Institute of History Belgrade

Nizhny Novgorod State University of Architecture and Civil Engineering”

HISTORY OF URBANIZATION IN EUROPE

Collection of Articles of the III International Scientific Conference

Nizhny Novgorod State University of Architecture and Civil Engineering
Institute of History Belgrade

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Nizhny Novgorod
NNGASU
2023

УДК 364.122.5 : 94

Published in author's version

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History of Urbanization in Europe : collection of Articles of the III International Conference / Nizhny Novgorod State University of Architecture and Civil Engineering; edited by: A. A. Gordin, A. Rastović. – Nizhny Novgorod : NNGASU ; Belgrade : Institute of History Belgrade, 2023. – 188p.
ISBN 978-5-528-00541-6

The collection of articles is based on the materials of the III International Scientific and Training Conference "History of Urbanization in Europe" held by the Nizhny Novgorod State University of Architecture and Civil Engineering and the Institute of History in Belgrade on October 22, 2021.

The collection includes articles by Russian and Serbian historians devoted to various aspects of urbanization. The works are distinguished by their diversity and have a multifaceted character. The collection is intended for teachers of universities and schools, graduate students, students and all interested in history.

ISBN 978-5-528-00541-6

Table of Contents

CVIJANOVIĆ I. The Early Christian Episcopal Seats on the Territory of Serbia **5**

GORDINA E.D. On the question of creating a book the history of large urbanized territories (by the example of the popular science project "Eight centuries of Nizhny Novgorod history")........**23**

PETROVICH V. M. Food storage in Serbian medieval forts and urban settlements (XIII-XV centuries)........**34**

KUZNETSOV A.A. The beginning of the eastern and Volga directions of urbanizations in northeastern Russia in pre-mongol times........**47**

VASIN G. Urbanization of today’s Vojvodina and Habsburg policy in the XVIII-XIX centuries **61**

DELIĆ N. Nineteenth-century urbanization in the south-east of the Kingdom of Hungary: demographic dynamics, ethnic and religious composition of urban population........**71**

BARDILEVA Y.P. The last founded provincial city of the Russian Empire (the history of the formation and development of Murmansk) **80**

SOMOV V. A. Nizhny Novgorod-1921: urban environment and mentality in a transition period **91**

VUKSANOVIĆ-MACURA Z. Urbanization and housing question: the case of interwar Belgrade, Serbia........**98**

KHALIN A.A., KAINOVA E.V. The role of Nizhny Novgorod in the organization of Volga shipping in the XX century........**105**

VARAKIN S. A. Organization of atheistic propaganda in Nizhny Novgorod in the second half of the 1920s........**115**

FEDOROV I. D., KODOCHIGOV R. L. Cult against illiteracy in Nizhny Novgorod, the period of industrialization **125**

SEREBRYANSKAYA G.V. Gorky during the Great Patriotic War. Organization of protection of the city from German aggression........**139**

ABRAKOVA T.A. Soviet post-war city issues of improvement **153**

SAKOVICH N. V. In the second half of the 40s – beginning of the 50s of the XX century......**165**

GORDIN A. A. Gorky infrastructure development during the eighth and ninth five-year plans (1966-1975)........**175**

CVIJANOVIĆ I.
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The Early Christian Episcopal Seats on the Territory of Serbia

Abstract: *Foundation of the cities on the territory of today's Serbia started with the arrival of Romans. After Roman conquest was gradually carried out Romanization and urbanization. With the development of Christianity, new city quarters were formed, where objects of Christianity cult were stored. In the last phase of their development the antique cities became episcopal seats. During Justinian's reign many cities were built or restored, and new epoch started in the military, administrative and church view. The Emperor Justinian I built Caričin grad, i.e. Justiniana Prima, near his place of birth, Taurision, in Southern Serbia. Caričin grad served as the metropolitan seat of the Archbishopric of Justiniana Prima, that had jurisdiction over the provinces of the Late Roman Diocese of Dacia in central parts of the Southeastern Europe. The invasion of Gots, Huns, Avars and Slavs brought the break in development of the city life of Roman type. During the Early Middle Ages appeared the Serbian Principalities with new church organization.*

Key words: *Roman cities, Christianization, episcopal seats, baptisteries, territory of today's Serbia.*

Foundation of the cities on the territory of today's Serbia started with the arrival of Romans. After Roman conquest was gradually carried out Romanization and urbanization. With the development of Christianity, new city quarters were formed, where objects of Christianity cult were stored. The physical evidence for fourth-century church architecture in today's Serbia is quite meager. There are several reasons for this. None of the churches belonging to this earliest period of official Christian building actually survives. They were all destroyed, and were most often replaced by new churches built over their foundations or in the vicinity. Under such circumstances the remains of older structures are difficult to detect, even by carefully conducted archaeological investigations. An even more significant reason for our limited knowledge of fourth-century ecclesiastical architecture seems to be the plain fact that comparatively few such buildings were actually built. After the Edict of Milan in 313 AD the architectural patronage of Constantine and his successors was largely focused on secular buildings, mainly fortifications, palaces and villas, in sharp contrast to their activities in other regions of the Empire. Not only the number, but apparently also the size of individual churches, the quality of their design, and their construction, were all considerably below the standards employed elsewhere.

In the last phase of their development the antique cities on the territory of today's Serbia became episcopal seats, such as Sirmium, Bassianae, Singidunum, Viminacium, Margum, Horreum Margi, Naissus, Remesiana, Turres, Ulpiana, Aquis, Gradina on Jelica, Felix Romuliana and Iustiniana Prima. [1, p. 9-25] Many episcopal centers are known only on the basis of written sources, and lists of bishops who participated in synods, but the remains of some episcopal basilicas have been archaeologically researched.

Even the smallest of cities were characterized by the prominent construction of churches, whose dimensions commonly seem to have been out of proportion to the probable population size [4, p. 77-84]. Equally important in the context of this period was the sense of urban presence that ecclesiastical buildings acquired. No longer tucked away in remote corners of urban conglomerations, fifth-century churches appeared prominently positioned within older cities, occupying sites previously reserved for temples and secular public buildings. Typological variety betrays not merely creative fervor among fifth-century builders, but rather an increasing complexity and sophistication in the planning of buildings that accommodated an expanding range of functional needs, reflecting the growing status of the Church [3, p. 23-52]. The dominant presence of churches on the urban scene of most cities during the fifth century cannot be denied, but factors other than the active Christianization of cities must not be ignored. The great emphasis on baptistery building in the course of the fifth century demonstrates the determination and rigor which the Church pursued the process of conversion among the indigenous population [2, p. 21-41]. The basilicas with baptisteries appeared in urban centers, and in the rural areas. The massive introduction of churches with accompanying buildings into the existing urban centers left an undeniable imprint on their character and their future urban development. A distinctive category of buildings combining military with other functions made it’s appearance in this period due to the barbarian invasions. Thus, characteristic forms of fortification architecture quite commonly began to appear in conjunction with residential, ecclesiastical, and monastic buildings, while fortification architecture in its own right underwent a major decline. At times, these forms had a distinctly symbolic significance, but most often they were built with strictly military intent in mind.

The sixth century was a period of major landmarks in the history of the Christianized Roman Empire. Above all, the process of the Christianization of indigenous populations, begun two centuries earlier, was in some sense completed only then. History remembers Justinian’s reign as the high point of the later Roman Empire. While secular architecture may be said to have led the way in creative expression during the fifth century, in the sixth century ecclesiastical architecture gradually took over the role. The architectural design of the age of Justinian reveals sophisticated advances emanating from earlier trends in late antique architecture, and introduction of domes into basilicas. During Justinian’s reign (527-565) appeared two great Archbishopric in Illyricum at the Balkan Peninsula, the Archbishopric of Salona under jurisdiction of the prefect of Italy, and the Archbishopric Justiniana Prima under jurisdiction of the prefect of Illyricum. Many cities were built or restored, protected with substantial circuits of wall, and new epoch started in the military, administrative and church view. The establishment of the Archbishopric Justiniana Prima is mentioned in Justinian’s Novel XI from 535, when he promotes the metropolitan bishop to that of archbishop, independent from the Archbishopric of Thessalonica. After the fall of the Western Roman Empire the Archbishopric of Salona in Dalmatia recognized the supremacy of the patriarch of Constantinople [3, p. 23-52].

The Archbishopric of Justiniana Prima

Sources mention that the Emperor Justinian I built Justiniana Prima, at a location known as Caričin Grad, near his place of birth, Taurision, in Southern Serbia [5, p. 9-10]. Caričin grad served as the metropolitan seat of the Archbishopric of Justiniana Prima, that had jurisdiction over the provinces of the Late Roman Diocese of Dacia in central parts of the Southeastern Europe. Iustiniana Prima is one of the most important sources of information on sixth century urbanism in Serbia.

The early Byzantine city is located near Lebane, about 28 km south of Leskovac. It was placed on an elevated and elongated plateau between two rivers, Svinjarička in the west and Caričinska in the east. It stretches for approximately 500 m in the northwest-southeast direction. Tsarica's city lies near the intersection of two important ancient roads. The north-south traffic artery that went through the Moravian-Vardar valley to Thessaloniki intersected with the Adriatic road.

The legend of the empress, after whom the city was named, is preserved in folklore. Most researchers believe that Justiniana I was there. The first Justiniana was the archbishopric seat of the entire northern part of Byzantine Illyricum. The names of three archbishops, Catellianus, Benenatus and Iohannes, are known.

No traces of life from the pre-Justinian era have been found in Caričin Grad. The city consisted of three distinctive entities: the acropolis with the episcopal complex, the upper town, and the lower town. [7, p. 7-86]. Each part is surrounded by special ramparts with towers, which provided favorable conditions for the defense of the city. Two long, parallel defensive trenches were dug in front of the southern rampart of Donji Grad.

Three phases of the city's development were established. In the first phase, the Upper and Middle towns with ramparts were built. They represent a unique urban entity. The Upper Town, i.e. the Acropolis, was built on the highest and almost completely leveled plateau. The rampart has an irregular polygonal shape. In the axis of Acropolis Street, on the eastern side, there is a gate flanked by semicircular towers. On the north side of the street is the architectural complex of the bishop's palace, and on the south is the episcopal church with a pool in the atrium and a baptistery. The Episcopal Church is a large three-nave and three-apsidal basilica with a nartex and an atrium, and north and south of the altar apse are the prothesis and diaconicon. The nave and narthex were decorated with floor mosaics.

