there.

The proclaimed purpose of the theatre was not to educate, but primarily to prevent the common people from drinking and smoking during the evenings and weekends by providing them with simple entertainment events.²¹² Therefore, the target audience of this public place was the workers living in the suburbs, and it was not important for other social groups and for the cultural life of the district and city.

In the last years of the 19th century, the situation with theatres available for low social groups began to change. In 1891, the charity organization Nevskoye Society of Entertainment for Common People created a theatre near the porcelain factory in the *Krasnoe selo* district, in the suburbs of St. Petersburg.²¹³ The theatre operated every winter till 1906. This public place was primarily aimed at the workers living on this territory, where more than 30 industrial enterprises were situated.

The theatre was also created due to private initiative, but the principal distinctive feature of the one on Vasilievskiy island was the participation of the professional actors in the plays. The repertoire was also different, with a focus on serious Russian and foreign dramas (William Shakespeare, Jean-Baptiste Moliere, Friedrich Schiller, Nikolas Gogol, Alexander Ostrovskiy).²¹⁴ Moreover, contemporaries affirmed that the quality of the plays and acting was higher than in the above-mentioned theatre on Vasilievskiy island.²¹⁵ Consequently, the entertainment events that were traditional for the theatres for common people (booths, etc), were supplemented by educational ones. A combination of these functions appeared for the first time in this type of public place. The purpose of this mixture was to replace "the old-fashioned Russian festivals with their drunk spontaneity with new, progressive educational and entertainment forms of leisure [my translation.]"²¹⁶

The low prices for these theatre shows (350 places cost more than 20 kopecks, 150 places cost 20 kopecks; 200 places cost less than 20 kopecks) made them accessible to low social groups.²¹⁷ The combination of educational and entertainment functions was also aimed

²¹² I. Petrovskaya, *Teatr i zritel* cit., p. 112

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

²¹⁴ I. Petrovskaya, *Teatr i zritel* cit., p. 128.

²¹⁵ S. Smirnova-Sazonova, *Dnevnik* cit., 18 October, 1896.

²¹⁶ A. Konechniy, *Peterburgskie balagany* cit., 129.

²¹⁷ *Nedelya* [Week], 1896, 32, p. 167.

primarily at poor workers and peasants. On the other hand, the high quality of the performances was considered an attraction for representatives of upper social groups as well.²¹⁸

Nevertheless, statistics testify that the principal audience of this public place (more than 80 % of visitors) consisted of common people. Regarding other social classes - intelligentsia and middle and low bourgeoisie - in most cases, they did not often visit this theatre, in spite of the high quality of the plays and actors there. The reasons were the inconvenient location, rather small size, and plain architecture of the theatre.²¹⁹

Therefore, the intention of the political and economic actors of the theatre was to ensure that the mutual leisure of representatives of different social groups was not fulfilled. Moreover, because of the temporary character of the performances held (only during wintertime), it could not satisfy the common peoples' need for leisure activities with educational and entertainment functions all year long.

Consequently, before the urban development of the Petrograd district, there were other attempts to organize the public places aimed at the common leisure of representatives of different social groups. Examples are suburban winter theatres available for both common people and upper social classes. Nevertheless, in most cases, these public places did not function properly or achieve their goals.

The reason for this failure was the nature of the proposed events (simple pieces for entertainment in the case of the theatre on Vasilievskiy island), limited time of operation, small size and inconvenient location. Due to these features, the above-analysed public places were unable to organize any permanent mutual leisure activities for diverse social groups, which were required by the growing population of the city. This demand was fully realized for the first time in Russia in the Alexandrovskiy park and Zoological garden and their theatres, as well as in the cinema houses and sports grounds that were situated in the Petrograd district. These are investigated in detail in the next part of this chapter.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

²¹⁹ I. Petrovskaya, *Teatr i zritel* cit., p. 132.

Analysis of the main components and particular features of public places in the Petrograd district

Activity in public places of the Petrograd district. Influencers and participants of events.

Applying the classification of David Canter and John Montgomery, it is necessary to start this study of public places with an analysis of the details of their activities. Foremost, it is important to examine different types of actors who influenced this activity. As was mentioned, economic actors (developers and investors) and concurrently the owners of public places in the Petrograd district, were primarily private persons and charity organizations.

For instance, the Zoological garden was renovated by businessman Ernest Rost in the end of the 19th century and by entrepreneur Semen Novikov in the beginning of the 20th century.²²⁰ The Garden Aquarium was created by merchant Georgiy Alexandrov; the Theatre of Vera Nemetti was opened by entrepreneur Vera Nemetti; the Alexandrovskiy park was created by the charity organization Guardian of the People's Sobriety, headed by Prince Alexander Oldenburg and consisting of entrepreneurs, landowners, and actors.²²¹ Consequently, some public places of the Petrograd district were profit-making (the Garden Aquarium, Theatre of Vera Nemetti, and Zoological garden); the most important one, the Alexandrovskiy park, with all its theatres and attractions, was based on charity.

The situation with economic actors of cinema houses in the Petrograd district was unusual for St. Petersburg in that time. The majority of movie theatres were opened by landlords or inhabitants of tenement houses in particular flats. In the newspapers of the time, announcements about the sale of the cinematograph could be found,²²² which was usual for small stores, but exceptional for creative businesses, which were traditionally owned by large firms and corporations in the centre of St. Petersburg. This fact aligns with a particular feature of public places in the cultural district, specified by John Montgomery: the strength of the small-firm economy, including creative businesses.²²³

Political actor of public places was the City Council, the main organ of the government of St. Petersburg; in the case of large projects (the opening of the People's House and Opera Theatre in the Alexandrovskiy park) the resolution of the Ministry of Finance was

²²⁰ E. Denisenko *Ot zverintsev k zooparku: Istoriya leningradskogo zooparka* [From Menagerie to the Zoo. History of Leningrad Zoo], St. Petersburg, 2003, p. 12.

²²¹ Y. Alyanskiy, *Uveselitelnye zavedeniya starogo cit.*, p. 51.

²²² For instance see the newspaper "*Peterburgskiy listok*" [Sheet of St. Petersburg], 20 July 1911, announcement about the cinematograph situated by address Bolshoy prospect, 48-8.

²²³ J. Montgomery *Cultural Quarters* cit., p. 295.

also necessary. In most cases, permission and confirmation of ready plans were nominal procedures without any discussion, analysis or corrections, which proves the priority of private initiative in the creation of public places.

Professionals who influenced the public places of the Petrograd district, hired primarily by owners or by the heads of charity organizations, were talented directors and artists. The owners determined the direction of policies for performances (aimed at common people, or intelligentsia, etc.); they discussed them with the directors of the theatres who were in charge of the details of performances, formed them together with producers, and staged them with the help of artists and singers.

In most cases, performances combined the traditions of classical theatre and entertainment organizations for common people (booths etc.). This tendency is mostly evident in the history of the theatres of the Alexandrovskiy park. For instance, the head of the People's House drama theatre was Alexander Alekseev – Yakovlev, former director of the booths of St. Petersburg. In his work, he applied the traditions of farces in staging Russian and foreign classical plays, in order to adapt them for poorer people.²²⁴

The chief of the Opera House was Nicolay Figner, a former professional singer, who was a soloist in the Mariinskiy theatre. Together with director Alexander Sanin, a former actor and pupil of Konstantin Stanislavskiy, they tried to create a new type of psychological theatre on the stage of the Opera House of Alexandrovskiy park. In the theatre performed the best actors of the time, soloists of the Emperor's theatres: Fedor Shalyapin, working both as the singer and the director of the opera from 1913 to 1917; Leonid Sobinov, and Lubov Andreeva-Delmas.²²⁵

Their contemporaries noted the high quality of the staging and professionalism of actors who worked in the public places of the Petrograd district. For instance, the writer Sofia Smirnova-Sazonova, wife of Nicholas Sazonov, the director of the People's House of the Alexandrovskiy park, wrote that during the first performance of the opera in 1900, the spectators were sure that the show would be low-quality, and were surprised by the singers' talent.²²⁶ Consequently, economic and professional actors of public places of the Petrograd district were focused on creating a high standard for events that took place there.

