Second in the Empire:

Social topography of Moscow and Budapest in the early twentieth century

By

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Presented thesis is an asymmetrical comparative analysis of the social topography of Moscow and Budapest in the early twentieth century in the context of modernization in Russia and Austria-Hungary. Moscow and Budapest, both the second metropolises in the empires, in the last third of the nineteenth century experienced dramatic economic and demographic growth that transformed the social organization of the cities and was mirrored in the structure of urban environment.

This study focuses on the two main urban groups – new capitalist elite and working-class. It reconstructs the topography of their residence (on the basis of statistical sources and prosopographical address analysis) and of their activity and intermingling in the public space, namely, in the city parks.

It is generally agreed upon among the urban historians that modernity, at least in West-European cities, brought about the spatial separation of the classes. Proceeding from this assertion, presented study examines the applicability of the indicated theory to the realities of Moscow and Budapest and analyzes the factors that determined the settlement patterns, the desirableness of particular city zones and the scope of class interaction in the urban environment.

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INTRODUCTION

The city is a place where the activities of a whole country come to a head. Accumulating its resources in all possible dimensions – economic, social, intellectual and cultural – it creates an integral model of structural organization of the country and the processes happening there. This view explains why when the certain periods of national history are re-estimated – as it is now happening to the Russian pre-revolutionary heritage –the cities, their everyday life and temporal development evoke a growing interest.

Among the Russian cities Moscow is certainly the most researched and best-known one to both western and local audience. Even though the number of studies does not look that impressive as compared to the thousands of pages written about some Western-European and American cities, one must admit that turn-of-the-20th- century Moscow - probably because this period immediately precedes the troubled times of the revolutions – called into being several comprehensive works, whose number was rapidly growing over the last fifteen years.

However, like Russian historiography in general, these studies tend to lack a comparative perspective and thus might mislead readers, making them regard the development of Moscow as a unique process[1]. Though turn-of-the-century Moscow history obviously had its peculiarities, it was a part of global modernization and this inevitably obliges us to regard it in a much broader context. Moreover, this period was the time of the intensive exchange of ideas in different spheres - and urban experience was no exception. Certain strategies and policies were consciously adopted and widely discussed, that is to say, the development of Moscow in the several decades before the revolution was regarded by its residents as integrated into the wider perspective that included at least European and American cities. Naturally different time and space context invoked considerable reformulation in putting these policies into practice and thus

[1] A rare example of comparative approach in the Moscow urban studies is the book of B. Ruble, *Second Metropolis: Pragmatic pluralism in Gilded Age Chicago, Silver Age Moscow and Meiji Osaka.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2004).

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contributed to shaping the city's peculiar image, but this does not rule out the general similarity of the urban experience.

In the presented study I want to fill this gap and to contextualize Russian urban history. My research is aimed to relate distinct Moscow realities to that of the other European city, namely, to Budapest. This choice might seem a surprising one as Hungarian and Russian urban experience or their history in general were hardly ever collated or compared. Although, unlike Moscow, Budapest studies do not lack comparative perspective, the eyes of the scholars were always oriented westward, so to say towards Vienna, Prague, Berlin, Paris or even New York, the latter being the model of metropolitan transformation[2].

Nevertheless, Moscow and Budapest had been sharing the common experience during the five decades preceding the World War I. Both cities were located in vast multi-national empires - Russian and Austro-Hungarian - that were for a long time economically backward relatives to Western Europe. From 1870s onwards, however, their development accelerated and by the turn of the new century they joined the ranks of the fastest-growing regions in Europe, though this growth within the countries' borders was geographically very uneven[3]. Moscow and Budapest became the centers of this accelerated economic growth and thus acquired a new place in the European urban hierarchy. For a long time unnoticed in the shadow of the imperial capitals, Vienna and St. Petersburg, they were eventually transformed into important outposts of industrial capitalism and became real metropolises, though still second in their empires.

The rapid development of the cities obviously reflected the all-country process of modernization, but for each city there were certain peculiar factors, that determined and intensified its growth. In case of Budapest they were the Compromise of 1867 and the unification of the city in 1873 when amalgamated Buda, Pest and Óbuda gave birth to the

[2] See T. Bender and C. Schorske (eds.), *Budapest and New York: Studies in metropolitan transformation, 1870-1930* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1994); G. Melinz and S. Zimmermann (eds.), *Wien, Prag, Budapest: Blütezeit der Habsburgermetropolen: Urbanisierung, Kommunalpolitik, gesellschaftliche Konflikte, 1867-1918* (Wien: Promedia, 1996); P. Hanák, *The garden and the workshop: Essays on the cultural history of Vienna and Budapest* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998).

[3] F. Crouzet, *A History of European Economy 1000-2000* (University of Virginia Press, 2001), pp. 144 – 147.

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modern Budapest. This new status multiplied by the economic potential of pre-Compromise Pest contributed greatly to its urban development, making it the key infrastructure point and economic centre of the Hungarian part of the Empire and thus the destination of many migrant workers from all over the country.

In case of Moscow the bifurcation point was the abolition of serfdom in 1861 which liberated the labor-market and contributed greatly to the urbanization on a country-scale. On the regional level, due to the city's location amidst the overpopulated provinces of Central Russia, it resulted in thousands of peasants rushing to Moscow in search of work.

In addition to this, both cities greatly benefited from the development of transportation system, notably, the railways. In the Habsburg Empire, railroad construction created new markets for Hungarian agriculture and its products were widely shipped in the processed form, precisely, as flour or alcohol. Budapest thus became the second-largest centre of flour-milling in the world, after Minneapolis[4]. Moscow, perhaps, experienced an even more striking influence of railroad construction. Russian railway network was much less dense than that of Hungary, but it covered an incomparably vaster territory, which inevitably lead to its utmost centralization. Due to the city's convenient location (as compared, for instance, to St. Petersburg), it got the place in the middle of this spider web and this was the crucial factor of building Moscow economic power.

However, the main trend in the economic growth of Budapest and Moscow was rapid industrialization facilitated by the infrastructure development and concentration of the labor-force. To begin with, it was traditional regional light industry. In Budapest the process started with milling and meat-processing then joint with brewing and distilling[5]. In Moscow the key position belonged to the textile industry that in the mid-19th century employed 80 % of all the

[4] Ibid., p. 143.
[5] G. Gyáni, *Parlor and Kitchen: Housing and domestic culture in Budapest, 1870-1940.* (Budapest, New York: Central European University Press, 2002), p. 7.

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city's workers[6]. Later, towards the end of the century, in both cities it was large-scale heavy industry, mainly metallurgy and machinery, that took over the lead role.

The population of the cities was greatly affected by these fundamental alterations. In the last third of the 19th century they experienced a dramatic and constant population growth. From 1869 to 1900 their population almost tripled and reached the number of 717 681 in Budapest[7] and 1 175 000 in Moscow[8]. By the end of the 19th century Budapest was the fastest growing metropolis in Europe, but after the 1900 the demographical boom stopped. It was Moscow that took up the baton and as a result the number of Muscovites by the eve of the World War I was half as much again[9]. This vast increase was mainly the consequence of mass immigration. The centers of urbanization, by the beginning of the 20th century both Moscow and Budapest became the cities of immigrants where the majority of population was born elsewhere.

Budapest and Moscow were the cities where general changes in the social structure accompanying industrial capitalism could be clearly retraced. First of all, industrialization coupled with intense immigration contributed to the development of the urban working population in both cities, and, to be more precise, to the growth of the industrial workers. In the last two decades of the century their quantity more than doubled and by 1900 achieved the number of 108,000 in Moscow and 125,000 in Budapest[10]. Besides the quantitative increase, the working class was also restructured internally. Although the cities grew rapidly and their modern industry absorbed great amount of manpower, it was nevertheless less able to employ those without basic education and, consequently, the growth of factories required parallel growth of the skilled laborers. On the other hand, the intense modernization put forward bourgeoisie as a key actor on the historical scene. The *nouveaux riches* whose supremacy was built on their

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[6]A. Nifontov, *Promyshlennost kapitalisticheskoi Moskvy (The Industry of Capitalist Moscow)* in S. Bakhrushin (ed.), *Istoria Moskvy (The History of Moscow), vol. 4*, (Moscow-Leningrad: AN SSSR, 1954) P.73.
[7] K. Vörös, *Birth of Budapest as a Metropolis, 1873-1918*, in A. Gerö and J. Poór (eds.), *Budapest: a History from its Beginnings to 1996* (New York: Social Science Monographs, 1997), p. 104.
[8] *Statisticheskii ezhegodnik goroda Moskvy (Moscow Annual Statistical Book) (*Moscow: Moskovskaya gorodskaya uprava, 1908- 1916), p. 7.
[9] I.Verner (ed.), *Sovremennoe khozaistvo goroda Moskvy (Modern Economy of Moscow)* (Moscow: Moskovskaya gorodskaya uprava, 1913), p.6.
[10]K. Vörös, op.cit., p. 108; A. Nifontov, op.cit., p. 75.

success in the capitalist economy pushed and even replaced the old elite in the city space, thus reflecting the shift in the power balance.

These structural changes could not leave the urban environment untouched. Rising economy required new place and this caused the expansion and densification of the urban space, consuming the green and non-built areas. High accumulation of people, technology, money and good flows in a limited space exerted a load on the city natural resources stronger than ever before, thus setting a challenging task of providing the necessary conditions for subsistence and proper vital functioning of all its numerous residents and enterprises. It also called into being large-scale infrastructure improvements, such as water-supply and sewage system, communications, extended road network, public transportation, etc.

Finally, metropolitan transformation required intensification of the social life and beautification of the city, the latter more profoundly implemented in Budapest due to its newly-acquired capital status. It was then when the cities received many (in case of Budapest the vast majority) of its cultural institutions and public buildings such as museums, theatres, railway stations, banks, hotels or department stores. Spatial restructuring of the urban environment went in tandem with the changes in economic and social life.

In the presented research I will study one particular dimension of this metropolitan development – social topography – the dimension where economic, social, cultural, spatial and environmental factors interact. The traditional patterns of human settlement and activity, formed during the centuries, changed during these decades of rapid transformation, being adapted to the new functional organization of the cities, new social structure and new shape of the urban space and thus reflecting the spectrum of new realities brought by modernization.

Since the urban growth was accrual, my research is concentrated on the latest period of this development, so to say the last fifteen years before the World War I, in order to reflect the transformation in its fullest form, but without the changes brought by the wartime.

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The chapters to follow do not pretend to embrace the analysis of all the city territory of Moscow and Budapest or to study the settlement of all the groups in their social structure. This problem obviously deserves a research of a larger size than a master thesis. Due to the limited scope of my work I would like to narrow my focus to the several most indicating aspects of social topography and the factors that determined it.

Therefore, the first chapter is dedicated to peculiar backgrounds of Moscow and Budapest, so to say their history, inner geography, functional organization and governance – factors that determined the different context for modernization and shaped the individual faces of the cities. Since the main common trend of the urban development were the growth of capitalist economy and industrialization, the second and the third chapters will be devoted to the social strata that were the driving forces of this process – working class and bourgeoisie. Obviously, the structure of the society was far more complicated but these two groups were the key actors. Moreover, in the late nineteenth century their position underwent significant change that allows us to see the dynamics of the transformation. Finally, in the forth chapter I will analyze the organization of the public space, namely, the city parks as a possible territory for interaction of the different layers of society.

Though social topography is by no means a thoroughly explored aspect neither for Budapest, nor for Moscow, my study would have been unimaginable without the previous noteworthy researches of the urban historians, namely, those of Gábor Gyáni, Károly Vörös or Tamás Faragó[11] about Budapest and Joseph Bradley, Blair Ruble and Iurii Petrov[12] about

[11] G. Gyáni. *Budapest*, in M.J. Daunton (ed.), *Housing the workers, 1850-1914* (London and New York: Leicester University press, 1990); *Identity and the Urban Experience: Fin-de-Siècle Budapest*, (New York: Social Science Monographs, 2004), *Parlor and Kitchen: Housing and domestic culture in Budapest*, 1870-1940. (Budapest, New York: Central European University Press, 2002), *Uses and Misuses of Public Space in Budapest: 1873-1914* in T.Bender and C. Shorske (eds.), *Budapest and New York* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1994),*Women as Domestic Servants: The Case of Budapest, 1890-1940* (New York: Columbia University press, 1989); [11] K. Vörös, *Birth of Budapest as a Metropolis, 1873-1918*, in A. Gerö and J. Poór (eds.), *Budapest: a History from its Beginnings to 1996* (New York: Social Science Monographs, 1997), K., *Budapest legnagyobb adófizetői 1873-1917 (Budapest greatest taxpayers, 1873-1917)* (Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979); T. Farago, *Housing and Households in Budapest, 1855-1944* in *History and Society in Central Europe*, Vol. 1, Number 1 (1991).

[12] J. Bradley, From Big Village to Metropolis, in M. Hamm (ed.), The City in Late Imperial Russia (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), Muzhik and Muskovite: Urbanization in late imperial Russia (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.); Iu. Petrov and J. West (eds.), *Kupecheskaya Moskva: Obrazy ushedshei rossiiskoi burzhuazii (Merchant Moscow: The images of vanished Moscow bourgeoisie)*, (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2007), J. West

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Moscow. Each of them played its role in directing my attention and provided necessary background and material for my comparative analysis.

Since Moscow remains the main object of my attention, the comparison will inevitably be asymmetrical. This method, without demanding the same effort for both of the objects compared, allows widening the horizon of the nation-specific historiography. Using the expression of Jurgen Kocka, "even in its asymmetric form, comparison can lead to questions that cannot otherwise be posed and to answers that cannot otherwise be given"[13]. The main function of the comparison in my research is to deepen the insight into the Russian realities and perceive it as put into the world context. If the presented work, apart from reconstructing patterns of social settlement in Budapest and Moscow, can help in understanding the peculiarities of Moscow urban development and Russian modernization in general, I will think that my task has been accomplished.

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and Iu. Petrov (eds.), *Merchant Moscow* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998; B. Ruble, *Second Metropolis: Pragmatic pluralism in Gilded Age Chicago, Silver Age Moscow and Meiji Osaka.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2004).

[13] J. Kocka, *Asymmetrical Historical Comparison: The case of German Sonderweg*, in *History and Theory*, volume 38, number 1 (1999), p. 49.

CHAPTER ONE

SOCIAL TOPOGRAPHY UNDER REVIEW

The transformation associated with modernity, no matter where it was located geographically, naturally affected the city both in the dimension of its physical layout and that of the mental life and interrelations of its dwellers. Social topography of the cities is the spatial reflection of this multi-dimensional economical, societal and behavioral change initiated by industrialization.

