

To: Kresge.Library.Reference@Dartmouth.EDU
From: "Baker-Berry Document Delivery" <Library.Document.Delivery@Dartmouth.EDU>
Subject: KRESGE **DOCUMENT DELIVERY** REQUEST -- TN: 167088
Date: Mon, 15 Jan 2007 20:45:12 GMT

DartDoc Document Delivery
Baker-Berry Library
603-646-2596

Transaction Number: 167088

Call Number: Kresge Journal

Article Title: Moscow and St. Petersburg, a sequence of capitals, a tale of two cities
Article Author: Olga Gritsai and Herman van der Wusten
Journal Title: GeoJournal
Journal Volume: Volume 51
Journal Issue: 1-2
Journal Year: May 2000
Article Page: 33-45

Site: BERRY

Customer Information:
Name: Gronas, Mikhail

Electronic Delivery?: Yes

Delivery Method, if not electronic: Mail to Address

Pick-up Location: Baker-Berry

Address: 211 B Reed hall, Dartmouth College
City, State: Hanover, NH 03755
E-Mail Address: mikhail.gronas@dartmouth.edu
Phone: 603 643 00 63
Department: Russian Language & Literature
Status: Faculty



Moscow and St. Petersburg, a sequence of capitals, a tale of two cities

Olga Gritsai¹ and Herman van der Wusten^{2*}

¹*Institute of Geography, Academy of Science, Moscow, Russia;* ²*Department of Geography and Planning, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands;* **Author for correspondence (current address: J.M. Molenaerplein 6, 2102 CE Heemstede, The Netherlands)*

Received 15 July 2000; accepted 6 January 2001

Key words: capital city, Moscow, Petersburg, Russia, state symbols

Abstract

From early modern times until the present, Russia (temporarily extended to the USSR) had two capital cities: Moscow and Petersburg. Moscow was the original capital, it was succeeded by Petersburg from the beginning of the 18th century. From the early 20th century onward Moscow again became the capital, but it became a different kind of capital at the end of the 20th century. The paper describes the evolution of the representation of the state function in the appearance of the capital cities by way of the state buildings, the monuments, the street names. In addition it analyses the fate of the former capitals (first Moscow, then Petersburg) in terms of their symbolic functions. Petersburg originated as a capital turned to the outside emphasizing Russia's European vocation, while Moscow was at first the inward looking capital city representing the distinctive spiritual values of Russia. Changes had to do with the changes in the nature of the successive political regimes and with the changing roles of the two cities within those regimes.

Capital cities exemplify to some extent the states that bring them to life. Their designation as capital implies the establishment of certain functions, rulers tend to look at them from a perspective of state representation and to act accordingly, citizens and outsiders see them as special. The establishment of administrative, governmental or even purely symbolic functions has consequences for the layout of cities, for cityscapes, and is also accompanied by secondary functions that have an impact on the nature of urban life more generally. Capital cities reflect the regimes that engender them, but in an indirect way. This is because cities also have a life of their own, and cities can not be shaped by any single actor, not even a state regime.

In this paper we want to look at some fragments and aspects of the checkered history of Russia as demonstrated by the fates of its capital cities. From the dawn of early modern times, Russia has been governed from Moscow, from St. Petersburg since 1712 and then again from Moscow since 1918. We are first of all interested in the selection and change over time of capital city locations. We are secondly engaged to treat the problem how the various regimes and rulers in Russia affected capital city formation against the background of general social development but also how they affected the alternative capital, Moscow in the period 1712–1918 and St. Petersburg since that time.

We will be particularly concerned with the physical construction, change and transformation of the two cities over time. We are interested in the general layout, the housing of government functions as to their location and architecture and the expressions of statehood and national community in

monuments, statues and the like. We try to interpret these cityscapes in their historical evolution, and as a result of the ways in which regimes and local powerholders at specific points in time tried to model and remodel them or affected them by negligence. And we look for signs of the ways these cityscapes were interpreted by members of the public at different points in time. In this way we think to contribute to a reading of capital cities as expressions of statehood through the intentions of rulers and the perceptions of the public.

Moscow and St. Petersburg, the two largest Russian cities, have been for centuries competing for power and functions at the national scale and in the international arena. This rivalry was expressed not only in decisions taken by city and state governments but also at the level of ordinary citizens when the style of the current capital was severely criticized from the side of the other one, the latter pretending to be basically different in spirit, built environment and public image. The way both cities have been shaped is also in a sense an imprint of this rivalry, which changed form through several historical periods, each with its own geopolitical background.

'The heart of Russia': Moscow 14th to 17th century

Formally Moscow became the capital of Russia in 1432 after a long rivalry with the other major centers of the developing Russian state – Vladimir and Tver. The actual capital city functions had already been transferred to Moscow in the early 14th century (both the residence of the Great Prince and the residence of the Russian church were moved to Moscow in



Figure 1. Russia/Soviet Union plus Moscow and Petersburg/Leningrad.

1326) but it took about a hundred years to turn these facts into a legal act (Pokhlebin, 1997). Moscow was finally chosen because it was situated in the very center of Russia, it could function as a place that facilitated Russian integration, it could act as a carrier of the national idea and as the core of the orthodox religion, presenting itself as 'the third Rome'.

Until the end of the 15th century the spatial structure of Moscow was pretty simple. The Kremlin (old name 'Kremnik') with its fortifications and cathedrals, was the historical core of the city, the residence of Great Princes and the seat of the higher church authorities. Outside the Kremlin three unfortified settlements (*slobodi*) concentrated residential population, markets, handicrafts. The real expansion of the city started at the end of the 15th century and was accompanied by an intensive construction of urban fortifications, churches, monasteries, residential quarters with their own churches and centers of self-government. Many state and church buildings during this period were realized by Italian architects, although Russians constructed the major part of Moscow's expansion. Within a hundred years the capital city

got four lines of fortifications (mostly made of stone), which delimited four rings of the city with their different functions. The rings were crossed by several big roads, connecting Moscow with other important Russian cities. This gave rise to the well-known ring-radial structure of Moscow, which determined its spatial development for the future.

The administrative center of the city in the 16–17th centuries included 'prikazi' (institutions, administering different fields of political, economic and military life), embassies of foreign countries, representatives of the biggest Russian cities and monasteries, three big market places and palaces of the nobility. The core of the city was encircled by seven monasteries, erected along the walls of the so-called White city, the nearest ring of settlements around the Kremlin. One more series of monasteries on the very peripheral boundary of the city in the North and far outside the city in the South were controlling the main roads, connecting Moscow and other big Russian cities (Architectural, memorials of Moscow, 1997).

In the 14th to 17th centuries churches, monasteries and fortification walls were the main features of the Moscow cityscape and the most important memorials of the Russian military glory (many of them were founded as a commemoration of military victories). The religious symbolism and the actual function of Moscow as a religious and spiritual center of Russia ('the heart of Russia') representing the historically rooted national character – these for centuries were the ingredients of the city's image, making Moscow clearly different from the later capital, St.Petersburg. Another important feature of urban development in this period was the beginning of spatial social stratification. The pattern of rich and poor districts (settlements of aristocracy in the west and artisans/peasants in the east) was set very early, and has later permanently been reproduced in different forms. As the main concentration of aristocracy in this period, Moscow was the first among the Russian cities that developed spatial inequalities. It was also quite advanced in the level of local self-government at the district level (in slobodi).

'A window to Europe': St.Petersburg in the 18th and 19th centuries

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

The city was modelled after some of the more successful European cities of the time with the imperial presence ostentatiously stamped on its plan and townscape. From the very start the new capital was supposed to be basically different from Moscow with its mostly wooden buildings and churches. Petersburg had to be built of stone, which was brought from all over the country. The tsar's decree of 1714, forbidding the construction of stone buildings anywhere apart from St.Petersburg, caused the decline of many big Russian cities, including Moscow, for almost 60 years. The plan of Petersburg was modelled after Amsterdam and Venice with their networks of canals and beautiful architectural ensembles. Many architects from all across Europe were involved, producing a precious combination of all the different 18th century styles (variations of Baroque and Classicist) that was basically preserved in the city's appearance up to the present.

