

УДК 72.035(571)

Tara and Omsk: Western Siberian Architectural Heritage in Historical Context

William C. Brumfield*

*Tulane University
New Orleans, Louisiana, USA*

Received 01.05.2017, received in revised form 05.10.2017, accepted 12.10.2017

The Omsk region has played a major role in the development of Siberia. The article examines the region's architectural heritage in its historical context, beginning with the small town of Tara, founded at the end of the sixteenth century. The main part of the article focuses on the prerevolutionary architecture of Omsk from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries. The analysis includes churches, houses, commercial and civic buildings. The architectural styles range from Neoclassicism and Eclecticism to the style moderne and the Neoclassical Revival. The opening of the Trans-Siberian Railroad led to a construction boom with major commercial buildings resembling those of St. Petersburg.

Keywords: Siberian architecture, Trans-Siberian Railroad, Tiumen, Tobolsk, Omsk, Tara, Tsar Feodor, Irtysh River, Yermak, Khan Kuchum, Andrei Yeletskii, Time of Troubles, Mikhail Romanov, Old Believers, Peter the Great, Ivan Bukholts, Catherine the Great, Ivan Shpringer, Nicholas I, Vasili Stasov, Gustav Gasford, Fedor Dostoevskii, style moderne, Nikolai Verevkin, Fedor Lidval, Ivan Zholtovskii, Leonid Chernyshev, Andrei Kriachkov, Alexander Kolchak, Russo-Asiatic Bank.

DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-0148.

Research area: culturology.

As the Trans-Siberian Railroad moves southeast beyond Tiumen, the landscape becomes flatter and the rich fields of western Siberia unfold in a southerly direction towards Omsk. At the station of Nazyvaevsk, the border with Kazakstan is less than 100 kilometers away.

The proximity of Kazak territory, half of whose inhabitants are ethnically non-Russian, is a factor of much significance in understanding the origins of Omsk, now one of Siberia's largest cities (current population around 1,175,000) and

the capital of Omsk oblast'. From the beginning of Russian presence in this area at the end of the sixteenth century, this new southern flank was vulnerable to attacks and raids by Central Asian steppe tribes.

In 1594, soon after the founding of Tiumen and Tobolsk, a large detachment of 1,540 Cossacks, regular troops, and other servitors under the command of Prince Andrei Yeletskii moved from Tiumen, past Tobolsk, and up the Irtysh River. (Siberian rivers flow generally

northward, toward the Arctic Ocean, and going upriver leads in a southerly direction.) In Moscow Yeletskii had received the command of Tsar Feodor to establish a Russian fortified settlement considerably to the east of Tiumen. Such a base, near the confluence of the Tara River with the Irtysh, would allow access to vast tracts of fertile pasture lands as well as to abundant salt lakes. It would also turn the flank of Russia's primary enemy in the area, Khan Kuchum, who had survived an earlier defeat at the hands of Yermak. Before the coming of winter, a primitive log fort and church had been erected on the Irtysh at the small Arkarka River, several kilometers below the mouth of the Tara.¹ Although the tsar in distant Moscow had commanded a settlement at the Tara River, that site was judged less defensible, and in an expedient sleight-of-hand the name "Tara" was given to a settlement on the Arkarka.²

The immediate goals of the Tara settlement were accomplished in the next few years: Kuchum was defeated in 1595 and yet again in 1598, during the reign of Boris Godunov. After the latter defeat, Kuchum died from unknown causes, presumably while in flight.³ Yet Kuchum's death gave greater power to a still more aggressive group on Russia's southern Siberian frontier. During the interregnum known as the Time of Troubles (from the death of Boris Godunov in 1605 to the enthronement of Mikhail Romanov in 1613, Moscow's power waned on the southwestern Siberian borderlands, but the small Tara outpost and its plenipotentiary, the *voevoda*, never abandoned power. In addition to political considerations for remaining in Tara, the bounty produced by local salt lakes ensured the economic significance of holding the region.

Until the founding of Omsk, in 1716, Tara remained the primary Russian outpost on the middle reaches of the Irtysh River, and for much of the seventeenth century, the Kalmyks and, from 1635, the Dzhungars waged frequent campaigns

against the Tara fort and against local Tartar tribes that had accepted Muscovite suzerainty. While Moscow generally urged restraint and placation in dealing with these threats, local commanders, frustrated by the attacks, attempted a more active policy of confrontation.⁴ In 1626 the Kalmyks made a major attack on Tara, but the garrison of 400, reinforced by a detachment from Tobolsk, repulsed the attempt. Gradually the Russians themselves began to settle the area, as tensions decreased. Yet even with increased stability, population growth remained slow. Indeed, some of the early garrisons were manned in part by prisoners taken from the Polish-Lithuanian forces that had occupied much of Muscovy during the Time of Troubles.⁵

The main defenders of the Russian presence in the area were the so-called *sluzhilye liudi* (service people), a diverse group that included: Cossacks, mounted and "foot"; foreign enlistees; levies of state infantry (*streltsy*, musketeers), usually from northern towns ranging from Novgorod to Viatka; Tartars; and, as an administrative elite, the so-called "boiars' sons" (*deti boiarskie*), who in fact had no familial relation to the state grandees known as boiars.⁶ Hierarchy within this diverse group determined matters such as pay and provisioning, but they all had in common a degree of freedom that set them above a peasantry increasingly bound by conditions of enserfment. One specialist has noted: "The service man of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was to a certain degree an adventurer [*avantiurist*]". Furthermore: "The service man reacted sharply to any infringement of his rights by the *voevoda* or the superiors, especially when he was compelled to fulfill duties he considered inappropriate".⁷

The *sluzhilye liudi*, be they Cossacks or other groups, resented above all being categorized as peasants and forced to till the land, particularly in a border area subject to raids. In practice, apart from their basic duties defending the Tara fort

(now reconstructed; Fig. 1) and collecting tribute from the local tribes, *sluzhilye liudi* could be required to do almost any task, from carpentry to brewing beer. To augment their meager state rations, *sluzhilye liudi* typically engaged in hunting and trade, but they were at least entitled to what was known as a “tavern ration” (*pogrebnoe zhalovanie*): two glasses of vodka on official holidays.⁸

Apart from frontier raids and periodic fires (1624, 1669, 1709) that leveled the settlement, the seventeenth century was relatively uneventful for Tara. However, the seeds for the town’s most terrible and lasting tragedy were sown in the middle of the seventeenth century with the split in the Russian Orthodox Church between those who accepted the liturgical reforms of Patriarch Nikon and those who refused (Old Believers).⁹ Many adherents of the Old Belief fled to Siberia in order to escape tsarist oppression, particularly after 1682 when archpriest Avvakum, spiritual leader of the Old Believers, was condemned to death by burning at Pustozersk, in the far Russian north. (Old Believers in this area were primarily peasants and Cossacks, for whom religious oppression was closely linked to the increasing burdens of serfdom and state service.)

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the region surrounding Tara contained some



Fig. 1. Tara. Reconstruction of log fort (ostrog). Photograph: William Brumfield (9/17/1999)

of the most active centers of refuge in Siberia, including the Sergius retreat (*pustyn'*) for a sect of priestly dissenters and the Ivan Smirnov retreat for a more radical priestless sect.¹⁰ Indeed, the preserved fragments of writings of Smirnov remind that a relatively high proportion of the Old Believers were literate and thus represented a highly developed segment of the Russian peasantry.¹¹ Educated and recalcitrant peasants were not, however, a part of Peter the Great’s strategy for westernizing Russia, a strategy that further antagonized dissenters with a pervasive and relentless promulgation of cultural change, such as the compulsory shaving of beards, the introduction of western-style (“German”) clothes, and the sale of tobacco.