By the term "social topography" I mean the settlement structure of the social groups and the location of their activity in the urban space as well as the social meaning that the places and zones of the city acquired through accumulating both of these factors. I mentioned these two factors - settlement and the location of activity – separately because, though connected, they are discrete phenomena – or at least became so during the nineteenth century. This was the period of the increasing separation of the home and workplace – the process to a great extent triggered by industrial revolution.

It is generally agreed upon among the urban historians that in regard to social topography modernity brought about the spatial segregation of the classes. Capitalism eliminated the traditional status hierarchy and its attributes; thus, the geographical localization became one of the key instruments of status distinction and privileges. Moreover, capitalism contributed to the extreme polarization of the society, eliminating deference, paternalism and face to face relations as methods of social control, which resulted in the depreciation of the interpersonal communication between classes and facilitated their spatial separation[14]. Starting from the middle of the nineteenth century many European and American cities were transformed into the increasingly segregated areas.

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[14] G.S. Jones, *Outcast London: A study in the relationship between classes in Victorian society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 14.

As early as in1845 we can find Engels's account on the social segregation in the British cities where "by unconscious tacit agreement, as well as with outspoken conscious determination, the working-people's quarters are sharply separated from the sections of the city reserved for the middle-class" and thus "a separate territory has been assigned to poverty, where removed from the sight of the happier classes, it may struggle along as it can" [15].

England, though the first one, was definitely not alone in this process. The British example was soon followed by France where Haussmann's reconstruction of Paris in the 1850s contributed to the homogenization of the neighborhoods[16]. A creation of Ringstrasse in Vienna a decade after determined the physical layout of the city drawing the demarcation line between the upper and the lower classes[17].

This urban change and the phenomenon of the industrial metropolis with the new forms of spatial organization it brought about was soon reflected upon in the social thought and from then on, meanwhile the metropolitan structures were becoming more complex, the conceptions of the urbanism were elaborated and re-estimated in the framework of the developing urban sociology and urban history.

Engels explained the spatial segregation by the change of human relations in the big industrial cities with their "brutal indifference" and "shameless isolation" of the individuals[18]. His interpretation is perhaps one of the first attempts to connect the form of the community to the social organization when the spatial array of the city is an illustration and manifestation of the changing human relationships. Comte used a bright metaphor for this regarding the cities as the "real organs" of the social organism while the others aspects of social life were seen as composing cells and tissues for this organs[19]. The urban environment thus became the physical

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[15] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-class in England in 1844* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1944), pp. 26, 46.
[16] See: D. Harvey, *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the history and theory of capitalist urbanization* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 1975); D. Olsen, *The City as a Work of Art: London, Paris, Vienna.*(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).
[17] P. Hall, Cities in Civilization. (London: Phoenix Giant, c1998), p. 176.
[18] F. Engels, op.cit., p26
[19] A. Comte, *System of Positive Policy* quoted in M. Gottdiener, *The Social Production of Urban Space* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1983), p. 25.

manifestation of the internal processes of the social body. This biological analogy was taken by Spencer who, utilizing the Darwin's theory of evolution, explained the increasing complexity of the social organization by the competition of species. Spencer supposed that both in biological and social community the physical size led to functional differentiation that in the latter case resulted in the division of labor[20]. Such a view composed the basis of the classical urban thought in the twentieth century and its first theoretical formulations known as urban ecology[21].

The dominant role in conceptualizing the patterns of social topography belongs to Chicago School, associated with the ecological approach. It was pioneered by Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, and Roderick McKenzie who conceived the spatial relations of the people "as affected by the selective, distributive and accommodative forces of the environment".[22] The array of the space in the city, as opposed to this in the rural environment, was regarded as a product of economic competition and division of labor. This specialization brought about the geographical differentiation of the functions across the urban territory in tandem with the uneven distribution and composition of the population. In the course of time each part of the city acquires the peculiar character formed by the accumulated functions and inhabitants which results into conversion of "what was at first a mere geographical expression into a neighborhood, so to say a locality with sentiments, traditions and history of its own"[23].

Therefore, in the early Chicago School concept social topography was viewed as dependant from the economic competition (in this case very close to the biogenic competition over land) and functional selection. The obvious limitations of this thesis of the urbanization theory easily evoked the critique for its over-reliance on the economic competition as the paramount of the social interaction and the neglect of the important role of the cultural values in the decisions on location patterns[24].

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[20] H. Spencer, *The Evolution of Society (Selection from Herbert Spencer's Priniciples of Sociology)*,(Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1967), pp. 3-33.
[21] M. Gottdiener, op. cit., p. 26.
[22] R. Park, E. Burgess and R. McKenzie, *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), p. 64.
[23] Ibid., p. 95.
[24] M. Gottdiener, op. cit., p. 34.

Thus, for Hawley settlement map was based preliminary on the socio-cultural factors. He emphasized the organic solidarity and symbiotic character of the human relations in the community against the brutal struggle for survival. Basing on the assumption about the mutual reliance of community members and their coexistence in the same area, he focused on the interdependent functional network of spatial organization[25]. He put forward the concept of the social density so to say the growing frequency of the interhuman contacts (as opposed to the former idea of physical density) that was responsible for the complexity and development of the community. Spatial differentiation was regarded as the result of the intricate structure of the social relations and contacts facilitated and, at the same time, complicated by the transportations and communication technologies.

However, the theories developed by American scholars (and based primarily on American context) have some shortcomings in their appliance to the realities of European cities, particularly, Budapest and Moscow. First of all, these theories lack the historical prospective and thus neglect the centuries heritage of the pre-modern development typical for European cities when there were other determinant factors apart from the industrialism, capitalist marketing and the division of labor. Furthermore, built on the American experience with its highly heterogeneous ethno-racial compositions of urbanites, these approaches overemphasize the analogy with the communities of biological species. In general European context this comparison may look far more artificial. Therefore, in my thesis I will examine the factors determining the production of urban space in Moscow in Budapest in comparative prospective trying to understand the relationship between economic, political and cultural interests in shaping the city and the impact of economy as well as power, status, interhuman relations and cultural heterogeneity on the choice of the place.

In addition to the study of the reasons that make the society differentiate spatially it is important to understand the factors determining the location decisions, so to say what made one

[25] A.Hawley, *Human ecology : a theory of community structure* (New York : Ronald Press Co., 1950), pp. 36-

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city zone more desirable that the other one. From the Chicago school and later on the key notion in location theory was the notion of centrality. The center of the city, simply by virtue of its position and as the result of the historical process of agglomeration, acquired the spatial dominance over its surroundings. It accumulates both the employment and the marketing opportunities and thus is the most desirable location (with the highest land values). Thus the functions that lost out in the central city competition are relocated to periphery[26]. However, the growth of community in territory and population brings about other reasons for location considerations such as industrial needs, supplies of production factor, administrative or organizational requirements, which leads to the further spatial differentiation of activities according to competitive advantage.

Moreover, overloading of the center due to its convenient location coupled with the proximity to the industrial enterprises may propel the well-to-do population out of the central business district contributing to the decentralization of the city. Essentially, this process becomes possible only after adequate development of the transportation means and infrastructure on the periphery, and thus every location decision both for business and household is a compromise between the costs of the central and peripheral location, including the land value, the temporal and money costs of commuting, infrastructure development and social prestige[27]. These factors determine the occupation of the city zones by particular social classes resulting into the creation of the more or less homogeneous neighborhoods which are now viewed as playing a critical role for the development of the personality because they determine the kin network and access to education and jobs, thus being the important factor for the possibility of the social mobility, integration and conflict[28].

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[26] U. Hannerz, *Exploring the city* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), p. 92.

[27] See R. Park, op. cit., M. Gottdiener, op. cit., G. S. Jones, op.cit.

[28] T. Hershberg, *The new urban history: toward an interdisciplinary history of the city,* in T.Hershberg, (ed.), *Philadelphia. Work, Space, Family and Group Experience in the 19th Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 11

Budapest and Moscow in the time of metropolitan transformation are good objects to study the determinants of the prestige of the particular city zones. To what extent did the central location imply the spatial dominance? How was traditional functional structure of the city changed by the metropolitan transformation? What factors affected and directed the metropolitan expansion?

Apart from the territorial separation of the population groups, urban life results into the spatial differentiation of the functions performed by the same class. Here I mean, first of all, the growing separation between the public and the private life. The way people appeared in public and in which they participated in the life of the community underwent significant change in the nineteenth-century cities. Unprecedentedly high quantity of the accumulated population, its density and heterogeneity that, according to Louis Wirth, constituted the basis of modern urbanism[29] resulted in the impossibility of the personal mutual acquaintanceship among the residents of the big city and, thus, depersonalization of the social relations and estrangement of the urbanites[30].

Sociability was removed from the public arena, the latter being subjected to silence and growing self-restriction. The violation of this behavioral norm acquired the social connotation as being associated with the lower-classes with their loudness and the lack of basic discipline. The expression of the personal feelings and intentions became less permissible in front of the broad audience and was limited to the sphere of the private life.[31]

Therefore, in my thesis I would look at the connection between the changing human relations and the spatial array of the city. How was separation between the private and public life expressed in Moscow and Budapest and how it was reflected in the layout of the dwellings and the urban territory? How was the change of the mental life of the particular urban groups

[29] L. Wirth, *Urbanism as a Way of Life* in *The American Journal of Sociology*, Number 1, (July, 1938), p. 9.
[30] See: G. Simmel, *Metropolis and Mental Life* in D. Levine (ed.), Georg *Simmel of Individuality and Social Forms* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971 [1903]). M. Weber, *The City* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1986[1921]); L. Wirth, op. cit.
[31] G. Gyáni, *Identity and the Urban Experience: Fin-de-Siècle Budapest,* (New York: Social Science Monographs, 2004), p.27; R. Sennett, The Fall of Public Man (London: Faber and Faber, 1993).

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expressed in the physical array of the city? And, finally, how all these changes in the both cities were connected to the national context of modernization?

CHAPTER TWO

INDIVIDUALITY OF THE COMMON EXPERIENCE: DEMOGRAPHY AND HISTORICAL TOPOGRAPHY OF MOSCOW AND BUDAPEST IN COMPARATIVE PROSPECTIVE

The last third of the nineteenth century was the time of the common experience for Moscow and Budapest. It was characterized, as I already mentioned, by the intensive economic development, industrialization, extraordinary population growth, mainly due to immigration, considerable regrouping in the social sphere and reshaping of the physical layout of the city. However, this common experience for each city had a very different background with peculiar urban topography and the centuries of historical development.

For instance, the demographical dynamics of the Budapest area, which followed the same pattern as that of Moscow in the last third of the nineteenth century, was rather dissimilar in the previous periods. It was also marked with a striking discontinuity. If ancient Roman Aquincum, located on the future territory of Budapest, had a population of 40000-50000, the medieval towns of Buda, Pest and Óbuda even in the times of their highest flourishing on the eve of the Turkish invasion had only around 25000 altogether[32]. Two centuries later, after the Turks were driven out, the population rate of Budapest area was even lower, counting less than 20000 at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Moscow at that time had five-six times as much[33] and in 1750 with its 161000 residents it was the seventh biggest European city following Vienna in the

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[32] Miklos Lacko, *An Overview*, in A. Gerö and J. Poór (eds.), *Budapest: a History from its Beginnings to 1996* (New York: Social Science Monographs, 1997), p. 3.
[33] J. Bradley, *Muzhik and Muskovite: Urbanization in late imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.), p. 47.

ranking list with a mere eight-thousand gap[34]. In the next hundred years, however, Budapest started to catch up, providing the necessary background for the tremendous demographic growth of the last third of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the population of Moscow was still several hundred thousand ahead, and this disparity should be kept in mind when comparing the two cities.

Even more striking was the difference in the ethnical composition of the urbanites. Moscow, being a big commercial and cultural center, always attracted foreigners; nevertheless, it remained Russian town, both in statistical numbers and the perception of its residents. Non-Russian elements did not compose any considerable group there. At the turn of the twentieth century the census recorded 95,5 % of Russians in the population of Moscow while the following largest groups were Germans (about 1,5%), then Pols (1%) and Turko-Tartars including Azeri (0,5%)[35].

Population of Budapest was far from this homogeneity. For several centuries Pest and especially Buda were German towns in the middle of Hungary or at least German-speaking towns. Thus, at the late eighteenth century mere 10% of residents of Buda and Pest were Hungarians. The third component of the population then was made by Slavs, mostly Serbs, whose number equaled (and in Buda even exceeded) that of Hungarians[36]. Accrual urbanization throughout the next hundred years and the new status of Budapest after the Compromise changed and complicated the ethnical composition of the city. Rapid economic growth and industrialization attracted to Budapest many migrant workers, mainly Hungarians, Slovaks and, to a lesser extent, Germans. The last quarter of the nineteenth century showed the increasing role of the Magyar element - in 1881 Hungarian language was spoken by 70% (bilinguals included) of Budapest population, but still yielding to German (74%); Slovak, with a 15% share

[34] P. Hohenberg and L. Lees, *The making of urban Europe, 1000-1950* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), , p. 227.
[35] E. Boldina, *Statisticheskii potret Moskvy na 1910 g. (Statistical portrait of Moscow in 1910)* (Moscow: Moskovskii arkhiv, 1996), pp. 162-183.
[36] J. Poór, Buda, Pest and Obuda Between 1703 and 1815, in A. Gerö and J. Poór (eds.), *Budapest: a History from its Beginnings to 1996* (New York: Social Science Monographs, 1997), p. 39.

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of speakers[37], became the third most significant language. Budapest was continuously filling up with a Hungarian-speaking population altering the ethnic composition of the city. On the other hand, the city itself transformed non-Magyars into Hungarian-speakers, since everyday communication necessitated knowledge of the Hungarian language while opportunities for exclusive use of German or Slovak diminished.[38] In 1901 Hungarian was spoken already by 92% of the population[39] which means that by the turn of the century Budapest became irreversibly Hungarian, at least linguistically.

However, there was another branch of immigration, not reflected by linguistic statistics, - Jewish. Started in 1840s and rapidly increased after the emancipation in 1867, this process embraced not only Hungarian Jews, but also those from the other provinces of empire. By the end of the nineteenth century Jewish population of Budapest was very large, having grown from 16% in 1872 to 21,5% in 1900.[40] This fact particularly distinguishes Budapest from Moscow where the part of Jews in the late nineteenth century was no more than 5 % and this even fell to less than 1% after the restriction in settlement in 1891[41].