Originally the core of St.Petersburg was supposed to be located on Vasilievskii island, the largest of the islands in the delta of the Neva, located closely to the Peter and Paul fortress, the point of origin of the future city. Closeby an administrative center was erected. The old 'prikaz' were merged and reorganized into so called *colleges* ('collegii'), predecessors of ministries. A beautiful complex housing the twelve colleges was erected on Vasilievskii island by

Domenico Trezini in 1722–1741. Its architecture (the building looks like twelve identical houses under one roof) reflects the idea of administrative independence of each *college* and at the same time the unity of their goals. Vasilievskii island for a while became the location for the most prestigious palaces and estates, for the *Kunstammer* (Peter's collection of rarities from all over the world) and later on for the Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Art (Kann, Sukhotin, 1999). Across the river on the left bank of the Neva, originally dockyards concentrated along the lower course and supporting industry (metallurgy and textile manufacturing) along the upper course.

Already in the second half of the 18th century the administrative centre of the city was relocated by Ekatherina II from the Vasilievskii island, to the main land on the left bank. The new center, developed around the headquarters of the navy (Admiralty) became the location of the Senate and Sinod (the higher Church Authority) and major state institutions. The tsar's Winter Palace was built along the same square. Later, in the 19th century, the whole left bank turned into the elite central district with numerous palaces, cathedrals, most busy shopping streets and business areas. Vasilievskii island has kept some central functions but became more known as a seaport area, with warehouses, custom services and all sorts of trade institutions.

At the beginning of the 20th century the extended Russian capital city had a clear functional zoning with a financial district around Nevski prospect (the main boulevard starting in the new center towards the Southeast), the Market area around Sadovaja (further from the centre to the South), a concentration of educational institutions in the southern part of the Vasilievskii island (Kann, Sukhotin, 1999) and an industrial zone along the uppercourse of the Neva river. St.Petersburg was from the very start accumulating heavy industry, which in the 18–19th centuries was considered to be the driving force of economic development. It gave the city the status of the most important industrial centre of Russia and a stronghold of a politically active and organized working class.

The second half of the 18th and the 19th centuries saw the rise of the Russian Empire. It had a land as well as a maritime vocation. As a port city, the new capital of Russia acquired more and more institutions, operating in the field of Navy, foreign trade and shipbuilding. Most of them were located in the very centre, as functions of special importance for the city. Since the late 18th century the city also incorporated settlements of the military regiments, residing in Petersburg. Its toponimics included many military names like 'outposts' or 'battery'. Military barracks were for about a century a significant feature of the cityscape, many of them built by famous architects. As the main residence of the royal family and Russian aristocracy, St.Petersburg also became the main centre of education for young people from the aristocratic families. Navy and other military high-schools, Institutes for females from the nobility and schools of engineering became part of capital city life.

In the second half of Peter's reign Russia was officially designated an Empire and its architectural and cultural ori-

entation changed from burgher Holland to royal France. The new palaces and parks of both Peterburg and Moscow were supposed to imitate the luxury of the European royal courts and to emphasize the europeaness of the Russian Empire. Peter I was the first Russian tzar who used architecture to immortalize his person and not the tzar in general as the head of the state. This was done in an indirect way, in line with the orthodox world view in general, through building churches and cathedrals consecrated to Peter's divine protectors St. Peter and St. Paul; or to St. Isaac, the Saint on whose day the Emperor was born.

The so called Peter's period in Russian history (the 18th -early 19th centuries), with the idea of europeanization dominating official politics, came to an end in the 1820s-1830s. Tzar Nicholas I changed the emphasis in Russian politics, turning back to traditional 'national' values and orthodox culture, which became unconditionally supreme. The official ideology was expressed by the formula 'orthodoxy, autocracy, nation'. The architecture of that time reflects the idea of national renaissance, first of all as a revival of the orthodox church construction. It became common to emphasize the Byzantine roots of the Russian culture, its basic difference from the European one. Both Moscow and St. Petersburg became an arena for ambitious large-scale architectural complexes - palaces, cathedrals, mansions, many of them subsidised by the state as important carriers of the imperial idea.

During the second half of the 19th century the notion of orthodoxy as a spiritual aspect of the national system retained its viability but material values and modernization became equally important. In architecture it was expressed by the change of accent to civil construction - museums, theatres, buildings connected with the idea of people's power and autonomy (Vinogradov, 1996). Crystallization of the idea of nationality as the main spiritual value was accompanied by the crisis of autocracy as a political doctrine. During the reign of Nicholas I architecture was under the control of the government, from about 1850 the government controlled only the church-building. Until the 1860s in both capitals urban construction was strongly dependent upon the state concept of the reign and the personal position of the tzar. During the reign of the last three emperors the state did not interfere in architecture. The tzar remained one of the biggest initiators but now as a private person. It changed the geography of construction of the royal family: its projects were conducted mainly in the South of Russia - in the Crimea and in the Caucasus.

In St. Peterburg the iconography of its monuments added significantly to its imperial appearance. There are three categories of imperial monuments: statues of tzars, statues of military leaders and explorers, monuments of military feats.

St. Petersburg has many references to its founder. The memorials became part of the urban environment, following the example of European cities. In Petersburg in the 1760s the construction of two memorials to Peter I - sculptural (the famous Copper Horseman) and architectural (the St. Isaac cathedral) - started nearly simultaneously (Vinogradov, 1996). The Copper Horseman is situated not far

from another one ('Tzar-carpenter'), a twin of a monument, located in the centre of the Dutch city of Zaandam, where in 1697 Peter was learning the art of shipbuilding. The third monument (erected in 1800) presents Peter I as a powerful military leader. It stands near the Engineering Castle, residence of Pavel I, who was obsessed with military activity. This monument is surrounded by basreliefs, praising military victories of Russia under Peter I (battle of Poltava in 1709 and near cape Gangut in 1714). The most recent monument was installed in the Peter and Paul fortress in the middle of the 1990s.

The monument to Ekaterina II is located in one of the small squares in the historical part of Nevski prospect, to Nikolai I - in the middle of Isaakii Square, to Alexander III in the middle of the square near the Moscow railway station. In the 1870s a project was approved to organize an Emperor's boulevard to replace a former canal in the city centre and to turn part of it into a string of monuments of all the rulers of Russia, starting all the way back to Rurick.

Most of the monuments to the tzars survived the Soviet times in spite of the intention of the regime to eliminate the remnants of the tzarist past from the image of the city. They survived as objects of art, being sometimes removed from crucial locations to the neighbourhood of museums. For example, the monument to Alexander III, one of the best and most impressive in the city, was removed in 1937 to the yard of the Russian museum and later on re-installed in the city centre near one of the historical palaces (Marmor palace), which became a part of the huge museum complex.

The second category are the monuments to the military leaders or great travellers, which became famous during the expansion of the Russian Empire in the 18th and 19th centuries. Most of the military leaders (Suvorov, Rumjanzev, Kutuzov, Barklai de Tolli and others) are located in central squares of the city or sites known for their military flavour (like the Engineering Castle, or Champs de Mars next to it). Monuments to the great travellers, who were mostly naval officers, are often situated near the oldest naval academies, where these historical personalities were studying or teaching.