As Old Believers pursued increasingly radical forms of passive resistance (including self-immolation) to official Orthodoxy and to state authority, the imposition of onerous, punitive measures (including double taxation) reinforced an apocalyptic frame of mind that interpreted Peter the Great as antichrist.¹² And while authorities in Siberia were reluctantly willing to make concessions on issues such as dress and wearing of beards, the insistent linking of Peter to Antichrist proved an insufferable affront to the autocratic state. Furthermore, the abolishing of the patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church in 1721 in favor of governance by the state-controlled Holy Synod was followed, in February 1722, by a new law of succession enabling the ruler to appoint a successor rather than rely on hereditary seniority. Although the law was never implemented, the requirement that all subjects swear fealty to Peter’s successor, as yet unnamed, provoked alarmist rumors and unarmed resistance among the large Old Believer following in the Tara region as elsewhere in Russia. Indeed, the persuasive powers of Old Believer leaders, such as Father Sergius, swayed many people in the town itself,

including Ivan Nemchinov, commander of the sizeable Cossack detachment at the fort.¹³

In May 1722 Nemchinov sanctioned the discussion and promulgation of a “counter epistle” against the signing of the letter of allegiance to the successor.¹⁴ News of this resistance was interpreted by the governor-general of Siberia, Prince Aleksei M. Cherkasskii, as seditious, and in June a large detachment of troops was sent from Tobol’sk to Tara. After the town was occupied and secured (no resistance was offered), vice-governor Aleksandr K. Petrovo-Solovo arrived to supervise punitive action in what had become a major affair of state. Peter the Great’s reign had been plagued by Cossack uprisings and disorders among *strel’tsy* troops that represented a far more serious military threat than the “Tara rebellion.” Yet no high official would dare risk the wrath of the tsar by erring on the side of leniency in dealing with any open, direct, and sizeable manifestation of dissent.

In preparation for this occupation, Nemchinov had gathered some seventy sympathizers in his house, with the intention of mass suicide from the explosion of barrels of gunpowder at his disposal. Subsequent accounts vary as to details, but on June 26 apparently 49 people ran from the house to surrender to the occupying force--which later showed them little mercy. An insufficient charge injured the remaining twenty, five of whom, including Nemchinov, soon died from burns.¹⁵ Having cheated the executioner, his body was quartered and placed on spears for public view and intimidation. In many ways Nemchinov is the most complex and tragic figure of this tragedy. By available evidence he was an intelligent and humane person, not only literate but capable of commentary on biblical and Old Believer texts. Yet however deeply held his religious views, as garrison commander and secular authority he must have understood that his example would draw many defenseless residents of Tara into a hellish reprisal.

As a result of the punitive expedition the Old Believer leaders were captured and killed, their refuges were destroyed or sacked, and a large part of the area’s male population, including Cossacks, was subjected to interrogation, torture, and punishment for adherence to or sympathy for the Old Belief. Many Cossacks were knouted and forced to convert to the official Orthodox Church. Religious books were confiscated from Old Believer homes, further testimony to their high literacy.¹⁶

Perhaps the most effective presentation of the scope of the tragedy appeared in an elegiac account written for an official publication some six decades later, during the reign of Catherine the Great, who extended a measure of tolerance to the Old Belief:

In 1722, when by the ukase of his imperial highness ... all Russian subjects were commanded to take the oath, there ensued a certain disobedience from Tara citizens and it was considered a revolt, for which many Tara residents received the death punishment, such as: cutting off of heads, hanging by the ribs, others were impaled, and by various punishments subdued. At this time as many as 500 houses of the best citizens were devastated, and from that time the town of Tara was quite deprived of its former power and beauty, and populousness.¹⁷

Even allowing for the possibility of exaggeration in this account, particularly in the number of houses devastated within the town itself, there is no reason to doubt the extent of the state-sanctioned violence inflicted on a relatively educated and essentially peaceful population. And yet for all its horror, the suppression of the “Tara rebellion,” and the subsequent mass self-immolations, did not eradicate Old Believer presence in the area. Indeed, the government relented in certain areas, such as revocation of double taxation on Old Believers.¹⁸ Furthermore, accounts of the atrocities of the punitive expedition soon became a part of the Old Believer literature

of martyrdom and were rapidly disseminated throughout their highly literate communities.

The only building in Tara to remain from the eighteenth century is the Church of the Miraculous Icon of the Savior (Fig. 2), built over an extended period from 1754 to 1776, with interior work concluding in 1783. Indeed, it is the only church, out of at least ten in the town before the revolution, to have survived the Soviet era. To look at pre-revolutionary photographs of towns such as Tara is to understand how much of their heritage has been lost in the Soviet period – and not just in an architectural sense.¹⁹ The Savior Church is a good example of mid eighteenth-century church design in the Russian provinces, similar in form to the Church of John the Baptist in Solikamsk, with an elevated cuboid structure in the east and a taller bell tower in the west.

As was frequently the case in the Russian north and Siberia, the lower part of the structure

was completed much earlier (around 1760) than the church as a whole and consecrated for heated use in the winter.²⁰ The more imposing upper church generally remained unheated for use in the summer. Clean in lines but austere in decoration, the church has no interior piers, and its main cupola is a small affair, perched on a slender tiered drum. The primary exterior ornament is the window surrounds, whose crown follows the “flame” motif, especially visible on the apse (Fig. 3). The Church of the Savior now has an active parish and a state-accredited grade school.

Tara, whose population is approximately 25,000, has managed to preserve in its historic core a number of wooden houses from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although lacking the concentration of wooden masterpieces in larger towns such as Tiumen and Tomsk, Tara perhaps gives a more accurate



Fig. 2. Tara. Church of the Miraculous Icon of the Savior. Northeast view. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/17/1999)



Fig. 3. Tara. Church of the Miraculous Icon of the Savior. Southeast view. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/17/1999)



Fig. 4. Tara. Log house, Aleksandrovskaya Street 62. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/17/1999)



Fig. 5. Tara. S.P. Aleksandrov house. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/17/1999)

idea of the typical log dwellings in Siberian towns. These include relatively unadorned but solidly built specimens (Fig. 4), as well as more elaborately decorated forms, such as the Semion Aleksandrov house, constructed by the priest of the St. Paraskeva Church around 1900 with *style moderne* decorative elements (Fig. 5). A good example of the Siberian merchant style is the house built in 1916 by Nil Noskov (Fig. 6), a flour merchant and one of the most active entrepreneurs



Fig. 6. Tara. N.A. Noskov house. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/17/1999)



Fig. 5A. Tara. S.P. Aleksandrov house. Façade decoration. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/17/1999)



Fig. 7. Bolsherechye. A.E. Kubrin house. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/16/1999)



Fig. 8. Bolsherechye. N. Ia. Gladkov house. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/16/1999)



Fig. 9. Bolsherechye. N. Ia. Gladkov house. Courtyard gate with decorative fretwork. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/16/1999)

in the timber business. Noskov was shot in 1921 as part of the innumerable reprisals of the Russian civil war. Tara's other merchant families, many of whom had done much to support local charitable and cultural causes, either emigrated or suffered various forms of repression.²¹

Between Tara and Omsk along the Irtysh River there are other small towns, such as Bolsherechye, which have their own well-preserved examples of wooden houses decorated with carved ornament rich in stylized folk motifs and symbols. These include solar signs, elaborate coronets, mother-goddess (fertility) symbols, tree of life, and botanical motifs in elaborate strapwork.²² Interesting examples include houses belonging to the merchant Agantii Kubrin (Fig. 7) and to N.Ia. Gladkov (Fig. 8) In a few surviving

(or restored) examples these decorations cover large posts and gates leading to an enclosed yard (Fig. 9).

OMSK

As Tara endured devastating turbulence at the beginning of the eighteenth century, power had begun to shift toward a new settlement farther up the Irtysh River and closer to the steppe tribes, especially the Kalmyks, along Russia's expanding border into western Central Asia in the area now known as Kazakhstan. The primary impulse for this move came from Peter the Great. Despite his preoccupation with the Great Northern War in Europe, the tsar also acted decisively to bolster Russian authority in Siberia, as is evident from the construction projects that he supported in places such as Tiumen and, especially, Tobolsk. After the victory over the Swedes at Poltava in 1709, Peter accelerated the flow of resources toward Siberia, and in 1714 he issued a series of decrees supporting scientific expeditions in the Russian part of Asia.