In the central part of the atrium was a large piscina cut into the rock. Along the northern facade of the church, a number of rooms were attached, which primarily communicated with the atrium. Alterations and adaptations were made in the church later. From the south aisle of the church, you enter the porch on the west side of the baptistery, so these buildings form one architectural unit. The baptistery has a square base, and the interior part of the building is tetraconchal. Conches are decorated with floor mosaics. In the central, circular space, on the place where the conchs were joined, four stone pedestals were found on which the pillars that supported the dome were placed. In the area under the dome was a piscina in the shape of a cross. The walls of the baptistery were decorated with frescoes and mosaics. The architectural complex next to the northern street portico of the acropolis consists of three buildings. The central building is the bishop’s palace, which was richly decorated with frescoes and mosaics.

Around the Acropolis stretches the Middle Town, which, in its northern part, surrounds it almost in a circle, while in the south, towards the Lower Town, it sharply narrows. Gates flanked by towers were placed on the eastern and southern sides of the ramparts. The main streets intersect at the circular square. Fragments of a monumental bronze statue, most likely a standing figure of Justinian, were found in the middle of the square. Along the curb around the square, water drainage channels have been installed. Residential, commercial and craft complexes are arranged along the street square with porticoes. A basilica with a crypt was built to the northeast of the square. The basilica has three naves with an apse on the eastern side. The ground part under the church or "crypt" it is divided into several departments. In the middle part of the atrium, there is a paved channel. The church was decorated with frescoes and mosaics.

Baths and a triconchal church were discovered outside the city ramparts. There are thermal baths near the eastern gate of the Lower Town. Southeast of the Lower Town, a triconchal church was found, consisting of a single nave with an altar apse and side conchas, a narthex and an atrium. The church was decorated with frescoes and mosaics.

The third construction phase is characterized by the reconstruction and adaptation of street porticos, as well as the settlement of free spaces between buildings, ramparts and streets, in all city districts. In this period, wooden huts were built on the ruins of older buildings. The influx of the surrounding population led to the disintegration of the original urban structure. The city is gradually being ruralized.

Sirmium is located in the area of today's Sremska Mitrovica. It was created in the back of the Danube limes, on the large northern bend of the Sava. After Dioclesian’s reforms, it became the capital of the province of Second Pannonia. From the 3-4th century, colonia Sirmium was the seat of the governor of the province, the seat of the military command for the wider area, occasionally the seat of the prefecture of Illyricum.

During the 4th century, Sirmium was gradually Christianized. This is evidenced by necropolises from the 4-6th centuries. Sirmium was the episcopal seat from Constantine until the ruralization of the city and the loss of its role as a religious center in the middle of the 5th century. In the middle of the 3rd century, the number of foreigners increased, so the basic Christian nucleus was made up of Greeks. Irenaeus, the first bishop of Sirmium, died in 304. The names of several martyrs from the same time are known, Demetrius, Synerot, Anastasius, Hermagor or Hermogen. The prefect of Illyricum Leontius built the martyrium of St. Demetrius in Sirmium, and there were two more martyrdoms dedicated to the martyrs of Sirmium, Synerotus and Irenaeus [9, p. 17-87]. There was also built basilica dedicated to St. Irenaeus [8, p. 259-263]. On the right bank of the river, in Macvanska Mitrovica, there is a partially preserved martyrium above which three medieval churches dedicated to Saint Irenaeus were built, and on the eastern outskirts of the city there is a martyrium and a chapel that are probably dedicated to St. Dimitri and St. Anastasia. The names of the bishops of Sirmium can be traced back to the Avar conquests. Among them, Bishops Photin (343-351), Germanius (351-376) and Domnus (325-335), the participants in the Council of Nicaea in 323, stand out. Church councils in Sirmium in 351, 357, 358, 359, 371 and 378 were recorded.

Basiana is located near the village of Donji Petrovci in Srem, in the locality "Gradina". In late antiquity it was an episcopal seat. There are two basilicas in the northeastern city. The three-nave basilica with an apse in the east, which was built in the period from the 4th to the 6th century, was examined.

Singidunum is a Roman city at the confluence of the Sava and the Danube, today's Belgrade. The first inscription on which Singidunum is mentioned as a colony dates back to the year 287. It is known that it was an episcopal center. Ursacius, bishop of Singidunum, was very influential during the reign of Constantius II. On the ruins of the ancient city, a new Slavic urban settlement of Belgrade was created in the 9th century, which was an important spiritual center and seat of Bishop Sergius [12, p. 32-73]. The former bishoporic was restored after two centuries and became a medieval church center [11, p. 115-117]. A fragment of Byzantine stone sculpture that stood as a column of the iconostasis, on the left side of the altar door, decorated with bas-relief decoration on three sides, with its stylistic characteristics confirms the existence of the Belgrade episcopal church from the 11th century. Analogies point to a three-nave basilica characteristic of the central Balkans from the 9th to the 11th century [1, p. 14-16].

Viminacium was the capital of the province of Upper Moesia and an important military center. Viminacium received the status of a colony under Gordian III probably at the end of 239. Within this city there was a bishopric. Two bishops are mentioned, Amantinus, who participated in the council in Serdica in 343. and Cyriacus who was at the council in 356. Bishops from the 5th century they did not play a significant role in the process of Christianization. In the 6th century under Justinian, the bishopric of Viminacium was restored. Findings of silverware with Christian markings indicate the importance of this bishopric in the 6th century.

Margum is a Roman town on the right bank of the Morava, near its confluence with the Danube, near today's Orašje, in the village of Dubravica. Municipium Margum was the seat of the bishop. A list of bishops who participated in the council in Serdica in 343 has been preserved. Bishop of Margum is mentioned among them.

Horreum Margi was located on the site of today's Ćuprija. Municipium Horreum Margi was the episcopal center, and it is mentioned in the list of participants at the council held in Serdica in the year 343.

Nais is located on the right bank of Nišava [15, p. 180]. In the late antiquity it was an episcopal seat. The names of several bishops are known. Bishops Cyriacus and Gaudentius are mentioned around 343, Bonosius around 391, Martianus around 409-414., Gaianus around 516, Proiectus around 553. In sources from the end of the 4th century, Nais is mentioned among the main cities where the relics of martyrs are kept.

The necropolis in Jagodina mala near Nais was explored, with a well-preserved tomb where church dignitaries were buried. The tomb has a rectangular base, and the interior space is vaulted with a semi-circular vault and decorated with frescoes. On the eastern wall, the apostles Peter and Paul are depicted, and on the western wall there could be apostles, bishops, martyrs, saints or portraits of persons buried in the tomb. Four cemetery churches were discovered, of which only the basilica with the martyrium near the Jagodin mala bridge was preserved.

Remesiana is located on the site of today's Bela Palanka, in the Nišava river valley. Remesiana is known as the birthplace and seat of Bishop Niketa, who lived between 366 and 414. In the middle of the 5th century there was Bishop Diogenianus, who participated in the synod in Ephesus in 449.

A basilica and several buildings around it were discovered south of the forum. Three construction phases are constant. The basilica was built in the second phase. On the west side is the apse - the tribunal. Remains of columns were found, representing the southern side of the portico of the forum. The space between the basilica and the forum was filled with tabernacles. Several smaller rooms were discovered on the southern side of the basilica, which together with the southern rampart form a whole. In them were found ceramic tubules for heating, as well as fragments of fresco plaster. Parts of the walls belonging to the first construction phase were found under the basilica. They are related to the first Roman settlement. In the third phase, the basilica was turned into a church. The apse was demolished, and the nave was divided into three naves. The remains of a building with Ionic capitals were found in the southwestern part of the fortification.

A three-nave basilica from the 6th century was discovered west of the fortress. Two construction phases were established, the first of which is with an apse and a narthex.

Tures was, according to the itineraries, a Roman way station, but based on the research of the topography of Pirot and archaeological material, it is assumed that there was a larger urban settlement there [16, p. 238]. Procopius' early Byzantine town of Kvimedava is also connected to this area. The remains of an early Christian basilica were found in the city itself, above the southwest gate.

Aquis is a Roman town on the site of today's village of Prahovo. It is located on a pebbly coast through which the water from the mud of Negotin drains to several sources. In the 6th century experienced a boom and became the largest city in Coastal Dacia. The episcopal seat was founded in the 6th century, and there is a mention of a bishop who participated in the council in Serdica in 343. After the Hun conquest from the year 441-447. the episcopal seat was probably transferred to the nearby Meridio, which was the stronghold of the heresy of Bishop Bonos of Nais. Justinian restored the episcopate with a charter from 535, and then he probably founded the region of Aquis. The city of Aquis was the administrative, ecclesiastical and military center of the area with the strongest ramparts, the largest crew and population.

Aquis has been the seat of the bishopric since the 4th century, and certainly had numerous churches. Rare finds of capitals and pedestals probably date from the 6th century. During each excavation, remains of buildings and money from the 4th to the 6th century were found, as well as pottery from the 6th century. Sounding research revealed one building with an apse near the northern rampart, and parts of two other rooms. The apse faces east, and in front of it a single wall with a drainage channel next to it was discovered. Four brick floors were discovered inside the building, showing that it had been rebuilt three times. The last floor was built after the demolition, most likely at the end of the 6th century.

Jelica is an early Byzantine settlement on the Jelica mountain near Čačak. The most extensive archaeological research is carried out at the multi-layered site of Gradina on Jelica with prehistoric, ancient, early Byzantine and medieval material. The most important profane buildings and five churches were examined, "A" - "E". Most of the buildings had glazed windows, which is not common for the interior of the Balkans. The settlement on Gradina probably perished in the fire.