The third category are monuments and obelisks, glorifying military victories of Russia. The most famous is the Alexandria column in front of the Winter Palace, which is a memorial to the war against Napoleon in 1812. The obelisk, memorizing the victory of Russian troops in the war against Turkey (1768-79), is standing near the Kadetten Corps (school for naval officers), where the main military leader of this war, Graf Rumjanzev studied. One of the crucial naval battles of this war (near Chesmen bucht) is memorized by a chapel, built on the Kamenny island in the northern part of the old city, which was a known leisure spot for the aristocracy in the 18th century, later on bought by Ekatherina II to be presented to her son Pavel.

Apart from the 'imperial' monuments, St. Petersburg of the 18th and 19th centuries has got quite a few monuments of poets, musicians or artists, e.g. a famous monument to the fable-writer Krylov, standing in the middle of Letnyi sad (Summer Garden), built in 1885, and beautifully decorated

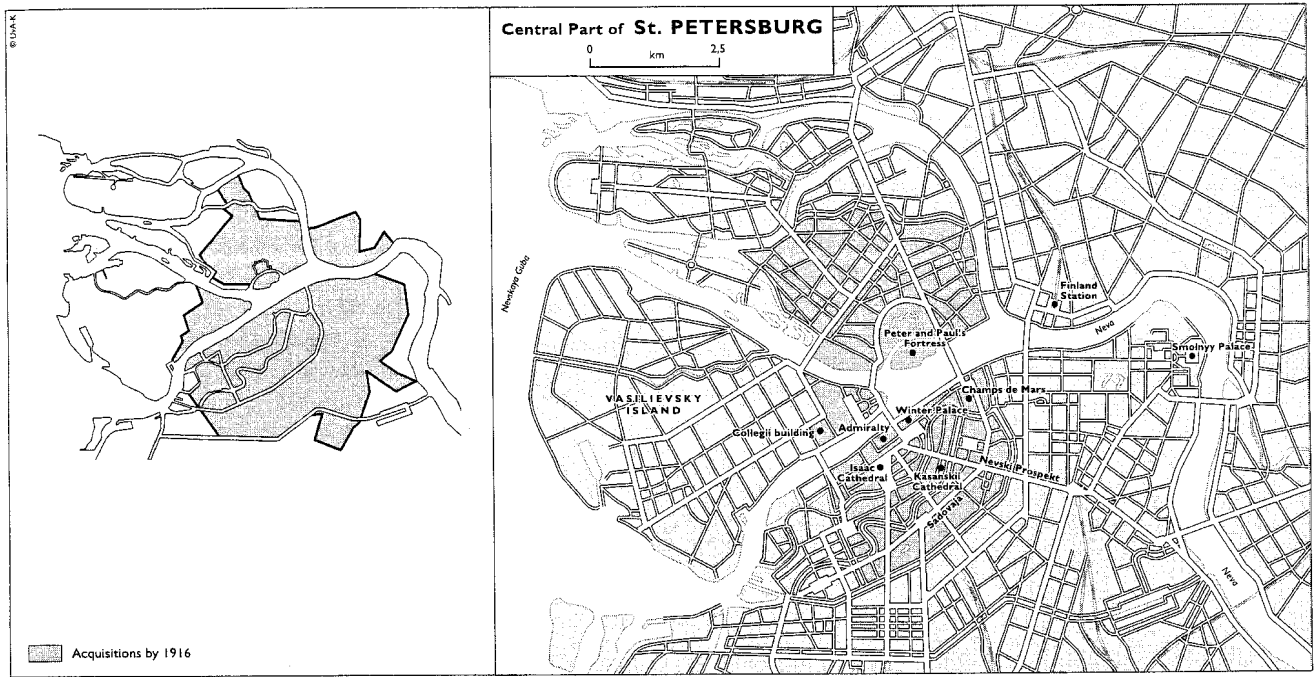


Figure 2. Petersburg/Leningrad.

by characters of his fables (this perfectly fits the environment of the park). The monument to Glinka, the composer, was placed in front of the Opera house in 1906. But many monuments referring to artists appeared much later, particularly around the middle of the 20th century. This is a field where the Soviet regime tended to stress historical continuity unlike fields like religion where the past was effectively buried.

Unlike Moscow, which has always been the symbol of orthodox Russia, St.Petersburg was in this period presented as a city of many religions. Historically the catholic and the lutheran churches, as well as a mosque, an Armenian church and a jewish synagogue, were just as important a part of the cityscape as the numerous orthodox cathedrals. From an architectural point of view it was also built as a city following the latest European standards and the styles, popular in other European cities. In some cases there were attempts to imitate certain famous European buildings. Thus, the Kasanskii cathedral was a sort of imitation of the St.Peter's cathedral in Rome, which had impressed the heir to the Russian throne Pavel (the son of Ekatherina II) during his travels through Europe. Many of the buildings in St.Petersburg have a European imprint and it makes the city look like the most European of all the Russian cities (this was according to Peter I's original idea). Letnij Sad (the Summer Garden) was founded by Peter I also from an ambition to create a park, that would outdo Versailles.

The international character of St.Petersburg and its external orientation are also reflected in its museums (Kunstammer, ethnographic, zoological museums, etc.) and in sculptures, decorating buildings and quays. Some of them were acquired in oriental countries (like the 3500 year old sphinxes near the Academy of arts, bought in Egypt in 1831) or presented by other royal families (like the chinese lions 'shi-dzi' near czar Peter's house on the bank of the Neva).

Maritime symbols, a western style of architecture and planning, an emphasis on its international links, the concentration of references to the military attributes of the Russian Empire – all these features made St.Petersburg of the 18th and 19th centuries basically different from Moscow, which remained the carrier of the historically rooted idea of 'Russia', the center of the orthodox church and the very core of the national economy, taking advantage of its central location.

Moscow as an alternative capital in the 18th and 19th centuries

The quick growth of St.Petersburg contrasted with the stagnation of Moscow for several decades, although in the middle of the 18th century, and especially during the reign of Ekatherina II, the situation improved considerably. During Ekatherina's reign both cities got general plans of urban development, regulating the development of their overall structure. In Moscow it gave the impulse to new constructions in stone, replacing many old wooden ones, to the foundation of numerous gardens and squares, partly on the places of destroyed old fortifications (Garden Ring, Boulevard Ring, etc.).

Moscow remained the second residence of the nobility, most of them shuttling between the political and the spiritual centre of Russia. The decree of 1762, which liberated the aristocracy from obligatory state service, contributed to the importance of Moscow as the second seat of court life. While Petersburg remained the capital of the serving nobility, concentrating mostly military men and officials, Moscow became the capital of the retired and not working nobility, more distant from the court and more linked to the traditional culture and way of life. The whole social structure of

Moscow with a high share of clergy, artisans and peasants, contributed to the preservation of traditionalism to a much larger extent than in the European oriented St.Petersburg.

Another important innovation introduced during the reign of Ekatherina was the reform of the competences of the church. Many fields of civil life (education, health care, charity), which had formerly been a prerogative of the church, became the responsibility of the state. This gave rise to a new increase of civil construction, including new types of architectural complexes with new administrative buildings, surrounded by spacy market squares. Unlike St.Petersburg, relatively few military buildings were erected in Moscow. At the same time the city was getting beautiful residences and buildings of social and cultural importance (university, Bolshoi theatre, the houses of the Guardian Council and the Nobility Assembly, the Widows' house, a highschool for females from the nobility, etc.) (Architectural memorials of Moscow, 1997).

Moscow was less imperial than St.Petersburg also in terms of its monuments. Among the monuments, installed in the 19th century up to WWI the elements of imperial power, typical for the capital city, were practically not represented (hardly any tzars, apart from Alexander I near the Cathedral of Christ the Savior, or military leaders, or travellers). Most of the monuments memorialized either historical events important for Moscow, or celebrities from the world of literature, art and science. It is remarkable that Moscow monuments of this period have a strong regionalistic flavour: most of them were erected to those historical events which were somehow related to the city of Moscow rather than to the Russian Empire as a whole, unlike in St.Petersburg.