The ethnical composition of the population can have a decisive impact on social topography since the representatives of the national groups tend to form neighborhoods, settling together and determining the image of the particular part of the city. It can be argued then that the ethnically determined zones were not to be found in the early-twentieth century Moscow where the absolute majority of the population was Russian. In Budapest this pattern was more pronounced, though, due to the successful policy of Magyarization and liberalism in the national question, it did not develop into the strong factor for social segregation as it happened, for instance, in American cities. In fact, as it is asserted by Thomas Bender and Carl Shorske, ethnicity was a factor of social segregation only in tandem with class. The distribution of Jews,

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[37] *Budapest Székes Főváros Statisztikai Évkönyve (Statistical Yearbook of the capital of Budapest) 1899-1901.* (Budapest: Székes Főváros Statisztikai Hivatala, 1904), p. 38.
[38] K. Vörös, op.cit., p. 110.
[39] *Budapest Székes Főváros Statisztikai Évkönyve (Statistical Yearbook of the capital of Budapest) 1899-1901,p*. 38.
[40] J. Lukacs, *Budapest 1900: A historical portrait of a city and its culture* (London: Weidenfeld, 1993), p. 95.

for instance, could be associated with particular districts, "but class defined these districts of Jewish concentration as much as ethnicity"[42].

The spatial structure of Moscow and Budapest, determined by the geographical location and history of the site development, was also very peculiar in each case. Moscow, whose officially recorded history starts in 1147, emerged from the Kremlin (kreml'). According to the chronicle, in 1156 on the order of the Suzdal' prince Iurii Dolgorukii Moscow was fortified with the walls and moat and thus became one of the several outposts defending the western border of the Suzdal' principality. With the walls built on the high left bank at the confluence of the Moscow and Neglinnaia rivers, the city occupied a strategic position for the commerce and defense in the northeastern Rus'.

The Kremlin expanded its borders several times and finally in the fifteenth century took up its contemporary territory[43]. In the sixteenth century Moscow received three new fortifying constructions. Firstly, the commercial and artisanal quarter – Kitai-gorod - located eastward from the Kremlin was enclosed by the brick wall. Another wall surrounded the left bank of the Moscow river, and the territory inside it got the name of Belyi Gorod. The western part of Belyi Gorod was populated by the high nobility while the eastern side was a place of residence mainly for the tradesmen and artisans[44]. Finally, the outward fortification rampart enclosed both the left and the right river-banks (the latter known as Zamoskvorechie – "behind the Moscow-river") and the lands between it and the walls of Belyi Gorod were called Zamlyanoi Gorod. Its social topography repeated the same pattern: the west was filled with the gentry's estates and the settlements of craftsmen who were servicing the prince's palace, whereas the east retained

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[41] P. Ilyin and M. Kagan, *Moskva na rubezhe stoletii (Moscow at the turn of the century)* in P. Ilyin and B. Ruble (eds.), *Moskva na rubezhe stoletii: Vzglyad v proshloe izdaleka (Moscow at the Turn of the Century: Glance into the past from a far),* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2004), pp. 35-36.

[42] T. Bender and C. Shorske, *Budapest and New York Compared*, in *Budapest and New York: Studies in metropolitan transformation, 1870-1930* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1994), p. 17.

[43] P. Ilyin and M. Kagan, op. cit., p.25.

[44] O.Trushchenko, *Prestizh centra: Gorodskaya Sotsialnaya segregatsiya v Moskve (The Prestige of the centre: Urban social segregation in Moscow),* (Moscow:Socio-Logos, 1995), p. 21.

exclusively artisanal character[45]. The merchant elite initially resided in Kitai-Gorod, but in the seventeenth century it moved to Zamoskvorechie[46] shaping the character of this district at least for two hundred years.

These fortification walls with their thoroughfares established the concentric topographical structure of Moscow that determined its planning until the present day; the later expansion of the city happened through creation of the new circles and prolongation of the same radial lines. Even though the fortification walls and ramparts of Belyi and Zemlyanoi Gorod were demolished and replaced respectively by the Boulevard and Garden Rings (*Bul'varnoe koltso* and *Sadovoe koltso*), they continued to dominate the spatial zoning of the city, at least in the mind of its residents. As late as in the early twentieth century Muscovites still perceived their city as divided into five main sectors or belts – the Kremlin and Kitai Gorod; Belyi Gorod inside the Boulevard Ring; Zamlyanoi Gorod inside the Garden Ring on the northern bank of the river; Zamoskvorechie; and, finally, the outskirts, so to say, the territory behind the Garden ring[47].

Unlike Moscow (and the majority of the other European cities), Budapest did not emerge from one center. It was a fusion of three independent towns, each with its history and character. Buda, founded in the mid-thirteenth century, was one of the earliest royal free boroughs and the capital city, becoming the favorite residence of the king and its court. It occupied the perfect location on the hill above the Danube, thus being protected from the invasion from both the East and the West. Pest, situated on the opposite side of the river, though also important royal free borough, for long time ceded dominance to Buda. Built on the place of the former Roman fortress, the settlement of Pest was surrounded by walls whose line is now followed by Kiskörút. For centuries Pest developed as the country's market and commercial center. Óbuda occupied somewhat lower position in this urban hierarchy. Though having the longest history, it remained

[45] Iu. Arenkova ed al.(eds.), *Pamiatniki arkhitektury Moskvy: Zemlyanoi gorod (Landmarks of Moscow architecture: Zemlyanoi Gorod)*, (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1989), p. 13.
[46] O. E. Trushenko, op. cit., p. 22.
[47] E. Zvyagintsev ed al. (eds.), *Moskva: Putevoditel (Moscow: Guidebook)*, (Moscow: I.N. Kushnerev, 1915).

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a small artisanal and market settlement, its inhabitants making their living in the viticulture, handicrafts and retail trade[48].

The historical development of Budapest became the determinant of its physical and social topography. As Tamás Faragó points out, "before their unification in 1873, each of the three towns had had its own segregated social topography, with the wealthiest living in the towns centers and the lower-ranking groups farther out, in concentric rings"[49]. Thus, the political and administrative elite tended to live in the Buda castle, well-off - initially non-Jewish – merchants, manufacturers and craftsmen in downtown Pest, while the Jewish commercial elite stayed in Lipótváros in Pest or Óbuda. From 1820s onwards, however the Jewish population started moving to Pest that became the most modernized and socially dynamic of the three towns.[50]

It is important to understand that, as Peter Hanák put it, Budapest "had no emphatic centre"[51]: though there existed a tendency to diminish the social prestige of the space from centre to the outskirts, the high-status zones were not grouped together. Quite the opposite - due to the peculiarities of historical development, they were scattered across the city territory. Moscow spatial structure, on the contrary, remained utterly centralized; so to say the value (both economic and social) of the territory was decreasing from the centre to the city border. The land prices can be an exceptional illustration of this pattern – one sq. sazhen' (4,6 sq. m) of Ilyinka street that started from the Kremlin cost 1600 rubles; a bit farther, on the main street of the city, Tverskaya, it was already 500 rubles, though in the outskirts it fell tremendously to the mere 5 rubles[52].

In both cities the zoning situation was complicated by the large-scale infrastructure improvement that was put into being in the late nineteenth century: the convenient novelties, being unequally spread in the city, deepened the gap in life conditions between the high- and

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[48] G. Agoston, *History of Budapest from its Beginning to 1703* in A. Gero and J. Poor (eds.), op. cit., pp. 18-19; T. Farago, op.cit., p.. 31; G. Gyáni, *Parlor and Kitchen*, pp. xi-xii.
[49] T. Farago, op.cit., p. 32.
[50] Ibid.
[51] P. Hanák, *The garden and the workshop: Essays on the cultural history of Vienna and Budapest* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998), p.19.

low-status quarters. Though Budapest registry of buildings in 1906 shows that water pipelines and sewerage covered 83,7% of the housing units, there was a striking territorial difference in their distribution. While in downtown Pest this rate came close to 100%, in Angyalfold it fell to 50%[53], while in the suburbs like Óbuda the modern amenities were present only on the few main streets[54]. The situation in Moscow was even worse: in 1912 the general statistical rate of the houses with sewerage or running water (or both) stood at 60% which meant up to 98% within the Garden Ring and only 18% in the outskirts[55].

In addition to the factor of centralization, there was another considerable difference in the in the physical layout of the cities. Moscow was a city that developed spontaneously. Contemporaries stressed its apparently irregular planning system:

> The streets are tangled, they grow one from another, like the branches of the huge tree; they pour one into another or a square, like the rivers that have their beginning in the lakes or flow through them. From the first sight everything seems to be accidental, like a caprice of some unknown forces that created the city[56].

The late nineteenth century was certainly a time of huge administrative interference in the urban life because the metropolitan transformation required planned actions when managing the city. And, indeed, Moscow city council (*Moskovksaya gorodskaya duma*), granted by the Municipal statute of 1870, was considered to be Russia's most active municipal government.[57] It opened numerous schools and hospitals, but also, what is more important, conducted extensive municipal work projects like street lightening and paving, water supply, sewerage system and public transportation. Yet, the projects of Moscow Duma did not considerably intervene with the topography and planning structure of the city. Neither did these projects (or, at least, the implemented ones) concern the functional zoning of the city, the social settlement or the housing

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[52] *Vedomost tsen na zemlyu goroda Moskvy* (Register of the land prices in Moscow), (Moscow: Gorodskaya tipografiya, 1911).
[53] G. Gyáni, op. cit., p. 143.
[54] T. Farago, op. cit., pp. 29-30.
[55] J. Bradley, Muzhik and Muskovite, p. 198.
[56] N. Antsiferov, *Dusha Peterburga (The Soul of Petersburg)*, (Petrograd: Brokgauz I Efron, 1922), p. 24.
[57] J. Bradley, *From Big Village to Metropolis*, in M. Hamm (ed.), *The City in Late Imperial Russia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 24-25.

question, that, taking into account incessant population growth, required an urgent complex solution.

Budapest, unlike Moscow, was much more a planned city. As a newly emerged capital, Budapest was a place of prime interest and attention of the state government as it was supposed to become the face and representation of the whole country. Thus the urban development and beautification of the city was a task not only of the local but of the state importance, which meant greater involvement and control. The improvement of the urban environment in Budapest was the task not as much of the municipal council but of the Metropolitan Board of Works (FŐVÁROSI *Közmunkatanács),* a state body created by the central government in 1870. In the direct or indirect way it controlled the town planning and regulations for the whole city, mapping of the main roads, building works and land use[58]. The metropolitan development of Budapest was based on the plan, following the most influential examples of Paris and Vienna, namely, the project of Lajos Lechner. As it is indicated by Gábor Gyáni, "the ground plan of the city that survives today, with its sweeping boulevards intersected by long radial avenues, is largely the result of Lechner's design"[59].

Moreover, the Board of Works was responsible for introducing the idea of zoning and matching of the building regulations to zones. The city was divided into four zones. The first (the Inner-city) and the second (between Kiskörút and Nagykörút) were a territory of the closed rows of houses. Buda, the third zone, was marked as the area for fully detached houses. Finally, the forth zone, going outwards from the Nagykörút, was a territory of the different building projects. In addition to the functional zoning, the Board of Works regulated also the height of the buildings and the structure of the apartments inside them. Thus, the cellar apartments were forbidden, while the minimum area of the one-room-and-kitchen apartment was set up at 15 square meters[60].

[58] G. Gyáni, *Parlor and kitchen*, pp. 11-14.
[59] Ibid., p.13.
[60] Ibid., pp. 14-15.

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The regulations of the Board of Works varied from zone to zone and therefore naturally determined the quality of the building constructed and, in some way, influenced the social composition of its population. It means that not only was the physical layout of Budapest planned, but the social topography too, at least to a certain extent, developed according to the preconceived scheme of the authorities. This distinguishes Budapest from Moscow, where the patterns of social settlement, though still definitely following some internal logic, did not have any specific official regulations behind them and thus seemed to be more spontaneous and haphazard.

The indicated historical social topography of Moscow and Budapest served as a background for the multisided process of modernization happening in the cities and, naturally, was a subject to change. The following chapters will show how this urban fabric was reshaped by the economic and social restructuring of the cities.

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CHAPTER THREE

GRAND BOURGEOISIE AND THE TERRITORY OF PRESTIGE

The rise of capitalism and industrialization, experienced by Russia and Hungary, naturally implied redistribution of forces inside the highest strata resulted in the *embourgeoisement* of the elites. Being the centers of economic development and the magnets for the country's upper-class, Moscow and Budapest reflected the change in social structure both in their lifestyle and in the physical array of the city.

The whole image and perception of the both cities in the late nineteenth century is built upon the grown role of the bourgeoisie in their life. Hence, John Lukacs not only asserted that "by 1900 tone of Budapest was that of a bourgeois city" but even believed it to be the only true bourgeois city in Eastern Europe[61]. However doubtful the last claim may sound, it depicts the certain shift in the dominants of the social composition. Similar was true for Moscow. "Merchant Moscow" – this was the turn-of-the-century nickname of the city popularized after Pavel Buryshkin had used it as a title for his famous memoires[62]. "Merchant" in this expression means more than its literal meaning presupposes: here it rather refers to any entrepreneurial activity embracing commerce, industry or finance and thus indicates the major driving forces of the urban life.

Yet, the formation of the new city elites, though united by the experience of *embourgeoisement* and capitalist growth, was quite a peculiar process in Hungarian and Russian contexts. This is exactly the case when the difference in the status of the two cities plays its role. One should not forget that Budapest was a political capital; Moscow, despite all its economic, cultural and symbolic significance, was not. This implied at least two decisive consequences. Firstly, Budapest, being a national capital, attracted all the Hungarian elite, including the old aristocracy whose importance was not threatened by the devolution of feudalism into capitalism. In contrast, Russian aristocracy resided in St. Petersburg while Moscow accumulated mainly the

[61] J. Lukacs, op. cit., p. 75.

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retired nobility and provincial gentry who were fast to cede their social weight to the growing urban bourgeoisie. Secondly, since Budapest was the home to all the political institutions, the city's authorities inevitably yielded in power and significance to the central government. In Moscow, on the contrary, due to the absence of the imperial court, the municipal authorities occupied the summit of the local power pyramid (though always competing with the governor-general appointed by the emperor). This means that the bourgeoisie, being the main social component of the municipal authorities, acquired the top position in the power hierarchy, at least on the city level.

To speak more in detail, the turn-of-the-century Budapest elite consisted of two components: the older land-owning one and the newer financial one, to a large extent with Jewish origins, with the supremacy still being on the side of the former. As Lukacs describes this,

> [a]round 1900 the high nobilitarian and financial aristocracy could coexist and even collaborate or commingle on occasion; but the financial aristocracy - including those of its families who became ennobled by the King – was well aware of its relative social inferiority compared to the old nobility[63].

Unlike Budapest, in Moscow the traditional nobility, deprived of their source of income after the peasant reform, was removed from its top place in the city hierarchy and replaced by the new capitalist elite, the latter becoming the most visible and influential strata in the city:

> In Moscow you cannot make a step without a merchant. It is he who sells calico, who talks about the categorical imperative and who opens the best clinics. Everything that is outstanding in Moscow is in the merchant's hands or under his feet. He has the best houses and carriages, the best paintings, lovers and libraries. Whichever institution you look into, you inevitably meet a merchant there, wearing a suite, with an English pleat, speaking French, but still a merchant…[64]

The same motif can be found in the guidebook describing the turn-of-the century Moscow:

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[62] P. Buryshkin, *Moskva kupecheskaya (Merchant Moscow),* (New York: Izdatelstvo imeni Chekhova, 1954).
[63] J. Lukacs, op. cit., p.84.
[64] *Novoe vremya,* 1901, quoted in P. Buryshkin, op.cit., p. 98.