Among these projects was an expedition, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Ivan Bukholts (1671-1741), that began in Tobolsk, the administrative center of Siberia, and proceeded south toward the upper reaches of the Irtysh River.²³ Their stated purpose was to search for gold in sandy deposits along the river. But this detachment of some 3,000 armed men, which departed Tobolsk in July 1715, was obviously more than an exercise in geographical fieldwork. Its primary purpose was to make a show of force in the area.

The saga of the Bukholts expedition, which in certain ways resembles accounts of American exploration in the far west during the early nineteenth century, took an unexpected turn in the fall of 1715. Moving past the confluence of the Irtysh with the Om' River in early September, the group pressed southward and set up winter

camp near a salt lake known as Yamyshevskoe. Before the stockade could be completed, the unprepared detachment was attacked by a force of Dzhungars. Although the attack was repulsed, the expedition's horses were all driven off and the Russians were in effect besieged. This setback was compounded by disease (scurvy, anthrax) and hunger that killed three fourths of the Russian force. As soon as the Irtysh once again became navigable, Bukholts abandoned camp in late April 1716 with the remaining 700 men.²⁴ Stopping at the Om River site a week later, Bukholts sent a scout to Tobolsk asking the powerful governor of Siberia, Matvei Gagarin, for permission to build a fort at the confluence of the Irtysh and Om Rivers.

Gagarin granted permission to establish the fort, and thus Omsk came into being as the result of a military defeat and ignominious withdrawal. As a historical sequel to these dramatic events, it should be noted that Peter was incensed by the debacle, and Bukholts was summoned to Saint Petersburg to answer before a board of inquiry. In January 1719 Bukholts gave an account of the expedition, successfully defended his reputation, and regained the favor of Peter, under whom he had served in some of the young tsar's first regiments in the 1690s. Subsequent achievements in his long and illustrious career included command of forces in the vast territory beyond Lake Baikal, the founding of the fortified settlements of Kiakhta and Troitskosavsk on the Mongolian border, as well as the negotiation of border and commercial agreements with China.²⁵

However, the Bukholts expedition up the Irtysh had been a defeat, and a culprit needed to be found and punished. In exonerating Bukholts, the board of inquiry in Saint Petersburg decided that the reason for the defeat lay in insufficient preparations, and the guilty party was – Matvei Gagarin. Reports had already reached Petersburg concerning the Siberian governor's lavish style

of living in Tobolsk, and there were accusations of malfeasance and corruption. A commission to establish these charges was established in St. Petersburg as early as 1717, and it is possible that the Bukholts investigation was conceived as a means of implicating Gagarin.²⁶ In any event Gagarin was also summoned to the capital, interrogated, knouted, and tortured. Steadfastly maintaining his innocence, Gagarin was visited by Peter himself, who offered to let him keep his rank and title if only he would admit guilt. Gagarin's refusal (which has led some historians to accept his innocence) only enraged Peter, who had him publicly hanged opposite the Justice Ministry in Saint Petersburg in July 1721.

The events leading to the foundation of Omsk provide a dramatic insight into the many perils involved in the exploration and governance of Siberia. Fortunately, Omsk thereafter led a relatively peaceful existence as the anchor of Russian power along the middle reaches of the Irtysh River. Indeed, the log and earthen fort fell into such neglect that its existence was threatened by the middle of the eighteenth century. However, with the expansion of roads, trade, and settlement in west-central Siberia, Catherine the Great appointed General Ivan Shpringer in 1763 to coordinate Russian defensive and strategic policy in the area. In 1764 he concluded that the command center for Russian forces should be transferred from the Yamyshevskoe fort to Omsk, which had become the area's transportation nexus.²⁷

In 1765 General Shpringer decided to relocate the Omsk fortress from its site on the south bank of the River Om' at its confluence with the Irtysh, to the north bank.²⁸ He also reestablished the town itself as a viable settlement in accordance with regular plans promulgated during the reign of Catherine. After approval of the plan in 1767, work began on the fortress in May 1768 – the sixty-fifth anniversary of the founding of Saint

Petersburg. The coincidence is revealing because the Omsk fortress shows resemblances to the art of fortification design practiced at the Peter-Paul Fortress in Saint Petersburg. Unlike its predecessor in St. Petersburg, however, almost nothing of the Omsk fortification works has survived, even though at the time of its completion it was the largest Russian fort – indeed, the largest Russian construction project – east of the Urals.

Shpringer also initiated construction of the town's first brick church, dedicated to the Resurrection of the Savior (1769-1773; demolished in the 1930s) and located opposite the Hauptwacht (1781) in the center of the fortress. This garrison church combined the vestibule and sanctuary in one structure, unlike the elongated plan typical of parish churches at this time.²⁹ A three-tiered bell tower on the west dominated the surrounding fortress. The site of the old fortress also contained its church, dedicated to Elijah the Prophet and rebuilt in brick in 1778-85 (not extant). In fact the territory of the old fortress, situated on the south (left) bank of the Om', became known as the "Elijah Vorstadt" and was planned in a strict grid with rectangular blocks of houses.³⁰ The final church in the eighteenth-century fortress was built by the Lutherans in 1792. Much reconstructed, it now serves as a museum for the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In the 1790s the new fortress also gained four large masonry gateways: the Omsk, the Irtysh, the Tobolsk, and the Tara Gates. Of these only the Tobolsk Gate, built in 1790-1794, survives in its original form (Fig. 10).³¹

The authority of Omsk was enhanced in the latter part of the eighteenth century by the development of the Moscow-Siberia Road, a more accessible, southerly route to Siberia made possible by the subduing of steppe tribes such as the Kalmyks and the Kirghiz.³² Cossack troops were a decisive factor in guarding the border, and General Shpringer played a major

role in transforming Siberian Cossacks from *sluzhilye liudi*, subject to non-military duties, into professional soldiers.³³ Only with the end of the eighteenth century was Russian power firmly consolidated in the steppes to the south of Omsk. With that protection, the town's geographical advantages created an important transportation hub that in turn determined the rapid commercial development of Omsk in the next century. Although administratively subordinate to Tobolsk throughout the eighteenth century, Omsk superseded the former early in the nineteenth century. From 1808 until 1917, Omsk served as the headquarters of all Siberian Cossack troops, and in 1822 a separate Omsk Province was formed.

As a sign of the growing significance of this garrison town a new plan was commissioned in the 1820s, after fires in 1819 and 1823 that leveled half of Omsk beyond the fortress. The author of the project was William Hastie, a British architect who made substantial contributions to Russian town planning after the Napoleonic invasion. Hastie recognized that Omsk needed to pursue new development on both sides of the Om' River, and to that end he proposed for the town a second center, located on the left bank behind the Elijah Vorstadt.³⁴ The visual dominant of this center would be a new church associated with the



Fig. 10. Omsk fortress. Tobolsk Gate. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/15/1999)

Siberian Cossacks and supported by the troop headquarters in Omsk.

Hastie's plan was approved in 1829, and in 1833 preliminary work began on the Cossack Church of Saint Nicholas, which was consecrated in 1840 (Fig. 11). Although based on a design by the noted Russian neoclassical architect Vasilii Stasov, the final form of the Saint Nicholas Church represented a substantial change by local builders.³⁵ In appearance the church seems typical of provincial architecture during the late neoclassical period, with a large single dome over the cuboid main sanctuary and a vestibule extending from the west. The north, south, and west facades are marked by a simple tetrastyle Doric portico, and the upper walls of each facade contain large sculpted medallions. The most obvious departure from Stasov's style is the narthex and bell tower added to the west end. The proportions of the bell tower are awkward in comparison with major neoclassical churches of the period, yet the overall effect is appealing in its modest way.

In 1882 the Church of Saint Nicholas became the repository of one of the area's most important relics, the purported banner of the Cossack leader Yermak, conqueror of Siberia. In 1916 the church was elevated to the status of cathedral; but the banner was lost during the disorders of



Fig. 11. Omsk. Cathedral of St. Nicholas. South view. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/15/1999)

the civil war, and in 1928 the church was closed by Soviet authorities. With bell tower and dome dismantled, the structure served various club needs until abandoned in 1966. Subsequent restoration allowed the building to function as a concert hall in the 1980s, and its use is now shared by the Orthodox Church.