Examples from the very centre of Moscow abound. One of the first few monuments in the city was installed in the Red Square in 1818 as a memorial to Minin and Pozharsky, the two Moscow citizens (one from the nobility, one of humble origin), who in the early 17th century organized a civilian militia against the Polish invaders. As a part of a whole series of icons consecrated to the victory over Napoleon, this memorial was generally inspired by a national, imperial idea, although the choice of the characters was clearly regionally based. In 1907 a district in the centre (not far from the Bolshoi theatre), historically known for its bookstores, got a monument to Ivan Fedorov, the first Russian who launched printing technology (in Moscow as a capital in the 15th century). Near the Politechnical museum, not far from the Kremlin area, there is a chapel, memorizing the grenadiers of the Moscow regiment, who died during the storm attack of the Turkish fortress Plevna by Russian troops in 1877. The monument to Lomonosov in front of the old building of the University, has this location because the great scientist studied in Moscow, although later on moved to Petersburg and spent most of his life there. In front of the Malyi Theater, one of the oldest national drama theaters, there is a monument (built in 1922) to the writer Alexander Ostrovskii, who was known for famous theatre plays about the merchants' life of Moscow (conflicts between the well-known traditionalism of Moscow life and the newly rising

elements of capitalism in the Russian society). This last example demonstrates that this trend, at least temporarily, even survived the revolution.

All this emphasizes the different and diffident spirit of the second capital, its attempt to be distant and different from the capital of the Empire, to keep its identity. This spirit also showed up in the establishment of bodies of self-government. Unlike St.Petersburg, where the city was administered by the national authorities and strongly driven by national interests, Moscow of the late 19th century was the first Russian city to introduce a specially elected body, the City Duma, which was supposed to manage the city. However, the City Duma as a local body has always remained in conflict with officials, nominated by the czar as representatives of the central power from St.Petersburg (under the Governor general), who were strongly opposed to share power with the local Duma (Luzhkov, 1996).

Unlike St.Petersburg, which was built within a short time, according to a plan providing more or less stylistic unity, architecturally and structurally in harmony, Moscow has experienced centuries of changes. All historical periods left imprints on the cityscape. Much of the historical heritage (especially when in wood) was destroyed in numerous fires (the last major fire occurred in 1812). The city or its separate parts have been built anew many times. The pattern of the city centre has also considerably changed, new streets were sometimes breaking up the old quarters with old buildings left behind the new facades. While St.Petersburg has from the very start had a high density of construction, Moscow of the 19th century combined big stone and small wooden buildings with rural landscapes, gardens and wastelands.

This *a priori* made Moscow a much more fragmented city, with symbols of different epochs standing next to each other. Nevertheless, it preserved its specific Russian character, being known as the city of churches and cathedrals. Even the new European trends in architecture got a special national flavour in Moscow (the so-called Moscow baroque, a neo-Russian-Byzanthinian style realized in many buildings). The Russian-Byzanthinian architecture became especially popular from the middle of the 19th century after the rise of slavophile movements, defending Russia's cultural uniqueness and calling Russia the successor of Byzantium.

The shift of emphasis from European to national values in the second quarter of the 19th century and the growing alliance of the orthodox church and the state brought back the idea of Moscow as the Third Rome and gave a new impetus to the building of churches in Moscow. The new civil construction in Moscow during the 19th century also put a pronounced emphasis on national elements in its architecture. Many new towers even in classicist style appeared to imitate churches and chapels. A combination ensued of horizontal lines of low buildings with verticals of bell-towers and cathedrals. The brightest examples of this style are the Cathedral of Christ the Savior (built with interruptions during 1838–1891) and the Big Kremlin Palace, the latter simultaneously referring to the palaces of Roman Caesars and Greek (Byzantine) emperors (Vinogradov, 1996). In the second half of the 19th century the Russian-

Byzantine style was followed by another pseudo-Russian style, which appeared as a response to the westernization of art and architecture. In the 1870–1890s an attempt was made to reconstruct the whole city centre in a Russian style (the most typical examples of this period are the buildings of the historical Museum, the City Duma (later known as Lenin Museum), trade galleries (later known as GUM). The Russian version of early modernist/late romantic design like art deco which made an impact in the 1890s was very much impregnated by old Russian forms (Metropol hotel, Jaroslavskii railway station, merchants' club, numerous residential buildings) (Architectural memorials of Moscow, 1997).

Being centrally located in the European part of Russia, Moscow also remained the main crossroad of transport and economic flows. A real turn in the city life happened after the reforms of 1861, which gave rise to the development of capitalism. Railroads and industry caused the rapid growth of Moscow (from 400,000 inhabitants in the beginning of the 1860s to 1,5 million in 1910) (Architectural memorials of Moscow, 1997, p.19). Railroads further underlined its radial structure, but at the same time made it more chaotic because axes of roads and railroads did not coincide. New industrial zones intruded into the cityscape and formed big enclaves near waterways and railways, especially in the south and south-east. Later in the 20th century, when the city was expanding from the center outwards, the South-East had already very few space for new functions and remained mainly industrial. Along with the original settlement structure, conditioned by natural factors (floods, landscapes), this became one of the important factors, that maintained a stable west-east gradient in Moscow, which has been reproduced in different forms at different stages. Moscow of the second half of the 19th century had the largest national concentration of banks, trade companies and stock exchanges and developed therefore functions, which were crucial for it to function as a national economic centre.

Industrial growth and the rise of commercial functions caused important changes in the social structure of Moscow. Already in the 1830–1850s the city turned from a nobility residence into a merchant city where rich merchants and later on industrialists were strongly involved into charity and supported culture and education. Moscow with its deliberately preserved national style became the cradle of the slavophile ideas and a kind of opposition to the European looking St.Petersburg. While St.Petersburg was the 'head' of Russia, Moscow has always been called its 'heart and soul'. Moscow was less dependent upon political life, suffered less from the social polarization, typical of large capital cities, its image was much less connected with the imperial ambitions of the regime. Therefore it has always been attractive to artists and public figures, who were critical to the tsarist regime.

The industrialization of Moscow and the economic development of the late 19th–early 20th century had a different background than in St.Petersburg. Moscow was industrializing mainly on the basis of textile industries, given its location in the middle of relatively urbanized and agricultur-

ally developed Central Russia. In the 1840s Moscow came to be called Russian Manchester. Factories were mostly small and often located in the yards while their owners' estates were facing the streets and preserving the integrity of the architectural ensembles. Heavy industry came later, although it then also became very important. Nevertheless the 'chinz Moscow' was a stable image of the second capital, in a sense deliberately preserved and praised in songs and poems as a nostalgic symbol of a national identity, strongly connected in the minds of the population with the traditional rural usage.

The shopwindow of socialism: Moscow as the capital of the Soviet Union

As the Bolcheviks came to power they immediately removed the capital city back to Moscow for security reasons and as an expression of the clean break with the tsarist regime. After the political line to firmly establish socialism in one country had come out victorious, this decision became also embedded in long-standing geopolitical traditions. The new Russian state was again re-oriented mostly at internal political problems, their solution supposed control over the country and this could more easily be exercised from a central location. As a secondary concern this capital city had also to function as the centre of a worldwide revolutionary movement. Although the regime nominally accepted the national diversity of the peoples making up the Soviet Union, in practice the emerging union of these peoples was presented in an idiom that continued the historically rooted Russian nationalism with a new twist. For this purpose Moscow definitely was a better candidate for the role of capital city than St.Petersburg.