Churches "E" and "C" were located inside the ramparts, and the position of the church "D" and "A" not reliably determined. Church "B" was outside the ramparts and surrounded by the necropolis. Around the Cemetery Church 68 graves were discovered, with graves mostly dug in without special construction, although there are a few brick tombs and walled graves. Part of the grave inventory were bronze earrings, necklaces, belt buckles and bronze fibulae of the Germanic type. Burials are constant inside and around Church "C", Church "A". The burial of Germans inside the church indicates an advanced process of acculturation. All churches except Church "B" they were of similar dimensions and built in the same way with the use of mortar. Basilica "A" has three naves and two phases of construction are constant. The floors were made of a reddish or yellowish plaster coating. Only in the Church "A" and Church "C" remains of stone plastic were found. In the Church "C" traces of frescoes, fragments of stone furniture, pillars, capitals, bases, parts of parapet panels have been preserved. Church "C" had a baptistery in the middle nave with a cross-shaped pool and the best-preserved remains of frescoes with ornamental motifs and marble imitations. In the Church "A" parts of the altar partition and one window with a carved cross were discovered. Additions were noticed on the churches, so Church "A" first it was single nave, and later it got side naves and a narthex. The dominant position of Gradina indicates its function as the main military, trade, craft and church center in its area. So far, it has not been established whether the life of the settlement was violently interrupted at the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century.

Felix Romuliana is a monument of Roman court architecture, in the present-day village of Gamzigrad, about 11 km west of Zaječar. It was raised by Galerius in his birthplace and named after his mother, Romula. The palace was built on the site of a rustic villa from the 3rd century. The construction of Romuliana was probably stopped after the death of Galerius. At the end of the 4th century, a basilica was built in the southeastern part of the palace. A new, three-nave basilica with a baptistery was later built above it [10, p. 120-141]. After the Hunnic destruction, Romuliana became a small Byzantine settlement.

Veliki Gradac - Castel Taliata, near Donji Milanovac is one of the largest and best preserved in our part of the Danube Limes. The early Byzantine fortification on Veliki Gradac is characterized by the repair of late antique ramparts. The western gate was closed and turned into a baptistery. The church is basilica-style and consists of a nave, with an altar apse on the east, and a narthex on the west, annex and towers converted into a baptistery. The entire building was built of bricks with mortar joints. The baptismal font was placed in the southern part of the northern tower of the former western gate. The baptismal font is made of bricks, with binding layers on foundations of pebbles and mortar. The baptistery had an oval-shaped pool with steps in the east-west direction and the remains of a canopy. The baptismal font disappeared during the restoration of the Danube border in the 6th century. On the ruins of the early Byzantine basilica and outside it, a row cemetery was created, near which a small church was built.

Klisura near city Niš is a a village where an early Byzantine basilica with a quadrangular baptistery with an apse and a cross-shaped pool was discovered.

Baptisteries

The appearance of Christianity on the Balkan Peninsula is related to the first half of the 1st century. The new faith first spread in the cities of the coastal area of the Aegean, Marmara, Ionian and Adriatic seas. Christianity penetrated the interior of the Balkans more slowly, so some parts were baptized only in the 4th and 5th centuries. Baptisteries were usually components of larger architectural complexes, and only seldom were they self-standing structures next to basilicas, such as is the case in Caričin Grad, Gamzigrad, Taliata [2, p. 21-41]. Quatrefoil baptisteries typologically hail from the East. In the territory of today's Serbia quadrangular baptisteries are the most frequent. This type of baptistery is among the oldest, and the first examples are from Aquillea and Truyere. If baptisteries are within the framework of basilicas, as a rule they are located in the northern section. Some baptisteries had an apsidal niche with an altar, as the eucharistic rite would be performed after the baptism. Baptistery in the narthex has been noted in Remesiana. Octogonal baptisteries are characteristic of the western parts of the Empire. The piscinas are as a rule cruciform, and this type belongs to the Salonitan circle of monuments. Apart from that, there exist oval, circular and octagonal piscinas. Quatrefoil piscinas originate in the Orient. The first baptisteries were built next to episcopal basilicas characterized by monumentality and rich decoration. At the beginning only episcopes could baptize, but later this right was vested in lower-ranking clergy as well. That is when baptisteries appeared also in basilicas distant from urban centers. The baptismal rite was performed by immersion and very rarely by infusion. Initially, mainly adults were baptized, and as of the 6th century, children started to be baptized as well. With the introduction of children's baptisms, the dimensions of the piscina became smaller. Once Christianization had gained foothold, children started to be baptized. The dimensions of the baptisteries were reduced and traces of such adaptations are observable on some of them.

The invasion of Gots, Huns, Avars and Slavs brought the break in development of the city life of Roman type. In Justinisn's period, many towns have been restored, but they had another character. When towns and fortresses have fallen into hands of Avars, the northern frontier of the Empire was destroyed and the way to the south was opened. This facilitated the settling of Slavs at the beginning of 7th century A.D. The Early Christian churches were ruined, and for two centuries and during the Early Middle Ages appeared the Serbian Principalities with new church organization [6, p. 85-194].

After Roman conquest appeared new cities with the deduction of Roman colonist or by military camps. City's status of the colony or municipium usually was assigned to the settlements which existed in pre-Roman period or have been formed gradually with the colonization of Roman citizens.

With the development of Christianity, new city quarters were formed, where objects of Christianity cult were stored. In the last phase of their development the antique cities on the territory of today's Serbia became episcopal seats, such as Sirmium, Bassianae, Singidunum, Viminacium, Margum, Horreum Margi, Naissus, Remesiana, Turres, Ulpiana, Aquis, Gradina on Jelica, Felix Romuliana and Iustiniana Prima. Many episcopal centers are known only on the basis of written sources, and list of bishops who participated in synods, but the remains of some episcopal basilicas have been archaeologically researched.

In ancient Roman architecture, a basilica was a public building, where courts were held, as well as serving other official and public functions. Basilicas are typically rectangular buildings with a central nave flanked by two or more longitudinal aisles, with the roof at two levels, being higher in the center over the nave to admit clerestory and lower over the side-aisles, and an apse at one side. During the later reign of Constantine the Great this form became the basis of the so-called Early Christian basilicas.

The churches from the 4th century didn't survive, and they were often replaced by new churches built over their foundations or in the vicinity. In the 5th century churches had dominant role in the urban plan. The great emphasis on baptistery building in this period demonstrates the determination and rigor which the Church pursued the process of conversion among the indigenous population. The basilicas with baptisteries appeared in urban centers, and in the rural areas. During the 6th century the process of the Christianization of population was completed. The architectural design of the age of Justinian characterize sophisticated advances, and introduction of domes into basilicas. During Justinian's reign many cities were built or restored, and all these churches were under jurisdiction of the Archbishoporic of Justiniana Prima. After invasion of Avars and Slavs in the 7th century the Early Christian churches were ruined, and for two centuries, during the Early Middle Ages, appeared the Serbian Principalities with new church organization [6, p. 85-194].

