RUSSIAN ARCHITECTURAL IDEOLOGY OF THE XVIII-XIX\textsuperscript{th} CENTURIES AND MUSLIM TRADITION IN KAZAN

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ABSTRACT

The report is devoted to the Tatar Sloboda in Kazan. The recent archeological investigations showed that the age of Kazan exceeds 1000 years. In IX.-X\textsuperscript{th} centuries Turkic nation known as Bulgars founded the state in the middle banks of the Volga river. First Kazan was one of Bulgar towns. Later in the XII\textsuperscript{th} century Kazan became the capital of medieval Tatar state. At the middle of the XVI\textsuperscript{th} century Kazan was occupied by the troops of the Russian tsar Ivan IV The Terrible and joined to the Russia. The Tatars were evicted out of the city. They founded new settlement called by Tatar Sloboda near Kazan on the bank of Kaban lake. But territory of Kazan city increased and absorbed this settlement again at the end of the XVIII\textsuperscript{th} century. Further development of Tatar and Russian cultures proceeded in common city space. But the Russian culture was genetically connected with the state power, while the Tatar one became the culture of minority.

The Russian influence was various in different branches of culture of Kazan Tatars. It reached the maximal degree just in architecture of the Tatar Sloboda of the XVIII.-XIX\textsuperscript{th} century, because during this period the Russian state strictly controlled the architecture in the cities. On the base of new archive documents the author describes the evolution of the architecture of the Tatar Sloboda under action of Russian architectural ideology on the one hand, and Muslim tradition on the other. Russian law and rules concerning building and architecture strictly required that facades of private buildings were performed according European stylistic tendencies. At the same time, Kazan Tatars had their own view on organization of living space. As a result, the Tatar house became Muslim inside and European outside.

Key Word: Tatar sloboda, architecture, Russian architectural ideology, Muslim tradition
My research is dealing with a problem of interaction of muslim building tradition and architectural ideology of the Russian state in XVIII-XIX centuries by the example of Kazan, which is one of ancient muslim territories in Russia. The recent archeological investigations showed that the age of Kazan exceeds 1000 years. In IX.-Xth centuries Turkic nation known as Bulgars founded the state in the middle banks of the Volga river. First Kazan was one of Bulgar towns. Later in the XIIth century Kazan became the capital of medieval Kazan Khanate. At the middle of the XVIth century Kazan was occupied by the troops of the Russian tsar Ivan IV The Terrible and joined to the Russia. The Tatars were evicted out of the city. They founded new settlement called by Tatar Sloboda near Kazan on the bank of Kaban lake. But territory of Kazan city increased and absorbed this settlement again at the end of the XVIIIth century. Further development of Tatar and Russian cultures proceeded in common city space. But the Russian culture was genetically connected with the state power, while the Tatar one became the culture of minority. The Russian influence was various in different branches of culture of Kazan Tatars. It reached the maximal degree just in architecture of the Tatar Sloboda of the XVIII.-XIXth century, because during this period the Russian state strictly controlled the architecture in the cities.

The XVIIIth century in Russia began with the Peter I the Great reforms and passed through under the sign of the common and manifold Europeanization. First of all this process has concerned the town planning and architecture. The authorities intruded the principles of regularity with resoluteness and wide range always distinguishing the Russian administrators.

Regularity has meant laying out the geometrically correct net of straight and wide streets and the conformance of their red lines by carrying out the houses and other erections the fences and gates included. The architectural expression of the regularity meant the monotonous and European stile of buildings and giving all them the stone view. To that effect there has been sent about the specially worked books of samples ratified by the emperor. The residents were obligated to use these facades on construction. Peter’s innovations did not extend further the capitals-Moscow and Suint Petersberg inter his vivos. Europeanization of the majority of the Russian provincial cities began only in the reign of Catherine the Second.
The regular plan of Kazan was ratified in 1768. And at the end of the XVIII\textsuperscript{th} century the city evolved from the Middle Ages into the epoch of New time. The chaos of curved streets of the old city gave place to the regular system of streets and squares. But the squire was habitual planning element for the Russians because the church stood about it while the muslim tradition did not know squires except market-places. And so a new Yonusov squire appeared according to the regular plan was built up with dwelling houses and it has never been used as a public space.

The trade Sennaya squire being beyond the bounds of the Tatar sloboda meant more for Kazan Tatars. It was built up with trade houses the great part pf which belonged to Tatars from the very outset. Tatar merchants did not live here but only traded.