As Moscow was meant to be a propagandistic shopwindow for the whole country, it experienced more change than any other big Russian city. Initially, leftist artists, including the avant-garde protagonists, became popular as natural allies of the leftist politicians. Futurism was considered to be the artistically appropriate form of Communism and leftist artists were treated as a select caste. This gave a strong impulse to all sorts of experiments in architecture with the intention to create a new type of environment to nurture a new personality. The 1920s are known for numerous projects of completely new forms of housing and experiments with styles of public buildings, all of them representing the so called proletarian architecture.

According to the first Soviet general plan for the city of the early 1920s, new elements and architectural ensembles were supposed to be complementary to the old historical heritage, which had to be fully preserved. The idea of 'garden-cities' was very prominent in the plans for new residential construction. They would have to be laid out in the periphery. Only fragments of the first General Plan have been realized: some replanning of the inner city, construction of the first agricultural exhibition, which later became the basis for a city leisure park (Gorky park), a new experimental residential area (poselok 'Sokol'), developed in the north-western periphery of Moscow as a model for a garden-city. In the 1930s the first General Plan was declared

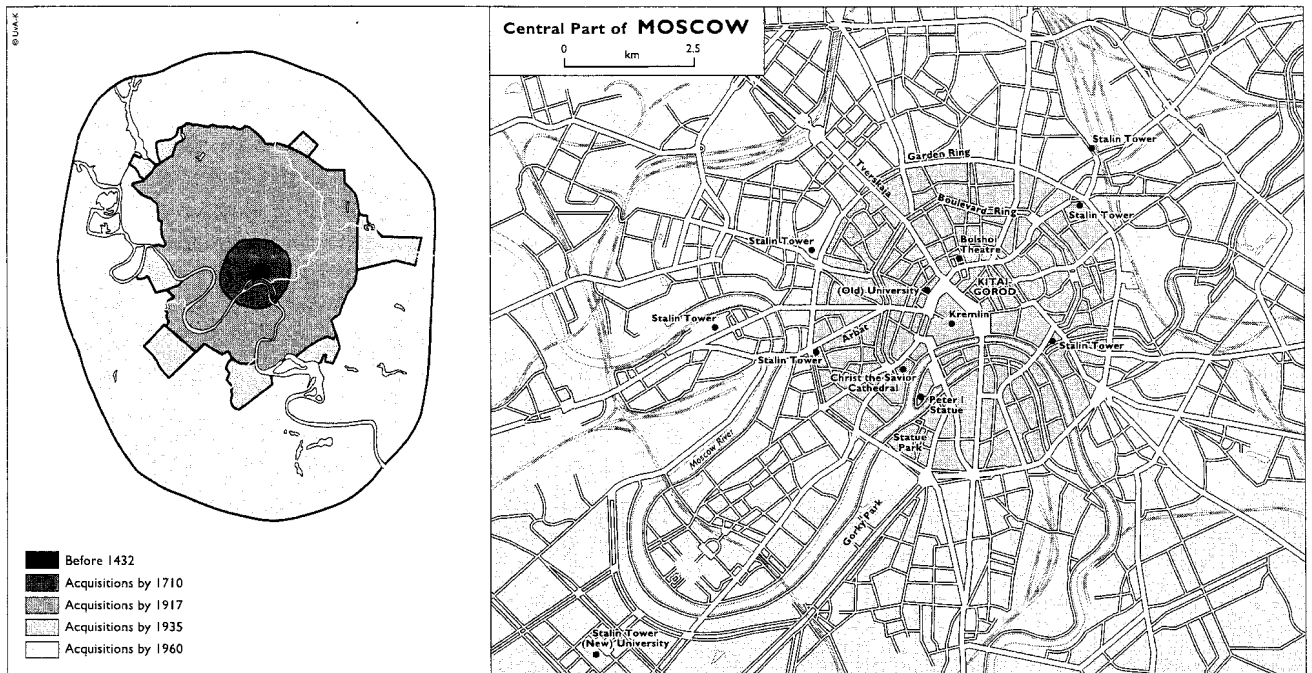


Figure 3. Moscow.

insufficient (the city was developing too rapidly), unrealistic and even utopian and replaced by a new one (Architectural memorials of Moscow, 1997).

The new General Plan of 1935 demonstrated a sustained effort to remodel Moscow after the image of the socialism-in-one-country-capital-city-of-the-world. The old image of Moscow with churches and merchant quarters did not fit its new role as the capital of the proletarian state. The Soviet capital city needed a monumental and representative image, broad streets, new transport axes, a lot of new space for residential quarters. As a result, many old buildings, including churches and cathedrals, were destroyed and replaced by new proletarian symbols. The enthusiastic re-shaping of Moscow turned it into a training ground for all sorts of innovations in urban planning and architecture, part of which diffused later to other big cities. The most important are metro, monumental boulevards in neo-classical tradition, new methods of industrial construction, skyscrapers and highrises.

The General Plan of 1971 was more oriented at the better integration of the fragments of the city and at releasing the pressure on its central part. It was also more merciful to the historical centre. But to that time the image of the city had already so considerably changed, that improvements became more difficult. Nevertheless, the difference between the plans of 1935 and 1971 is quite clear: the first one was done to create the new image of Moscow, the second one – mostly to control and orient the rapid growth of the city.

The seventy years of the Soviet regime have left a strong imprint on the shape and iconography of all Russian big cities, but Moscow had a separate status and was supposed to be the stronghold of the regime and express its ideas. Therefore, Moscow's fate in this respect is special. Moscow's Soviet inspired iconography reinforced some features of its

traditional cityscape, particularly the structure of rings and radial axes, but new singular elements were added. The basic structure was reinforced and bended to Soviet use by the project of a number of major skyscrapers at important junctions of rings and axes. In the end seven were realized (among them Moscow university, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a large hotel and some high level residential buildings). They indeed collectively shaped the new Moscow image. They were a clear sign of the new times but at the same time were integrated rather successfully in the traditional cityscape e.g. by their typical Moscovite bell tower design. The plan to top this off with an extravagant tower plus monumental square at the location of the Christ the Savior cathedral called the Palace of Soviets in the very heart of the city in the end came to nothing. The cathedral had already been destroyed and has been rebuilt recently. A basic extension to the traditional heart of the city is Lenins mausoleum adjacent to the Kremlin at Red Square that provided the regime with a powerful icon in the city's core area, that was additionally put to effective use as a focus for public rituals. A good example of the effort to craft a new union from the different national traditions is the Agricultural Exhibition in the northern part of the city: a leisure park with a series of pavillions demonstrating the particular agricultural assets of different parts of the Union in the context of a number of strong all-Union symbols. It was a major attraction for the urban population and occasional tourists during the postwar period.

A typical sign of the shift in the political fate was the namechange of streets and squares. Most of the old names in the historical centre of Moscow have been changed for the names of Soviet political leaders (mostly of Lenin and Stalin cohorts), revolutionary writers, Soviet actors and musicians. In the 1950s, after the death of Stalin, there was a new wave

of re-naming (this time Stalin and his nearest associates were eliminated from the list, e.g. the metro station 'Stalinskaja' was neutrally called 'Semenovskaja'). In the early 1990s, after the demise of the Soviet Union, the old streets were again given their old names...

The idea of creating the new image for a proletarian capital city was expressed also in a large number of new monuments, glorifying revolutionary events and revolutionary leaders. In 1918 a special decree on monumental propaganda was issued, to make arrangements with the fine arts boards and determine the monuments to be slated for removal. A few months later a list of new monuments was approved, which included more than 50 names of revolutionaries, public figures, as well as 'ideologically correct' artists, writers, philosophers and scientists, whose ideas in some way had contributed to the victory of the revolution.

Most of the new monuments appeared in the period 1920–1950s, when the idea and the urge to strengthen Moscow's monumentality was very strong. The whole city centre was filled with statues of the first cohort of proletarian leaders (Dzerzhinski, Kirov, Sverdlov, Kalinin, etc.), mostly installed in the middle of squares and streets named after them, or near the most important governmental buildings. The range of characters was exotically broad, from Marx/Engels and Russian revolutionaries and terrorists of all times to Jaures and Heinrich Heine and to hardly revolutionary writers like Dostoevskii and Saltykov-Schedrin.