When analyzing the activity of public places of St. Petersburg, it is important to mention a particular feature that was necessary for the public place of the cultural district,

²²⁴ I. Petrovskaya, *Teatr i zritel* cit., p.78.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.91.

²²⁶ S. Smirnova-Sazonova, *Dnevnik* [Diary], in: Archives of Institute of Russian Literature of Russian Academy of Science, 21 December, 1900.

defined by John Montgomery: the availability of cinemas, theatres, cafes, and other cultural places offering services of different kinds.²²⁷ As was mentioned above, the majority of public places in the area were accessible for all social groups. In his memoirs, actor Boris Filippov writes that the Alexandrovskiy park was a space where ladies with beautiful hats, officers, soldiers, students and workers could be seen.²²⁸

The Zoological garden was visited primarily by students and representatives of the intelligentsia;²²⁹ however, workers and peasants were not forbidden to enter there. (Fig. 9) The availability for different social groups was determined by the unrestricted atmosphere and absence of any dress code established by economic actors of public places. Consequently, the idea of common leisure and activities for representatives of different social groups was realized for the first time in Russia in *Petrogradskaya storona*. This particularity reflected social awareness as one of the focuses of the urban development of the area and corresponded to its special character as a socially mixed district.

A common reason for the appearance of such public places was a combination of offer and demand for them, which was determined by the social diversity of the population of *Petrogradskaya storona*. Demand was provoked by the majority of common people who needed new public places for leisure and educational activities. Offer was caused by the presence of charity organizations and rich people, who were ready to invest money, and creative intelligentsia (producers, architects) who wanted to realize their artistic projects. The existing simplified mechanism for confirming projects for new public places by the City Council allowed these offers and demands to be fulfilled.

Details of events in public places of the Petrograd district

Particular features of the public places of *Petrogradskaya storona* and events in them coincided with the characteristics of activity in the cultural district defined by John Montgomery. The scholar writes about the extent and variety of cultural venues and events²³⁰ that corresponded to the large number of public places in the Petrograd district, which proposed various types of events within single areas. For instance, the Alexandrovskiy park

²²⁷ J. Montgomery *Cultural Quarters* cit., p. 295.

²²⁸ B. Filippov, *Zapiski domovogo* [Memoirs of House-Spirit], Leningrad, 1983, p. 74.

²²⁹ I. Petrovskaya, *Teatr i zritel* cit., p. 97.

²³⁰ J. Montgomery *Cultural Quarters* cit., p. 295.

contained two theatres, outdoor attractions, sport grounds, a café, and a canteen.²³¹ The Zoological Garden there was a zoo, indoor and outdoor theaters, a skating rink, and a restaurant.²³² The territory of the Theatre of Vera Nemetti included winter and summer theatres, a park, and a restaurant.²³³

Another feature of the cultural district and the public places in it, stressed by John Montgomery, is the availability of spaces, including gardens and squares, for various activities like cultural enrichment programs and educational events.²³⁴ In the majority of public places within *Petrogradskaya storona*, both educational and entertainment events took place. As an example, the People's House of Alexandrovskiy Park was initially focused on the education of common people, as evidenced by the first performance that was held there: the opera "Life Given for the Tsar" by Mikhail Glinka.²³⁵

The tradition of educational events was continued by the staging of intellectual plays and novels by contemporary Russian authors, Alexander Ostrovskiy, Leo Tolstoy, Anton Chekhov and Maksim Gorkiy, as well as Russian and foreign classical pieces by Alexander Griboedov, Nicholas Gogol, William Shakespeare, and Friedrich Schiller. In his memoirs, the actor Boris Filippov writes with gratitude about the People's House where he, an adolescent from a family of workers, could see the best pieces of world theater.²³⁶

Within the Opera House, compositions by Giuseppe Verdi, Gioachino Rossini, Georges Bizet and Piotr Tchaikovskiy were staged. The large number of pieces about events in Russian and foreign history were held in order to acquaint the spectators with them.²³⁷ In the theatre of the Zoological Garden, the symphonic orchestra played highbrow classical music (Ludwig van Beethoven, Piotr Tchaikovskiy) and several foreign operas were staged there.²³⁸

Other events that occurred in the Alexandrovskiy Park were public lectures on various scientific topics, which were both educational and entertaining. An example of such infotainment was the lecture „Earthquake and Eruption,” which took place in the Hall of the

²³¹ A. Apsidov, *Metamorphozy Narodnogo Doma* [Metamorphosis of People's House], in: *Leningradskaya panorama*, 1983, 4, p. 34.

²³² E. Denisenko *Ot zverintsev k zooparku* cit., p. 17.

²³³ I. Petrovskaya, *Teatr i zritel* cit., p. 264.

²³⁴ J. Montgomery *Cultural Quarters* cit., p. 295.

²³⁵ A. Apsidov, *Metamorphozy Narodnogo* cit., p. 34.

²³⁶ B. Filippov, *Zapiski domovogo* cit., p. 56.

²³⁷ See in detail the announcements in the newspapers "Peterburgskiy listok" [Sheet of St. Petersburg], and "Peterburgskaya gazeta" [St. Petersburg newspaper] from 1906 to 1916.

²³⁸ "Peterburgskiy listok" [Sheet of St. Petersburg], 25 July 1908.

People's House in 1908.²³⁹ It's telling that on the walls of this Hall, a picture of the four parts of the world, a map of Russia, and a plan for St. Petersburg hang: they visually demonstrate the educational function of this public place.²⁴⁰

The above-mentioned examples prove that public parks in St. Petersburg - similarly to those in London, Stockholm, Helsinki - were a means of educating through entertainment and disciplining the new urban masses of common people into the world of respectable cultural values.²⁴¹ The high level of educational events also attracted representatives of higher social classes – intelligentsia and functionaries.

Another focus of the activity of public places in the Petrograd district was entertainment. Examples of such events are shows and plays on historical topics with multiple theatrical effects and colourful decorations, which were staged by director Alexander Yakovlev in the People's House (“Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea”, “In Search of the Castaways” by Jules Verne), and fantastical plays presented in the Zoological Garden.²⁴²

The entertaining qualities of the Petrograd district is illustrated by the various outdoor attractions (railways, roller coaster, shooting-ranges, carousels) in the Alexandrovskiy park (Fig. 10) and shows with gymnasts, illusionists and rope-walkers in the Zoological garden.²⁴³ Such events, as well as educational ones, were popular among both common people and the intelligentsia, adults and children. Contemporaries wrote that riding on roller coaster was the favourite amusement of the poet Alexander Blok.²⁴⁴ Animal performances, magicians and clowns, and extravaganzas with magnificent decorations in the Zoological garden are described in the memoirs of artist Mstislav Dobuzhinskiy, who saw them in his childhood.²⁴⁵

Public gardens were places in which multiple charity events took place. Notable are the free concerts and opera for fabric workers, in which Fedor Shalyapin (“Mermaid” by Alexander Dargomyzhskiy in 1914, “Boris Godunov” by Modest Musorgskiy in 1915) participated.²⁴⁶ It is also important to note the several official events that were free for all attendants: sailors of American squadron visited the Zoological Garden in 1914;²⁴⁷ there was also a dinner and holiday in honour of the low ranks of the English squadron, and dinner for

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 1908, 359, p. 2.

²⁴⁰ Apsidov, *Metamorphozy Narodnogo* cit., p. 35.

²⁴¹ H. Conway, *People's Parks*, in: F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950*, 1991, p. 42.

²⁴² I. Petrovskaya, *Teatr i zritel* cit., p. 266.

²⁴³ “*Peterburgskiy listok*” [Sheet of St. Petersburg], 6 August 1906.