The essential departures from the administrative directions took place during the realization of the regular plan. The departures during the process of regulating were not great but expressive. Contrary to the approved plan there were saved the some irregular streets of the old Tatar sloboda which had the importance for Tatars. First of all it was the main street on which two stone mosques were situated. And just here the houses of the rich merchants were settled. According to the tradition the mosques were situated at the intersections of the main street and the lanes, and these lanes were also left and straightened.

The Europeanization of the buildings proceeded the most paintfully. The Tatar traditional planning corresponded with the muslim way of life. The inner space of the homestead was fenced of the street by means of household erections and the house was situated in the heart of it. According to the new rules the house had to be carried out on the line of the street, and just this caused the people’s resistence. And as a result of legislative norms and ancient traditions struggle the compromise planning decisions appeared. As before the house was hidden at the mid-portion while the erections of housewifery has being placed along the red line of the streets. The latter-wings, sheds, storehouses i.e. had the appearance of the houses with the facades equal to the samples.

But on the whole the building up of the farms corresponded to the legislative demands and the Tatar blocks in the XIX\textsuperscript{th} century slightly differed externally from the Russian parts of the city.

As it was said all buildings turned to the street were to be built according to the samples sent from the capital. In the beginning of the XIX\textsuperscript{th} century
they were designed by the classicism canons. Since the middle of the XIX\textsuperscript{th} century the eclectic architectural forms began to be penetrated in Russia after Europe. In 1809-1812 there were issued 4 akbums with 224 facades in classic style. The albums of the 1840-1852 suggested more than 300 eclectic facades.

Kazan authorities had to report about the number of buildings and even fences built by one or another sample.

In a general sense transition to the eclectic architecture expressed the confession of private life’s relative independence from the state directions. This confession was especially important for Kazan because the private life of the part of it’s population was based on the islam principles. Thus the Tatar and the Russians used the same sample facades because they were obligative.

Regional and national features could become apparent in the choice of either samples as well as in some departures from them. The documents show that departures were not infrequent.

So in spite of a great quantity of state samples Kazan people not always found the designs that satisfied them. The state samples being too big were intended for the large cities and for rich owners. The album houses stretching along the plot did not correspond to the nature of provinces. The more customary types of houses were needed as well as small shops and household erections. As a result of this an interesting phenomenon occurred at the middle of the XIX\textsuperscript{th} century never mentioned before in the history of Russian architecture.

The construction legislation of this time permitted was an exception the building on the individual designs. But each of them was to be approved by the emperor that evidently complicated the process. Nevertheless there were many citizens that wanted to build according their wishes. They ordered the designs to Kazan architects and obtained their approval. After the emperors approval these designs were used repeatedly. They became the samples. Designed by Kazan architects they reflected the regional peculiarities and specificity.

Kazan houses of that time represented 1 or 2-storied buildings with 3, 5 or 7 window facades. The two-storied and three window houses were widely adopted among the citizens.

Another popular type of building included the shops on the 1\textsuperscript{st} floor.
A number of one-storied and three window types of houses were meant for the poor part of the population.

There were several types of shops at the disposal of developers.

Thus the most of Kazan dwelling houses consisted of the building erected according to the Kazan samples. The European tradition was remade taking into account the tastes and needs of Kazan residents.

It should be noticed that we did not meet the cases when the Tatar merchants ordered the individual designs. The impression is that the Tatars were quite satisfied with all samples. This fact can be explained. At that time they did not feel a need in designation of their national and confessional belongings on the facades.

Consequently the Kazan samples represented the original form of adaptation of state norms to the local conditions being the reflection of the social order and not the national one. The peculiarities of the Muslim organization of life space were taking into consideration by means of planning.

The ideas of the main properties of the Space and Time, the dwelling as a refuge, the own territory where everybody creates his own way of life invisible for outsiders and independently of neighbours are common. Talking about the differences one can analyse the different degree of demonstration of the same features, the difference in way of life and worship only but not the difference in psychologic archetypes. Therefore the difference in dwelling architecture of Russians and Tatars of that time is slight and hardly perceptible. The differences are the following.