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> Moscow of mansions, living at the expense of the 'souls' from Tambov and Penza, rapidly transforms into capitalist Moscow. The stage is entered by the new powerful class that managed to accumulate enormous strength in the silence of the patriarchal flour shops[65].

Iurii Petrov distinguished three ethno-confessional types of Russian capitalist elite. First one embraces Russians, Orthodox or old-believers, "thrifty muzhiks", who went all the way up from the lower classes to the industrialists and bankers. The second type is European expatriates, "Russian Germans", who earned their fortune in the external trade or intermediary operations between foreign and Russian companies. Finally, the last type refers to the representatives of the national minorities, mainly, to the Jews. [66]

Moscow was the centre of the national capitalism as opposed to St. Petersburg with its powerful aristocracy and influential foreign bourgeoisie. Though all the above mentioned types were present there, the first one definitely dominated. The leaders of the Merchant Moscow were Russians, industrialists and manufacturers[67], very much enrooted into the national tradition. They were the most visible force in the city not only due to their capitals, but also because of their active involvement into the local and national affairs. The German and Jewish elements played a much lesser role in the city. This particularly distinguishes Moscow from Budapest, where the traditional German and more recent Jewish components had a decisive role in shaping the upper-bourgeoisie. There was also a certain occupational difference between the bourgeoisies in the two cities: unlike Moscow, factory owners did not compose the important part of Budapest elite – in 1900 only 7% of the leading taxpayers earned their fortune in the industry, while the major group there, embracing more than one third, belonged to the house-owning landlords[68].

It is worthy to note that the majority of the elites of Merchant Moscow were of peasant origin. The founders of the entrepreneurial dynasties, brought to the city by the need and

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[65] E. Zvyagintsev ed al. (eds.), *Moskva: Putevoditel (Moscow: Guidebook)*, (Moscow: I.N. Kushnerev, 1915), p.214.
[66] Iu. Petrov. *Moskovskii delovoi mir na rubezhe XIX – XX vv. (Moscow business world at the turn of the twentieth century)* in Iu. Petrov and J. West (eds.), *Kupecheskaya Moskva: Obrazy ushedshei rossiiskoi burzhuazii (Merchant Moscow: The images of vanished Moscow bourgeoisie)*, (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2007), pp. 10-11.
[67] Ibid.
[68] J. Lukacs, op. cit., p. 94.

hunger, were distinguished from the peasants only by their business, energy and, possibly, their luck while their lifestyle, manners, dress and vernacular speech remained the same. It was only in the second generation when the external transformation took place though peasant ancestry continued to determine the self-identity and group psychology[69]. Not accidentally, Alexander Guchkov, prominent Moscow entrepreneur and the leader of the Octobrist party, when accused of being "merchant patriot", replied proudly from the Duma tribune: "I am not only the son of a merchant but also the grandson of a peasant, a peasant who had made his way in the world starting as a serf by his diligence and persistence"[70].

The city space had to mirror the changes among the highest strata allowing certain restructuring in the hierarchy of prestige of the city zones. The prestigious districts are obviously formed by their geographical, cultural, infrastructural and economic potential, but the most important component is that they should be the address of the powerful groups in the city. That is why when the upper-classes are transformed there are two ways how the urban space may reflect it. The first one is the continuity in the territorial hierarchy that implies the substitution of the old elite to the new one in the most prestigious district. Another way is the relocation (at least partial) of the zone with the highest status to the place where the new upper-classes live. The latter strategy means that the initial topographical and cultural qualities of the territory matter only as much as they attract the elite, but its position in the hierarchy of prestige is guaranteed only by the acknowledgement of the supremacy of the social groups that reside there.

In Budapest the elite traditionally had houses on the Castle Hill in Buda, though generally Hungarian nobility resided in their large country estates or in Vienna. However, in the course of the nineteenth century, following the growth of Magyar patriotism and the importance of Budapest, the latter became more attractive for the national aristocracy. In fact,

[69] M. Shatsillo, *Peasant Entrepreneurs and Working Peasants: Labour relations in Merchant Moscow* in J. West and Iu. Petrov (eds.), *Merchant Moscow* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), p.87.
[70] A. Bokhanov, *A. I. Guchkov*, in S. Tyutyukin (ed.), *Istoricheskie siluety (Historical silhouettes)* (Moscow: Nauka, 1991). P. 331.

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this was the time when Budapest was "rediscovered" as a place of residence for Hungarian nobility. Thus, in addition to the country estates this group chose to establish their houses in Pest, on the streets around Museum körút, while the rest of the downtown was populated by bourgeoisie[71].

The most prestigious zones of Moscow were traditionally located on the left bank of the river westward from the Kremlin. This was the highest part of the city and thus less liable to flooding. With the time passing, in the course of industrialization, this territory acquired another advantage: located upstream of the Moscow river in the city with the prevailing western winds, it was ensured to have the cleanest air and water. The western zones of Belyi and Zemlyanoi Gorod, as it was mentioned in the previous chapter, were traditionally populated by the feudal nobility. In the nineteenth century Moscow elite resided in the area within the Garden Ring with a highest concentration in the sector between Arbat and Prechistenka, so-called "faubourg Saint-Germain"[72] of Moscow, and the quarters around Tverskaya street[73], the main avenue in the city (as well as the one leading to St. Petersburg). With its university, theatres and clubs, it was not only the best-developed and the most beautiful part of the city, but also the centre of the cultural life.

Moscow merchants traditionally resided on the southern bank of the river, in Zamoskvorechie. Until the mid-nineteenth century it was a very peculiar closed world, different from the left-bank Moscow with its balls, theatres and political circles. With its quite streets, wooden mansions, long fences, huge gardens and traditional manners[74], it rather resembled a "big village" than the second-largest city in the empire.

However, modernization changed the social topography of the cities. Figure 1 (see Appendix) shows the residence places of the Moscow upper-bourgeoisie as they were

[71] J. Lukacs, op. cit., pp. 85-86.
[72] P. Kropotkin, *Zapiski revolutsionera (Notes of the revolutionary)* (Moscow: Moskovkiy rabochiy, 1988), p. 40.
[73] M. Domshlak (ed.), *Pmaytniki arkhitektury Moskvy. BElyi gorod (Monuments of Moscow architecture: Belyi Gorod)* (Moscow: Iskusstovo, 1989), p. 128.
[74] E. Zvyagentsev., op. cit., pp. 106-107.

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indicated in the city address book *Vsya Moskva* (*All Moscow*) for 1913[75]. This map refers to the two groups. The first one includes the representatives of the most famous merchant families, mentioned in the book of Pavel Byryshkin *Merchant Moscow*[76]. The second group embraces Moscow entrepreneurs who would later become members of the Russian commercial, industrial and financial union in Paris emigration[77].

As we can see, the change in their social position went together with the geographical resettlement. Mere five addresses are located in Zamoskvorechie, and they all belong to the representatives of the old merchant dynasties, Tretyakovs and Bahrushins. The rest moved to the left bank, with the vast majority of them occupying the traditional aristocratic quarters within the Garden Ring. So to say, for the bourgeoisie the step up in the social ladder spatially meant crossing the river.

This shows that the elite districts tend to keep continuity with the previous epochs. It may be connected to the peculiarities in the history and spatial array of the city. Due to its concentric topographical structure, the central districts on the northern bank were unrivaled in their position as the most convenient and easily-accessible place with a highest infrastructural, economic and cultural potential as well as the densest social life. On the other hand, using the ecological metaphor of the Chicago school, the initial inhabitants of this zone were not strong enough to resist the invasion and easily ceded the territory to the newcomers. Indeed, the bourgeoisie very often bought the mansions of the bankrupted nobility, extruding the latter to the smaller apartments and country houses.

The memoires of Andrei Belyi, who grew up on Arbat street, clearly depict this invasion, stressing the inequality in the competition. Moreover, Belyi also reveals the strong link between the changing social position and the place of residence, metaphorically

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[75] *Vsya Moskva* (All Moscow) (Moscow: Suvorov, 1913).
[76] P. Buryshkin, op. cit.
[77] Iu. Petrov and M. Shatsillo (eds.), *Rossiiskie predprinimateli v nachale XX veka (Russian entrepreneurs in the early twentieth century)* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2004).

connecting the stages of new-comers' invasion to his neighbors, each time living closer to the Kremlin:

> It became scaring: there were few of us and many of "them"; we were puny youths, "they" were meaty muzhiks; between them and the lifestyle of Arbat lied the natural evolution from Dorogomilovo to Mokhovaya. Muzhik came to sell the hay on the Sennaya square; look, he already has a stall there; look, he is already Staronosov, he has opened his shop; then he moves, his shop becomes bigger, he is Gorshkov; the business goes well, he is Mozgin, wearing a derby-hat, even Vygodchikov; then he is already Baidakov, already Rakhmanov, who has his own house and a university degree: he is our lord[78].

The bourgeoisie not only relocated to the traditional quarters of the gentry, but it began to dominate there and determine their image. Thus, if the main architectural style of the turn-of-the-century Moscow was modernism, the best examples of it were the residential mansions of bourgeoisie or the buildings constructed on their order and their money that overshadowed the old estates of the nobility. [79].

In Budapest the situation was different. The traditional aristocratic quarters on the Castle Hill or the limited territory around the Museum körút in the period under examination retained their character. Károly Vörös pointed out that Buda was not a place for the upper-bourgeoisie: hardly any of the Budapest greatest taxpayers resided in this area[80]. Buda hills were popular only as a site for the week-end and summer houses of bourgeoisie, but not for the permanent residence that was located in Pest[81].

The map on Figure 2(Appendix) shows the addresses of the greatest Budapest taxpayers, enlisted in the study of Károly Vörös[82], as they were indicated in the Budapest address book for the year of 1911[83]. As we can see, the majority of them are located between Nagy and Kiskörút, so to say, the traditional area of the Pest bourgeoisie. The direction, where the zone of the upper-bourgeois settlement goes beyond the limits of Nagykörút, covers Andrássy avenue and the neighboring streets.

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[78] A. Belyi, *Nachalo veka (The Beginning of the Century)*, (Moscow: Hudozhestvennaya literature, 1991), p. 216.
[79] See W. Brumfield, *Aesthetics and Commerce: The Architecture of Merchant Moscow, 1890-1917* in J. West and Iu. Petrov (eds.), *Merchant Moscow* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).
[80] K. Vörös, *Budapest legnagyobb adófizetői 1873-1917 (Budapest greatest taxpayers, 1873-1917)* (Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), p. 123.
[81] G. Gyáni, *Parlor and kitchen*, p. 52.
[82] K. Vörös, op. cit., pp. 123-124.

Thus, Budapest applied another strategy of the restructuring the territorial hierarchy of prestige. The transformation of the elite that now included the financial aristocracy did not cause the substitution of the groups in the traditional zones of high prestige. The aristocratic quarters hardly experienced any restructuring at all. Quite the opposite, the wider composition of the upper-classes was spatially reflected in the expansion of the prestigious zones to the traditionally bourgeois quarters within the Nagykörút.

In addition to this, the top of the upper bourgeoisie, willing to separate themselves from the socially subordinated groups, inhabiting downtown Pest, created a new high-status zone on the Andrássy Avenue. This was a very novel attribute of Budapest, typically metropolitan artery, built only in 1870 and thus not burdened with the historical social topography. This *tabula rasa* zone attracted the new capitalist elite since it allowed creating the well-developed socially homogeneous quarters in the relative proximity to the city center.

It is also noteworthy, that the new prestigious zones in Pest had a considerable infrastructural, social and cultural potential that determined the move of the prestigious zones that way. This potential, perhaps, even exceeded that of the traditional aristocratic districts, at least in Buda. Since the centre of the social and cultural life moved to Pest, the location of the Castle Hill, separated by river, became semi-peripheral. Andrássy Avenue, though also situated not in the immediate centre, on the contrary, acquired the significant cultural and infrastructural capital. If in Moscow the main cultural institutions were built before the second half of the nineteenth century and thus were located in the traditional prestigious zones, in Budapest their construction happened mainly only after unification. That is why many of them were built in the newly developed zones, mostly on the Andrássy Avenue and around it. Thus, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century this part of Budapest received the Opera House, the old Museum of Art, the Academy of Music, the College of Fine Arts, the Museum of Fine Arts and the Art Gallery (the last two on the Heroes' Square)[84]. Taking into

[83] *Budapesti czím- és lakjegyzék (Budapest Address Index)* (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1911).
[84] G. Gyáni, *Identity and the urban experience*, p. 12.

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consideration the fact, that this street, connecting the downtown to the most important urban park, was one of the widest and most beautiful in Budapest and that, after the construction of the first metro line in 1896, it had the best public transportation in the city, it is understandable why the shift of the prestigious zones happened in this direction.

Thus, we can see that Budapest and Moscow applied the different strategies in the spatial manifestation of the social modernization. In Budapest the restructuring of the elite after including the capitalist aristocracy was reflected in the partial shift of the zones with the highest prestige to the traditional bourgeois districts in down town Pest and the newly-developed quarter around Andrássy Avenue. Moscow elite, though internally transformed, showed striking constancy in their territorial preferences. The high-status zone remained on its place, and its extension went very slowly, while the change in the social composition of its residents was a perfect illustration of the calculus of power swinging in favor of the bourgeoisie.

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CHAPTER FOUR

LAW OF LARGE NUMBERS: WORKING CLASS AND THE CITY

The unprecedented population growth Moscow and Budapest were experiencing for several decades posed a difficult question in both social and physical spheres of the cities. As many other metropolises, Moscow and Budapest suddenly met the challenge of accommodating the hundreds of thousands of new urbanites, of new working class whose hands made the whole transformation possible.

In the last half of the nineteenth century many European and American cities were turned into urban giants. As wrote Hohenberg and Lees in their comprehensive study, urban centers like Vienna, Berlin, and Paris "attracted a great deal of industry and consequently exploded in size". However, they pointed out that urbanization and industrialization "should be seen as related but distinct phenomena"[85]. Though Budapest followed the indicated pattern, it can be argued that in case of Moscow the sequence of events was quite the opposite. The city growth was connected not so much to the developing industry that attracted the migrant workers but rather to the tremendous influx of migrants who rushed to Moscow and constituted the cheap labor-force for the developing urban economy.