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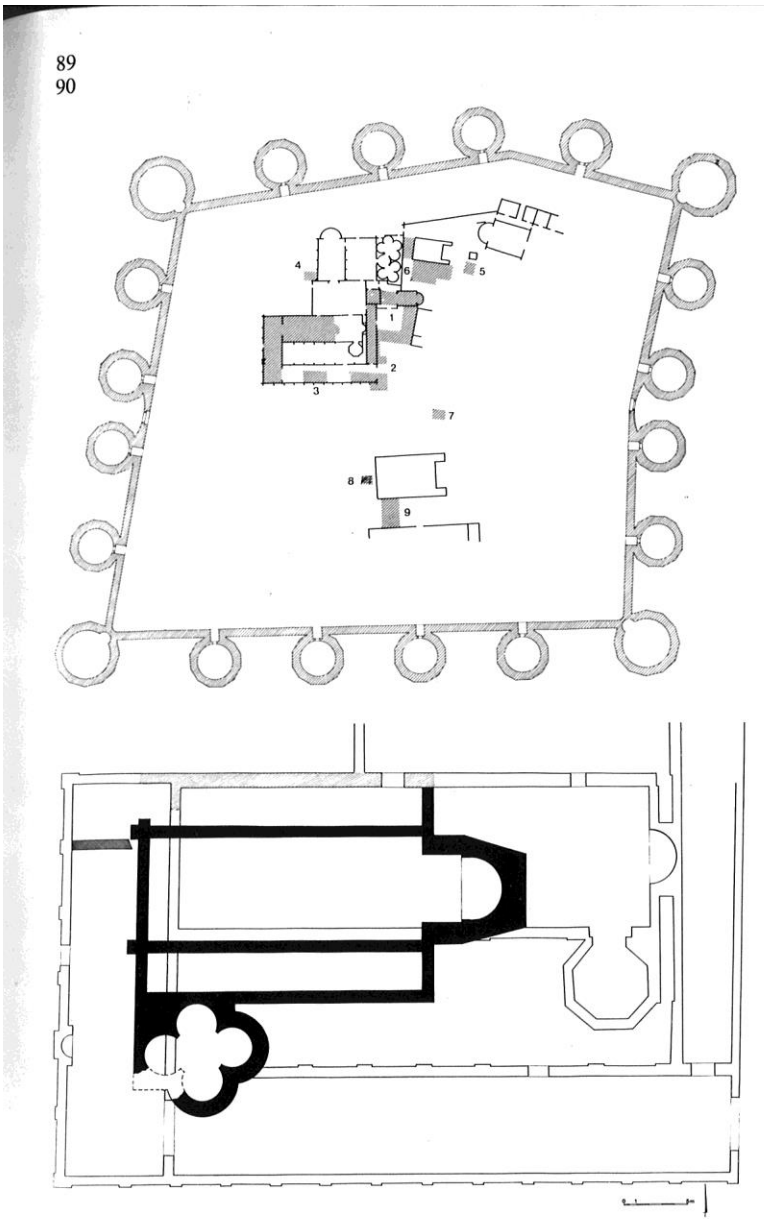
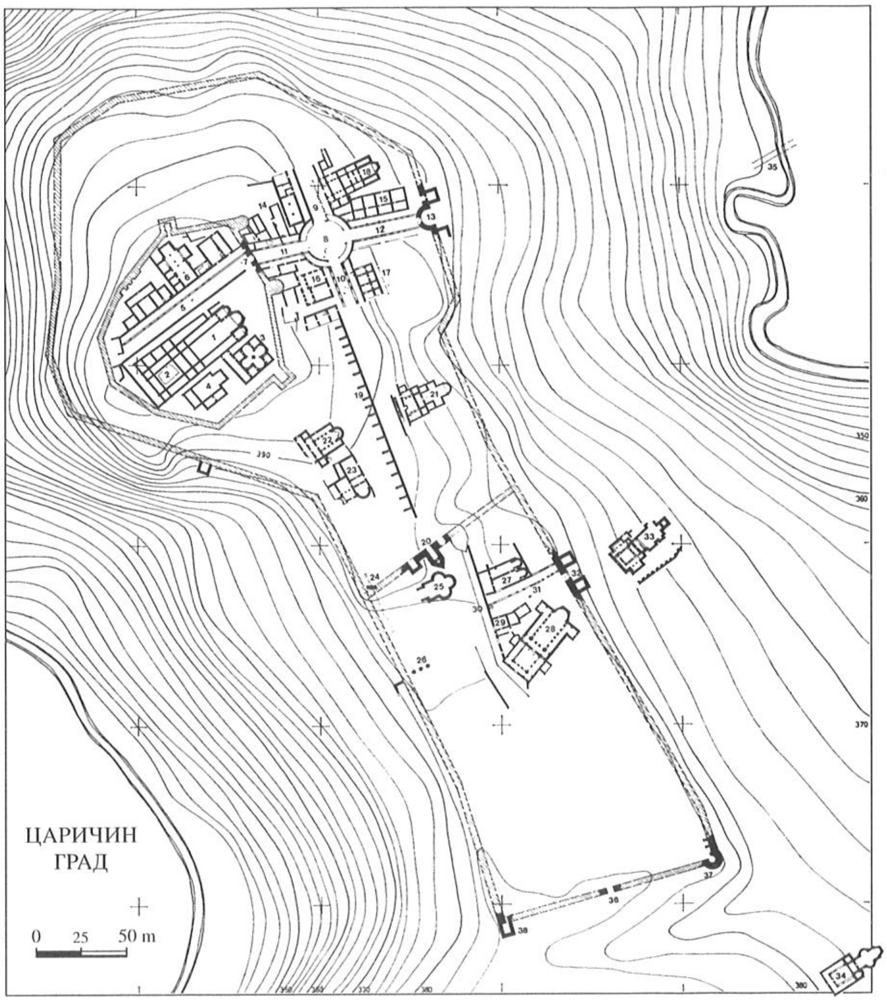
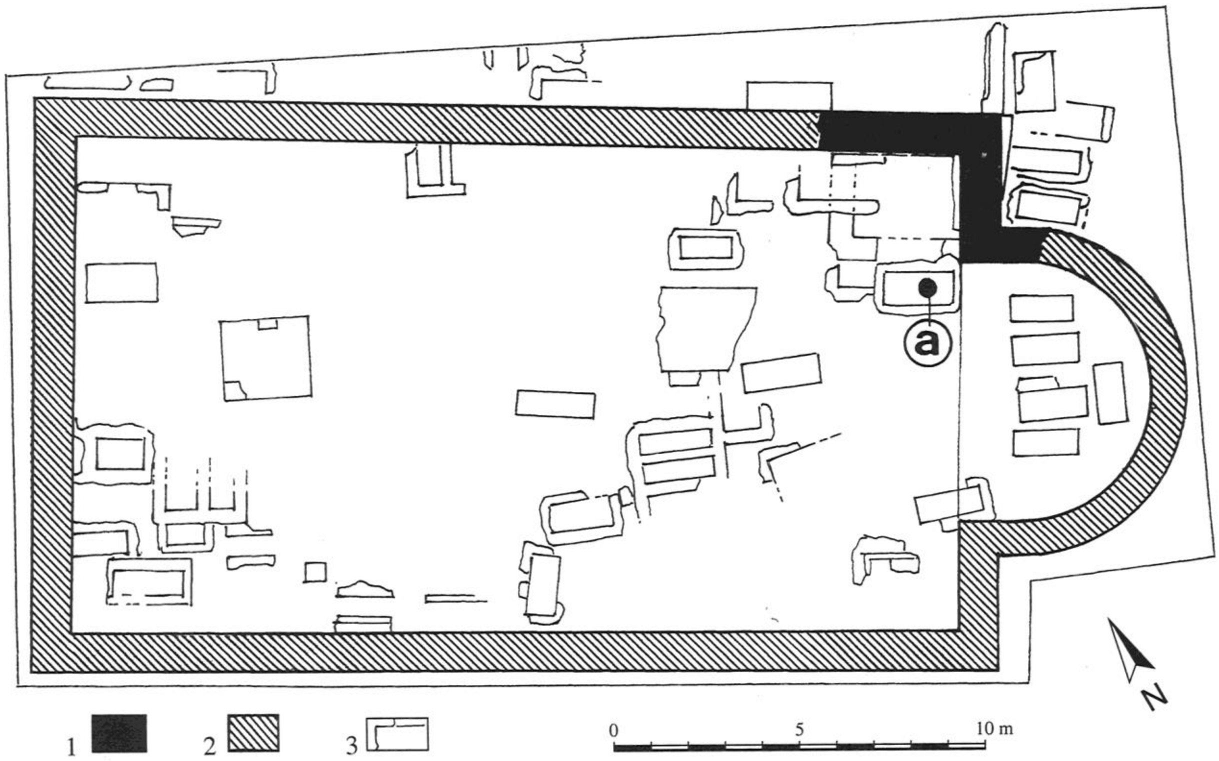
Pictures



1. Plan of Gamzigrad, and basilica in it
   (Gamzigrad, Late Antique Emperor’s Palace, Beograd 1983, p. 98).



2. Plan of Justiniana Prima
(Sirmium – City of Emperors and Martyrs, Sremska Mitrovica 2003, p. 254.).



3. Sirmium - Basilica of Ireaneus
   (Sirmium – City of Emperors and Martyrs, Sremska Mitrovica 2003, p. 261.).

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On the question of creating a book the history of large urbanized territories (by the example of the popular science project "Eight centuries of Nizhny Novgorod history")

Abstract: *This article examines the problem of creating a multi-volume work devoted to the history of the city of Nizhny Novgorod, reveals the interaction between historians and archivists in the implementation of the "Eight Centuries of Nizhny Novgorod History" project*

Key words: *history of the city, book edition, 800th Anniversary of Nizhny Novgorod, local studies, historical science.*

Reconstruction, making a mosaic panel of the history of the city, especially of a city, which, like Nizhny Novgorod, has existed for many centuries and fulfilled different functions and tasks during its development, is an extremely fascinating process. In 2021 Nizhny Novgorod celebrated its 800th anniversary. Nizhny Novgorod is now one of the largest cities in Russia. Throughout its history it has always remained an important administrative and economic center. Its history, on the one hand, as in a mirror, reflects the centuries-long and often dramatic history of our country, on the other hand, it is unique in many aspects. It is a special socio-cultural space where different nationalities and confessions unite and interact. It is a meeting place of different civilizations, cultures, West and East. Repeatedly in the periods of the most difficult trials Nizhny Novgorod played a key role in the fate of Russia, acting as a pillar of statehood. The great Russian river Volga has largely determined its historical destiny.

Built by Prince Yuri Vsevolodovich in 1221 on the border of the Vladimir Principality, Nizhny Novgorod was the easternmost border point in the middle of the Mordovian lands and served as a stronghold for the gradual spread and strengthening of the power of Russian princes in these Volga territories. In the middle of the XIV century the city became the capital of the Nizhny Novgorod-Suzdal Principality, which later became a part of the Moscow Principality. During the XV – the first half of the XVI centuries the city remained a frontier fortress and defended the eastern borders of Russia during the raids of the Kazan Tatars and Nogais. At the beginning of the XVI century the stone Kremlin of Nizhny Novgorod was built. Never once it was captured by the enemy, successfully serving the tasks of the city's defense. During Ivan the Terrible's campaigns against Kazan, Nizhny Novgorod was the most important military, material and technical base for the incorporation of the Volga region into the Russian state.

Nizhny Novgorod played a key role in the fate of Russia in the early XVII century, during the Time of Troubles. In 1611–1612 the city became the center of formation of the people's militia under the leadership of Kuzma Minin and D. M. Pozharsky that managed to liberate Moscow from Polish invaders and preserve the state sovereignty of the country. The second half of the XVII century in Russia was marked by large-scale social upheavals, one of which was the church schism and the emergence of the Old Believers as a result of the church reform. Paradoxically, both Patriarch Nikon, who carried out the reform, and Protopope Avvakum, the leader of the Old Believers, were natives of the Nizhny Novgorod region. The region became the largest center of the Old Believers' movement. In the impenetrable Kerzhensky forests, even during the periods of the fiercest persecution, there were schismatic communities – sketes. As the Russian border moved further and further eastwards after the annexation of the Kazan Khanate and Siberia, the Nizhny Novgorod region, which was in the hinterland, became one of the largest trade and fair centers in the country. Since the XVII century Makaryev Fair (moved in the first quarter of the XIX century to the Volga and Oka arrow) became the most important center of all-Russian and international trade. Famous merchant dynasties were formed in Nizhny Novgorod: Bashkirovy, Blinovy, Bugrovy, Olisovy, Pushnikovy, Rukavishnikovy and many others. It is not by chance that since the XIX century Nizhny Novgorod has been called "the pocket of Russia".

In the XIX-XX centuries, the Nizhny Novgorod region became one of the leading industrial centers of the country. It was here that one of the largest enterprises in Russia, the Sormovsky shipbuilding plant, was founded in the middle of the XIX century. In 1896 Nizhny Novgorod hosted the All-Russian Industrial and Art Exhibition, during which technical and scientific achievements of Russia were demonstrated. Difficult events of the Russian history of the first decades of the XX century – the First Russian Revolution of 1905–1907, revolutionary 1917, the First World War and the Civil War left their mark also on the Nizhny Novgorod region. The region delivered industrial supplies to the front, received evacuated enterprises and higher educational institutions during the First World War. In the 1920-30s Nizhny Novgorod (since 1932 – the city of Gorky) experienced a period of large-scale changes. As a consequence of the Big Nizhny project, the city's borders were expanded. It officially included Kanavino and Sormovo, while in fact the territory of Gorky was enlarged by the Avtozavodsky district, which was being formed at that time. In 1932, the factories built in Gorky, the pioneers of Soviet industrialization, began their work: GAZ, Aircraft Plant No. 21, Stankozavod and others.