First of all it is the tendency to settle compactly and apart. This purpose was mostly achieved in the Tatar sloboda. Just therefore it was preferred by the rich and patriarchal Tatar families. For example, in 1840-1841 almost all Tatar merchants lived in Tatar sloboda. At the same time the Tatar population nearby the Russian Sennaya squire consisted of bourgeois. The following peculiarity of the Tatar dwelling conception is the tendency to hide the family life as much as possible. It is clear that such aspiration was typical for other nations but it was expressed to a greater extent in Tatars.

Both of these peculiarities did not lead to any architectural consequences. They could be realized in those architectural forms that were suggested by the Russian authorities. Therefore the Russian and Tatar areas of the city were analogous. The differences concerned not the architectural forms
but planning of the plot and the house.

The house was necessarily carried out to the street line. But the entrances arranged behind the gates distinguished the Tatar homesteads from Russian one.

The house represented the compact one or two storied volume with 5-6-7 window axises on the street facade. Two parallel stairwell ledges on the back facade included the isolated male and femail entrances. The ledges could be frequently united by gallery on the level of the 2nd floor. The male ledge being the main at the same time was turned to the main entrance of the homestead. The femail one was hidden from the strangers.

Such spesific entrance ledge on the back facade never met in Russian houses is explained with the presence of galleries. In 1845 the ledges were forbided in Russian building practice but they steel continued to be used in the Tatar houses. So the Tatar developers aspiration for widening the dwelling space thanks the galleries was so strong that the authorities did not consider it necessary for resisting. The galleries were invisible from the street and did not break the regulated outward appearance. Later at the beginning of the 20th century after the abolition of the buildings outward appearance regulation the galleries stoped hiding and moved on the front facades.

Then the functional zoning was typical for the Tatar houses. The lower floor being the household had false windows on the street facade. The upper living floor planning has developed under the Russian noble family house influence. The merchants always copied the nobles as it is known. It was divided into two parts. Main or gala half occupied the street site while the living one was turned to the yard. But the living half in the Tatar houses divided in it’s turn into mail and femail parts isolated from each other. They corresponded with the proper ledges. And at the same time the mail part was connected directly with the gala half of the house both meant for business life of the owner. The women’s part mostly extended to the entrsole.

A suite well known from the classic nobel mansions served as a basis for the planning of the gala half of the house. The last room usually used as a mistres bedroom evidently could not fulfil the same function in the the Tatar house but it always presented as a planning element and enclosed the row after the hall and the reception-room.

A small corridor behind the reception-room also transfered from classic
nobel mansions divided the mail and femail parts and usually included the entresole staircase. In other cases the entresole stairs were in stairwells. And this also was the distinguishing feature of the Tatar houses.

The mansion planning was transfered to the planning of the flat keeping the specific peculiarities of the Tatar dwelling. Such duplex houses with apartments on each floor were widespread. In the most cases the owners let the lowest floor living on the upper floor.

Talking about the Tatar house peculiarities we should note that all of them can not be considered as a result of a deliberate architectural choice. On the contrary these peculiarities have appeared just because the Tatars did not imagine how they could arrange thire dwelling anyhow else.

The traditional conception of organizing of the space, the national ideal of the dwelling became apparent in the planning of the plot and the house. The matter concerns the space ideas more then once described by the ethnographers of different communities. Acooding to them the space is composed of concentric zones differing from each other by the extent of mastering (assimilating) and therefore of favour. The the least favour external zone is outside the area of coreligionists compact habitation. One can visit this zone but it is undesirable to live there. The following zone for living is inside the area of the Tatar settlement. But people of a different religion also live there (the trade Sennay square was partly occupied by Russians). Therefore one more zone appears within this zone - the Tatar sloboda and it’s the oldest part, where the most old and rich habitants take up their residence. Just here one should build his house while the shop or the trade household could be placed on Sennay square.

There was one more zoning quite deliberate one – the machallyas. There also the hierarhy existed – one of them were more rich then the others. The richest were situated in the Tatar sloboda. The following zones were: their own plot, their own house and the living half of the house at last. The zones became smaller and smaller but more and more favourable. First of all these sonez existed in social consciousness but not in real city space. Nevertheless those planning peculiatities we talked above are quite material projection of them in real world.

Certainly the dwelling ideas as a peculiar center of the world, surrounded with the rings differing by their assimilation degree is not inhere for thr Tatars only. The similar feel the space even all ethnic groups of Eurasia on certain stages of their history. This feeling has fairly remained nowadays.
The multiplicity of the zones and clearness of their borders reflect the conception of hierarchy order of the world, of the individuals belonging to the Family, to the tribe and so on. These notions diffuse then and there where the equality and individualism are prevailing, where the man remains alone with the state.