The strong military presence in Omsk inevitably drew the town into the Siberian exile system. The most famous of the fortress's exiles was the writer Fedor Dostoevskii, arrested by tsarist gendarmes in Saint Petersburg in 1849 for associating with a circle of radical intellectuals grouped around Mikhail Butashevich-Petrashkevskii.³⁶ The harsh repression of dissent in Russia following the revolutionary events of 1848 in Europe inevitably led to the most severe consequences for those arrested, even though their actions had been limited primarily to reading banned political literature. Tsar Nicholas I took a personal interest in the case of Dostoevskii, whose death sentence was commuted to four years of hard labor and subsequent service as a common soldier in the army. In December 1849 Dostoevskii was sent to the transit prison in Tobol'sk, and on January 23, 1850 he and Sergei Durov (leader of a faction related to the Petrashevskii circle) arrived under guard at the Omsk fort.³⁷

For the most part of three years, Dostoevskii lived the harrowing existence of a convict sentenced to hard labor, which included unloading barges on the Irtysh River and heavy construction in the Omsk fortress itself. The commandant of the fortress, Aleksei Fedorovich de Grave, took a personal interest in Dostoevskii's plight, but the serious nature of the his offense excluded any obvious exercise of leniency, such as removing the prisoner's iron shackles.³⁸ When Dostoevskii's health broke under the physical and psychological strain of the penal regime, he was fortunate to

be hospitalized under the care of a sympathetic doctor, Ivan Ivanovich Troitskii.

It was during his stay in the infirmary of the Omsk fortress that Dostoevskii began one of his seminal works, *Notes from the House of the Dead*, which, although fictionalized, is the best account of his prison years. He also compiled a diary of his impressions and experiences, material that would later make its way into some of his greatest works. Although this activity was forbidden, the hospital administration protected Dostoevskii, who left his manuscript for safekeeping with the medic A. Appolonov. Having survived the ordeal of imprisonment in Omsk, Dostoevskii was released in January 1854 and sent to the town Semipalatinsk (southeast of Omsk on the upper reaches of the Irtysh River, in what is now Kazakhstan), where he served the remaining years of exile as a soldier in the Seventh Siberian Line Battalion. Not until 1859 was Dostoevskii allowed to return to St. Petersburg.

Like many other settlements in Siberia during the nineteenth century, Omsk combined a reputation as a military and penal center with a quite different role as a focal point for non-military economic development. Even before the coming of the railroad at the end of the nineteenth century, Omsk had acquired renewed importance as a transportation center for western Siberia. For example, regular steamboat traffic on the Irtysh River between Tobolsk and Omsk began in 1862, when the town's population was 20,000.

A major factor in these developments was the appointment, in 1851, of Gustav Gasford as governor general of Western Siberia. Gasford (1794?-1874) came from a family of Lutheran nobility prominent in Belostok Province in the western part of the Russian Empire. After distinguished service in the war against Napoleon and in subsequent Russian campaigns, Gasford was assigned to Omsk as commander of the Siberian Corps.³⁹ Gasford was an officer of

enlightened views, and he improved Dostoevskii's lot in exile by supporting his promotion from private to subaltern. He was a active proponent of steamboat service on the Irtysh, and promoted the Omsk territory as a place of resettlement for peasant freeholders. It is estimated that some 80,000 settlers came to the territory during the nine years of Gasford's governorship. His architectural legacy includes several buildings in Omsk, the most notable and best preserved of which is the Palace of the General Governor of Western Siberia (Fig. 12), completed in 1862 to a design by Friedrich Wagner (Vagner), a leading local architect.⁴⁰ The restrained design of the exterior is marked by one flourish: a tower with a belvedere that rises above the back of the building.

The middle of the nineteenth century also witnessed construction of a large church dedicated to the Elevation of the Cross (Fig. 13). Begun in 1865, the church was consecrated in the fall of 1870, with a second altar dedicated in 1896 to the Mother of God, Consolation to All Who Sorrow.⁴¹ Although bearing some similarities to typical neoclassical Orthodox church architecture, the Church of the Elevation of the Cross reflects a simplification typical of provincial churches in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, there is a certain "protestant" air to the design, whose elongated main structure contains both



Fig. 12. Omsk. Palace of the General Governor of Western Siberia. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/18/1999)

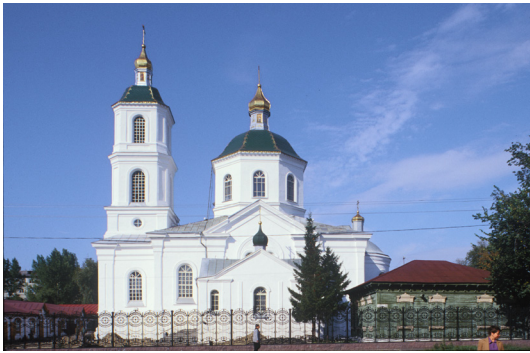


Fig. 13. Omsk. Cathedral of Elevation of the Cross. South view. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/15/1999)



Fig. 14. Omsk. Log house with decorative window surrounds, Tara Street 42. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/15/1999)



Fig. 13A. Omsk. Cathedral of Elevation of the Cross. Interior, view east toward iconostasis. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/15/1999)



Fig. 15. Omsk. Log house, Michurin Street 48. Style moderne doorway. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/18/1999)

the sanctuary and the vestibule, with a bell tower attached on the west. The basic plan is cruciform, with inner corners supporting the elaborately painted drum and cupola. Despite its lack of a distinctive architectural character, the church and its interior decoration project an admirable clarity of design that facilitates worship.

The few masonry churches built in Omsk during the nineteenth century existed in an

environment that continued to be overwhelmingly composed of wooden structures, primarily log houses often decorated with elaborately carved details (Fig. 14). As elsewhere in Siberia, the Omsk territory had its regional specifics for such ornament, whether in Tara and small villages or in Omsk itself. In addition to profuse ornament based on folk motifs, Omsk also has a few surviving examples of the influence of art nouveau

in wooden architecture at the beginning of the twentieth century (Fig. 15).⁴² Some of the log structures were of considerable size and designed by accomplished architects, such as the building for the Western Siberian Division of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, constructed in 1896-1899 by Iliodor Khvorinov (Fig. 16).⁴³ One of the best examples is the Omsk synagogue (Fig. 17), built at the turn of the century. The exterior of the log structure has milled siding, with Moorish details for the windows and cornice.

The major event for the rapid growth of Omsk at the turn of the twentieth century occurred in 1894 and 1895 with the opening of the main rail link to Cheliabinsk in the west and to Novonikolaevsk (later Novosibirsk) on the Ob' River in the east. Whatever its mixed benefits elsewhere in Siberia, the Trans-Siberian Railroad presented Omsk with an extraordinary stimulus as a transportation and commercial center. These developments in turn spurred the rapid growth of agriculture on lands well suited to the large-scale production of grain. By the beginning of the 20th century, Omsk had almost 60,000 inhabitants, and within a decade that number had increased by fifty percent. In 1913 another major rail line, from Tiumen, was completed to Omsk.

This development as a diversified transportation hub led to a boom in the commercial architecture of Omsk. What had formerly been a provincial garrison town consisting primarily of wooden structures, punctuated with a few large masonry churches, now became a preeminent site for banks, theaters, educational institutions, industry, and retail trade in western Siberia. In addition to important branch offices for major banks and firms from Moscow and St. Petersburg, Omsk also witnessed investment from private firms in the United States, Germany, and Great Britain, and other countries. Among the leading foreign companies were International Harvester (the largest of several American firms providing



Fig. 16. Omsk. Western Siberian Division of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/15/1999)



Fig. 17. Omsk. Synagogue. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/18/1999)

agricultural equipment to the Omsk area), Singer (sewing machines) and Nobel.⁴⁴ The central part of Omsk had a cosmopolitan air, and before the First World War the design of its new office buildings could rival those of Moscow's business district.