²⁴⁴ G. Ivanov, *Peterburgskie zimy* [Winters in St. Petersburg], St. Petersburg, 1995, p. 81.

²⁴⁵ M. Dobuzhinskiy, *Vospominaniya* cit., p. 20.

²⁴⁶ “*Peterburgskaya gazeta*” [Newspaper of St/ Petersburg], 25 July 1914; *Ibid.*, 30 August 1915.

²⁴⁷ “*Peterburgskiy listok*” [Sheet of St. Petersburg], 27 April 1911.

the soldiers, chevaliers of the St. George's order in the Alexandrovskiy park in 1915.²⁴⁸ (Fig. 11)

John Montgomery defines patterns in the opening hours of the park, which included evening and night-time activities, an evening economy, and a cafe culture, which he considers necessary characteristics of cultural districts.²⁴⁹ The situation in *Petrogradskaya storona* corresponded to such requirements. Foremost, as was mentioned, cafes were located in the majority of public places in the analyzed district (the Alexandrovskiy Park, Zoological Garden, Garden Aquarium, and Theatre of Nemetti.)

The patterns in opening hours were distinguished by a variety of events that took place during the day, such as performances at 12 and 2 p.m. for children, and at 8 p.m. for adults in the theatres of the Alexandrovskiy Park; there was a day program for children (animal feedings, donkey rides) and evening performances for adults (shows and orchestras at 9 p.m. and midnight; festivals until 2 a.m. during the summer period, in the open section, and in the closed theatre in winter) in the Zoological Garden.²⁵⁰ Besides a variety of opening hours, public places in the Petrograd District boasted different events in the winter and summertime (skating rinks in the former and gymnastics in the latter).²⁵¹

Another important feature of events in public places, besides their diversity, was their availability to all social groups. This was caused by flexible price policies that were established by economic actors because of the public places' focus on people with both low and middle incomes. For instance, the prices of entrance tickets were rather cheap: 10 kopecks (1/100 of a rouble) for the Alexandrovskiy Park, with the right to occupy free standing seats in the theatres, and 10 kopecks for the dancing hall there; from 17 to 32 kopecks for the Zoological Garden and from 20 to 85 kopecks for the theatre in it.²⁵² For comparison, the average salary of the non-qualified worker was 70 kopecks per day; 0.5 kg of bread cost 3 kopecks; 10 eggs cost 30 kopecks.²⁵³ Moreover, in addition to these available prices, on weekends and holidays, special reduced and significantly reduced prices for paid seats in theater shows of the Alexandrovskiy Park were provided.²⁵⁴

Consequently, the variety and availability of events hosted by the public places of *Petrogradskaya storona* match the concept described by John Montgomery. Public places

²⁴⁸ D. Zasosov, V. Pyzin, *Iz zhizni Peterburga* cit., p. 281.

²⁴⁹ J. Montgomery *Cultural Quarters* cit., p. 295.

²⁵⁰ "Peterburgskiy listok" [Sheet of St. Petersburg], 27 April 1911.

²⁵¹ Apsidov, *Metamorphozy Narodnogo* cit., p. 36.

²⁵² *Ves Peterburg* cit., p. 95.

²⁵³ *Kratkiy svod statisticheskikh dannyh po gorodu Petrogradu*, cit., p. 38, 40.

²⁵⁴ "Peterburgskiy listok" [Sheet of St. Petersburg], 7 March 1912.

ensured the availability of various events for all inhabitants of the district at any time: in both winter and summer seasons; in the day and in the evening; for children and for adults; with indoor and outdoor activities; with entertainment and educational functions.

Hosted events, which were accompanied by flexible price policies an absence of dress codes, and casual atmosphere, were primarily targeted at common people; nevertheless, due to their diversity and high quality, they simultaneously attracted representatives of other social groups (intelligentsia, functionaries, middle bourgeoisie). Consequently, these events corresponded to the requirements of all inhabitants of the district, forming a new type of public place in *Petrogradskaya storona* that contrasted those in the centre of St. Petersburg and in the suburbs of the Petrograd district.

The built form of public places in the Petrograd District. Analysis of their location, architecture and interiors

The second element of public place that is defined by David Canter and must be analyzed is built form.²⁵⁵ John Montgomery writes about the permeability of streetscapes in the cultural district, which is important for its public places.²⁵⁶ Michel Bassand determines mobility (the possibility to easily reach and pass through) as a necessary characteristic of the built form of the public place.²⁵⁷ In *Petrogradskaya storona*, public places were located with special logic and harmoniously corresponded to the urban structure, ensuring their accessibility to inhabitants.

The perception of Kamennooostrovskiy and Bolshoy prospects as the principal routes of St. Petersburg is reflected in the memoirs of people living in the district and in rent notices for flats of that time. The location of these prospects is stressed as their main advantage. For instance, the house at Geslerovskiy lane, 6 is noted as well-located because it is five minutes walking-distance from the crossroads of the Kamennooostrovskiy and Bolshoy prospects.²⁵⁸

The perception of analyzed public places as important nodes of the district is demonstrated by the rent notices for flats in the district. For instance, in the announcement for flats in the house at Belozerskaya street, 24, the neighborhood of the People's House and

²⁵⁵ D. Canter, *The Psychology of Place* cit., p. 39.

²⁵⁶ J. Montgomery *Cultural Quarters* cit., p. 295.

²⁵⁷ M. Bassand, *Cités*, cit., p. 210.

²⁵⁸ “*Peteburgskaya gazeta*” [Newspaper of St. Petersburg], 27 September 1911.

Sytniy Market is highlighted.²⁵⁹ The convenient location of the building at Zverinskaya street, 40 is confirmed by its proximity to the Zoological Garden.²⁶⁰

By their nature, public places divided the district into several parts: an area of public gardens – the Alexandrovskiy Park, Zoological Garden and Garden Aquarium (the beginning of *Petrogradskaya storona*, from the Trinity bridge and the bank of the Neva River till the Kamennooostrovskiy prospect, the main highway of the district); an area of cinema houses (the Bolshoy prospect, the second important road); an area of restaurants and sport grounds (from the beginning to the middle of Kamennooostrovskiy prospect.) (Fig. 12) The location allowed the inhabitants of the district and the city in general to choose an appropriate public place and event without wasting time.

Moreover, public places were perceived by inhabitants as important elements of urban structure, and therefore were easily located. Applying the concept and terms of Kevin Lynch,²⁶¹ the Alexandrovskiy Park, Garden Aquarium and Zoological garden were seen as the main nodes of the district, which was reflected in the rent notices for flats, where they were mentioned as landmarks.²⁶² The frontiers of the above-mentioned gardens served as an edge or dividing zone between public places and living areas of the district.

Other public places of *Petrogradskaya storona* were situated on the streets that were perceived as the main paths of the district, such as the cinema houses on Bolshoy Prospect, the Circus Modern, and the Sporting Palace on the Kamennooostrovskiy Prospect, which also made them easier to find. In addition, such locations ensured accessibility to visitors due to the presence of necessary infrastructure, foremost tramway lines, and the proximity of the Trinity bridge, which served as a connection to the whole city, and was used by the dwellers from other districts.

The economic actors guaranteed the accessibility of these public places not only by locating them in the centre of the district, but also by providing supplementary means of transport. For instance, the proprietors of the Alexandrovskiy Park lobbied and partly sponsored the construction of the new tramway line *Vvedenskaya*, which was laid near the entrance to the public place. In addition, they put in special garages with their own wagons for

²⁵⁹ “*Peteburgskaya gazeta*” [Newspaper of St. Petersburg], 05 September 1911.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 09 September 1911.

²⁶¹ K.Lynch, *The Image of the City* cit., p. 47.