A lot of new monuments and memorials appeared in the late 1940s-early 1950s devoted to the heroic war events and heroes. The rapidly expanding city needed names and monuments for streets, new squares and boulevards in the outskirts, so the ground for this afterwar wave of 'monumentality' was very favourable. Much later, already in the 1960s, a big war memorial (a grave of an unknown soldier) was located in the very centre, near the Kremlin wall, to become an important point of mass 'pilgrimage', ideological education and tourist attraction, provoking patriotic feelings of the citizens. For some years during the later part of the Soviet Union the space programme was used as a theme for monuments. Astronauts and rockets occupy some central junctions.

Generally, as regards monuments and symbols of the regime, Moscow as a capital city of Soviet times has taken over the same propagandistic functions which St.Petersburg had as a centre of the Russian Empire. Major political leaders, founders of the Soviet state, heroic events, contributing to the survival and successful development of the state – all these monuments were symbols of the state rather than of the city. Patriotism and the importance of the all-Union national idea as political instruments became the reason for re-discovering the importance of the heroic events of the past (like the war with Napoleon). A big residential area around the western axis of the city (Kutuzovskii prospect) was named after the heroes of the war of 1812, a panorama of the Borodino battle opened there in the 1960s as a public museum.

An interesting example of the changing preferences in commemorating the past is the sequence of monuments,

standing at one of the central squares of Moscow, on Tverskaja street, in front of the former house of the Governor general, which under the new regime became the residence of the Moscow Soviet (Council of deputies). The first monument to stand in this place was dedicated to the general Skobelev, a hero of the Russian-Turkish war of 1877–78 erected in the late 19th century. After the revolution (in 1918) the monument was removed as of no artistic value and replaced by an obelisk to the October revolution with a Statue of Freedom. After the war, in 1947, this one was also replaced as having no artistic value and replaced by a monumental sculpture of Prince Juri Dolgorukii, who reunited Russia after its feudal fragmentation and, in addition, is supposedly the founder of the city of Moscow in the 12th century (Sytin, 1958).

In spite of all the efforts to change the image of Soviet Moscow, many of its historical zones basically preserved their functions in a new form. The biggest concentration of governmental institutions (apart from the Kremlin with its special status) was the area of Kitai-gorod next to the Kremlin, which has traditionally been known as an administrative and business centre. Streets were renamed, houses got new signs, but the function of the area remained the same. The western part of the centre remained the prestigious zone for elite residences, embassies and some cultural facilities. At the same time a new governmental district emerged in the northern sector of Moscow, partly because new ministries needed big plots for large office buildings and this former non-prestigious are still contained a lot of old housing that could easily be removed.

The new Moscow was consciously built up as the capital of the Soviet Union. Its difference from the rest of the world was underlined. Its inward oriented tradition was a favourable basis for this mission. The aesthetic repertoire in which it was expressed, was to a large extent derived from the general rules of classicism also used in quite different contexts for the same purpose. At the same time specific Russian traditions assisted in shaping the new Moscow. This makes quite a contrast to the role of St.Petersburg, which was developed and maintained for two centuries as a capital in the European fashion without much reference to the Russian aesthetic tradition.

'A world city with a provincial fate': Petersburg/Leningrad as the second capital

After the capital was moved to Moscow, St. Petersburg's treasures were initially neglected and the city had an ambiguous status. On the one hand, it remained an important political and economic centre and a big cultural asset of Russia. It has never been forgotten as the city, which nurtured the revolution, where the new government was formed and the fate of the country was decided. On the other hand, to the taste of the new regime, it had too much of the old imperial spirit. The loss of political and administrative functions changed the basis of the city's development. It became much more singularly an industrial town, mostly with heavy industry and later engineering. It had a reputation as the

citadel of the proletariat – the image carefully preserved by the national and local authorities, both having their own reasons. It was at the same time hailed as a unique collection of national treasures, a city of art, science, traditions, where the old atmosphere had not completely vanished.

St.Petersburg of Soviet times was known as Leningrad but still called 'Peter' in colloquial language. It became a kind of a double symbol: ideologically reliable industrial cluster for the authorities, a spiritual centre of Russia for many people especially the intelligentsia, a core of alternative culture, in a certain way confronting the official socialist culture crafted in Moscow. In Soviet times a journey to Leningrad meant a romantic journey, new forms of art, non-traditional theater performances, interesting bookstores, looking for nostalgic encounters with a material culture and a population, that had preserved the spirit of old Russia.

Like in Moscow, the toponimics of St.Petersburg changed considerably, including the very name of the city. The emphasis in the city image was clearly moved to the recent revolutionary past but it was more difficult and less pressing to neglect the history of the 18th and 19th centuries than in Moscow. First of all, because the whole historical centre, including buildings, monuments, fences of the quays and parks, are a cultural heritage. Most of the monuments, even ideologically wrong ones, were masterpieces of art and it was difficult to ignore them. Secondly, because it was now Moscow's role to represent the regime. In St.Petersburg the urge to make it into a shopwindow of the new regime was somehow weaker. Besides, the cultural treasures of St.Petersburg remained an important tourist attraction for their own sake and therefore were important for the national and local budget.

The imprint of the new regime in the historical centre of St.Petersburg was not so strong as in the centre of Moscow, although outside the historical centre there were a lot of new memorials, parks and buildings, symbolizing the victory of the proletariat. In terms of changing the image of the city centre, the most interesting thing is that under the pressure of propaganda, the perception of many historical places has completely changed. For several generations of Soviet citizens, raised on new school textbooks, guidebooks, novels, paintings and stories in the mass media, the Winter Palace was known mostly because of being heroically attacked in 1917, Smol'niy palace (former Institute for females from nobility) – as a command center of the Bolsheviks during the revolution, where Lenin pronounced his historical speech, another historical speech brought fame to the Finland railway station. Champs de Mars, which was originally a place for military exercises and an emblem of the military power of the Russian Empire, turned into the memorial place for the victims of the February revolution of 1917, who were buried there in a mass grave.

Being deprived of its high administrative status, St.Petersburg lost incentives for the development of the service sector (both producer and consumer services). Its economic contribution to the national economy was very important, as it became a big industrial centre, concentrating among other industries a lot of technologically advanced

engineering, mostly for the needs of the military complex. Like Moscow, the city became a special administrative unit, independent from its suburbs. Like Moscow, it had a special status with respect to residence permits and advantages in the supply of goods. It was considered to be a national treasure in terms of its cultural value. But at the same time St.Petersburg was strongly overshadowed by Moscow as a decision-making centre. This provided the setting for antagonistic attitudes of the spokesmen of the second and the first capital, which existed (and still does exist) at different levels: in politics, economics, but especially in culture (polemics between theater and literature critics about artists and publications from the other side), mass media and even on a personal level. Both sides now look at St.Petersburg, overshadowed by Moscow, as a world city with a provincial fate but they disagree about the future and about who is to blame.

The Western-style remodelling of 'Holy Russia': post-Soviet developments in Moscow

Since 1991 the end of socialism has meant a sustained effort by private initiative and the state to bring Moscow, particularly its inner city, back to the state of an emerging thriving city of the immediate pre-revolutionary years during the turn of the century. Post-Soviet Russia is looking for its identity and this time both national and international elements became important for the capital city: international as a symbol of economic and political integration into the broader world, national – to emphasize its 'representativeness', or its links with the Russian province.