The watershed in the Moscow development can be dated precisely since it had strong connection to the abolition of serfdom in 1861. Pro-gentry conditions of the liberation - most of all, small allotments of land and the necessity to pay the extremely high redemption money (*vykupnye platezhi*) - resulted in thousands of peasants who flooded to the cities in search of work. Located in the centre of the agricultural provinces, Moscow immediately felt the impact of the liberation. If during thirty four years from 1830 to 1864 the population increased only by 30 thousands, after 1864 - and this year is more important than 1861 since by this time the majority of the liberation contracts (*ustavnye gramoty*) was settled – in the mere *seven* years it grew by 238 thousands, reaching the number of 601,969 in 1871. The coming decades continued

[85] P. Hohenberg and L. Lees, op. cit.., pp. 234-237.

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this pattern and in 1897 Moscow had already 1,043,000 residents followed by 1,346,000 in 1907 and 1,612,000 in 1912[86].

The migrants were coming mostly from the central provinces of European Russia – these of Vladimir, Riazan', Tula, Kaluga, Smolensk, Tver', Yaroslavl as well as Moscow province itself.[87] This region in the late 19th century suffered from the catastrophic over-population and lack of land aggravated by the low soil fertility, high birth rate and compulsory periodical redistribution of allotments and forced crop rotation that impeded the intensification of agriculture. Consequently, the peasants were forced to look for other means of subsistence and Moscow became one of their most frequent destinations. Moscow became the true city of immigrants, since almost three-fourth of its population was non-native. The proportion of the immigrants remained almost constant with the time passed, numbering 74% in 1882, 72% in 1902 and 71% in 1912. In fact, in 1902 only mere 12,2 % of the entire active male population was born in Moscow so to say seven out of every eight working men in the city could not call it their hometown[88].

The similar pattern was true for Budapest. Out of the 880,000 of Budapest residents in 1910, only 35% were born there with other 8% coming from Pest comitat. More than a half of the capital population arrived from the other parts of Hungary[89]. If in Moscow the quantity of immigrants was slightly decreasing, in Budapest it was slowly going up (from 60% in 1890 to 65% in 1910[90]) though still being behind that of Moscow both in proportion and even more strikingly in absolute numbers.

This statistical data includes immigrants who might have spent in the city several decades and, obviously, at the moment of the census, not all of them belonged to the working class. However, the majority of the immigrants filled up the rows of the working population, at least at

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[86] E. A. Zvyagintsev ed al., eds. *Moscow: Guidebook* (Moscow: I.N. Kushnerev, 1915), p. 112; *Glavneishie predvaritelnye dannye perepisis goroda Moskvy 6 marta 1912 g. (Main preliminary data of the Moscow census of 6 March 1912)* (Moscow, Moskovskaya gorodskaya uprava, Statisticheskii otdel:1913).
[87] B. Anderson. *Internal Migration during Modernization in Late Nineteenth-century Russia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p.106.
[88] Ibid., p. 103.
[89]Budapest Székesfőváros Statisztikai Hivatalának Kiadása (Publication of the Budapest Office of statistics) (Budapest: Székesfőváros Statisztikai Hivatala, 1914).. p. 33.
[90] Ibid.

the stage of the arrival. The fact that the working population of Moscow and Budapest was composed mainly from the immigrants was crucial to its demographic composition, their identity and demands, their work and life.

There is nothing extraordinary in high correlation between the growth of urban population and immigration – in many European countries like Germany, Italy, Sweden well over half of the urban growth in this period came from migration rather from the natural increase[91]. However, Moscow experience had a unique feature that lied in the strong ties of the new-urbanites to the village. This peculiarly Russian phenomenon requires a more detailed explanation.

After the liberation the peasants remained belonging to the rural commune that was the tax-paying unit and the proprietor of the arable land. Membership in the commune was mandatory and so was the reception of the allotment, tillage and paying the taxes based on the principle of collective responsibility. Until the Stolypin reforms in 1906 the obstacles to a peasant's permanent leaving the rural commune were almost insurmountable. Even though poverty forced peasants to move to the cities, they retained their peasant status and membership in the commune with all the corresponding responsibilities[92].

It means that the majority of Moscow migrant workers was forced to stay connected to their native village and even went home for summer months to work in the field. The latter referred mainly to non-industrial workers and day-laborers, while factory workers became more urban-bound, though still more than 10% of them left the city for summer work[93]. This phenomenon was very uncommon in Budapest where only the lowest strata of the migrants (like unskilled workers - due to the peculiar character of their job) did not tend to have permanent residence.

One of the consequences of Moscow workers being connected to the village was the lack of domesticity. Naturally, they were unlikely to have the proper home in the city or, at least, were ready to sacrifice it when forced by poverty. Another one was gender composition of newcomers

[91] P. Hohenberg and L. Lees, op. cit., p. 252.
[92] For further information about the ties with a village see J. Bradley, op. cit., pp. 103-141 and B. Mironov, *The Social History of Imperial Russia, 1700-1917* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1999), pp.328-370.
[93] J. Bradley, op. cit.., p. 111.

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and, accordingly, of the whole Moscow. The city suffered from the vast gap in the quantity of men and women. In 1871 Moscow had only 700 women per 1000 men, increasing to 755 in 1897 and to 767 in 1902[94]. This vast gap will seem even more striking if we compare Moscow to Budapest that, on the contrary, had an increasing preponderance of females: there were 1068 women per 1000 men in 1880 while and 1071 per 1000 in 1900[95].

The explanation of this unbalanced ratio also goes back to the peasant origins. The majority of those who went off to Moscow in search of work and money left their family in the village. As a result, the central provinces of Russia were turned into the "women's land" because so many of the men over the age of twelve were away and because women headed a disproportionate share of households[96]. This can explain such a low ratio of women in Moscow, though the positive dynamic of their quantity shows the tendency of peasants to bring their family to the city.

In the case of Budapest the increase of women was linked to the demand in the female domestic help caused by the quantitative and qualitative development of the middle-classes[97]. This demand was fulfilled by the young single girls from the rural areas who were coming to Budapest to earn the dowry and experience; consequently, in this period the domestic servants represented the most populous female occupational category in Budapest[98]. That is why the highest ratio of women was detected in the most well-to-do districts of Budapest like in II or IV (1139 and 1220 respectively) while IX and X, the only districts where the quantity of women fell behind that of men (942 and 834), had an expressed working-class character[99].

In Moscow the imbalance in spatial distribution of gender was even more sharply uneven. In 1902 the central elite districts of Prechistenka and Arbat had respectfully 1254 and 1190 women per 1000 men, in the petty bourgeois Presnya and Yakimanka their number already fell to 992 and

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[94] I. Verner, op. cit., p. 9-10.
[95] K. Vörös, Birth of Budapest: Building a Metropolis, p. 104.
[96] J. Bradley, op. cit., p. 28.
[97] K. Vörös, ibid.
[98] See G. Gyáni: *Women a Domestic Servants: The Case of Budapest, 1890-1940* (New York: Columbia University press, 1989).

[99] *Budapest Szekes Fovaros Statisztikai Evkonyve* 1899-1901, p..32.

882 women while industrial outskirts like Simonovo and Dorogomilovo had mere 628 and 486 women per 1000 men[100].

This statistical data suggests natural concentration of the working population in the outskirts. The assumption is supported by the abovementioned unevenness in the distribution of modern amenities between the central part and the outskirts. However, the real picture was not that simple.

As it is stated by Gábor Gyáni, the majority of the Budapest workers lived in the rented properties in private tenement houses, and the most typical sort of housing for them was one-room-and-kitchen flat[101]. The map on Figure 3 (Appendix) represents the spatial distribution of the population living in the one-room apartments, so to say, the population that most likely belonged to the working-class. Naturally, Pest outskirts show the highest ratio of the workers – in some parts of the IX and X districts the number of population living in the lowest housing category exceeded 80%. On the other hand, even in the most prosperous IV and V between 15% and 20% of population occupied the one-room flats that were considered proletarian. This suggests a conclusion that the working population in Budapest did not live in the closed ghetto-zones, but, on the contrary, it was more or less spread all over the city territory.

Even more surprising is the spatial distribution of workers in Moscow, represented on the map on Figure 4. Again, outskirts show the highest rate of the working class - in some of them it embraces ¾ of the entire self-supporting population. But, as we can see, no district of the city is free from the working-class. Moreover, in the quarters with the highest land value around Tverskaya street and the Kremlin itself the proportion of working class approaches astonishing rate of 50%. Although prestigious Arbat and Prechistenka, traditionally inhabited by aristocratic families, show the lowest percentage, even there more than 1/5 of the population belongs to the working-class. Every fifth member of the working-class (and this excludes dependants and

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[100] I. Verner, op. cit., p.12.
[101] G. Gyáni, *Parlor and kitchen*, pp. 139-140.

unemployed) lived inside the Garden ring[102] – a very limited space (no more than 8% of the city's territory[103]) with the highest prices.

If we narrow the focus to the industrial workers that usually tend to have the most distinct settlement patterns, we will realize that, though more localized than the working population in general, they still are noticeable in the many very different parts of Moscow (see Figure 5). Taking into account that the industrial workers composed no more than 16% of the entire self-supporting population, we can see that in half of the Moscow districts their part was close to the city average. Though Prechistenka and Arbat are almost free of industrial workers, we can find them in large quantities on the southern bank of the Moscow-river – well-to-do quarters separated from the Kremlin only by the river itself – quite a surprising neighborhood indeed.

Consequently, it can be argued that the horizontal social segregation, a sign of the spatial organization of the modern metropolis, was not very typical for Budapest and even less for Moscow. Naturally, horizontal stratification existed, but it was expressed not in the form of class segregation but rather in the presence or absence of the upper-classes. None of the cities managed to insure the total spatial separation of the classes. Yet in Budapest the tendency to extrude the workers to the outskirts was more or less pronounced, while Moscow, as it is shown on the map, demonstrates the outstanding mixing of the classes in the central districts.

Gábor Gyáni explained the fact that Budapest did not develop a sharp social segregation due to the spread of the tenement houses in the city[104]. This type of housing allowed combining different social classes on the same territory; in this case, status distinction was expressed by the location within the building, so to say, by the storey, street or court-yard facing, etc. Low-category apartments in the block buildings provided the cheap housing for the working-class and ensured their presence in the central districts, at least in the minimal quantity. It is worth mentioning that there existed also exclusively proletarian tenement houses that became more

[102] *Statistichesky atlas goroda Moskvy (Moscow Statistical Atlas)*, (Moscow: Moskovskaya gorodaskaya uprava), 1911.
[103] I. Verner, op. cit., p. 5.
[104] G. Gyáni, *Identity and the Urban Experience*, p. 48.

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wide-spread around the turn of the century. These were large three- to five-storey buildings with mainly one-room flats and a small number of two-room flats. These houses could be found, for instance, in Jozsefvaros, Ferencvaros or Angyalfold[105].

In Moscow, however, in the early twentieth century the tenement houses were a rare thing as the whole housing stock looked quite different from that of Budapest. First of all, the primary construction material in Moscow was wood. In 1902 only one third of the city residential buildings were built from stone or brick and over a half exclusively from wood with the rest combining these materials in some manner.[106] In fact, during the thirty years from 1882 to 1912 the proportion of the wooden houses actually increased because of the nearly exclusive use of wood (that was cheaper and insured a more quick construction) in the rapidly growing suburbs[107].

The domination of wood as a construction material suggests the prevalence of the one- or two-storey buildings. On the eve of the World War I only 15% of the residential buildings had more than two floors. The multistory buildings were so untypical for Moscow that they inevitably provoked the strong emotions. For example, as late as in 1911 Moscow poetess Marina Tsvetaeva called the six-storey building a "bulky monster"[108], the ten-storey apartment house of Nirnzee, built in 1913, was perceived as a true sky-scraper[109] while the guidebook of 1915 breathlessly observed the four- and five-storey buildings that were "radically altering the physiognomy of the city"[110]. However, being the most modern form of housing and concentrated mainly in the central districts, this type of buildings did not acquire the proletarian character, and even the one-room apartment provided a cheap housing for the middle-class.

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[105] G. Gyáni, *Parlor and Kitchen*, p. 142.
[106] E. Boldina, op. cit., pp. 162-183.
[107] J. Bradley, *Muzhik and Muscovite*, p. 195.
[108] M. Tsvetaeva. Domiki staroi Moskavy *(Houses of the old Moscow*), 1911-1912 (Collected stories, Moscow: Literatura, 1998), pp. 171-172.
[109] E. Kirichenko, *Moskva na rubezhe stoletii (Moscow at the turn of the century) (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1982),* p. 272.
[110] J. Bradley, op. cit,, 196.

In this case the social topography of the working-class in Moscow becomes even more mysterious. What forced the most deprived group of society to concentrate in the districts with the highest estate prices and how it became financially possible?

The explanation to this phenomena lies most likely in the underdeveloped transportation system and, therefore, strong connection between the place of work and residence. Though since 1897 Moscow had the network of the electrical trams, it did not suffice to provide the transportation for the city with more than a million inhabitants. On the other hand, working class simply could not afford the tram. The price of the single trip was ten kopeck[111] (0,1 ruble) while the average monthly wage of the industrial worker in 1907 was 17,5 rubles[112], so to say everyday use of the tram would have taken up to 1/3 of the very modest worker's budget.

Impossibility to use the public transport combined to the long working hours forced the lower-class to live in the nearest proximity to their working place wherever it was. High percentage of the workers in the central districts is explained by the constant demand for their labor-force in commerce, retailing, catering business, etc. Since the proper functioning of the upper-classes required the involvement of the lower, both were condemned to the cohabitation in the same space. Wide geographical distribution of the industrial workers is connected to the dispersion of Moscow industrial enterprises. Evolved spontaneously, they were mostly in the privately owned land lots of bourgeoisie and merchantry that were dispersed around the territory of the city.

This dependence from the working place made other factors (like sanitary conditions and size) unimportant for worker when choosing the dwelling – the only factor that mattered apart from location was price. Since the growth of residential construction was far behind that of population, it stimulated the constant demand for housing and kept the rental prices very high. In

[111] E. Zvyagintsev, op.cit., p. 253.
[112] I. M. Kozminykh-Lanin, *Devyatiletniy period fabrichno-zavodskoy promyshlennosti Mosvoskoy gubernii (Nine-year period of the industry in Moscow province)* (Moscow: A.l. Budo, 1911), p. 39.

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1908 the city average monthly rent for one-room apartment was 16 rubles[113] - unimaginable money for a 17-ruble worker's budget, 40% of which needed to be spend on the food[114]. In fact, the average Moscow worker spent on housing no more than 17% of its income[115] – so to say around three rubles. How was it possible?

Extreme poverty forced many Moscow workers to minimize their housing demands to the mere roof over the head in the literal sense of these words. At the turn of the century 40% of the city workers - something like 200,000 Muscovites - lived in the employer-provided housing, nearly a third of them inhabiting barracks where they could claim only a cot. Another 200,000 rented only a half of the room, most often a corner with bed [116]. In 1912 as much as 65% of the Moscow housing units had rooms or beds for subletting[117].