²⁶² See the announcements in the newspapers “*Peterburgskaya gazeta*” [Newspaper of St. Petersburg]. 10 August 1911 Zverinskaya street, near Zoological garden; *Ibid.*, 13 July 1910, near Alexandrovskiy park; 17 July 1910, near Garden Aquarium.

the park, which were used after the ends of late-evening performances to carry the visitors, common people, who did not have money for cabs.²⁶³

Such concern for event participants demonstrates the social focus and increase in comfort - most notable in the provision of nighttime security - which were important trends in the development of public places in the Petrograd District. The provision of special transport by parks and gardens in the beginning of the 20th century could be seen as a prototype for the practice of contemporary trade centers and reveals modernity as the main feature of the organization of public places of *Petrogradskaya storona*.

John Montgomery emphasizes that the variety and adaptability of built forms are another important feature of public places in the cultural district.²⁶⁴ This detail coincides with architecture as a significant component of public place as defined by Michel Bassand.²⁶⁵ The architecture of public places of *Petrogradskaya storona* was characterized by a combination of various *art nouveau* buildings with modern infrastructure and innovative equipment that was suited for various events.

The best example is the Alexandrovskiy Park, in which the People's House, a multifunctional complex with educational and entertainment functions (including a drama theatre with 3000 seats, lecture hall, dancing hall, and canteen), and the Opera House, with 2700 seats, were situated.²⁶⁶ These buildings were constructed with modern technologies and infrastructure. For instance, the People's House, created by professor of architecture Alexander Pomerantsev in 1900, was built from steel and iron, and had a large glass dome; such materials and techniques were used for the first time in Russian architecture.²⁶⁷ (Fig. 13) Concerning the equipment of public places, Sofia Smirnova-Sazonova, wife of the director of People's House, writes that the mayor of St. Petersburg was impressed by the technical possibilities of the theatre, which were demonstrated to him by her husband.²⁶⁸

In 1911, the architect Grigoriy Lutsedarskiy constructed the second building in the Alexandrovskiy park, the Opera House. It had a ferro-concrete dome that was the largest in Europe, a hall and stage larger than those of the Mariinskiy theatre, modern theatre machinery, lighting and decorations, and its own heating and ventilation.²⁶⁹ The founders

²⁶³ "Peterburgskiy listok" [Sheet of St. Petersburg], 16 October 1911.

²⁶⁴ J. Montgomery *Cultural Quarters* cit., p. 295.

²⁶⁵ M. Bassand, *Cités*, cit., p. 219.

²⁶⁶ Apsidov, *Metamorphozy Narodnogo* cit., p. 36.

²⁶⁷ B. Kirikov, *Architektura peterburgskogo moderna. Obschestvennye zdaniya*. [Architecture of Art Nouveau of St. Petersburg. Public Spaces], St. Petersburg, 2011, p. 311.

²⁶⁸ S. Smirnova-Sazonova, *Dnevnik* cit., 8 February, 1900.

²⁶⁹ "Peterburgskaya gazeta" [Newspaper of St. Petersburg], 11 November 1911.

focused on the large public and therefore constructed spacious buildings; they did not just copy western models, but adapted them to the social issues of the Petrograd district: wide galleries on the each side of the hall were intended for free and low-cost seats. Consequently, the buildings assigned for the leisure of common people by their architectural and technical parameters were the best among theatres in Russia and equal to the largest ones in Europe. This fact testifies to the social focus of the public places of the Petrograd district.

The modern architecture and infrastructure was typical not only for ambitious projects like the theatres of the Alexandrovskiy Park, but also for small public places like the Theatre of Vera Nemetti. In 1903, the architect Andrey Montag constructed a new type of the building that combined winter and summer theatres, as well as a restaurant and dressing-rooms, under one roof.²⁷⁰ Such a practical and economical project was chosen in order to reduce expenses and ensure the commercial success of the enterprise.²⁷¹

The modern architectural style of the Austrian secession, which was used by the builder, was combined with modern infrastructure – it has its own boiler room and electrical station. Due to the private initiative of Andrey Montag and the proprietor Vera Nemetti, a new, rationalistic idea for entertaining public places was conceived. It was characterized by functionality and the possibility of adapting the areas. Scholars write that this building sparked the development of Soviet Constructivism: the plan for the Theatre of Vera Nemetti is similar to the project of the Working Club developed by architects Alexander, Viktor and Leonid Vesniny (1932).²⁷²

The architectural details analyzed above demonstrate that primacy of private initiative - not state, but personal projects of architects and developers - social focus, comfort, and modernity (such as modern architectural styles and infrastructure, which foretold future projects) were the main developmental trends of public places in the Petrograd district.

The meaning and image of public places in the Petrograd district

David Canter writes that the last important element of public place is its meaning.²⁷³ John Montgomery argues that public places represent particular memories and identity and form an image of themselves for their users and citizens. They create this image with the help

²⁷⁰ *Zodchiy* [Architect], 1904, 40, p. 444 – 445.

²⁷¹ B. Kirikov, *Architektura peterburgskogo moderna. Obschestvennye zdaniya* cit., p. 349.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 352.

²⁷³ D. Canter, *The Psychology of Place* cit., p. 39.

of two other components – the activities that take place there, and their built form, most notably architecture.²⁷⁴

According to John Montgomery, the necessary characteristic of the meaning of public places is their perception as important meeting and gathering spaces, and their inhabitants' knowledge of them. Statistics prove that the public places of *Petrogradskaya storona* were popular among inhabitants of the district. For instance, in the Alexandrovskiy park in 1903, 10,000 visitors per day were noted, and in the Zoological Garden and Garden Aquarium, there were 6000 and 1500 visitors respectively.²⁷⁵ Over time, the amount increased: during two festive days, June 2nd and 1st 1916, there were 133,000 people in the Alexandrovskiy park, and in Zoological garden, 51,000.²⁷⁶ These green areas are mentioned in the memoirs of people of different social groups and ages as meeting places, which yet again testifies to their popularity.²⁷⁷

Another element of their meaning, defined by John Montgomery, is a sense of history and a sense of progress.²⁷⁸ The first component was not typical for public places of the Petrograd district since they were recently constructed; the second one corresponded to the meaning of these public places for several reasons. Firstly, it was because of the activities that occurred there: the Garden Aquarium was the place where Russian cinema's first seance took place; the Bolshoy Prospect remained the street for movie houses till Soviet era. The cafes of the Petrograd district used foreign examples in the organization of events: in the memoirs of contemporaries, the restaurant of the Garden Aquarium is called the most European *café chantant* in St. Petersburg.²⁷⁹

The second reason of this sense of progress, connected with the meaning of public places, was their up-to-date construction and infrastructure. The architectural details of the buildings of public places, primarily the theatres of the Alexandrovskiy Park, were connected with another characteristic of their meaning that is mentioned by John Montgomery, an appreciation of design and style.

²⁷⁴ J. Montgomery *Cultural Quarters* cit., p. 301.

²⁷⁵ P. Nikitin, *Peterburg nochyu* [St. Petersburg at Night], St. Petersburg, 1903, p. 100.

²⁷⁶ "Peterburgskaya gazeta" [Newspaper of St. Peterburg], 20 June 1916.

²⁷⁷ See the memoirs of Alexander Blok (intelligentsia, adult), Mstislav Dobuzhinskiy (intelligentsia, student and child), Dmitry Likhachev (Intelligentsia, gymnasia pupil), Boris Filippov (workers, adolescent), all dwellers of Petrograd district.

²⁷⁸ J. Montgomery *Cultural Quarters* cit., p. 295.

²⁷⁹ G. Ivanov *Peterburgskie* cit., p. 127.