Thus the Kazan Tatars ideas of the nature of the dwelling space were analogous to the Russians one but they kept more definition and strength. The causes of such conservation are quite clear-the Tatars were the won ethnic group, the ethnic group of different religion. And this fact gave the birth to the situation of the concealed collective confrontation demanding the feeling of its community and to the certain moment not having other purposes besides keeping religion and common traditions.

The Russian empire was multinational and therefore multiconfessional state that primordially created the conflict situation. The state had to fulfil two opposite functions-to ensure the dominating of the native nation and state religion from one side, and protect the strangers, the people of different culture and religion on the other side. In realizing of interconfessional policy the temple building was featured.

The interconfessional relations in Middle Volga region developed dramatically enough. The rivalry of two world religions—Orthodoxy and Islam, was redoubled by the complexity of the historical relations between the Russians and the Tatars as well as by the role of Kazan in this history. The conquest of the Kazan associated with the final liberation from the Tatar yoke and chiefly with the triumph of the Orthodoxy over Islam. Kazan being the capital of the Kazan Khanate was the Islamic capital. To make the triumph evident was possible only by means of destroying the mosques and building the Orthodoxy churches on their ruins. Nothing similar has been undertaken relative to the other Tatar settlements in Russia.

As a result of the persecutions in Volga region a type of mosque in the form of rectangular plan building with minaret on two-pitched roof. Only wooden mosques were allowed. The first stone mosques appeared in Kazan only in 1760-s after the special permissions of Catherine the Great. They were built in the forms of dominating in Russia baroque style. At the boundary of the 18th and 19th centuries the mosques obtained the classic appearance.

The religion revival begun in European culture concerned all confessions. The state reglamentation involved in 19th century all spheres of architectural
activity was spread to the religious buildings too.

The reglamentation was expressed in fixing the appointed historic style for each confessional variety of temples. The Orthodoxy churches were designed in Russian style, the Roman-Catholic churches in Gothic style, the Protestant churches in Roman style and the mosques in Oriental style. The reglamentation proposed developing the sample designes for them.

The mosque sample designed in 1829 was issued ahead of publishing the first album of samples of the Orthodoxy churches. It was distributed in all 19 provinces with muslim population.

The study of muslim ceremony and the mosque building experience in Russiz preceded the design. The sample mosque represented a 8-side prism with pyramid roof and it traced to the origins of national culture. It looked like ancient Bulga erections of the 14th century. They could be used as examples when designing. The fact of using of previously presented drafts was mentioned in the text of the decree. The ancient Bulgar ruins were measured two years before in 1827 by Kazan architect A. Shmidt and just these drafts could be used as examples.

The measurements were made according to the emperor decree on fixation of Russian antiquities. The fixation of ancient churches had the same purpose of returning to the cultural origins. So the sample of the mosque was based on the ancient prototype but it ignored widespread in the 18th century type of rectangular mosque.

Then the decree giving effect to the sample demanded placing it at the centre of the square like the church and starting from the canons of classicism. But this did not correspond to the local tradition - the mosques usually were placed at the intersection of the streets at the middle of the building.

So this sample of the 1829 was not used in the Tatar Volga region but met in building practice in other provinces-Orenburg, Nizhni Novgorod, Perm, Crimea.

In 1842 the Orenburg muslim assembly made a request to the authorities to design a new mosque sample which would more satisfy the muslim custom. A new series of mosque samples consisted of 4 types was confirmed in 1844. It was intended especially for Kazan and Symbirskaya provinces. These samples demonstrate the appealing to the first Arabian mosques of Egypt and Tunis. The mosque on Sennaya square was built in 1845 by one
of these samples.

But these samples caused the displeasure too. They were too much expensive especially for the country settlements. After numerous requests a decree was published in 1862 permitting the village communities to digress from the state samples. Then the decree extended to the cities and they became not obligatory. But just this composition with a minaret above the entrance became popular in the following years in Kazan. At the same time the most of mosques in the country were still erecting out of the wood and in the form of rectangular plan building with a minaret on the roof.

Thus the building practice in Russia in 19th century and the fact of sample designing of other religion temples demonstrate the certain toleration.

It was peculiar for the thought of the 19th century to find the prototype of the national architecture and to develop the national tradition basing on this initial prototype.