In 2020, on the 75th anniversary of the victory in the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945, Nizhny Novgorod received the title of the City of Military Valor. This high name is undoubtedly fully deserved. The city of Gorky played a particularly important role in supplying the front with military equipment.

Modern Nizhny Novgorod is the capital of the Volga Federal District, a great city with a developed social and cultural infrastructure, a major industrial and economic center.

The problem of generalizing and comprehending the centuries-long history of Nizhny Novgorod is undoubtedly relevant. Two major works of generalizing character, devoted to the history of the city, can be noted: "A Brief Essay of the History and Description of Nizhny Novgorod" by N. I. Khramtsovsky (1857-1859) and "History of the City of Gorky. A Brief Essay" by I. A. Kiryanov, N. I. Kupriyanova, A. I. Parusov, A. V. Sedov, A. I. Tyurina and others (1971). It is clear that with the passage of time new documents are brought into scientific circulation, the socio-political and economic realities of the country's life change, there is an urgent need to generalize the accumulated source and historiographical material, to prepare new editions accumulating the results of scientific research of Nizhny

Novgorod scientists.

The question of how to write Nizhny Novgorod history is both simple and complex at the same time. Immediately, many related aspects arise. Questions of the “first line” – what, by whom, how, in accordance with what principles and tasks the book should be written, questions of the “second line” – what will be the terms of work, its structure, size, genre, stylistic, design, illustrative execution of the text, questions of the “third line” – by whom, in how many copies and with what funds the book will be published, and how it will get to the reader.

Let us begin with the subject matter. What do we mean by “Nizhny Novgorod history”? The city of Nizhny Novgorod in its modern borders, Nizhny Novgorod region, Nizhny Novgorod province, Nizhny Novgorod territory, Nizhny Novgorod Principality – the boundaries of our city and the region as an administrative-territorial unit differed significantly at different times. Depending on the answer to this fundamentally important question, our task narrows or expands and in any case changes. Undoubtedly, Nizhny Novgorod history in modern conditions is not a topic, but a multitude of topics and a colossal volume of documentary information, only partially involved in the scientific turnover and presented in the works of historians. A huge layer remains “behind the scenes” and awaits its researchers. The question of whether a city or a region is the subject of our consideration was especially crucial for the second volume of the publication. And here we found quite serious discrepancies in the position of the authors and in the materials submitted: some of them presented more regional material, others – urban. On the one hand, the consideration of the history of Nizhny Novgorod was recognized as unthinkable without a broad coverage of the regional context, on the other hand, in this case there was a real danger of “drowning” in the regional material, especially with regard to the XX century, when the number of large cities in the Nizhny Novgorod region and the population of the region increased manifold, and large industrial enterprises appeared, each of which could be the subject of a separate study. Against the background of a rather limited number of scientists-participants of the authors’ team of the project and sharply limited time and financial resources, it was necessary to choose a compromise option that would combine the breadth of the context and clarity of the subject. But despite all the preliminary agreements on the subject and structure, the divergences in these matters were serious, the texts were very different and heterogeneous in content, which required a long joint work of authors and editors.

A difficult problem was the formation of the authors' team of the publication. It is known that after the Great Patriotic War, Professor Sergey Ivanovich Arkhangelsky attempted to assemble a team of authors to write a generalizing work on Nizhny Novgorod history. He failed to do this, primarily because of the lack of scientists able to cover all the major periods of the region's history in a professional manner. Unfortunately, despite the past 70 years, this problem persists. In recent decades in Nizhny Novgorod universities, as well as in other regions of our country, history faculties were dissolved, departments of history were merged with departments of other humanities disciplines, the number of academic hours devoted to the study of history was sharply reduced, which was accompanied by the dismissal of some personnel of historians, their forced departure from the profession. The sharp decline in the prestige of the profession of a teacher and scientist in post-perestroika Russia, caused by the critically low wages in the 1990s and 2000s, led to a decrease in the number of applicants, students and graduates of history departments, as well as to the work not in their specialty after graduation. Serious damage was done to the staff of historians. Therefore, to form a team, capable professionally, fully, at a high scientific level to cover all the major milestones of the history of the Nizhny Novgorod region is extremely difficult even today. During the formation of the authors' team for the publication of "Eight Centuries of Nizhny Novgorod History" this task was solved in general, but a number of insufficiently covered topics and subjects remained. It was possible to find and agree on joint work on the publication with specialists in relation to all major chronological periods which allowed to create a single continuous line of historical development, to reveal the main periods and major events, and this is very important. But, of course, we cannot say that the topic of "Nizhny Novgorod history" is exhausted and/or closed. Technically it was not possible to include all the material we would most like. Therefore, we discussed the possibility of increasing the number of volumes of the book, but the short deadline did not allow us to expand the text, since the publication was timed to coincide with the celebration of the 800th Anniversary of Nizhny Novgorod. It was the preparation for the jubilee celebrations that made it possible to actualize the issue of publishing a new popular science text on the history of the city and made it possible to finance this undoubtedly expensive project. Therefore, it was impossible to extend the deadlines and increase the volume of material, which had a noticeable impact on the content and completeness of the second volume of the publication. For objective reasons (restricted access to archives/libraries during the coronavirus pandemic, etc.), the text did not include an important part of the material devoted to the development of the Gorky/Nizhny Novgorod industry in the XX century.

It is important that the work done in its “intermediate finished” form today has clearly identified “blanks” and gaps that require research and development. These are, for example, the topics of the All-Russian Industrial and Art Exhibition and the Nizhny Novgorod Fair in general, a number of issues of socio-political, cultural, scientific development of the Nizhny Novgorod region in the XX century, achievements in the field of sports, etc. The editorial board hopes to include all this in the text in the reprints.

Continuing the discussion about the terms of the publication preparation, it is important to note the following. It would be incorrect to say that the book was created in 2016-2021. While formally it is so, in reality it is not so, of course. Practically all of the scientists who were part of our team of authors used their experience of many years, and more often – of many decades, without which it would be impossible to create a scientifically high-quality text in a couple of years, and then still have time to carry out the stage of its literary editing, design and illustration. To produce such a text from the ground up would have required much more time. Given the short timeframe we knew in advance for the preparation of the publication, it was the high level of professionalism, fundamental scientific preparation, conscientiousness and working efficiency of the authors’ team that was the key to the successful completion of the work.

Another difficulty for the authors and editors was that from the outset we sought to avoid an essay type of presentation of the material, when everyone writes in a convenient form about what he or she knows and is more interested in. The task of forming a single coherent structurally and substantively well-organized text was often unfamiliar and not always easy for authors, many of whom had not worked on books of the popular science genre before. No less problematic in this regard was the task of the editors: to “accommodate” the fragments of different authors, to create a unified narrative that would be understandable to the general reader, but at the same time to preserve the scientific value of the text – all this required great effort. There was a question of the relevance in the text of scientific Bibliography, footnotes, so familiar and necessary for the scientist, but complicating the perception of the book for the general reader. A compromise solution was the creation of Appendices at the end of each volume, where most of the necessary scientific Bibliography were placed (lists of recommended and used literature for the sections, name index, lists of abbreviations, etc.). The same popular science nature of the publication made it necessary to search for, select and check illustrative material, and work with archival, published and museum sources to make the book bright, graphic and colorful. If for the first volume, covering mostly the “pre-photographic” period, the key task was to find the necessary and sufficient number of illustrations; for the second volume, the key task was to select photographic materials, and in both cases we had to be legally correct, to exclude unfair copying from the Internet, and correctly indicate the sources of the documents.

Organizationally, the first stage of work was very difficult – the stage of determining the structure of the book and the form of presentation of information, collection of texts from the authors’ team within a specified time frame and in a predetermined form and volume, and payment of fees to the authors in conditions of complete financial uncertainty. At the same time the structure of the distribution of material between authors in the volumes is somewhat different. The first volume of the “Eight Centuries of Nizhny Novgorod History” publication is strictly chronological, with each period to be “assigned” to a particular author, that is, the division was horizontal. The second volume is structured according to the problem-chronological principle, and here the authors were responsible not for any time period in all its diversity, but for any segment of social development – industry and urban environment, village, culture, socio-political development, that is, the division was vertical. The exception was the first twenty years of the XX century, given entirely to one author. The second volume of the publication presents a unique socio-demographic aspect of the history of Nizhny Novgorod, as well as material on the history of everyday life. Along with archival sources, sources of personal origin (first of all, diaries) are widely used, allowing to recreate the picture of seemingly quite well-known historical events from an unknown side – from the point of view of eyewitnesses, and giving the narrative unique details and a special emotional background. This allows us to talk about the application of an anthropological approach to the coverage of historical events and phenomena. Previously little-known or unknown pages of life of the citizens of Gorky during the Great Patriotic War are revealed, for example, those concerning the bombing of the city and the Gorky Automobile Plant, evacuation of the population of the western regions of the country to the Gorky region, food supply of the population, etc. The author provides unique statistics, extensive, including illustrative, material, revealing the contribution of the Gorky region, primarily of the industry, to the achievement of victory in the war. The social, demographic and everyday sketches, supplemented with fragments from documents and photographs arouse genuine interest and help to form a diverse picture of the city's historical past, which is not presented in other publications. There are many such examples, and they allow us to assert that "Eight Centuries of Nizhny Novgorod History" is, on the one hand, a publication of interest to an ordinary, untrained reader, a Nizhny Novgorod inhabitant or a visitor to the region, and, on the other hand, of undoubted scientific value, valuable for a professional historian.

While working on the book, especially during the first stage, meetings of the authors' team and the editorial board were held repeatedly, where the most important principles of work were discussed and determined, and they were obligatory for all. The editorial board was guided in its choice of authors primarily by professionalism, the quantity and quality of scientific publications, the scientific interests of each author, and their readiness to work in a team. Within the framework of "its" section, each author was free to independently organize and select material, naturally keeping in mind the general principles of the publication. Both in the first and the second volumes, the authors' team had the task to reveal the most important processes of political, economic, and cultural (spiritual) development of the Nizhny Novgorod region.