The scholar argues that the most important element of the meaning of public places is their identity and perception by inhabitants.²⁸⁰ Due to the socially mixed target audience and the various events proposed by certain public places, they had multifaceted images in the minds of inhabitants. For instance, the Zoological Garden is described by Mstislav Dobuzhinskiy as an ideal place for children, with interesting shows and attractions.²⁸¹ When he visited the restaurant as a student, he perceived it as a rather cheap but fashionable place available during the holidays, in contrast to the restaurant in the Garden Aquarium, an area for men-about-town and gilded youth.²⁸² For pupils of the gymnasium, evening shows in the theatre of the Zoological Garden were forbidden, and therefore were seen as having bad reputations.²⁸³

The plays in theatres of the Alexandrinskiy Park also had different images among the various social groups of the district. For instance, Dmitry Likhachev, a gymnasium student, perceived them as interesting but rather usual events.²⁸⁴ Meanwhile, Boris Filippov, a working-class adolescent, thought them a wonderful opportunity for seeing the best pieces of world theater for free.²⁸⁵

Regarding the perception of intelligentsia on the whole, the director's wife Sofia Smirnova-Sazonova wrote that in the beginning it was indulgent, but later, due to the high quality of professional actors, the plays became seen as interesting and noteworthy,²⁸⁶ which increased the number of visits from the intelligentsia.

The attractions in the Alexandrovskiy Park were seen as marvelous entertainment by workers,²⁸⁷ and as a way to relax after intellectual and creative work by the intelligentsia.²⁸⁸ Consequently, public places and the events taking place there met the requirements of various social groups. Moreover, in spite of their differing perceptions of events, representatives of different social groups noted the free, liberal atmosphere as an important quality of public places, which can therefore be noted as the main feature of their identity, which corresponded to the qualities of the district they were situated in.

In the memoirs of inhabitants of *Petrogradskaya storona* and in the newspapers of the time, it is possible to find a contrast between public places in the Petrograd district and those

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 295.

²⁸¹ M. Dobuzhinskiy, *Vospominaniya* cit., p. 92.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 94.

²⁸³ D. Zasosov, V. Pyzin, *Iz zhizni Peterburga* cit., p. 49.

²⁸⁴ D. Likhachev, *Vospominaniya* cit., p.106.

²⁸⁵ B. Filippov, *Zapiski domovogo* cit., p. 74.

²⁸⁶ S. Smirnova-Sazonova, *Dnevnik* cit., 10 March 1900.

²⁸⁷ B. Filippov, *Zapiski domovogo* cit., p. 59.

²⁸⁸ A. Blok, *Zapisnye knizki* [Notebooks], St. Petersburg, 1997, p. 149.

situated in the centre. For instance, Dmitriy Likhachev compared cinema houses on the Bolshoy Prospect - with their availability to all social groups, low prices and simple interiors - and movie theatres on the Nevskiy Prospect, which were characterized by expensiveness, luxury decorations and man-servants in liveries.²⁸⁹

In critical reviews, the Theatre of Vera Nemetti was also contrasted to the Alexandrinskiy and Mariinskiy theatres due to its varied repertoire, which consisted of both classical and contemporary plays that mostly dealt with social issues, and due to its availability to different social groups and supportive reaction of the auditorium.²⁹⁰

Consequently, the meaning of public places of the Petrograd district for its inhabitants was characterized by the following features: important meeting and gathering spaces with interesting events, a sense of progress and contemporaneity, a modern architectural style, accessibility, and a liberal atmosphere. It is important that public places matched the requirements and identities of the majority of the inhabitants of the area.

Public places formed a reputation not only for themselves, but also for *Petrogradskaya storona* as a whole, as an important part of the cultural district. Due to them, it was perceived by the inhabitants of St. Petersburg as a modern, socially aware area (which was reflected in the social sensitivity of several public places). *Petrogradskaya storona* was also seen as a place that was open to innovations and new trends in architecture and culture (represented by the built form of public places), and to the use of private initiative (the developers and investors of the majority of public places there were private persons).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I investigate the particularities of public places in *Petrogradskaya storona* in the beginning of the 20th century. It is important to analyze this topic since the creation of public places was one of the directions of urban development of the quarter: it turned it from an abandoned area into a prosperous cultural district. It is necessary to understand the peculiarities of public places, the causes of their creation, and their role in the transformation of *Petrogradskaya storona*.

During this analysis I apply the concepts of David Canter, John Montgomery and Michel Bassand, who defined the following elements of public places: activity, foremost actors, events, atmosphere and régime; built form, primarily location in the district and

²⁸⁹ D. Likhachev, *Vospominaniya* cit., p. 114.

²⁹⁰ N. Tamarin, *Peterburgskiy teatr* [Theatre in St. Petersburg], in: *Teatr i Iskusstvo*, 1907, 40, p. 646.

architecture; and meaning, the ways in which public places were perceived by dwellers, and the image of *Petrogradskaya storona*, which they formed in St. Petersburg.

After the investigation of the public places, I conclude that the particular features of their creation and function reflected the main tendencies of the urban development of the Petrograd district and its image in St. Petersburg as a whole: primacy of private initiative; availability for representatives of all social strata and social orientation; use of modern architecture and innovations designed to increase comfort.

The impact of the foundation of public places was a combination of offers and demands for them based in different social layers of the population of *Petrogradskaya storona*. Created due to their mutual activity, public places corresponded to their identity, which was one of the reasons for their successful development. The second cause was the perception of public places as an integral part of the district and as an important meeting space characterized by availability, contemporaneity, modern architectural style, and a free atmosphere.

Public places likewise formed a positive image of *Petrogradskaya storona* as a progressive, socially-oriented area, created the possibility to use private initiative and innovations, and opened access to modern trends in architecture and culture. This successful example of the creation and function of public places as the crucial direction of transformation of *Petrogradskaya storona* in the beginning of the 20th century could be applied in contemporary urban development of the district and the city as a whole.

Thesis' Conclusion

The reconstruction of *Petrogradskaya storona* in the beginning of the 20th century influenced all the district's urban processes and provided the citizens of the area with modern infrastructure and spaces for living (new tenement houses), and allowed for the realization of their leisure activities (modern public places). The urban development of the territory in this period was successful: in 10-15 years, *Petrogradskaya storona* became a prosperous territory with diverse profiles: residential, industrial, cultural and scientific. This division corresponded to the social heterogeneity of the district (it consisted of intelligentsia, primarily scientists and artists; middle and low bourgeoisie; and high and low-qualified workers).

The research attempts to make a complex analysis of the urban development of *Petrogradskaya storona* in the beginning of the 20th century. The originality of the thesis is demonstrated by the absence of any works dedicated to the investigation of the urban development of this area in all contexts. There are several books that analyze a particular focuses of urban development: the creation of modern infrastructure and commodities in tenement houses; the architecture of the Petrograd district; specific features of the operation of public places and of the events held there.

In my work, I use factual information contained in research materials, and data from the memoirs and diaries of citizens of the district in the beginning of the 20th century, in order to determine the common prerequisites for and particular features of all the above-mentioned aspects of the district's urban development, and the reasons for its success. The purpose of such an investigation is to understand the mechanism of the territory's reconstruction and to apply its example in the future. Due to my analysis of available information, I define the following as preconditions for the urban development of *Petrogradskaya storona*: the mass migration to St. Petersburg, primarily of common people, which provoked a flat deficit; the presence of unconstructed areas in the district, and the construction of the Troitskiy bridge as its link with the city centre.

During the process of the reconstruction of *Petrogradskaya storona*, for the first time in St. Petersburg, the private initiative of citizens prevailed over the activity of municipal organizations, and this was the principal cause of its success. Engineers and architects drafted plans for urban development and infrastructural projects, developed modern prototypes for tenement houses and public places; theatre directors created and actors realized new kinds of events there; landlords, charity men, and developers sponsored the construction of new buildings and the implementation of infrastructure.

The people who initiated and fulfilled these different urban processes were the inhabitants of the district, and consequently they knew well the needs of the inhabitants of different social groups, and tried to meet them in their activities. In a like manner, the creation of new tenement houses and public places available for different social groups, that resided in the district, aimed to overcome the deficit of living space and places for leisure and social activities with entertainment and educational events. The target audience of these projects was both common people and upper social groups, which together formed the socially-mixed population of the district.