The first architect to play an important role in the transformation of Omsk at the end of the nineteenth century was Eduard Ezet (1838-1892), a pupil of the prominent Petersburg architect Andrei Shtakensneider.⁴⁵ Having completed



Fig. 18. Omsk. First Women's Highschool (gimnaziia). Photograph: William Brumfield (9/18/1999)



Fig. 20. Omsk. State Liquor Warehouse. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/18/1999)



Fig. 19. Omsk. City Council (Duma) Building. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/18/1999)



Fig. 21. Omsk. Maria Shanina Emporium. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/15/1999)

two projects for the Imperial court in Saint Petersburg, Ezet received an appointment as city architect for Omsk in 1863 and at the same time served as architect to the military administration. Ezet was dedicated to the cause of education and was responsible for the construction of a number of schools in Omsk, including the First Women's Highschool (*gimnaziia*). Built in 1879-1882, the building still stands and is typical of the architect's eclectic style, with a richly decorated main facade (Fig. 18).⁴⁶ But Ezet was more than a designer of facades; he took seriously the challenge of providing educational institutions with elements of comfort and hygiene that had previously been ignored, particularly in provincial architecture.

During this same period, the City Council (Duma) of Omsk built a large brick structure

to a standard plan in a historicist style popular among city administrations in the late nineteenth century (Fig. 19). Completed in 1878, the building was enlarged in 1906 with an annex designed by G.S. Bartkovskii.⁴⁷ Although built near the left bank of the Om' River, its location on a bluff provided the height to overlook the main business district on the opposite bank of the river. A similar style of unstuccoed brick architecture appeared in the main building of the State Liquor Warehouse (Fig. 20), built in 1898-1902 by V.S. Gusev.

Most of the architecture in this business district is characterized by florid eclecticism in the Beaux Arts manner, particularly along its main thoroughfare, Chernavin Prospect, named after a widely-respected, progressive mayor who died in 1879.⁴⁸ Indeed, every building

on Chernavin Prospect (now Lenin Street) is registered as a monument of early twentieth century architecture, even though some buildings are unattributed as to architect. They include: the Maria Shanina Emporium (Fig. 21), built in 1898-1900 by Ilidor Khvorinov; the Ovsiannikov-Ganshin Company building (Fig. 22), completed in 1906); the Moscow Trading Rows (Fig. 23), built in 1903-1904 by Otto von Dessin; the Morozov Emporium and Volga-Kama Bank, 1910; and the Hotel Rossiia (Fig. 24), built in 1905-1907 by Khvorinov and expanded in 1915. The Moscow Trading Rows were particularly important as an anchor to further major commercial development in the area. Designed by the von Dessin, a Moscow architect of Baltic German descent, the expansive two-storied Moscow Trading Rows were supported by some of the major names among Moscow's entrepreneurial elite – including Savva T. Morozov.⁴⁹

As Chernavin Prospekt approached the Iron Bridge over the Om', another street, named after General Shpringer, merged at an acute angle. This street also continued the eclectic style, including the Hotel Europe, completed at the end of the nineteenth century, and the Kristall-Palas (Crystal Palace) Cinema building (1914; Fig. 25), designed by Khvorinov. Serving as city architect from 1901 to 1906, Khvorinov was unquestionably the most active builder in Omsk at the beginning of the century, the creator of work ranging from highly decorated commercial buildings to the fortress-like main city firetower (1914).⁵⁰ In addition to his commercial buildings, he also designed one of the most important public commissions at the time, the Drama Theater (Fig. 26), built on Bazaar Square at the upper end of Chernavin Prospekt in 1901-1905. Its Beaux Arts style, festooned with statues, sets the tone for the entire prospect on its descent toward the Om' River. A similar style characterizes the mansion built



Fig. 22. Omsk. Brothers Ovsiannikov-Ganshin Company Building. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/15/1999)



Fig. 23. Omsk. Moscow Trading Rows. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/15/1999)



Fig. 24. Omsk. Hotel Rossiia. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/15/1999)

in 1901-1902 for the merchant A. Batiushkin (Fig. 27). Attributed to Otto von Dessin, the house gained subsequent fame as the official residence of the anti-bolshevik leader Admiral Aleksandr Kolchak in 1919 (see below).



Fig. 25. Omsk. Kristall-Palas (Crystal Palace) Cinema Building. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/15/1999)



Fig. 26. Omsk. Drama Theater. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/15/1999)



Fig. 27. Omsk. A. Batiushkin house. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/17/1999)

In the years immediately preceding the First World War, the commercial architecture of central Omsk moved from Beaux Arts eclecticism toward varieties of *style moderne* (the Russian equivalent of Art Nouveau) and the neoclassical revival. The largest examples in the modern style are the building for R. and T. Elworthy Agricultural Machinery (Fig. 28), constructed in 1913-1914; and the Kuznets Coal Mines Administration building (1910-1915; Fig. 29). Private houses were also designed in the style, including the K.A. Grinevitskii house (1914; Figure 30) and the A.S. Kabalkin house (1915; Fig. 31). The Kabalkin family also built a large log house (1913; Fig. 32) in a rational variant of the modern style near the City Council building. Although



Fig. 28. Omsk. R. & T. Elworthy Agricultural Machines, office building. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/15/1999)



Fig. 29. Omsk. Kuznets Coal Mines Administration building. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/15/1999)

there is currently no information on the architects of any of the above *style moderne* buildings, the log Kabalkin house is close in style to the work of Andrei Kriachkov, a prominent architect in Tomsk, who was also active in Omsk during this period. However, Kriachkov's commercial work in Omsk belongs primarily to a modernized form of neoclassicism, exemplified by his 1914 design for the City Trade Building, located across from the Drama Theater on Bazaar Square.⁵¹

In Russia's largest cities, such as Moscow and Saint Petersburg, the *style moderne* had metamorphosed into the neoclassical revival at least a decade earlier, by 1906.⁵² But in the provinces the *style moderne* remained prevalent until the First World War, as is strikingly evident in the design of large wooden pavilions for the 1911 Western Siberian Exposition, designed by the Krasnoiarsk architect Leonid Chernyshev.⁵³ Shortly thereafter, the imposing Renaissance-inspired forms of the neoclassical revival made their appearance in Omsk, as in other Siberian cities.

The most extensive ensemble of neoclassical revival buildings arose behind the Moscow Trading Rows on a side street named after Governor Gasford – and in the Soviet era renamed for Karl Liebknecht. The clients for these office buildings were large Moscow and Petersburg firms with major investments in the rapidly growing economy of Omsk: the Salamander Insurance Company, located in Saint Petersburg; the Treugolnik (Triangle) Company, formed by the Russian-American Rubber Manufactory; and the Tver Manufacturing Company, a textile conglomerate owned by the Morozovs. Most of the land at the site was owned by Vogau and Company, wholesalers of tea and coffee, who had erected their own Vienna-inspired *style moderne* building on Gasford Street in 1910-1912 (Fig. 33).⁵⁴

The leading designer of the complex on Gasford Street was the Petersburg architect



Fig. 30. Omsk. K.A. Grinevitskii house. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/15/1999)



Fig. 31. Omsk. A.S. Kabalkin house. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/15/1999)



Fig. 32. Omsk. A.S. Kabalkin house. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/18/1999)



Fig. 33. Omsk. Vogau & Company Building. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/15/1999)



Fig. 34. Omsk. Salamander Insurance Company Building. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/15/1999)



Fig. 35. Omsk. Tver Manufacturing Company Building. Right: Treugolnik Company. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/18/1999)

Nikolai Verevkin, who already had numerous buildings to his credit in the imperial capital, including three for the Salamander Insurance Company.⁵⁵ All of the Petersburg buildings were in a neo-Renaissance style, and Verevkin provided the same for the Salamander building in Omsk (Fig. 34). Built in 1913-1914, the structure has a two-story arcaded facade with stone cladding. The third floor was designed in the form of a loggia, whose center is marked by a pediment and a large window bay containing the salamander emblem of the insurance company.

The Renaissance program was pursued with equal emphasis on the opposite side of the street in contiguous buildings for the Treugolnik Company and the Tver Manufacturing Company. The latter firm represented the textile and related holdings of the Morozov empire, which, as noted above, already had a major interest in the Omsk retail trade through the Moscow Trading Rows. For this building, the Morozov Company chose Andrei Kriachkov, who also authored a project for one of the Morozov firms in Novonikolaevsk (later Novosibirsk). Kriachkov's design, constructed in 1913-1914, included two-story attached columns and other elements of the neoclassical revival. (Fig. 35) Nonetheless, it was overshadowed by the adjacent Treugolnik Company (Fig. 36), built by Verevkin in 1914-1915.