Organizational and financial support for the project at the initial stage and during the composition of the main text of the book was provided by the Nizhny Novgorod State Technical University (NNSTU) n.a. R. E. Alekseev. Within the framework of the Supporting University program in 2016-2020 the management of the Technical University of Nizhny Novgorod allocated the necessary funds to pay fees to the authors and specialists who performed stylistic editing, illustrative and design execution of the book. The Technical University staff strongly supported the book during the participation of the "Eight Centuries of Nizhny Novgorod History" project in the grant contest organized by the regional administration in preparation for the celebration of the 800th Anniversary of Nizhny Novgorod and which involved voting by the general public for projects to determine the winners worthy of financial support. The NNSTU management supported the two-volume book during the participation in the regional contest, Nizhny Novgorod Award in 2022, where the publication won in the "Science and Higher School" category.

At the same time it should be emphasized that the project from the very beginning was conceived and considered as a collective, inter-university, historical and archival, common project. This was reflected in constant joint work of the members of the editorial board, the authors, and the project partners. These were Nizhny Novgorod higher educational institutions (NNGASU, Lobachevsky Nizhny Novgorod State University, RANEPA, Minin University, etc.), archives (State Socio-Political Archive of the Nizhny Novgorod region, Central Archive of the Nizhny Novgorod region, State Archive of Special Documentation of the Nizhny Novgorod region, State Archive of Audiovisual Records of the Nizhny Novgorod region), museums (the Literary Museum n.a. M. Gorky, the Gorodets Historical and Art Museum Complex, the Museum of the Lobachevsky Nizhny Novgorod State University, the Museum of the Gorky Automobile Plant, etc.), the Nizhny Novgorod State Regional Library. Nizhny Novgorod archivists, the Committee for Archives, helped in every possible way in the work on the book and petitions for its publication. The book was also supported by the Rector of the Nizhny Novgorod State University of Architecture and Civil Engineering. A number of Nizhny Novgorod museums donated their materials for the book. The members of the editorial board contributed to solve all the problems that arose before and after the publication of the book, discussed all the controversial issues, were able to come to a compromise solution, and actively participated in the promotion of the book. The responsible editor of the first volume, P. V. Chechenkov, put in a lot of effort in editing the text. Thanks to his efforts the first volume of "Eight Centuries of Nizhny Novgorod History", covering the period of XII – XIX centuries, is wonderfully illustrated, supplied with an extensive reference apparatus and unique, purpose-made maps. Stylistic editing, computer processing, design execution of the text were performed by professionals of the highest level who invested their time, labor, and talent in the book. It was the joint teamwork that made possible the creation and publication of the two-volume book in such a short time for a major publication.

A separate and undoubtedly difficult problem was the financing of the book publication. Considering that the two-volume book "Eight Centuries of Nizhny Novgorod History" was to be a part of the anniversary events – a gift edition for guests of the region, the highest quality of design and illustrations (full-color printing, premium paper and cover) was assumed. Financing of the printing costs was made possible thanks to a grant from the Administration of the Nizhny Novgorod region. The printing work was done by the team of the Nizhny Novgorod Radio Laboratory, the only one in Nizhny Novgorod that was able to ensure the proper quality of printing works.

Herewith it should be mentioned once again: "Eight Centuries of Nizhny Novgorod History" is not a completed project. The text is a work in progress. The book made as a gift edition, of large (A4) format, very beautiful, but heavy and quite expensive, has not yet been seen by general readers. The first edition, devoted to the 800th Anniversary of Nizhny Novgorod, was in fact a social project: the two-volume book was donated to regional libraries, cultural and educational institutions at the initiative of the authors' team and editorial board. The book was also widely used as a gift to honorary guests of the city and region during the anniversary celebrations. The editorial board is planning to prepare a reprint of the substantially updated version of the book in a more democratic design and price category, so that the book could be purchased by all interested Nizhny Novgorod citizens and guests of the Nizhny Novgorod region. Our goal is to make it absolutely accessible to everyone.

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Food storage in Serbian medieval forts and urban settlements (XIII-XV centuries).

Abstract: *During the Middle Ages, the provision of food and water for the population was one of the basic prerequisites for the functioning of any fortress and city (town). The manner in which food was stored, both for private and public use, is the main topic of this work. The work draws upon written medieval sources, results of archaeological studies, and relevant historical literature.*

Key words: *Serbia, Middle Ages, city, fortress, urbanization.*

The supply of water [24] and food for the population and military personnel was a necessary prerequisite for the functioning of any city (town) or fortress in the Middle Ages [26, 27]. The two main limitations to the food supply of large cities were transportation costs and the rapid deterioration of goods. After the successful delivery of food to cities, both from nearby regions [25] and from distant regions, it was stored in different ways, both for private and public needs. Products destined for the market were also stored before being sold.

In medieval cities and towns in Serbia, there were three types of bazaars: daily, weekly and annual. Of these three, we have the least information about daily bazaars. It is assumed that the city authorities approved market rules. In addition, we can assume that daily bazaars developed only in large cities, and were intended for the purchase of daily products. Weekly bazaars represented places where local and foreign merchants could sell their goods. Annual fairs differed from weekly bazaars in that the trade lasted several days, and that at these fairs different goods were sold and bought in bulk. Annual fairs were held in a relatively small number of cities and towns. Only the most important among them held several fairs during the year [5, p. 141–145; 13, p. 163-215].

An idealized description of the wealth of medieval Serbia in the times of Despot Stefan Lazarević was given by Constantine the Philosopher. We pay attention to certain parts which indicate the richness of agricultural products. In addition, there are numerous vineyards - and nowhere so, without difficulties, as in this country (which) is overflowing with seeds, green plants and fruits... It is necessary to say (something) also about birds, and about everything else that the Lord gave, including (for example) vegetables for human food, which (here) are abundant everywhere, and (somewhere) elsewhere, they are not (in such quantity). Many products go not only to unpopulated, but also to populated (places), (and also) many other fruits, fish and other necessary goods [18, p. 20–21].

Agriculture in medieval Serbia was practiced by the vast majority of the population. The main branch of the economy of medieval Serbia was agriculture. Among the agricultural products, cereals were in the first place, grown on the predominant part of the arable land. Wheat, barley, oats, millet, rye, wheat-barley and wheat-rye were grown [9, p. 74]. The dependent population was obliged to the feudal sovereign to crop, grind and place the grain in pits, as it was clarified in the grant of King Milutin to the Gračanica monastery [14, p. 503]. The so-called grain pits were used to place threshed cereals in large farms. They were dug and made in the ground. They could store large quantities of grain, seeds were well protected from fire, pests and theft, but were not always protected from moisture [4, p. 105]. Farmers most often stored their grain in the part of the house where they lived. Grain was placed in thickly woven baskets which were located in wooden boxes, or only in sacks [4, p. 106].

On the estate of St. George of Skopje's pyrga (tower) "Hrptati" there was a "soknica" (a place intended for storing agricultural products). We do not know how big it was and how it was built, but of great importance is the fact that the grant stated that the tower was in front of the monastery's chamber [14, p. 323]. To the Monastery of the Holy Archangels near the town of Prizren King Dušan presented the nearby fortress of Višegrad, which was used as a monastery's grain barn, wine cellar and storehouse instead of a tower [23, p. 120]. Kitchens were definitely found by archaeologists in the monasteries of Sopoćani, Gradac, Djurdjevi Stupovi, Pavlovac and Kastaljan. It can be assumed that the kitchens existed in the rest of the monasteries studied, based on the generally accepted location of these rooms. They were located near the dining rooms. The kitchens had hearths and utensils for cooking. There were various food pantries near the kitchen and dining room. The living quarters of monks in Serbian medieval monasteries were on the second floor, while the first floors were almost always used for dining rooms, workshops or other activities. Storerooms might be on the first floor of other monastery buildings. Grain reserves were stored in grain pits. Complexes of grain pits were found in the estates of the Treskovica monastery in Prilep, as well as on the first floor of a building in the Djurdjevi Stupovi monastery [31, p. 108–109]. In the Djurdjevi Stupovi monastery the purpose of the old dining room was changed at the end of the XIII century. The first floor of the dining room was used as a pantry with a dug grain pit in the center of the room [31, p. 243]. In the Studenica monastery food pantries represented an extension of the dining room [31, p. 288]. In the basement of one dormitory of the Hilandar monastery there was a bakery with two ovens; one part was intended for storing flour. On the first floor of this dormitory were rooms for storing food. The other floors of this dormitory included living quarters. Under the dining room there was a wine cellar [19, p. 39, 44].

In some fortresses, food storage was in the lower floor of the donjon tower. The same was the case in Maglić. The tower was three-storey, of which two were below the entrance level [34, p. 99]. The main tower in Stalać was five-storey and the entrance was on the third floor. The floors below the entrance had no openings and most probably were storage rooms [34, p. 150]. On the lowest floor of the main tower of the Small Town in Smederevo there was a room of 4.15 m by 4.1 m. Most likely this room, which had a separate entrance, was a cistern or a pantry for food [41, p. 59]. The main tower of the Resava fortified monastery had seven floors. The entrance to the tower was 11 meters above the courtyard of the monastery. Under this entrance floor there was a round room with a calotte, which most likely represented a grain barn [34, p. 108]. We pay attention to the fact that these objects could change their purpose. Specifically, in June 1382 the Dubrovnik authorities ordered to prepare the St. Mary's cisterns for storing the municipal grain; in April 1383 the butchers were allowed to cover the inside of the St. Mary's cistern with planks so that it could store the grain [10, p. 117]. If this practice of using cisterns for storing grain existed in Dubrovnik, we believe that cisterns were also used in medieval Serbian fortresses and towns for the same purposes, in particular in case of danger. It is assumed that the basement of the Golubac fortress cellar was a pantry for food and drinks, and we do not exclude the possibility that there was a kitchen in the northern part of it [35, p. 80–81, 83].