On the other hand, the correspondence of realized urban projects to the requirements of the majority of the inhabitants ensured a strong demand for them, and therefore made them profitable for their creators, what stimulated continued use of the individual projects of businessmen, developers, and architects, who helped to reconstruct the area. Consequently, a primacy of private initiative and social sensitivity were the main tendencies of the district's urban development: they ensured its success and helped to turn *Petrogradskaya storona* into a prosperous district of the city.

Other common features of this urban development are the increase in the comfort of the buildings and the appliance of modern architecture and innovations to ensure it. Examples of these tendencies include the use of improved planning and new commodities in the interiors and yards of the tenement houses, and the implementation of modern technologies in theatres and other public places of the area. Such qualities made the Petrograd district a comfortable area to live and enjoy leisure activities in, and caused an increase in the quantity of both educated social groups and common people living or spending free time there.

Therefore, due to the above-mentioned qualities of urban development, the image of *Petrogradskaya storona* has changed. Since it provided appropriate conditions for accommodation, interesting and accessible leisure possibilities, and opportunities for profitable investments in different spheres of life, it was perceived by inhabitants as the most modern part of the city. Such perceptions provoked the continued growth of the population of the district, a building boom connected with it, and the increase in investments, what made *Petrogradskaya storona* the most developed part of St. Petersburg in the beginning of the 20th century.

The successful example of the urban development of the area should be applied in contemporary city. The Petrograd district in the beginning of the 21st century has demands similar to those it had a century ago: the construction of houses with basic commodities and the creation of public places with educational and entertainment events, available for different

groups of the population. Because of the inactivity of the municipal government and the lack of the money in the city budget, which also echoes the situation in the beginning of the 20th century, these requirements remained unfulfilled.

One of the means for organizing the urban development of the contemporary district is the stimulation of private initiative and investments made by inhabitants to reconstruct the district, in order to meet the needs those who lived there. A detailed comparison between *Petrogradskaya storona* in the beginning of the 20th century and nowadays, and the search for ways to apply the successful mechanism of urban development, that was fulfilled a century ago, in modern times, could be a direction for future research, based on the current thesis.

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Annex



Fig. 1. Map of the Petrograd district with the borders of its parts

1. Cultural part (public places)
2. Residential part
3. Industrial part
4. Scientific part (Educational organizations and innovative enterprises)

Source: <http://old-map.narod.ru/spb13.html>

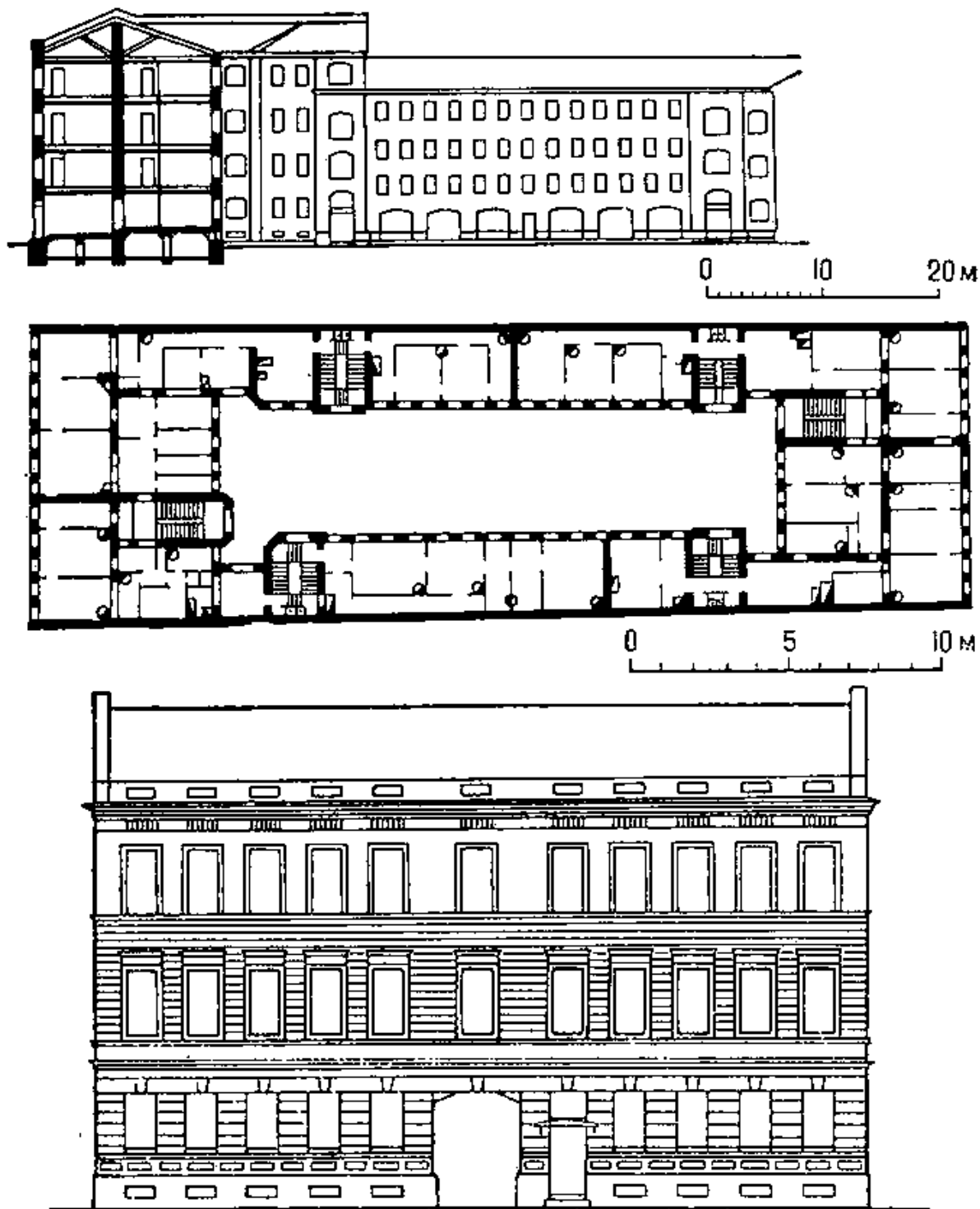


Fig. 2. The example of the old tenement house.

59, Liteyniy Prospect, St. Petersburg, 1858, architect Anton Stakenshneyder

From above to below:

cross-sectional view; plan of the first floor; front ward.

Source:

<http://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/bse/87338/%D0%96%D0%B8%D0%BB%D0%B8%D1%89%D0%B5>