Both Verevkin and Kriachkov were graduates of the prestigious Saint Petersburg Institute of Civil Engineering (in 1901 and 1902, respectively), and they probably knew each other at that time.⁵⁶ But while Kriachkov returned to Siberia, Verevkin studied for another five years at the Academy of Fine Arts (graduating in 1906), and that rigorous training shows in his accomplished handling of the Palladian style. His building for the Triangle Company in Omsk is on a level with the best examples of the neoclassical revival in Moscow and Saint – including his own work. The heavily rusticated piers of the

arcading on the first floor support a second story segmented by attached Doric columns, which in turn separate large windows with alternating curved and triangular pediments. This Palladian exercise culminates in an attic strip that originally displayed the company name.

Verevkin's proficiency as an interpreter of the neoclassical revival was equaled by another prominent Petersburg architect, Fedor Lidval, who built the administration building of the Omsk Railroad (Fig. 37) in 1914-1916. In fact this administrative center exercised control over the western part of the Trans-Siberian Railroad, and such a broad mandate required a commensurate scale and imposing design. The result is one of the major monuments of twentieth-century Russian neoclassicism, both before and after the revolution. Not only does the expansive five-story facade compare with large buildings by Lidval and his contemporaries in Saint Petersburg, it also prefigures work by leading Moscow architects such as Ivan Zholtovskii, who began his career before the revolution and returned to favor during the Stalinist revival of neoclassicism in the 1930s.⁵⁷ Zholtovskii's landmark apartment building on Marx Prospekt in Moscow (1934) is especially close to the Lidval's building in Omsk, with its attached major columns, outsized Corinthian capitals, and massive attic as a cap to the building.

Paradoxically, Siberia still offered opportunities for major projects at a time when the First World War had virtually halted large-scale construction in Moscow and Saint Petersburg. It is a measure of the administrative importance and expanding economic power of Omsk during this brief period that local architects could also create buildings of distinction, particularly in the new classically inspired styles. The most productive local proponent of the neoclassical revival was F.A. Chernomorchenko, author of numerous educational buildings, such as the Agriculture School (1914) and the Omsk Commercial



Fig. 36. Omsk. Treugolnik Company Building. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/15/1999)



Fig. 37. Omsk. Omsk Railroad Administration Building. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/18/1999)

School (1915-1916).⁵⁸ The most important of his buildings was the Russo-Asiatic Bank (Fig. 38), built in 1915-1917 and now used as the Omsk City Hall. With its surfeit of eclectic statuary and overly complicated fenestration, the bank is less refined than the work of Verevkin and Lidval. Nonetheless, the design succeeds in proclaiming the importance of this visible public structure.

During the First World War, the population of Omsk swelled to over 130,000. During the



Fig. 38. Omsk. Russo-Asiatic Bank. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/16/1999)



Fig. 39. Omsk. River Station and Hotel Maiak. Photograph: William Brumfield (9/15/1999)

catastrophic Russian civil war, the city's strategic location within the Siberian rail network attracted many factions contesting for power in. Soviet power in Omsk was proclaimed almost immediately, in November 1917. Having little local support, the Bolsheviks were driven from the city in June 1918, primarily with the help of the Czech Legion, a well-disciplined force of former soldiers from the Austro-Hungarian army captured by the Russians during the First World War. When presented with unacceptable Soviet conditions for repatriation to what had become Czechoslovakia, the Czechs rose in rebellion against Soviet power along the entire Trans-Siberian Railroad.⁵⁹

Opposition to the Bolsheviks, however, was fatally divided. In the fall of 1918, Omsk became a center of the so-called Ufa Directorate, whose policies were close to the party of agrarian Social Revolutionaries. Such a leftist orientation was abhorrent to the white army command and their conservative political supporters. In November 1918, the provisional government was overthrown by an army coup and replaced with a dictatorship headed by Admiral Alexander Kolchak (1874-1920), one of imperial Russia's most distinguished polar explorers and naval commanders. Although Kolchak was an officer of great integrity who wanted to return power to other political forces after the restoration of order in Russia, he lacked

the necessary political skills and was unable to unify even his own base of support in Omsk.⁶⁰

In 1919 the white forces in the Urals and western Siberia faltered under attacks by reorganized red divisions led by Mikhail Tukhachevskii and Vasilli Bliukher – both of whom fell victim to the Stalinist purges in 1937-1938. Kolchak in turn was poorly served by a command structure that was rife with corruption and rivalry. Furthermore, officers under his command participated in executions and other atrocities that alienated much of the population, particularly in Omsk. Kolchak survived an assassination attempt in August 1919 at his Omsk residence (the former Batiushkin mansion), but advancing Bolshevik forces compelled him to abandon Omsk in November 1919 and flee eastward to Irkutsk.

With its economy shattered after the civil war and the countryside still in chaos, Omsk struggled through the 1920s and achieved modest industrial growth in the 1930s. Like many Siberian cities, Omsk expanded rapidly during the Second World War, both as an evacuation haven and as a center of transportation and production. Industrial expansion continued after the war, and by the end of the 1970s, the city's population exceeded 1,000,000. The Soviet period contributed little to the architecture of Omsk. Although there are buildings that could

be classified as “Constructivist,”⁶¹ there is little to compare with the major building programs of the 1930s in Sverdlovsk or Novosibirsk. There is, however, a curious example of neo-Constructivism, the River Station and Hotel Maiak (Lighthouse), built in 1961-1963 by the architects S.A. Mikhailov, T.P. Sadovskii, and A.A. Pekarskii (Fig. 39).

Contemporary Omsk is a linear industrial city, spread some thirty kilometers along both sides of the Irtysh River. It has become a major Siberian cultural and educational center, with a state university opened in 1974 and one of the largest regional

libraries in Siberia, completed in 1995. Attempts to build a subway system, begun in 1992, have faltered for inadequate funding. In the new construction areas, there is little by way of an architecturally focused city center. The historic center of Omsk is relatively well maintained, however, particularly in its commercial district, and there are now several functioning places of worship in this area, including the synagogue and two mosques. Despite limited funds, the active architectural preservation office in Omsk still oversees the most significant ensemble of early twentieth-century commercial architecture in Siberia.

¹ For a summary of the various proposed dates of Tara’s founding, see Galina Tsvetkova, “Gorod na rechke Arkarka”, in L.I. Ogorodnikova, ed., *Tarskaia mozaika* (Omsk: Omskoe knizhnoe izdatel’stvo, 1994), 7. The major construction work was done by twenty carpenters from Perm.

² G.F. Miller, *Istoriia Sibiri*, vol. 1 (Moscow-Leningrad, 1937), 356.

³ On events surrounding the death of Kuchum and references to historical sources, see Tsvetkova, “Gorod”, 9. See also Terence Armstrong, ed., *Yermak’s Campaign in Siberia* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1975), 82.

⁴ Tsvetkova, “Gorod”, 10-11.

⁵ On the Lithuanian and Polish components, see V.A. Aleksandrov, “‘Voisko’ – organizatsiia sibirskikh sluzhilykh liudei XVII veka”, *Istoriia SSSR*, (1983) 3: 100.

⁶ S.V. Bakhrushin, *Nauchnye trudy*, vol. 3 (Moscow, 1956) 2: 165.

⁷ Tsvetkova, “Gorod”, 21. Further on the duties of *sluzhilye liudi*, see N.I. Nikitin, *Sluzhilye liudi v Zapadnoi Sibiri* (Novosibirsk, 1988). In English, see George V. Lantzeff, *Siberia in the Seventeenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943), 117-20; and Raymond H. Fisher, *The Voyage of Semen Dezhnev in 1648: Bering’s Precursor* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1981), 43.

⁸ Tsvetkova, “Gorod”, 22.

⁹ Among the many studies of the schism, see Kenneth N. Bostrom, ed. and trans., *Archpriest Avvakum. The Life Written by Himself* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications, 1979).

¹⁰ Tsvetkova, “Gorod”, 25.