The latter, however, was not something peculiarly Moscow. In Budapest this rate, in fact, was even higher: in 1910 it almost reached 70%[118]. Not capable to cope with high rents, the low-class families were forced to take lodgers and borders to cover the expenses. This not only destroyed the proper private life but resulted in overcrowding of the housing stock. According to the building survey of 1911 found that 290,000 people lived in the crowded circumstances, so to say, with more than four people in the room[119].

The appearance of the over-crowded workers' houses was quite similar in Moscow and Budapest. Below are two extracts portraying the living conditions of the lower classes. The first one is made by the census taker in the VI district of Budapest, only "two kilometers away from Andrássy út." The second belongs to the sanitary doctor, describing four typical wooden and combined houses located near Taganka square, mere three kilometers from the Kremlin.

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[113] *Statisticheskii ezhegodnik goroda Moskvy (Moscow Annual Statistical Book*) (Moscow: Moskovskaya gorodskaya uprava), 1908- 1916, p. 82.
[114] Iu. Kirianov and M.Volin, eds. *Rabochii klass Rossii ot zarozhdeniia do nachala XX v. (Russian Working –class from its Emergence till the Beginning of the 20th century),* (Moscow: Nauka, 1989), p. 340.
[115] Ibid.
[116] B. Ruble. *Second Metropolis: Pragmatic pluralism in Gilded Age Chicago, Silver Age Moscow, and Meiji Osaka* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2001), p. 266.
[117] J. Bradley, op. cit., pp. 200-201.
[118] T. Farago, op. cit., p. 47.
[119] G. Gyáni, op. cit., p.148.

1) In the tenement buildings, the flats are squeezed together, like cells in the prison. In the courtyard, there are usually lots of dirt and mud, with no drainage channels. The dirty water is just poured into the courtyard. In one two-storey house, there are 343 people. In the other buildings the situation is the same. In the other one… there are 97 people. There are only there privies in the house, non-flushing. One of them is only used by landlord. In this area the houses have a room with one window, and a windowless kitchen. There are few two-room flats, but there are a lot of one-room flats. The rents are extremely high.[120]

2) The buildings are occupied by various apartments for workers… To get to the basement floor one needs to walk down the six to eight steps of dirty and dilapidated stairs to the equally dirty halls. Here trickle the liquid sewage from the courtyard and the draughts… The stink from the draughts spreads to all the floors and all the apartments. The courtyard, though paved, is dinted and the dints accumulate the decomposing waste. The most typical apartments are located in the basement, there are ten of them and they are mostly with cots to rent. Usually with the ceiling height of 2 ½ arshins [178 cm] they have no more than 0,4-0,5 cubic sazhens [4,8 cubic meters] of air per person though the number of residents reaches 15 per room. The prices of apartments are relatively high, depending on which floor they are located – form 10 to 30 rubles per month. Window ventilation is insufficient and because of the overcrowding and poor maintenance the flats are dirty, stuffy and damp.[121]

The housing shortage, provoked by the gap in the increase of population and residential construction, was known to all European metropolises. Nevertheless, it can be argued, that nowhere else people were so densely packed as in Russia. As Joseph Bradley has demonstrated it in his brilliant study, the key to understanding of the Moscow housing problem lies in the number of residents per apartment and number of apartments per building. Even though overall population density per unit of territory was quite low for contemporary European, the density per housing unit was extremely high. In 1912 Moscow had 8,5 persons per housing unit as compared to 5,2 in Budapest,[122] 4,5 in London, 4,2 in Vienna and 3,9 in Berlin.[123] Even St. Petersburg, that in Russian view always embodied the evil of the modern city, had 7,4 persons per average housing unit[124] – indeed, far above the European metropolises but still considerably less than Moscow.

In fact, the smaller was Moscow apartment, the more residents per room it tended to have. In 1912 this indicator for one-room flat stood at 6,5 people compared to 3,9 in two-room and 2,2 for

[120] Ibid.
[121] V. Stavrovsky. *Sanitarnoe sostoianie fabric odnoi iz iugo-vostochnyh okrain Moskvy (Sanitary conditions of the factories in one of the south-eastern outskirts of Moscow)* in *Izvestia Moskovkoy gorodskoy dumy*, N. 6-7 (1909), p.48.
[122] *Budapest Székesfőváros Statisztikai Hivatalának Kiadása*, pp. 19-21.
[123] J. Bradley, op. cit., p. 196.

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three-room apartments[125]. In Budapest the dynamics was similar though the difference in numbers, as compared to Moscow, is telling – there this rate stood at 3,8 per one-room apartment, 2,2 per two-room and 1,6 per three-room[126].

The poor sanitary conditions in the overcrowded houses were a fertile ground for infectious diseases like typhus, diphtheria, cholera and many others. Moscow's tuberculosis rates were by far the highest in Europe - 45,6 (per 100,000 population) as compared to 35,5 in Budapest[127], 17,6 in London and 20,0 in Berlin.[128] For thirty years between 1881 and 1910 Moscow remained the deadliest metropolis in Europe, ceding only to St. Petersburg.

This overcrowding became the social question and the situation worsened by the inadequate answer of the authorities. If in Budapest the Board of Works determined the minimal standards of housing,[129] it was not the Moscow case. One of the successful examples of the housing policies of the Budapest authorities is the prohibition of the basement apartments. If in the early 1880s almost 9% of the Budapest population lived in the basement, by the 1891 their number fell to 5,1%. This tendency continued in the following years and in 1906 only 1,1% lived in the basement accommodation[130]. In Moscow, on the contrary, living in the basement was a frequent phenomenon. Approximately 10% of Moscow apartments were located there - twice as much as in Berlin in 1900[131] - and this proportion remained almost unchangeable for thirty years from 1882 till 1912 despite the construction boom. Even more alarming symptom was that the number of the people occupying this apartments by 1912 grew by half and almost reached 120,000, so to say 7,5% of the entire Moscow population lived in the basement

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[124] J. Bater, *St. Petersburg: Industrialization and Change*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976), p. 329.
[125] J. Bradley, op. cit., p.
[126] *Budapest Statisztikai…*, p.19
[127] B. Ruble. *Second metropolis : Pragmatic pluralism in Gilded Age Chicago, Silver Age Moscow, and Meiji Osaka* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2001), p. 266.
[128] R. Thurston, *Liberal City, Conservative State: Moscow and Russia's Urban crisis, 1906-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987). p. 19.
[129] *Budapest Statisztikai…, p. 105.*
[130] G. Gyáni. *Budapest.* in M.J. Daunton (ed.), *Housing the workers, 1850-1914* (London and New York: Leicester University press, 1990), p. 169.
[131] N. Bullock. *Berlin*, in M.J. Daunton, *Housing the workers, 1850-1914* (London and New York: Leicester University press, 1990), p. 219.

The terrible housing situation did not escape the attention of the contemporaries - numerous early-twentieth century publications about the housing crisis can be good evidence – but solution of this question remained in the sphere of the individual initiative. Obviously, a dozen of houses with cheap or free apartments, sponsored by local bourgeoisie, could not solve the problem of hundreds of thousands. Situation required a radical change and it did not take long to happen but under the totally different historical conditions. The challenge of the accommodation of the hundreds of thousands of newcomers, that were in fact making this economic growth come true, did not receive any adequate response and finally brought the city on the verge of the social catastrophe. Turn-of-the twentieth-century Moscow, especially when put into the comparative context, can serve as a striking example of how high was the price of delayed modernization for Russia.

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CHAPTER FIVE

GREEN SPACE FOR CLASS INTERACTION: PUBLIC PARKS

Increasing subdivision of the economy and society introduced by the capitalism also manifested itself in the complication of the behavioral strategies used by the metropolitan dwellers. One of the results of this was the separation of the public and private life with the latter allowed almost exclusively at home. Another consequence was the growing differentiation of the public life and, therefore, public spaces. Apart from the work, the traditional expression of the public life, in the second half of the nineteenth century it was leisure activities that became a peculiar and formalized phenomenon of the urbanism. Leisure time, as claimed Louise McReynolds, should be seen separately from the free time (so to say, time not spent at work) because leisure implies "self-actualization" through certain activities[132].

The complication of the life of the industrial society received its physical realization through functional division of the urban space. The areas for residence, work and leisure were now spatially separated becoming discreet components in the internal structure of the city. Home and workplace were territories of the limited socializing potential, restricted exclusively to the members of the family or the employees of the particular enterprise, while the leisure space was opened to a much wider audience. However, some types of the leisure space, like cafes, restaurants, theaters, clubs, were, in fact, semi-public, as they accepted exclusively those who, by their class, gender, appearance or age, were considered appropriate to participate in the activities. For those, looking for a leisure space with a wider social appeal, the urban parks seem to a good example which can help in understanding of the social classes and their interaction in the public space of the metropolis.

The urban parks have a double function in the city. First of all, together with the boulevards, home gardens, churchyards, etc. they composed the green space in the gradually more built-up and paved environment. Peter Clarke and Jussi Jauhiainen stressed that the city

[132] L. McReynolds, *Russia at Play* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003, p. 9.

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densification in the late nineteenth century linked with the growth of industry and population had a key role in stimulating the first green space concerns; this resulted in the creation of the new parks, regarded as essential "breathing spaces" in the "increasingly pathological cities"[133].

In addition to this, parks functioned as a social space, offering a place for public culture and social gatherings, both formal and informal. Being a widely accessible public space of recreation, the parks brought together very different kinds of people that had a possibility to act there in a less restricted and formalized way than it was expected in the other parts of the city.

If one seeks to study the public parks in Budapest, the choice almost inevitably will fall on Városliget, the City Groove. Indeed, due to its extensive size (600,000 square meters[134]) and extremely favorable location at the end of Andrássy Avenue, Városliget occupied the highest position among the city parks. Unlike parks in many other European cities (including Moscow) which developed from royal and aristocratic estates or hunting grounds, Városliget from the very beginning was created as a public park aimed to provide common recreation on the fresh air for all urban dwellers[135]. Even though its first plan was made as early as in 1816, the real development of the park started only in the 1870s[136]. Located not in the immediate center of the city and in the relative proximity to the working-class districts, the park greatly benefited from the creation of the Andrássy Avenue. Not only did it bring the park closer to the city but the luxurious villas and cultural institutions determined the high status of the park. Completion of the Stefania Drive promenade as well as National and Millenial Exhibitions also contributed to the beautification of the park and the increase of its prestige[137]. Thus, dissimilar from the other Budapest parks, like Nepliget or Varosmajor, frequented mainly by the lower classes, Városliget became a good example of the intermingling and interaction of the various groups from the bottom to the top of society.

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[133] P. Clark and J. Jauhiainen, *Introduction* to P. Clark (ed.), *The European City and Green Space: London, Stockholm, Helsinki and St. Petersburg, 1850 -2000* (Aldershol:Ashgate, 2006), p. 17.
[134] G. Gyáni, *Uses and Misuses of Public Space in Budapest: 1873-1914* in T. Bender and C. Shorske (eds.), *Budapest and New York*, p. 89.
[135] Ibid., p. 90.
[136] G. Gyáni, *Identity and the Urban Experience: Fin-de-siècle Budapest*, p. 12.

Unlike Budapest, turn-of-the-century Moscow did not have any central public park. It will be incorrect to say that the city center lacked the green space – there were boulevards, green squares and numerous small gardens, but neither by their size nor function were they analogues of Városliget in Budapest, Central Park in New York or Hyde Park in London. The leisure green zones in Moscow were decentralized and located beyond the Garden Ring. The city outskirts possessed several zones for strolling and amusement (Renaissance Garden, Sparrow Hills, Devichie Pole, Petrovsky Park), though, perhaps, the favorite park of Muscovites, the traditional place for the outdoor festivities, frequented by all the classes, was Sokolniki.

Sokolniki followed the traditional pattern of park development: it grew from the hunting grounds of the tsar used mainly for falconry (the name of the place goes from the Russian word "sokol" – falcon). Later, this territory was used for strolls of Moscow aristocracy and gentry. In 1878 Moscow municipal government bought it from the imperial treasury and transformed into the public garden for all the Muscovites[138].

According to the European standards, Sokolniki, located in the north-eastern outskirts of the city, occupied a really huge territory – six square kilometers[139] (ten times more than Városliget). Such a big size resulted in the diversity of attractions and functional heterogeneity of the park's space. Indeed, Sokolniki had many things to offer its visitors: outdoor concerts of symphonic music, variety theatres, restaurants, roundabouts, tennis courts, cycle track, football stadium, a boating station, ice slopes and skiing competitions. [140] Naturally, for a park situated in the center it would be almost impossible to allocate such a vast territory and to have a similar range of attractions.

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[137] Ibid.
[138] P. Sytin, *Iz istorii moskovskih ulits (From the history of Moscow streets*), (Moscow: Moskovskii rabochii, 1958), p. 76.
[139] S. Ryabova, *Uveselitelnye sady v Moskve v konce XIX – nachale XX veka (Amusement Gardens in Moscow at the turn of the twentieth century)*, MA thesis, Moscow State University (2008), p. 59.
[140] I. Khmelnitskaya, *Stolichnyi dosug v nachale XX veka: Peterburg I Moskva (Metropolitan Leisure in the early twentieth century: St. Petersburg and Moscow)*, PhD Dissertation, Moscow State University (2004), pp. 39, 182, 208, 215; *Russkoe slovo,(Russian word)*, December, 8 (November, 25), 1908*; Moskovskii listok (Moscow leaflet)* February, 4 (January, 22*)* 1902.

The peripheral location was also an important determinant of the composition of its visitors. First of all, situated in the midst of the workers' district, it was largely visited by the lower-classes. On the other hand, some parts of this spacious park were let for the weekend houses of the upper-classes, and their residents, vacationers (*dachniki*), became an important component of the park visitors.

However, it would be wrong to assume that Sokolniki was a park of a local importance only. Despite its suburban location, it was largely visited by the Muscovites from the central districts. This was significantly simplified by the introduction of the trams. This tram-route was so popular, that on holidays the trams were extended with additional carriages, but still, as the local newspaper mentions, "not all those who wanted could manage to fit in"[141].

The most popular upper-class amusement in Sokolniki was riding *(raz'iezdy)* when the richest citizens were coming in their carriages and cars to show off. These events, happening several times a year, attracted a high number of spectators as well as participants, usually, from the wealthiest merchantry[142]. Apart from the mass amusement, Sokolniki occasionally became the home for the high culture events. For example, in August 1903 it hosted the open-air concert of the opera-singer Fyodor Shalyapin gathering as much as seven thousands listeners[143].

Therefore, in the both cities the public parks were intended to provide a recreational space for all the urban population. With their free entrance, accessible for everyone, the parks offered an opportunity for the social classes to intermingle and interact, since they were involved in the similar activities at the same territory.