Grain storages or grain pits were also found in numerous fortresses and urban settlements. These were mostly pits of various shapes, with walls covered with a layer of clay, stone or wooden boards. The granaries were located in the interior of the dwellings or outside them. If they were within the buildings, they were covered with a stone slab or wooden cover. The granaries built in the open air had dome-shaped covers or wooden canopies. Archaeologically they were confirmed in Trgovišće, Jelać, Stalać, Gradina nad Trgovišće... [20, p. 193]. In the medieval Trgovišće [28], within one house there was preserved a small room designed for food storage. It was a small frame square object. Its structure was made of square-section wooden columns mounted on a foundation beam. The lower part of the building, which was sunk by one meter, was most likely a pantry or granary. One could go down into the storehouse by wooden stairs, through a wooden lid in the floor of the first floor [20, p. 173]. In stone multi-storey houses in Trgovišće (XV-XVII c.) the first floors of the houses were intended for trade, and the rest – for living. In some buildings a number of niches and hidden rooms of different shapes were found. The niches were also found in the vestibule space, most often two niches opposite each other. The first floors of the buildings, mostly sunken into the mountainside, were gloomy, suitable for storing goods and food [20, 180]. Grain was also placed in above-ground objects – wooden or stone barns. There were also separately built objects designed for the placement of grain foodstuffs. The building in the archaeological site of Gradina nad Pazarišt was distinguished by its position, form and construction. It was a four-sided object (27 x 7 meters). The walls of the structure were covered with waterproof plaster. Above this object, most likely, there were living quarters. This object was probably a grain barn, with a capacity of approximately 400 m². And in the adjacent structure was a basement with a separate entrance and exit ramp. It was also a storage space [30, p. 218].

In numerous archaeological medieval complexes with fortresses, urban settlements and monastic complexes (Ras, Maglić, Novo Brdo, Stalać, Kruševac, Belgrade, Smederevo, Studenica, Djurdjevi Stupovi, Mileševa, Pećka patrijaršija...) there were found numerous ceramic materials. Between the utensils found there were also utensils designed both for cooking (clay lids under which baked bread, pans, pots, "pythos" - ceramic containers, amphorae and bowls), and for storing food. "Pythos" in the Middle Ages had different sizes, shapes, and apparently different functions. They were mainly used for storing grain, honey and other foodstuffs. They were found in archaeological complexes of Novo Brdo, Kruševac, Stalać, Niš, Belgrade, Soko Grad, Smederevo, and in monasteries of Melentija, Ravanica, Gradac, Arilje, Djurdjevi Stupovi... Almost all fragments of discovered "pythos" had on the projecting part elements of reinforcement in the form of relief bands which sometimes had spiral shape [2, p. 54–55]. In addition to "pythos", clay pots were also used for food storage. In form and size, they most often did not differ from a pot. Amphorae, types of a large jug, with a narrow neck and two opposite handles, were designed for transportation and storage of liquids. The bottom of amphorae was flat, and the neck sometimes had an annular seal around the perimeter, with handles covering the top of the neck, or a trough, such as pots and jugs had in the XIV century. In the Middle Ages they were used in Studenica Hvostanska, Prilep and Skopje [2, p. 53–54]. During the works on the study of Novo Brdo, an important group of ceramic products were storage containers. Between them three clay pots were uncovered with enamel, with thick walls, similar to antique pythos [3, p. 54–55]. A relatively small container designed for food storage was found in Stalać. A certain number of amphora-shaped pots were enameled. This means that they could have been intended for storing liquid food [22, p. 67].

The diet of the people in the late Middle Ages was varied. In addition to cereals, people mostly ate meat (game, fish, and poultry). For canning, drying and pickling were used most often. According to the data available, meat was very important in Dalmatian communes. The consumption of this foodstuff was more than 100 kilograms per capita [33, p. 35]. One decision of the Charter of Kotor listed bread, wine, meat, fish, oil and everything else necessary for daily nutrition [37, p. 452].

Viticulture in Dubrovnik was regulated by law. The city charter strictly forbade the sale of wine mixed with honey (molca, mulsa). The authorities also sent an army during the grape harvest to provide peaceful work. The inns were of great importance for the sale of wine. The charter defined the working hours of the inns and required that the inns were located in a stone building. The inns contained large quantities of wine, which had to be stored in stone buildings. The annual consumption in 1360 was about 2 million liters, i.e. 517.5 liters per capita. Besides wheat and meat, wine was the most consumed product in Dubrovnik. Its production often exceeded the needs of the city. The authorities tried to limit the import. The smuggling of wine was severely punished [33, p. 23, 29, 35]. According to the Charter, the sanction was confiscation and pouring, and there were also penalties of 25 perpera for the city residents. After 1230 the difference in terms for domestic and foreign merchants was abolished. After that the penalties reached 500 perpera, or several months of imprisonment [36, p. 183].

The creation of reserves in case of military danger is confirmed by numerous historical sources. Since the archives of the coastal communes on the Adriatic are better preserved, we will give a number of relevant illustrative examples. Wheat and wine were brought in case of military danger from the surrounding city to facilitate their storage inside the fortress walls. For example, the Dubrovnik authorities, due to the war with King Ostoja in 1402, allowed the population of the Pelješac peninsula to store their wine in the Ston fortress. Because of the war with Venice in 1378, they were ordered not to store wine in the district, but to put it away in the city. Even Governor Hrvoje in 1402 demanded that the people of Dubrovnik took his wine to Dubrovnik [36, p. 42]. The Collegium of the Dubrovnik Republic, upon request, allowed the Neretvlans in 1462 to bring their grain to Ston to be stored there, both in their houses and in the houses of other inhabitants, without paying customs duty [40, p. 6]. The Dubrovnik authorities annually elected three special officials, noblemen, who ensured that there was always enough grain in the city. The secured grain was stored for future distribution, and from the 15th century special granaries were also created [32, p. 67]. There were no large granaries in Bar, due to which, in case of danger from the Turks, one of the Bar's churches and one tower were turned into a granary. Two deep wells were dug in the floor of the church, two granaries, the walls of which in the central part were made of rubble stone, while the inner surface of the walls was laid out of carefully hewn limestone. The plastering was made of lime and crushed bricks. Both granaries were divided by slabs - the western one into four and the eastern one into five parts [6, p. 38, 276]. Due to deadly epidemics caused by periods of scanty harvest, tragic events occurred. At the end of 1453, in the areas under the control of Duke Stjepan Vukčić Kosača, the population left their homes in search of food. They appeared at the gates of seaside communes, which, for fear of contagion, would not allow them to enter their territory. A large number of these unfortunate people died [16, p. 220–221]. Concern for a steady supply of grain and wine was also expressed in the Serbian cities and towns on the coast. In Kotor, during negotiations with Venice, it was noted that the erection of the St. Mark monument was postponed until the end of the grape and grain harvest [37, p. 401]. In addition, there was a rule in Kotor according to which grain and leguminous plants should be brought precisely to the city and not to another place. Whoever brought grain and other foodstuffs to the port of Kotor had the right to unload half of the products in the city, in two stores, and to sell them in the city, and to sell the other half outside the city. Whoever bought grain to sell it had to get permission from the commune to do so. The residents of Kotor could not sell grain in their homes, but only in a store, or at the market. Only oats could be sold anywhere. We draw attention to this fact because it unequivocally indicates that food was stored in private houses. Wine in Kotor was sold in inns. The barrel makers were obliged to make good products, and in case of defective production, they were obliged to compensate the damage and to pay a fine to the commune [37, 225-226, 283–284, 186, 287]. It was forbidden to export wheat, flour, honey, meat, fat, cheese and lard in Skadar. Onion, garlic, woolen cloth, flax, wool, fish and cheese could not be resold without permission of the city authorities [38, p. 238, 239]. Guesthouses were a favorite place where people gathered, both in the cities and in the depth of the country. For example, in the will drawn up in 1469, it was listed under the Slavic name of pivnica [17, p. 117]. In Priština Staniša, a servant of a wealthy Dubrovnik resident sold nela taverna, his lord's wine [16, p. 89]. According to the authentic document of the Kruševac district, the revenues from the monopoly and fees associated with the sale of wine were large, even after the Ottoman conquest of the Serbian lands [1, p. 229–233].

Food products were also stored in the time of peace. In Dubrovnik, records of grain storage existed from the second half of the 14th century. It was decided to rebuild the tower at Pyla for the storage of municipal millet, and while the work was in progress, it was indicated that an order was received to prepare the St. Mary's cisterns for the storage of municipal grain. In November 1363 it was decided to rebuild the tower at Pyla for the storage of municipal millet; in June 1382 it was ordered to prepare the St. Mary's cisterns to house the municipal grain; in April 1383 the butchers were allowed to board up the inside of the St. Mary's cistern to be able to store the grain. At the end of the 14th century special pits were dug, most likely designed by the magistri fouearum bladorum [10, p. 117]. At the beginning of the 14th century all the grain that was brought into the city could be sold only in the "fundak (pundak, i.e. inn)". Two or three officials, who were also called "fundakars", were chosen to work there. In fact, grain could also be sold outside of it if there was not enough space. The stores where the grain was sold had to be open at the same time as the "fundak" was open, and had to use the same containers to measure it. Grain was seldom sold by its proprietors, but much more often by porters ("bastas"), who, in addition to loading the grain, were also engaged in its sale. The porters' pay was determined on an annual basis or by the amount of grain sold. All vessels for measuring grain had to be hollow, and their stone samples were kept in the city [10, 117–118, 128].

Regarding Belgrade, we have information from the Ottoman period. In the city

Khans Dernshvam in 1555 saw a large sultan's storehouse of foodstuffs located below the city. It was enclosed by a rather high wall, 450 paces long, and about 50 paces wide. It had two longitudinal buildings on either side. Also, two years earlier Antun Vrančić mentioned a zahir repository. According to him, the center for storing provisions and the arsenal of munitions was situated on the western side where the fortress was situated [39, p. 67].

The problem of storing trade goods was solved in different ways. Trade goods that were transported by caravans were deposited in large settlements in "stan", and the person in charge of the goods was called "stanjanin". The stanjanin kept the goods in a separate room locked with a key [15, p. 419–420]. In Srebrenica he was known as "stazionar" [17, p. 117]. Small caravanserais placed the houses of individuals or rulers in which goods were temporarily stored [11, p. 321–322]. The rest and overnight houses for passengers, in particular merchants, were also designed to house their horses and goods. Trade was carried out in trading stores where goods were stored [17, p. 115–116, 118]. In Ulcinj the facades of all dwellings were on the street side. The streets were relatively narrow – 1.5 - 4.0 meters. Craftsmen workshops and stores were located in the konobas, and in rare cases on the second floors of individual residential properties [7, p. 63, 71, 146, 147]. In Kotor, single-storey houses were used as warehouses, craftsmen workshops or taverns [12, p. 87]. Certain food products in the turnover of goods were sold in installments: grain, wine, meat, beans [8, p. 106].