¹¹ On Smirnov, see N.N. Pokrovskii, *Antifeodal’nyi protest uralo-sibirskikh krest’ian-starobriadtsev* (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1974), 44.

¹² See Michael Cherniavsky, “The Old Believers and the New Religion”, *Slavic Review*, 25 (1966): 1-39.

¹³ See N.M. Pugacheva, “Tarskii bunt”, in P.P. Vibe, A.P. Mikheev, and H.M. Pugacheva, eds. *Omskii istoriko-kraevedcheskii slovar’* (Moscow: Otechestvo, 1994), 260.

¹⁴ A partial text of the counter epistle is presented in Tsvetkova, “Gorod”, 26. In more detail see N.N. Pokrovskii, “Tarskoe ‘protivnoe pis’mo’ 30 Maia 1722 g.”, in V.G. Bazanov, ed., *Kul’turnoe nasledie Drevnei Rusi* (Moscow: Nauka, 1976), 412-417.

¹⁵ See Pokrovskii, *Antifeodal’nyi protest*, 52.

¹⁶ See Tsvetkova, “Gorod”, 27.

¹⁷ From *Topograficheskoe, istoricheskoe i ekonomicheskoe opisanie Tobol’skoi gubernii. O gorode Tare i ob uzde onogo, uchinennoe po vysochaishe izdannomy planu 1784-go goda*, first published in 1788 and republished in A.D. Kolesnikov, ed., *Opisanie Tobol’skogo namestnichestva* (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1982), 68.

¹⁸ Pugacheva, “Tarskii bunt”, 261. Interestingly, Nemchinov’s son Fedor, who occupied a minor but respectable position in the provincial administration, returned to Tara in 1756 to bless one of the sites of the Tara executions. See Tsvetkova, “Gorod”, 28. In the nineteenth century the Nemchinov family produced some of the most successful entrepreneurs in western Siberia. See Aleksandr Zhiron, “Tarskie kupty XIX-nachala XX vekov”, in Ogorodnikova, ed., *Tarskaia mozaika*, 128-32.

¹⁹ Very little has been published on the architecture of Tara. For a selection of pre-revolutionary photographs, see Ogorodnikova, ed., *Tarskaia mozaika*.

²⁰ The various completion dates are noted in Aleksandr Kolesnikov, “V glub’ istorii”, in Nikolai Maslov, ed., *Tara. K 400-letiiu osnovaniia goroda* (Omsk: Izdatel’, 1994), 21.

²¹ On the grim fates of Noskov and other Tara merchant families, see Zhiron, “Tarskie kupty”, 141-42.

²² For a typology of these ornamental forms, see L.V. Chuiko, “Otgoloski magicheskoi simvoliki drevnikh slavian v dekore dereviannoi arkhitektury Omska”, in P.P. Vibe, ed., *Pamiatniki istorii i kul’tury omskoi oblasti* (Omsk: RIO, 1995), 35-47.

²³ N.M. Pugacheva, “Bukhol’ts”, in Vibe, Mikheev, Pugacheva, eds. *Omskii istoriko-kraevedcheskii slovar’*, 38.

- ²⁴ On the 1715-1716 expedition, see N.M. Pugacheva, "Osnovanie Omska", in Vibe, Mikheev, Pugacheva, eds. *Omskii istoriko-kraevedcheskii slovar'*, 191-92. See also A.D. Kolesnikov, *Omsk* (Omsk: Gosgeodeziia SSSR, 1991), 1.
- ²⁵ N.M. Pugacheva, "Bukhol'ts", 38.
- ²⁶ P.P. Vibe, "Gagarin", in Vibe, Mikheev, Pugacheva, eds., *Omskii istoriko-kraevedcheskii slovar'*, 55. See also E.P. Zinner, *Sibir' v izvestiakh zapadno-evropeiskikh puteshestvennikov i uchenykh 18 v.* (Irkutsk: Vostochno-Sibirskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1968), 132-34.
- ²⁷ N.M. Pugacheva, "Shpringer", in Vibe, Mikheev, Pugacheva, eds., *Omskii istoriko-kraevedcheskii slovar'*, 302.
- ²⁸ For diagrams of the eighteenth-century settlement before and after the reconstruction initiated by Shpringer, see Kolesnikov, *Omsk*, 2-3.
- ²⁹ On the Church of the Resurrection, see N.I. Lebedeva, "Arkhitektura tserkvei Omska v XVIII-nachale XX vv.", in Vibe, ed., *Pamiatniki istorii i kul'tury omskoi oblasti*, 94-95; and N.M. Pugacheva, "Khramy Omska", in Vibe, Mikheev, Pugacheva, eds., *Omskii istoriko-kraevedcheskii slovar'*, 278. The Hauptwacht is given a detailed description in P.P. Vibe and N.M. Pugacheva, "Gauptvakhta – stareishee zdanie Omska", in Vibe, ed., *Pamiatniki*, 86-92.
- ³⁰ The masonry Elijah church is discussed in Lebedeva, "Arkhitektura tserkvei", 95. A plan of the "Elijah Vorstadt" is contained in Kolesnikov, *Omsk*, 3.
- ³¹ For a brief note on the fortress gates, see L.S. Khudiakov, "Po sledam utrachenogo", in Vibe, ed., *Pamiatniki istorii i kul'tury omskoi oblasti*, 62. In 1991 preservationists reconstructed the Tara Gate.
- ³² On the original Moscow road, parts of which remain, see "Moskovsko-Sibirskii trakt", in Vibe, Mikheev, Pugacheva, eds., *Omskii istoriko-kraevedcheskii slovar'*, 147-48; and E.P. Zenzin, "Staryi Moskovsko-sibirskii trakt na territorii Omskoi oblasti", in Vibe, ed., *Pamiatniki istorii i kul'tury omskoi oblasti*, 79-85.
- ³³ On Shpringer's role in improving the life of the Cossacks, see N.M. Pugacheva, "Sibirskoe Kazach'e voisko", in Vibe, Mikheev, Pugacheva, eds., *Omskii istoriko-kraevedcheskii slovar'*, 246-47.
- ³⁴ A general description of Hastie's work in Russia is presented in Abert Schmidt, "William Hastie, Scottish Planner of Russian Cities", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 114 (1970): 226-43. Hastie's work in Omsk is noted in L.P. Elfimov, "Kazachii Nikol'skii sobor", in P.P. Vibe, ed., *Pamiatniki istorii i kul'tury goroda Omska* (Omsk: KKIAOO, 1992), 82-83.
- ³⁵ Detailed studies of the Cossack Cathedral of Saint Nicholas, including its relation to the work of Stasov, are contained in Lebedeva, "Arkhitektura tserkvei", 96-97; and Elfimov, "Kazachii Nikol'skii sobor", 81-87. See also A.F. Palashenkov, *Pamiatniki i pamiatnye mesta Omska i Omskoi oblasti* (Omsk: Zapadno-Sibirskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1967), 45-46; and N.M. Pugacheva, "Kazachii Nikol'skii Sobor (tserkov)", in Vibe, Mikheev, Pugacheva, eds., *Omskii istoriko-kraevedcheskii slovar'*, 100-01.
- ³⁶ For a detailed account of Dostoevskii's association with the Durov faction of the Petrashevskii circle, see Joseph Frank, *Dostoevsky: The Seeds of Revolt, 1821-1849* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 273-91.
- ³⁷ N.M. Pugacheva, "Petrashevtsy v Omske", in Vibe, Mikheev, Pugacheva, eds. *Omskii istoriko-kraevedcheskii slovar'*, 207.
- ³⁸ On Dostoevskii's imprisonment, see M.M. Gromyko, *Sibirskie znakomye i druž'ia F.M. Dostoevskogo. 1850-54* (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1985).
- ³⁹ See P.P. Vibe, "Gasford", in Vibe, Mikheev, Pugacheva, eds., *Omskii istoriko-kraevedcheskii slovar'*, 56-57.
- ⁴⁰ The palace now houses the regional art museum. See Palashenkov, *Pamiatniki*, 50-58; A.N. Gumeniuk, "Dvoretz general-gubernatora Zapadnoi Sibiri v Omske", in Vibe, ed., *Pamiatniki istorii i kul'tury goroda Omska*, 74-80; and P.P. Vibe, "General-gubernatorskii dvoretz v Omske kak pamiatnik istorii", in Vibe, ed., *Pamiatniki istorii i kul'tury omskoi oblasti*, 107-13.
- ⁴¹ On the Church of the Elevation of the Cross, see Lebedeva, "Arkhitektura tserkvei", 99-100; and N.M. Pugacheva, "Khramy Omska", 279. The church currently serves as the cathedral of Omsk Eparchy.
- ⁴² On the dragons and griffons in carved ornamentation of wooden houses in Omsk, see Chuiko, "Otgoloski magicheskoi simboliki", 45-46.
- ⁴³ The building for the Geographical society is described in detail in I.V. Spirin, "Zdanie muzeia Zapadno-Sibirskogo Otdela Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva. Istoriia stroitel'stva", in Vibe, ed., *Pamiatniki istorii i kul'tury goroda Omska*, 48-61.
- ⁴⁴ For a brief survey of foreign companies active in Omsk before the First World War, see N.M. Pugacheva, "Inostrannye kompanii v Omske", in Vibe, Mikheev, Pugacheva, eds., *Omskii istoriko-kraevedcheskii slovar'*, 93-94.
- ⁴⁵ A survey of the work of Ezet is presented in "Arkhitektorka E.I. Ezet: predoshchushchenie 'nobogo stilia'", in Vibe, ed., *Pamiatniki istorii i kul'tury omskoi oblasti*, 55-61. See also N.M. Pugacheva, "Ezet", in Vibe, Mikheev, Pugacheva, eds., *Omskii istoriko-kraevedcheskii slovar'*, 307-08.
- ⁴⁶ On the First Women's Highschool see V.M. Kozinov, "Zdanie byvshei 1-i omskoi zhenskoi gimnazii", in Vibe, ed., *Pamiatniki istorii i kul'tury goroda Omska*, 29-37.
- ⁴⁷ On the city council and its building, see N. M. Pugacheva, "Omskaia gorodskaia дума", in Vibe, Mikheev, Pugacheva, eds., *Omskii istoriko-kraevedcheskii slovar'*, 168-69.
- ⁴⁸ Chernavin Prospekt was popularly known as Liubinskii Prospekt, after the name of a park grove previously on the site of the development. See plan in Kolesnikov, *Omsk*, 8. On Chernavin's contributions to Omsk, see P.P. Vibe, "Chernavin", in Vibe, Mikheev, Pugacheva, eds., *Omskii istoriko-kraevedcheskii slovar'*, 290-91.
- ⁴⁹ A.N. Gumeniuk, "Moskovskie torgovyie riady v Omske", in Vibe, ed., *Pamiatniki istorii i kul'tury omskoi oblasti*, 114-18, with reference to Morozov in footnote 2.
- ⁵⁰ On Khvorinov see N.M. Pugacheva, "Khvorinov", in Vibe, Mikheev, Pugacheva, eds., *Omskii istoriko-kraevedcheskii slovar'*, 277.