However, the real strategy of the common use of the same space was quite different. Thus, in Budapest, as the contemporary's note shows us, the democratic interaction was hindered by the implicit class segregation within the park space:

> At the entrance, where a fountain squirts its jets in an arched form, the masses divide: the gentle folk tend towards the Stefania Drive, the middle classes move towards the tiny islands of the lake, and the common people in their best clothes, eager to amuse themselves, push on to the

[141] *Novosti dnya.* May, 15 (02), 1901.
[142] *Novaya Rus*. May, 15 (02), 1909.
[143] *Russkoe slovo. (Russian word)* August, 22 (9), 1903.

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> pleasures of Eldorado: the fireworks square… Tens of thousands of people (dressed up clerks and apprentices among them in the boats), are milling down along the banks of the lake… Hundreds of marriageable girls from Terezvaros are sitting on the island around white tables with their mothers… Gentlemen, merchants by trade dressed in white vests, dance close to the big statue of our great Szechnyi… Beyond that, masses dominated by soldiers throng in the line of the trees leading to the Wurtlprater (amusement center)[144].

This abstract shows that the social groups in silent agreement divided the space of the park. In addition to the spatial segregation, there was a temporal one: the working-class families were coming there on sunny summer holidays and weekends while the Stefania drive, a place for walking and riding of the high society, was frequented mostly on the spring afternoons and evenings.

The internal social division of the Városliget territory is a good example of how the urban classes tended to express their status spatially even in the situation when it was not presupposed or somehow formalized in order to avoid interaction and possible conflict. This implicit separation, claims Gábor Gyáni, was so successful that it exempted the authorities from any interference in the problem: "Since opposing classes tend to separate from each other in parks and promenades, the conspicuous tolerance of the authorities in approaching the conflicting uses of public space is not surprising. The actual lack, or rather rare occurrences, of confluence of the classes made it unnecessary to impose a more severe control".[145]

If in Budapest the presence of the lower classes in the public parks was not impeded, in Moscow it was even encouraged. With the Russian workers' question becoming more alarming, the parks were seen as a means of educating and disciplining the masses through familiarizing them with cultural values.

Apart from simply providing the recreational opportunities for the lower classes, the authorities also sought to fight against alcoholism that developed into a terrible social problem and even evoked the discourse about the degeneration of the nation.[146] This task united the forces of the government, charity organization and industrialists who were interested in improving the

[144] Quated in G.Gyani, *Uses and Misuses…*, p. 98.
[145] Gábor Gyáni, op. cit, p. 98.

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cultural level and working efficiency of their employees. The collective efforts resulted in the program of the "reasonable entertainment" realized through the Societies of the popular sobriety. They were created under the control of the Ministry of finance together with establishing of the state alcohol monopoly in 1894[147]. Public parks became one of the key places for implementation of this plan.

Thus, from 1894 the leisure program in Sokolniki was complied with this "reasonable entertainment" aimed to attract there the low-class visitors. For example, city sponsored the symphonic concerts on the main square of the park – so-called "circle" (*Sokolnicheskii krug*). Moscow municipal council also organized the theatre performances. Though the access to them was not free, the prices were significantly reduced to be more affordable for the lower classes[148].

Moreover, the Municipal council created preferential employment opportunities for the deprived social groups. Thus, after the intercession of the Moscow society for the patronage of the poor, the city started to let small lots in the park for a minimal price mostly to the soldiers' widows and single mothers in order to organize there the tea- trade. It was forbidden to sell alcohol in these tea-places and the saleswomen (*samovarshchitsy*) were obliged to control that visitors did not bring spirits themselves[149].These tea-places became a popular attraction in the park, offering tea for people of any status and income, though the prices – which could vary from ten kopecks to several rubles for *samovar*[150] – naturally determined the clientele of each place. The more expensive tea-places for the decent family public were located on the main lane while the cheaper concentrated around the amusement garden with its rides and show booths[151].

Certainly, these tea-houses were not the only example of how the financial capabilities determined the spatial separation of the classes in the park. Though the general entrance to the park was free, the additional expenses were presupposed by all the attractions like roundabouts,

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[146] D. Beer, *Renovating Russia : the human sciences and the fate of liberal modernity, 1880-1930* (Ithaca : Cornell University Press, 2008).
[147] E. Swift, *Popular theater and society in Tsarist Russia,* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 307.
[148] S. Ryabova, *Uveselitelnye sady v Moskve v konce XIX – nachale XX veka (Amusement Gardens in Moscow at the turn of the twentieth century)*, MA thesis, Moscow State University (2008), p. 60.
[149] Ibid, p.61.

open-air performances, concerts, theatres, which, however low they were, rarely could be afforded by the workers. Even the sport facilities, that nowadays, perhaps, are the most democratic park attraction, was restricted to the members of the Sokolniki sport-club, whose administrators were very picky in their choice, not welcoming even the students and low clerks, not to say about the working-class.[152]

However, spatial segregation in the park was not based exclusively on the income factor. Neither did the initiative to separate always come from the upper classes. One of the important factors that set the working-class apart was prevalence of alcohol consumption as a part of any leisure activity. Since alcohol was not welcomed in the park, the low classes concentrated in the more remote parts in order to avoid the police:

> The circle square is full of respectable public and children. But the masses omit the circle. In two wide streams they go partly to roundabouts and tea-places, partly deep into the park (those with bags, bundles, baskets)… Deep in the park on the grass there are bright spots of people groups. They drink vodka and beer and eat. Somewhere they start to sing. The youths play accordion and dance. They come back home drunk, tired, dusted and worn out[153].

This is to demonstrate that despite the authorities' efforts to make the classes intermingle and enjoy the same type of "reasonable entertainment", in reality they tended to separate from each other. Like Városliget, Sokolniki showed the example of non-formalized spatial segregation, which could be more explicit and imposed, when expressed through the financial policy of certain enterprises, or implicit, when classes simply divided the territory for recreation according to their own preferences.

Therefore, though parks naturally played a certain role in democratizing recreation and offered the masses a chance to share and imitate the culture of elites, by the early twentieth century it was realized only in a very limited scope. The gap between the lower and upper-classes expressed in status, income, amount of the free time and, more important, lifestyle,

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[150] *Moskovkii listok*, number 137(1907).
[151] S. Ryabova, op. cit., p. 62.
[152] I. Khmelnitskaya, op. cit., p. 215.
[153] Moskovskii listok. 1912. № 109.

interests and demands, was so vast that, even when encouraged by the authorities, the interaction and intermingling, precluded by the separation tendency, was not considerably successful.

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CONCLUSION

The presented work, aimed at reconstructing the social topography of Moscow and Budapest and understanding it in the perspective of modernization, has shown that this process, at least in the form it was expressed in the metropolitan context of Moscow and Budapest, indeed led to (and was mirrored in) the changes in the spatial array of the cities. Not only did they grow into the more ample and compressed environment, that accumulated the unprecedented economical, material, human and cultural resources, but also underwent significant certain reshaping in the physical layout and functional structure.

As it was demonstrated above, urban social topography proved to be a good illustration and reflection of the societal organization and processes happening within it. Thus, for instance, the quantitative growth of the urban workers and those of them employed in industry resulted in the creation of the extensive working-class neighborhoods grouped around industrial zones. Even more revealing was the clear spatial manifestation of the changes in composition and status of the elite. The residential zone of the upper-bourgeoisie in both cities meant the space of high prestige, no matter whether it kept the territorial succession with that of non-capitalist elite (Moscow) or was relocated to the traditional bourgeois districts or even to the newly created sites (Budapest).

Furthermore, the location of prestigious zones confirms the applicability of the centrality theory to Moscow and Budapest realities. In turn-of-the-century Moscow, the territory of highest prestige was situated in the historical (and geographical) centre of the city, thus showing a striking continuity with the previous epochs. The traditional advantages of this location were even strengthened by the territorial expansion of the city, happening concentrically. Anticipating the course of events, it can be said that the growing population pressure and the constant gap

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between it and the development of appropriate infrastructure led to the situation when the centre has kept its importance as the most convenient location for long time until the present day.

In Budapest, that did not emerge from one point and had several kernels of historical development, in the period after unification the zone of high prestige moved to what was the geographical centre of the territory of united Pest, Buda and Obuda. This resulted in the partial social depreciation of the previous prestigious zones, especially if they were located on the other side of the Danube, since they became separated from the multiplying sites of the highest social and cultural density.

On the other hand, the development of infrastructure certainly facilitated the expansion of the high-status zones, as good roads and transportation systems made the distances shorter. Together with the expansion of the city, it even transformed the whole notion of the centre which now embraced a relatively big territory around the historical kernel. In addition to this, the increasing importance of the key infrastructural arteries, such as Andrassy Avenue, Garden Ring and Nagykorut, contributed to the rise of their status, even though they were located on the border between high and low prestige zones.

It can also be concluded, that in the period under examination neither Moscow nor Budapest underwent the upper-class suburbanization (as it happened, for example, in British and American cities). Instead of creating the socially homogeneous neighborhoods in the outskirts, urban elite and middle-classes tended to accumulate in the central districts, although it meant spatial proximity and even cohabitation with the lower social groups. This may be connected to the level of infrastructure that, though sufficient for expansion of the city center, was not enough to make unfelt the distance between remote outskirt and the downtown. The latter, with its unrivaled cultural potential and dense social life, was still too dear to the educated elites to be preferred even to the most decent suburbs.

The suburbanization actually happened, since the city acquired the external belt of the newly-populated zones, but their dwellers belonged mostly to the lower classes which were

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pushed out or did not find the place in the central parts. Therefore, the outskirts of Budapest and Moscow, apart from Buda hills and recreational zones of Sokolniki and Petrovsky Park with their tiny specks of weekend-houses, constituted almost homogeneous working class districts that amassed the worst features of urban life.

However, even though the outskirts were examples of the social homogeneity, this was certainly not the case of the central districts. Being the residential place for the elite, they also accumulated significant amount of the working population that was necessary to perform the functions of servicing the rich.

Nevertheless, it can be argued that Budapest, even though social segregation did not develop there thoroughly, showed a visible tendency (not always explicit) to separate classes from each other both in the place of residence and in the place of action.

Moscow situation was different. Despite the fact (or, perhaps, partly because of it) that the life of the metropolitan bourgeoisie had a wider gap with that of the lower-classes, with their traditional appearance, vernacular speech and peasant behavior, Moscow did not show any consistent tendency to spatially separate the classes. In fact it applied rather inclusive than exclusive policies, trying to advance the masses up to a level more appropriate to a metropolitan dweller. The fear of the “dark masses” resulted not in the isolation but in the attempts to “civilize” them in order to preclude the transformation of Moscow into a “peasant metropolis”. However, the lifestyle gap between the upper and lower classes was so huge, that the cultural integration of the latter required a longer period of time and a stronger effort from the authorities in order to guarantee the proper social interaction, otherwise the results would not become somehow impressive, as the example of Sokolniki demonstrates.

Indeed, despite the numerous attempts to educate the working class, they would be doomed to failure unless the minimal material basis for existence and a sufficient amount of spare time were ensured. In this direction, however, not enough has been done, as the housing conditions of the working-class, described in the fourth chapter of this thesis, can clearly show. The social

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problems of Moscow, mainly of the numerous urban poor, required the complex solution that was not (and, possibly, could not) be realized timely thus fertilizing the soil for the revolutionary troubles of the upcoming years. Certainly, the roots of the crisis were much broader and deeper, but the role of the working-class in shaping the goal and the implementation of revolution could not be neglected.

The Russian revolution stopped the period of common experience for Moscow and Budapest. Though in 1918 both cities changed their status from the second to the first metropolises of the country, the paths of their development separated. While Budapest kept the continuity with the pre-war time, Moscow underwent a drastic change in the way how the city life was organized. From the merchant, bourgeois Moscow it abruptly transformed into the socialist metropolis, a city for the working class. If before it lacked the proper urban planning and administrative regulations that could have kept the housing question within the acceptable limits, after the revolution Moscow developed into a totally planned city and, moreover, the planning capital of a planned state.

Thus, the decades after the revolution would be the time of ambitious urban projects and initiatives. The planning economy and abolition of private property on the estate provided a unique opportunity to totally reshape the city without caring about the legacy of the past times. These paper projects, full of dreams about the ideal city that, presuming that social is spatially constructed, would attempt to make the utopia real through rationally organized urban environment[154]. Using the best urban planning theories of the time, these projects would try to solve the problems originating from the late-nineteenth century modernization. However, resource scarcities, institutional immaturity and, later, change of the ideological priorities conspired to keep attainment far short of aspiration and, despite the total societal transformation, the ambitiously intended changes in the urban environment were reduced to the resolution of the most urgent and down-to-earth problems. Indeed, it is interesting to note, that the urban fabric,

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though reflecting the societal and political changes, proved to be surprisingly resistant to equally strong alterations and kept its radial-concentric structure with the high prestige of the center until the present day.

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[154] See T. Colton, *Moscow: Governing the Socialist Metropolis.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998); S. Kavtaradze, and A.Tarkhanov, . *Stalinist Architecture*. (London, Laurence King, 1992).

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APPENDIX

Figure 1.

Residential addresses of Moscow upper-bourgeoisie.

Members of the old merchant dynasties.

Future members of the Russian financial and industrial union in emigration.

Source: Address book *Vsya Moskva* (All Moscow) (Moscow: I.. Souvorov, 1913).