Moscow as the capital city has greatly benefited from the new developments. From the beginning of the reforms it concentrated a large part of the new activities nationwide, crucial for the post-industrial transformation (commercial banking, producer services, high-ranked consumer services, administrative functions, especially international connections). The internationalization of the city and the quick development of new branches, quite common for all the large world cities, made a strong impact on the appearance of the city (standard billboards and advertising of the worldwide chains and companies, renewed shopwindows, Latin letters introduced in public places). At the same time, the city government led by mayor Luzhkov has invested a lot of effort (and money) to restore the old historical places, upgrade the old housing stock and reconstruct Moscow's pre-revolutionary flavour, which will again make it into a very Russian city. Older merchant houses have been restored but also many art nouveau facades from around 1900. In many cases the restoration of the house and the adjacent part of the street became a condition on which the city government rents or sells housing to businesses and institutions.

Many of the old delapidated cathedrals and monasteries were returned to the church, which is very active in their reconstruction. Some of the churches, destroyed by Stalin, have been rebuilt, in spite of debates about the need of these huge investments (e.g. the cathedral of Christ the Saviour, a

church in the Red Square). Let us take the case of the cathedral as an example (for a detailed history and interpretation see Sodorov, 2000). The reasons for the decision to rebuild it, can be debated. First, it is the intention to return the traditional Russian spirit to the city, its historical centre most of all suffered from socialist 'reconstruction'. This may be understood as a symbolical act made more urgent by the capital city status of Moscow. Second, it may be explained as an effort to deny the heritage and ideas of the Soviet times and to bring the city back to the pre-revolutionary order, when possible. Third, it was obviously to a large extent a populist measure to gain support for the Moscow mayor (big project, a lot of publicity, church involvement, long pre-history, the fact that originally in the 19th century it was built on public donations). Fourth, it improved the ridiculous situation when a very precious city site was occupied by a recently closed swimming pool (severely criticized for years for negative environmental consequences), the sorry remnant of the Palace of Soviets project.

There are also significant changes in the position of monuments. Many of the Soviet monuments were removed in the early 1990s. The most famous among them (Dzerzhinsky, Sverdlov) were collected just across Gorky Park along the river bank in the Park of Arts, near a big exhibition-museum centre (which includes also part of the exposition of the Tretjakov gallery with the art of the Soviet period). This whole setting can be read as a form of irony but also as a serious way to give the past its place in the post-Soviet city. Some of the new monuments of the 1990s are the subject of severe critical discussions because they clearly reflect the extravagant taste of certain persons, sitting close to the power. An example is the current President of the Academy of Art Zurab Tzereteli, whose enormous statue of Peter the First is hanging over the city centre and whose many other statues also have become part of the new age. Apparently this is an effort to underline the Russian character of the current capital city, heart of a major power by the statue of a czar earlier represented in the former capital to underline its international mission.

As new Russia is looking for its identity, new Moscow is also in search of its new image. In the new situation it became more difficult: the capital city pretends to be the most internationalized and the most Russian at the same time. The symbols also carry signs of these two different processes: restored or rebuilt churches and old mansions stand next to new business centres designed according to the rules of the architecturally cosmopolitan post-modern style. This combination is rather new for Moscow, although common for the other big capital cities of the world.

There is a lot of debate about the apparent architectural eclecticism of the new Moscow, which in its new developments shows traces of three sources: (1) western (mostly american) metropolises (adapted *à la russe*) (2) loyalty to the orthodox background and the myth of orthodox Moscow as the Third Rome, (3) still a strong impact of the communist ideology (especially in the methods used for financing and regulation). The ideology reigning in Moscow in the late 1990s was recently well captured: "The modern Moscow

dream is an orthodox New York with the economy ran by socialist methods" (Medovnikov, 1998). Such an eclectic appearance of new Moscow results of course from the variety of patrons that privately order constructions. The outcome is dependent on a multitude of personal tastes.

At the same time the new constructions seem to be groping towards a newly shared aesthetic. This is presumably the result of the personal taste of the Moscow mayor Luzhkov, who has in fact created a certain style of the 1990s which history will associate with his name. This seems to be typical for architecture in Russia. Throughout its history it has known many periods, when personal preferences of the rulers (tzars and their associates, then communist leaders) were giving names for popular styles. 'Peter's baroque', 'Ekatherina's classicism', 'Nikolai's empire' etc, as well as Stalin's, Kchrutchev's, and Brezhnev's types of housing became part of the Russian art history (Sedov, 1998).

The Moscow style in architecture, so well known in the previous centuries, is again present in its new form. It is clearly seen in the new highrises, built by the biggest Russian companies or institutions: a vertically oriented volume concluded with a little tower or 'onion' (like a church) is present in the office-building of Gasprom and Sberbank in the South-West, tax inspection head-quarters, Russian cultural centre and many others. This style goes back to the Stalin highrises (University, Foreign ministry, etc) and may be interpreted as a renewed effort to draw the historical profile in a contemporaneous fashion, the idea of a new and an old metropolis, the concept of the Third Rome, a tendency towards imperial monumentality.

As any internationalizing capital city, Moscow is now also considered to be the most cosmopolitan in arts, more tolerant to all sorts of innovations and experiments. Interviews with actors, artists and writers, published in the last years in the Russian press, clearly show their unanimous attitude to the Moscow audience as more democratic as compared with a more conservative audience in Petersburg.

The new image of Moscow and its westernization, construction boom, quick economic restructuring, social changes – all this creates a growing gap between the capital city and the rest of the country, still widened by the progressing regionalism. Among the provincial population Moscow is now considered non-Russian, a rich outsider, a vampire, drinking blood from the country; the Moscow leaders to be non-representative in their ideas. This re-action is clearly seen in political debates (especially before the elections – the pro-Moscow block against the block of regional leaders) and in debates about the economic policy (regions-donors and regions-recipients). This gap between the capital city and the province is seen as unacceptable by many Russians, although examples of other countries show that this is the case for many rapidly internationalizing dualistic societies (e.g. South Korea), where capital cities carry elements of both traditional and international architecture and look pretty much on their own within their national territories.

Post-Soviet St.Petersburg: the most European of the Russian cities or the most Russian of the European ones?

In the 1990s St. Petersburg has had a much more difficult time than Moscow. Its industrial base, given its traditional profile, has been more severely undercut. The federal investments are pretty limited and the city authorities have to be very selective in their choice of priorities to upgrade the urban economy. So far St.Petersburg is very slow in post-industrial transformation as most of the new activities are still strongly concentrated in Moscow. Against expectations that its European image and the fame of the historical capital would promote foreign investments and attract national business, St.Petersburg again found itself overshadowed by Moscow. Similar developments are going much slower here: there is hardly any distinctive renewed central business district, the gentrified areas are very small as compared to Moscow, the restructuring and the restoration of the historical centre has hardly begun.

As internationalization does not have much impact on the cityscape, St.Petersburg has found it more difficult to transform into a postmodern city. It has benefited to some extent from foreign tourism but this has remained a shallow base for a general overhaul. Some of its architectural treasures are in terrible shape, efforts at regeneration are pretty weak because of the limited city budget, which in turn stays rather limited because of the limited tax incomes from limited private activities, for which the delapidated urban environment is also an obstacle. This vicious circle seems to be very difficult to break.

The two teams of city authorities (in the early 1990s under mayor Sobchak and in the late 1990s under mayor Jakovlev) have chosen completely different priorities for the city development. Sobchak promised prosperity based on tourism and the cultural sphere, Jakovlev prosperity based on industrial plants (Ol'kina, 1997). The first team saw the future of the city in its cultural functions, the second team in industrial development. It is true that in the middle of the 1990s the consumer services oriented at tourism were much better organized than in Moscow (the number of cafes, restaurants, retail trade, all sorts of entertainments, the organization of street life). Nevertheless, by the end of the 1990s Moscow has taken over in this sphere as well.