- ⁵¹ The work of Kriachkov, including his buildings in Omsk, is surveyed in N.M. Pugacheva, “Kriachkov”, in Vibe, Mikheev, Pugacheva, eds., *Omskii istoriko-kraevedcheskii slovar'*, 129. On the City Trade Building, see I.V. Spirina, “Istoriia stroitel'stva zdaniia Torgovogo korpusa”, in Vibe, ed., *Pamiatniki istorii i kul'tury omskoi oblasti*, 119-27. The authoritative monograph is S.N. Balandin and O.P. Vaganova, *Sibirskii arkhitektor A.D. Kriachkov* (Novosibirsk: Zapadno-Sibirskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1973).
- ⁵² On the relation between the style moderne and the neoclassical revival, see William C. Brumfield, *The Origins of Modernism in Russian Architecture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).
- ⁵³ A detailed description of the exposition buildings, with archival photographs, is presented in I.V. Spirin, “Arkhitekturnoe oformlenie Zapadno-Sibirskoi vystavki 1911 goda”, in Vibe, ed., *Pamiatniki istorii i kul'tury omskoi oblasti*, 128-38.
- ⁵⁴ On the Vogau building, see M.A. Sitnikova, “Zdanie strakhovogo aktsionernogo obshchestva ‘Salamandra’”, in Vibe, ed., *Pamiatniki istorii i kul'tury goroda Omska*, 102.
- ⁵⁵ On Verevkin's work in Saint Petersburg, see B. M. Kirikov, ed., *Arkhitektory-stroiteli Sankt-Peterburga serediny XIX veka-nachala XX veka* (Saint Petersburg: Pilgrim, 1996), 72-73. On his project for the Salamander Company in Omsk, see Sitnikova, “Zdanie”, 101-07. Detailed plans of the building and photographs at the time of its completion were published in the authoritative Petersburg architectural annual *Ezhgodnik imperatorskogo obshchestva arkhitektorov-khudozhnikov*, 10 (1915): 30-31.
- ⁵⁶ For a comparison of the work of Verevkin and Kriachkov on these two buildings, see M.A. Sitnikova, “Zdanie tovarishchestv ‘Tverskaia Manufaktura’ i ‘Treugol'nik’”, in Vibe, ed., *Pamiatniki istorii i kul'tury goroda Omska*, 94-100. An elevation and plan of the Triangle Building appeared in *Ezhgodnik*, 30.
- ⁵⁷ Lidval's work in Saint Petersburg is placed among that of his contemporaries in Brumfield, *Origins*, chapters three and six, with emphasis on the neoclassical revival in the latter chapter. For a comparison with Zholtovskii, see William Craft Brumfield, *A History of Russian Architecture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 487-88.
- ⁵⁸ Iu.E. Derevianchenko, “Istoriia stroitel'stva zdaniia Omskogo kommercheckogo uchilishcha”, Vibe, ed., *Pamiatniki istorii i kul'tury omskoi oblasti*, 139-44.
- ⁵⁹ P.P. Vibe, “Chekhoslovatskii korpus”, in Vibe, Mikheev, Pugacheva, eds., *Omskii istoriko-kraevedcheskii slovar'*, 292.
- ⁶⁰ On Kolchak in Omsk, see P.P. Vibe, “Kolchak”, in Vibe, Mikheev, Pugacheva, eds., *Omskii istoriko-kraevedcheskii slovar'*, 113-15.
- ⁶¹ On early Soviet architecture in Omsk, see G.Iu. Myslivtseva, “Zhiloi kombinat na ulitse Kuznechnoi” and “Dom-Obshchezhitie na ulitse Krasnyi Put'”, in Vibe, ed., *Pamiatniki istorii i kul'tury goroda Omska*, 108-20.

Тара и Омск: архитектурное наследие Западной Сибири в историческом контексте

У.К. Брумфильд
Университет Тулейн
Новый Орлеан, Луизиана, США

Омская область сыграла важную роль в развитии Сибири. В статье рассматривается архитектурное наследие региона в историческом контексте, начиная с небольшого города Тара, основанного в конце XVI века. Основная часть статьи посвящена дореволюционной архитектуре г. Омска с конца XVIII по начало XX века. Анализ включает в себя церкви, дома, коммерческие и общественные здания. Архитектурные стили варьируются от неоклассицизма и эклектики до стиля модерн и неоклассического возрождения. Ввод в эксплуатацию Транссибирской магистрали привел к строительному буму с возведением крупных коммерческих зданий, напоминающих г. Санкт-Петербург.

Ключевые слова: архитектура в Сибири, Транссибирская магистраль, Тюмень, Тобольск, Омск, Тара, Царь Фёдор Иоаннович, Иртыш, Ермак, Хан Кучум, Андрей Елецкий, Смутное время, Михаил Романов, Старообрядчество, Петр I, Иван Бухольц, Екатерина II, Иван Шпрингер, Николай I, Василий Стасов, Густав Гасфорд, Федор Достоевский, стиль модерн, Николай Верёвкин, Федор Лидваль, Иван Жолтовский, Леонид Чернышев, Андрей Крячков, Александр Колчак, Русско-Азиатский банк.

Научная специальность: 24.00.00 – культурология.