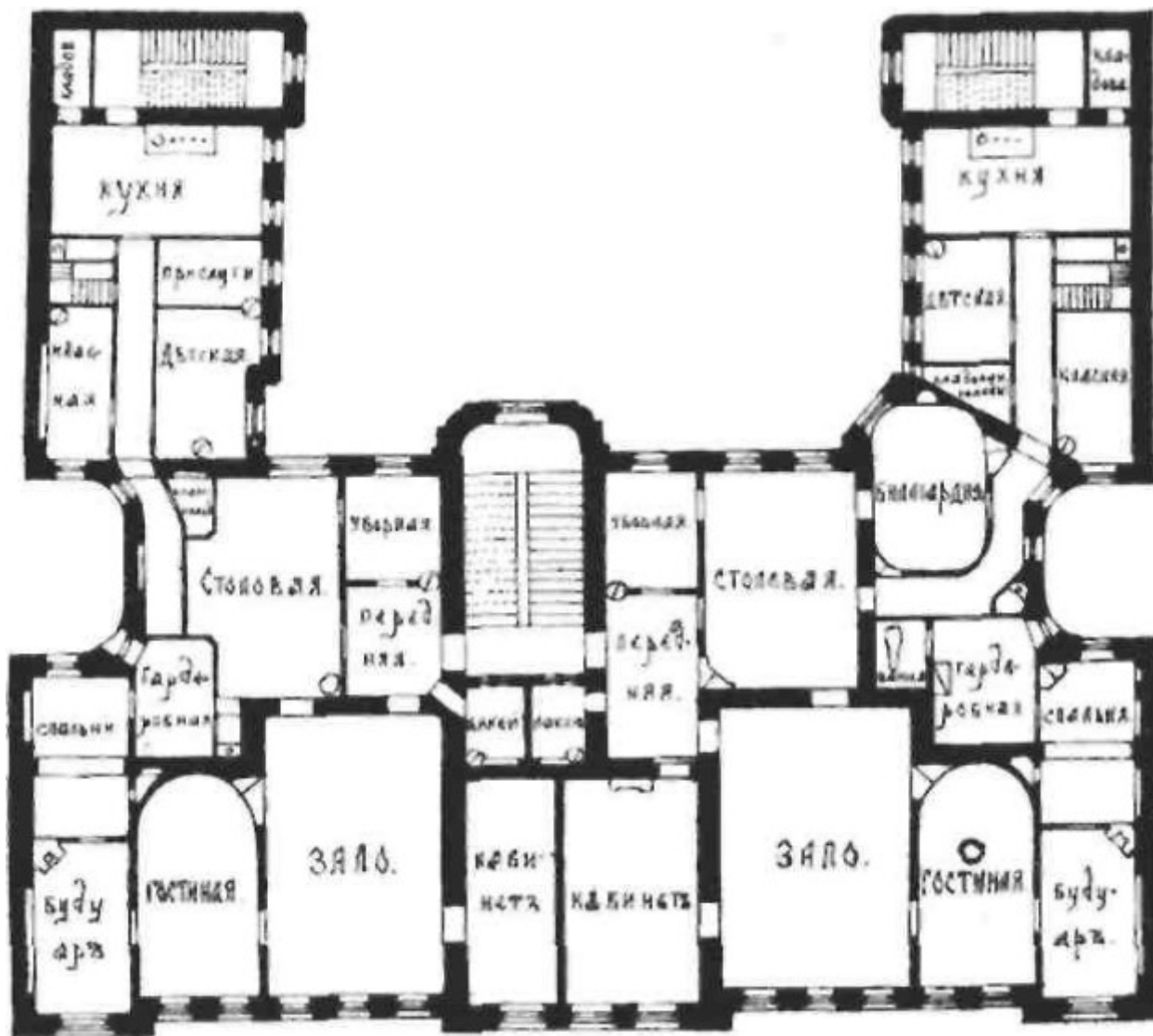


Fig.3. The example of the sectional planning of new type of tenement house.

Source: A. Tilinskiy *Rukovodstvo dlya proektirovaniya i postroyki zdaniy* [Guidelines for the design and construction of buildings], St. Petersburg , 1911, p. 146.



Fig. 4. The house of Fedor Lidval at Kamennoostrovskiy prospect, 1-3, constructed in 1899 – 1904.

Source: Source: N. Grechuk, *Peterburg. Sekundy istorii* [St. Petersburg. Seconds of History], St. Petersburg, 2010, p. 267.

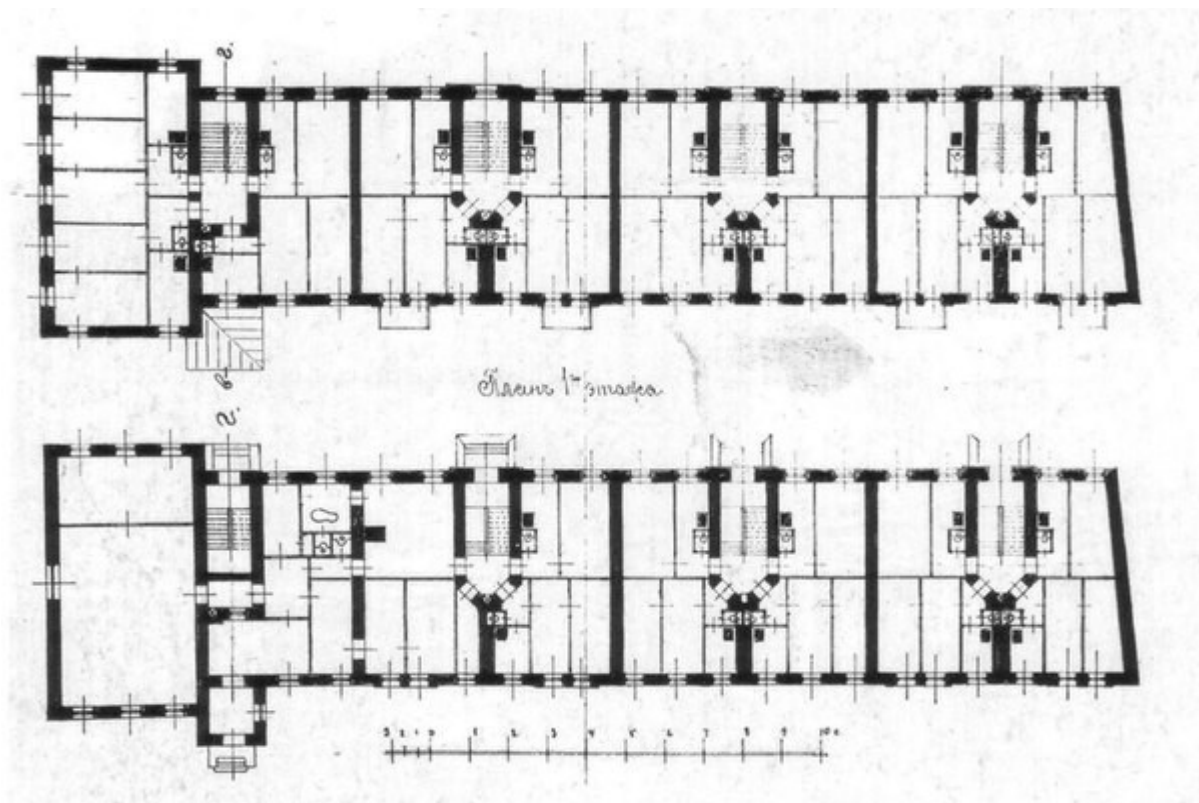


Fig. 5. Standard plans of studios or cheap flats with shared facilities on the floor in the new type of tenement houses.

Source: *Zodchiy*, 1912, 18, p. 32.



The house of Evgeniy Kavos. at Kamennostrovskiy prospect, 24, 1912, architect Leontiy Benois, where the above-mentioned planning was used.

Source: <http://wikimapia.org/11400746/ru/Обособняк-Кавоса-Доходный-дом-Кавоса>



Fig. 6. Alexandrinskiy theatre. The façade and the interior. Photo of Karl Bulla, 1910.

Source: N. Grechuk, *Peterburg. Sekundy istorii* [St. Petersburg. Seconds of History], St. Petersburg, 2010, p. 57.



Fig. 7. The public in the Summer Garden. Photo of Karl Bulla, 1909.

Source: N. Grechuk, *Peterburg. Sekundy istorii* [St. Petersburg. Seconds of History], St. Petersburg, 2010, p. 21.