In more internationalized Moscow, the newly introduced elements of global business and global consumption (advertising billboards, shopwindows, attribute of the lifestyle of the new social classes) do not make much contrast to the renewed urban environment, while in St.Petersburg they do (the bright red sign of Coca-Cola looks ridiculous against a dusty and poorly decorated shopwindow, left from Soviet times). Because of this the new developments in St.Petersburg are in general met by the local population more reluctantly and even aggressively than in Moscow. The share of people involved in the new activities or benefiting from them is also not as high as in Moscow. All this contributes to St.Petersburg's current more conservative politics. Here we see an interesting inversion: in the 18th and 19th centuries

Moscow as the alternative capital was always more conservative and traditional than St.Petersburg with its progressive developments. Now St.Petersburg seems to be more reluctant to change and is very critical about Moscow's present development.

The search for a new identity in St.Petersburg is going in two different directions. The authorities base their strategies on the idea that St.Petersburg is the most European of Russian cities and given its traditional attractivity for the West, see its future as the biggest transportation and communication centre of North-Western Russia (as a minimum). The intelligentsia of St.Petersburg looks at their city as the most Russian of the European cities and presents the city as the centre of a real Russian culture, having nothing in common with 'the culture of the new Russians', which, according to some authors, is dominating now in Moscow (Zapesozkii, 1998). The 'Russianness' of Petersburg is indicated not only by the lack of the so-called elite culture (which is looked at as rather international than national) but also by sharing poverty with many other Russian regions, and in opposition to Moscow. St.Petersburg pretends now to be a cultural capital of Russia, as Moscow pretended in its earlier history. In the same way as in Moscow before, the local authorities of St.Petersburg are making a point of having a strong city government, as independent as possible from the national one.

The election of a Petersburger, Vladimir Putin, as Russian president in spring 2000 and the strengthening position of the 'Petersburg team' he brought with him, gave an impulse to all sorts of debates about the new chances for the second capital to raise its status. So far, there are no practical steps seen in this direction. The suggestion to transfer the lower chamber of the Duma from Moscow to Petersburg was turned down without too many discussions under the pretext of being too expensive for the national budget. Other large scale moves are so far not discussed.

Discussion & conclusions

In the case of Russia the question how capital city status and the establishment of a government affects a city's fate has to be complemented by the problem what it means when a city loses such features in the course of history. From our analysis of the fates of Moscow and St. Petersburg over time it is obvious that the imprint of being the capital is historically specific, related to the nature of political regimes and general aesthetic preferences of the time. Changes in that status deprive a city of that ongoing influence but also induce a distinctively different, nearly opposite role: guardian of a regional or national heritage, reference to a popular past. The suggestion is that this inducement comes from the way the city is treated from the outside in particular by the current political regime, but also possibly from the changing internal profile of local authority.

Moscow was first of all Russia's capital during the early modern period. Its emerging cityscape was profoundly affected by the connection between ruler and orthodox church. As Moscow turned into a former capital by Peter's daring

urbanization project in the North, the set of meanings about Russian rule that this combination encouraged gave way to an interpretation stressing regionalist motives that implied a return to the popular roots of national existence, as a central guideline for the city's further development. The city's fate again turned with the advent of the revolution. It touched off a second period of capital city status that still continues. There was a wholesale effort to change Moscow's cityscape after the revolutionary image, that retained a number of traditional features but aimed simultaneously to overturn a lot of others. The intentions were only partially realized but the regime's stamp was indelibly put stressing a national version of general classicist monumentality adding some typical Russian flavours. After the demise of the Soviet regime there is a concerted effort to return to the immediate pre WWI years and to play out Moscovs twentieth century history a second time around. Obviously the clock can not be turned back altogether. Moscow is now a curious hybrid with some attributes of a truly global city based on an emerging turn of the century development in common with a number of other big cities plus a still widely visible Soviet heritage, itself based on an older grid where the unity of church and state set the conditions for urban development and capital city iconography.

St. Petersburg was created *de novo* as a capital city. Its creation and development was heavily affected by the urge to reach out to the rest of the civilized world. Its riparian location had an impact on the way the city developed but this location apparently left more options as the very political centre moved from an island on the right bank of the Neva to the left bank. Such a change never happened in Moscow after the Kremlin had been selected although it could have if the Palace of the Soviets would have been realized. St. Petersburg's basic layout was inspired by foreign contemporary examples. During its first two centuries it was very much the Russian state's central showpiece demonstrating the ruler's power, and his civilized nature by emulating European examples. Its port function also provided the basis for heavy industrialization in the early stages of industrial capitalist development. After the revolution this combination of former core of state power accompanied by the memories of revolutionary fervour plus a very large heavy industrial sector and the working class that went with it, provided for a curious paradoxical image. On the one hand the city provoked nostalgic feelings to a prerevolutionary past emphasizing its cultural assets and somehow now connecting these to a shared Russian past by very different means as those used in the case of Moscow. Some also emphasized the beauty of the revolution in this historical context. On the other hand Petersburg could during this period also be seen as the penultimate realization of the Soviet Unions ambition

for an alternative industrial society. After the Soviet Union collapsed St Petersburg found itself in search of a new place. Its cultural heritage has very badly suffered, its industrial base has been destroyed, the former capital has difficulty in finding its contemporary niche.

This tale of two cities still leaves many questions unanswered. We should e.g. know much more about the intentions of rulers and their technical advisers as they developed their projects (for the beginnings of a comparative analysis for the current period: Vendina and Aksenov, 1999). We should very much beware of interpretations merely using the current city shape as much has been deformed and distorted over time. We should more clearly find out how the evolving cityscapes were read, interpreted and appreciated by visitors, foreign and national, and inhabitants alike. What this story shows is the clear impact of political choices and political negligence on the visual appearance of urban places that find themselves to be places where authority resides. But the rulers who are in charge act in an historical-geographical context that constrains choice and within a set of aesthetic, and more generally cultural preferences that guide their hand. The results provide room for multiple interpretation. This room is amply used giving rise to a whole series of imagined capitals.

References

- Architectural memorials of Moscow. Atlas. Topchijan Ja.(ed.) 1997: Federal Department of Geodesy and Cartography, Moscow. 264 pp. (in Russian).
- Kann P.Ja. and Sukhotin Ja.F. 1999. St.Petersburg and suburbs. Peter, St.Petersburg, 224 pp. (in Russian)
- Luzhkov Ju. 1996: We are your children. Moscow. Magisterium, 339 pp. (in Russian).
- Medovnikov D., 1998: The architecture of ratio. 'Expert', 20 April, p. 22 (in Russian).
- Ol'kina M., 1997: A rent for the window to Europe. The role of industrial forepost does not fit Petersburg. 'Novoe vremja', N 20, p.18 (in Russian).
- Pokhlebkina V.V., 1997: The capitols of Russia. Moscow, Zentrpoligraf, 42 pp. (in Russian).
- Sedov V., 1998: Behind the back of Peter the Great. 'Expert', 30 March, p. 84 (in Russian).
- Sodorov D., 2000: National monumentalization and the politics of scale: the resurrections of the Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Moscow. Ann. Am. Asso. Geogr. 90(3): 548-572.
- Sytin P.V., 1958: From the history of Moscow streets. Moscow, Moskovskii rabochii, 844 pp. (in Russian).
- Vendina O. and Aksenov K., 1999: Moscow and St.Petersburg: regulated development or spontaneous transformation of urban space? In: Moscow on the background of Russia and the world: relations with the capital in the contexts of market transition, pp. 171-192. Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow (in Russian).
- Vinogradov V.A. (ed.) 1996. 1997: Moscow. 850 Anniversary. Moscow Textbooks, Moscow.
- Zapesotskii A., 1998: Moscow surrendered to the new Russians. 'Izvestija', 4.02, 1998. (in Russian).