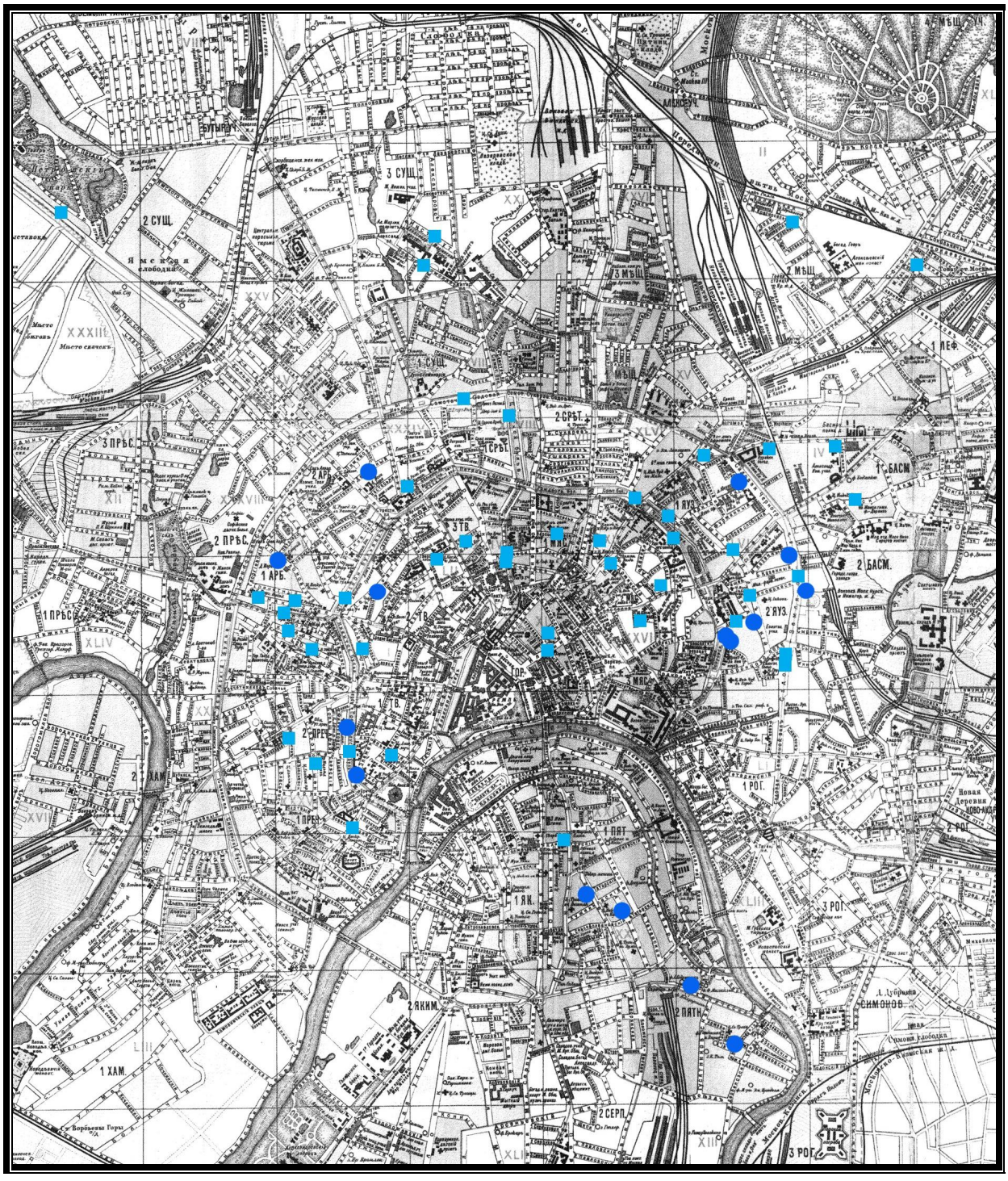

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Figure 2.

Residential addresses of Budapest upper-bourgeoisie.

Budapest greatest taxpayers

Source: *Budapesti czím- és lakjegyzék (Budapest Address Index)* (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1911)

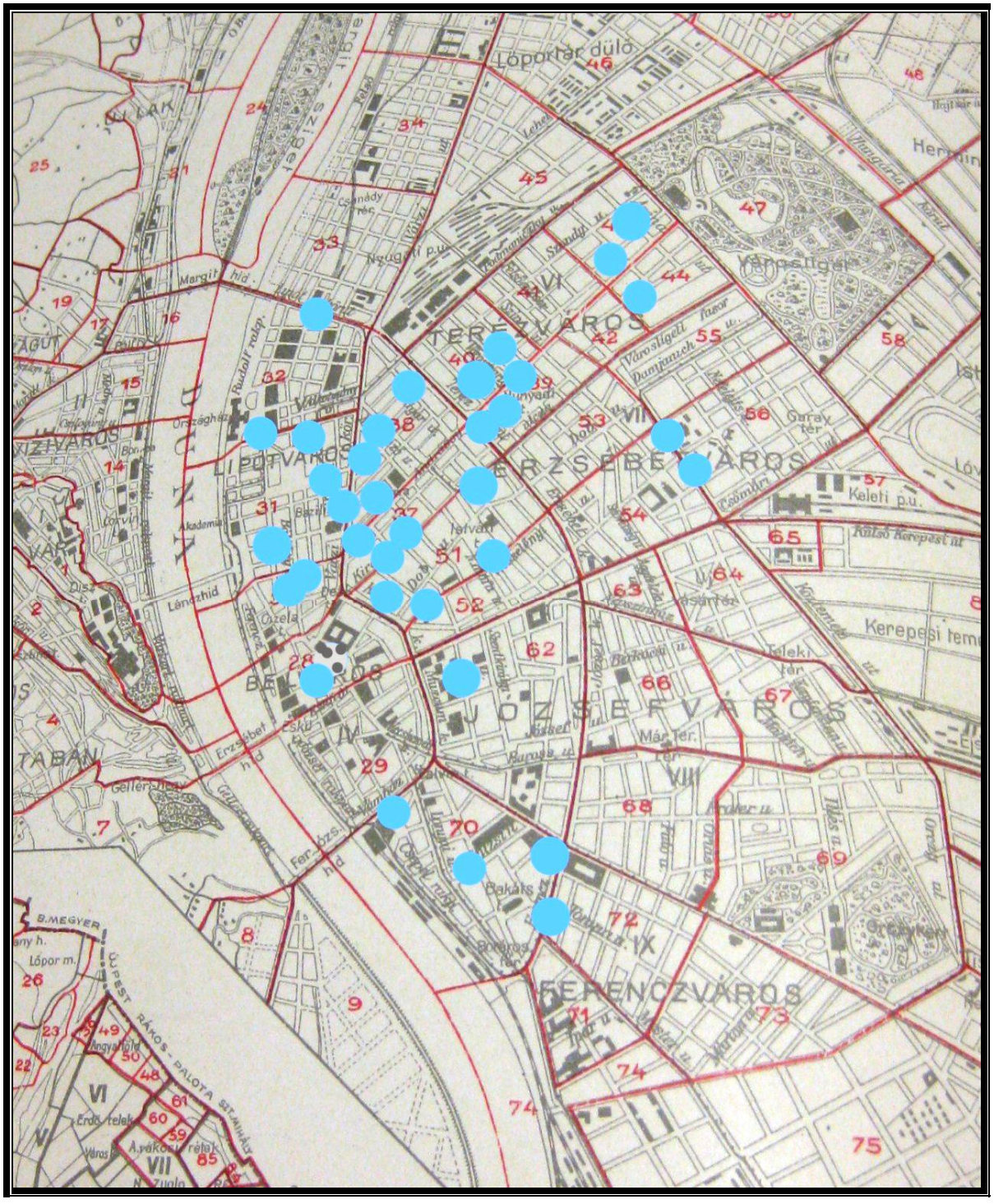

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Figure 3.

Budapest: the percentage of district population living in one-room apartments in 1910.

Source: Budapest Székesfőváros Statisztikai Hivatalának Kiadása (Publication of the Budapest Office of statistics) (Budapest: Székesfőváros Statisztikai Hivatala, 1914)

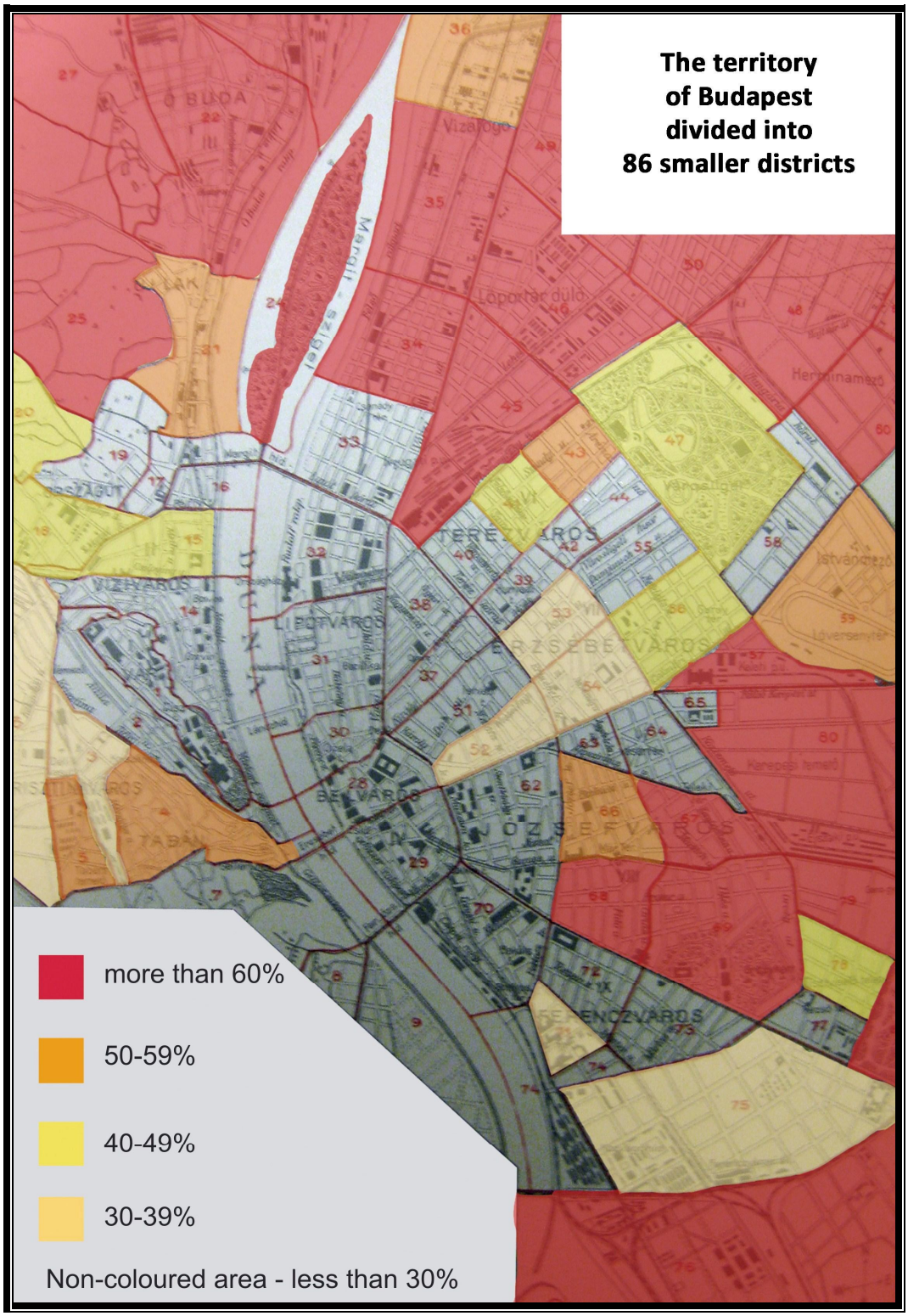

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Figure 4.

Moscow: workers of the industrial and commercial enterprises and their district distribution in 1902. (numbers show their absolute quantity in the district, color shows their ratio against the total self-supporting population in the district).

Source: *Statistichesky atlas goroda Moskvy (Moscow Statistical Atlas)* (Moscow: Moskovskaya gorodaskaya uprava, 1911).

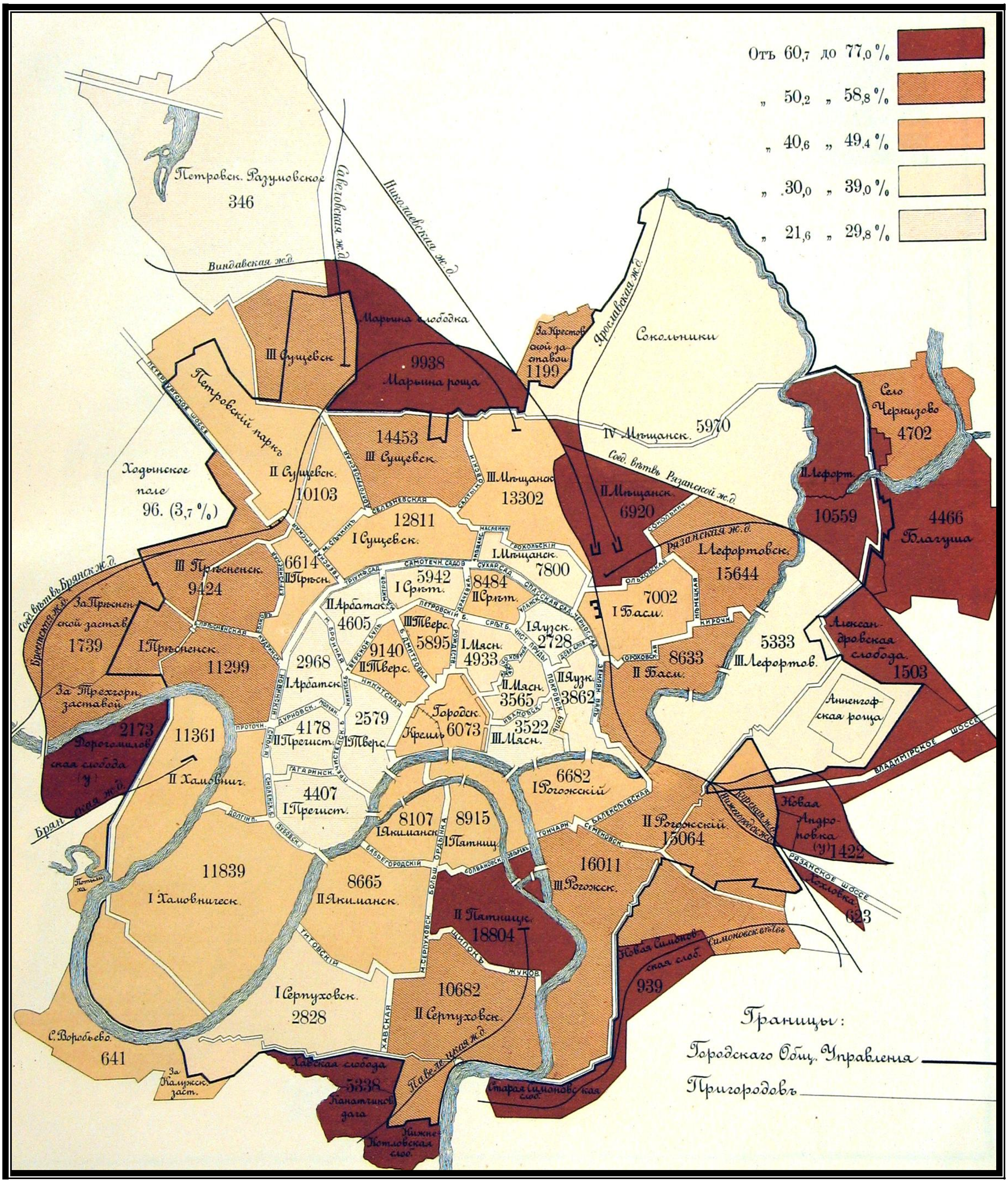

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Figure 5.

Moscow: industrial workers and their district distribution in 1902. (numbers show their absolute quantity in the district, color shows their ratio against the total self-supporting population in the district).

Source: *Statistichesky atlas goroda Moskvy (Moscow Statistical Atlas)* (Moscow: Moskovskaya gorodaskaya uprava, 1911).

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