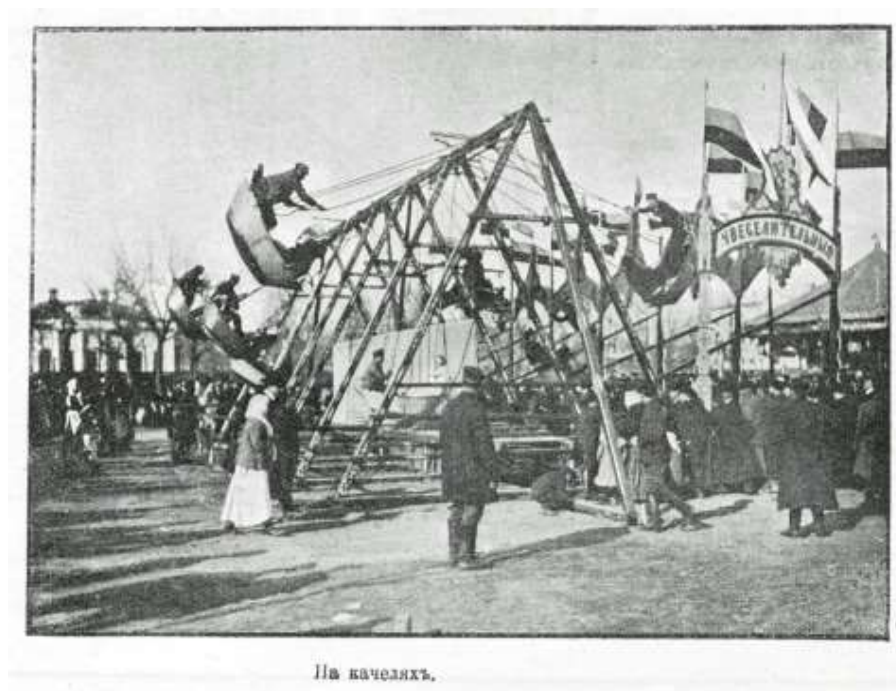


Fig. 8. Booths on *Maslenitsa*. Photo of Karl Bulla, 1899.

Source: N. Grechuk, *Peterburg. Sekundy istorii* [St. Petersburg. Seconds of History], St. Petersburg, 2010, p. 67.



Fig. 9. The public in Zoological garden. Photo of Karl Bulla, 1906.

Source: N. Grechuk, *Peterburg. Sekundy istorii* [St. Petersburg. Seconds of History], St. Petersburg, 2010, p. 101.

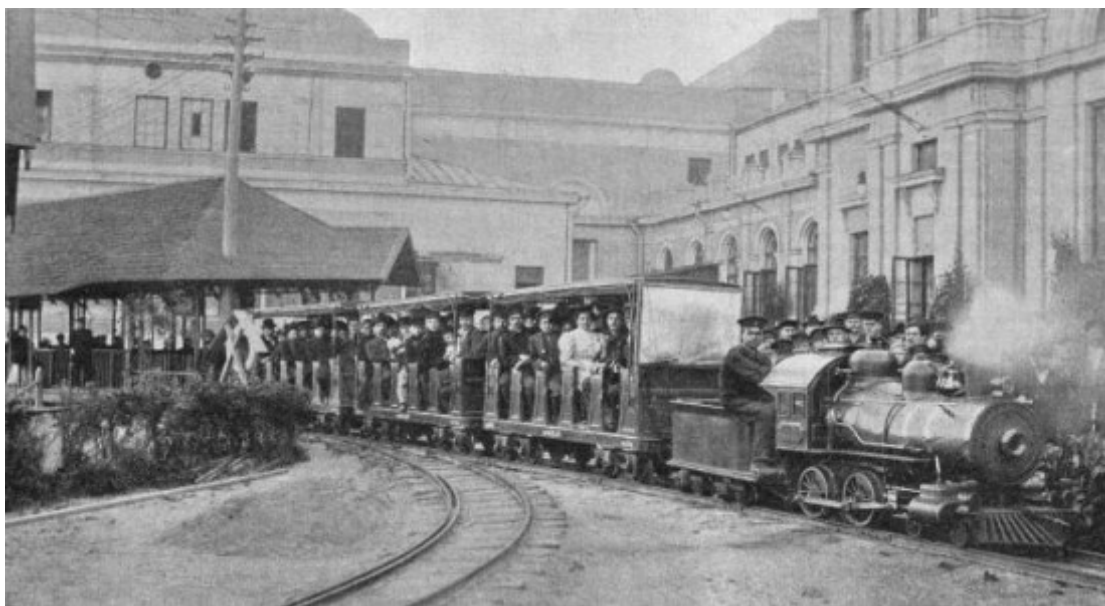


Fig. 10 The attraction railway road in Alexandrovskiy park. Photo of Karl Bulla, 1905.

Source: N. Grechuk, *Peterburg. Sekundy istorii* [St. Petersburg. Seconds of History], St. Petersburg, 2010, p. 121.



Fig. 11 Dinner for the soldiers, chevaliers of the St. George's order.

Photo of Karl Bulla, 1915

.Source: N. Grechuk, *Peterburg. Sekundy istorii* [St. Petersburg. Seconds of History], St. Petersburg, 2010, p. 202.



Fig. 12. The map of Petrograd district with indication of the location principal public places

1. Zoological garden
2. Alexandrovskiy park
3. Botanical garden
4. Elagin park
5. Krestovskiy park
6. Petrovskiy park
7. Bolshoy prospect (the street of cinema-houses)
8. Kamenoostrovskiy prospect (the area of cafes and sport grounds)
9. Theatre of Vera Nemetti (Geslerovskiy prospect).

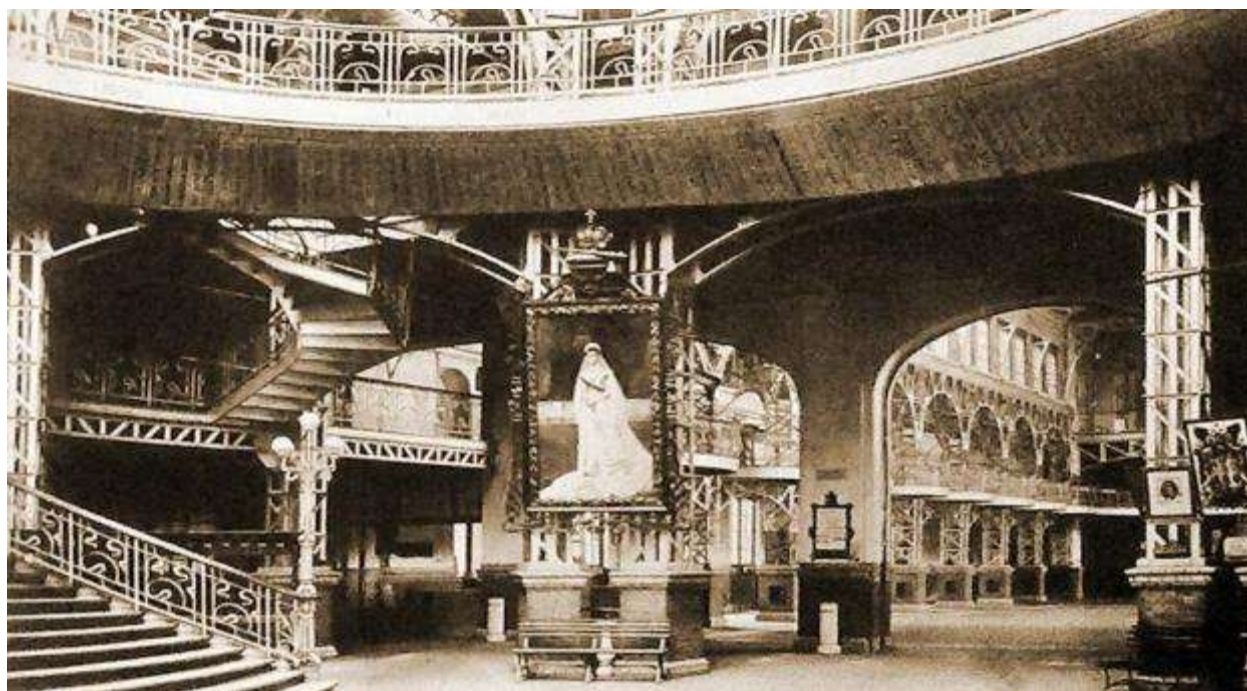


Fig. 13. The building and interior of the People's House. Photo of Karl Bulla, 1904.

Source: N. Grechuk, *Peterburg. Sekundy istorii* [St. Petersburg. Seconds of History], St. Petersburg, 2010, p. 160.