Based on the results of archaeological research and written sources, the paper presents the management of food storage in fortifications and urban settlements. Archaeological excavations in Belgrade, Smederevo, Novi Brdo, Kruševac and many other localities provide numerous data on the use of grain pits for storage and preservation of grain food. Towers in the cities were also used for storage. Emperor Stefan Dušan gave the monastery of the Holy Archangels near Prizren the fortress of Višegrad to be its vine storage and granary. On the estate of St. George of Skopje, the pirg (tower) Hrptati was so-called soknica (a place where agricultural products were stored). The dormitory buildings in Serbian medieval monasteries were divided into living quarters of monks on the upper floor and the space for storage, workshops, or some other activities on the ground floor. Storerooms could be located on the ground floors of other monastery buildings. In some fortifications, food stores were located on the lowest floor of the dungeon tower. Such is the case in Maglic. The tower had three floors, two of which were below the level of the entrance. There is written evidence in Dubrovnik that cisterns were used to store municipal grain. This practice we think was also present in fortifications and cities of medieval Serbia, especially in case of danger. Granaries or grain pits were also found in numerous fortifications and urban settlements. They were mostly hollows of various bases, with walls covered with a layer of clay, stone, or wooden planks. The granaries were located inside or outside of the residential buildings. When they were inside the buildings, they were covered with a stone slab or a wooden cover.

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The beginning of the eastern and Volga directions of urbanizations in northeastern Russia in pre-mongol times

Abstract: *The article is devoted to the process of urbanization in the Vladimir Principality from the second half of the XII century to 1238. It is proved that the initiator of urbanization in the eastern and Volga directions was Prince Andrey Yuryevich Bogolyubsky in the 1150s-1160s. With him Gorodets was founded on the Upper Volga, and at the confluence of the Klyazma into the Oka Gorokhovets was founded. Gorokhovets also marked the establishment of control of the Vladimir Principality over the Middle Oka and the beginning of the political development of the Lower Oka. This stage of military-political urbanization was fixed by the foundation of Nizhny Novgorod in 1221. Nizhny Novgorod closed the Oka and Volga directions of urbanization started by Andrey Bogolyubsky.*

Key words: *Northeastern Russia, urbanization, Vladimir Principality, Andrey Bogolyubsky, Gorodets, Gorokhovets, Nizhny Novgorod.*

Northeastern Russia in the pre-Mongolian time covered the territory where the statehood of Russia would later be formed and from where it would spread. During the period of political fragmentation of the XII-first third of the XIII century, a political entity called in the historiography Rostov-Suzdal/Vladimir-Suzdal/Vladimir Principality emerged and developed on this land. For an exact localization it is placed in the Volga-Oka interfluvial area, meaning the right bank of the Upper Volga and the left bank of the Middle and Lower Oka. However, such stereotype does not absolutely correspond to historical and geographical realities up to the 1160s.

Northeastern Russia was originally concentrated around the cities, just the region of the Upper Volga – Yaroslavl, Rostov, Beloozero, Pereyaslavl, Uglich. These were the most ancient cities. For example, Rostov was first mentioned together with calling of the Varangians of Rurik in 862 [1, p. 14; 5, p. 20], Yaroslavl was first mentioned in 1071/1072 [1, p. 164; 5, p. 175]. The power institutions of the capital of the Old Russian state – Kiev – were concentrated in these cities. Between and around these cities of Northeastern Russia stretched territories that were only nominally in the princely power – they paid tribute. Only to the south of this city-political enclave a “branch” to Suzdal passed.

Contrary to the widespread opinion, Northeastern Russia had no political access to the Oka neither in the XI century, nor in the first half of the XII century. At the moment of the creation of the political formations of the period of fragmentation – principalities and Novgorod state – the Chernigov, Ryazan and Murom principalities controlled some parts of the Lower and Middle Oka coast. That is, they objectively prevented the establishment of Rostov-Suzdal Principality on this river.

Rostov-Suzdal Principality itself was formed in the period of independent governance of Yuri Vladimirovich (Dolgoruky) (years of governance: 1120–1157). With his reign coincides the development of the process of political decentralization of the Old Russian development, which was called “political fragmentation”. Yuri Dolgoruky was put away to Zalessky land by his father Vladimir Monomakh, who was one of the last Kievan princes (years of the great Kievan reign of Monomakh: 1113–1125), who kept Russia from fragmenting into separate entities and turning it into a (con)federation of separate principalities-states, the largest of which became the Chernigov, Galicia-Volhynia, Smolensk, Novgorod and Vladimir principalities. The latter was formed on the basis of the principality, where the main city, the capital was initially Rostov.

The formation of the political structures of the future Rostov/Vladimir principality coincided with the advance towards the Oka. After the raid of the Volga Bulgars[1] on Suzdal in 1107, Vladimir Monomakh (years of life: 1053–1125) took a number of measures to secure his possessions where he isolated his 8-year-old son Yuri (future Dolgoruky). Since the route of the Bulgars’ raid was through the Volga and Oka, and from it along Klyazma to the interior of the Rostov land to Suzdal, in

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[1]The Volga Bu(o)lgars are representatives of the state of Bu(o)lgaria. It has arisen in the early X century on the lands of the Middle Volga region and basin of Kama and existed till the Mongol invasion in the 1230s. In 922 Islam was adopted as the state religion in the Volga Bu(o)lgaria. The names “Bu(o)lgars”, “Bu(o)lgaria” are connected with the military-political association of nomadic Bulgars of the second third of the VII century in the South Russian steppes in the northeastern Black Sea region and along the ridges of the North Caucasus. Under blows of the Khazar Khaganate, in the 660–670s, part of the Bulgars, led by Khan Asparukh, went to the Slavic lands of the eastern Balkans, gave their own dynasty and founded the (Danubian) Bulgaria, and the other part moved north and gave rise to the (Volga) Bulgaria in the Middle Volga region. During the X–XIII centuries, Rus’ and the Volga Bulgaria traded, acted as military and political rivals in the Volga region and the Northern Urals. The Volga Bulgars played an important role in the ethnogenesis of the Chuvash people, partly of the Volga Tatars, Bashkirs and Udmurts.

1108 Monomah closed the Klyazma with grads (towns) (grads in Old Russian language, first of all, are fortresses (grad – that which is fenced, walled; derived from ograda, izgorod (fence, hedge))) of Yaropolch (near modern Vyazniki) and Vladimir [4, p. 12–13]. Another approach to the Oka was connected with the appearance of Moscow. The first mention of it in 1147 [1, p. 339] does not cancel the fact that there was a settlement on its place before. However, it gained political and urban importance with the construction of the city, i.e. fortress, by Yuri Dolgoruky, the first prince of the Zalessky land (years of life: near 1100–1157). The same prince, probably, transferred his residence to Suzdal – far from the ancient boyar city of Rostov. In political sense Suzdal is equidistant from the Upper Volga and Oka. This circumstance allows to speak, that Prince Yuri Vladimirovich Dolgoruky was not interested in expansion of the principality and establishment of relatively homogeneous political space in the Zalessky land. The explanation of it is found in that Prince Yuri Dolgoruky was aimed at achievement of the Kiev throne. However, the assertion in Kiev gave only nominal power over Kiev.

It can be stated that during the reign of Yuri Dolgoruky, the prerequisites for penetration into the Oka were only laid. And then most of these prerequisites were the result of the policy of Vladimir Monomakh. Yaropolch and Vladimir were founded by Monomakh exclusively for defensive purposes. The Moskva River, on which the city of the same name arose under Yuri Vladimirovich, was closed at its mouth by the Ryazan Kolomna. It turns out that even under Yuri Vladimirovich Dolgoruky, his principality had neither outlet to the Oka nor safe access to it. And the realization of the opportunity that Yaropolch, Vladimir and Moscow gave, did not mean at all that it could take place. However, it was brought to life. And the explanation for this is found in the subjective factor. The name for it is Andrey Bogolyubsky. First, he left the south of Rus', refusing to share his struggle for Kiev with his father, Yuri Vladimirovich Dolgoruky. Andrey Yuryevich fled in 1155 to Northeastern Russia and settled in young and still insignificant Vladimir. It looks very symbolic now: Vladimir, standing on the high Klyazma bank, was oriented towards the Oka. The prince ran not just like that, but took with him an icon of Byzantine writing [5, p.

346] and began to form the cult of the Virgin in Northeastern Russia. And, thus, the placement of Andrey Yuryevich in Vladimir marked the rejection of the strategic course of Yuri Dolgoruky to achieve the illusory assertion of all-Russian power (in conditions of political fragmentation, this could not be done) and the possible proposal of a different military-political program. It can be judged by the foreign policy actions of Prince Andrey Yuryevich.

The implementation of this program was associated with a certain risk. Andrey Bogolyubsky decided on it (years of life: 1120s – 1174). In 1158–1174, during his reign the town of Gorokhovets was founded at the mouth of the Klyazma [4, p. 24; 6, p. 173]. Its appearance at this time is proved by correlating 3 chronicles. The hypothesis is based on the fact of a direct connection between the three chronicles: 1158 – the list in the chronicle of dominions of the Vladimir Uspensky Cathedral, among which there were no cities [1, p. 491; 5, p. 348]; 1175 – Rostislavichi (grandchildren of Yuri Dolgoruky), who established themselves in Vladimir, did not object to the confiscation of tribute, property, possessions of the Uspensky Cathedral, among which a certain city was specified [1, p. 599; 5, p. 375]; and 1239 – "In winter the Tatars captured the Mordovian land and burned down Murom, and by the Klyazma they conquered and burned down the town of the Holy Virgin Gorokhovets" [highlighted by us – A. K.] [5, p. 470]. It turns out that Gorokhovets was a town of "the Holy Virgin", a town belonging to the Cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin, and it appeared in 1158–1174. And this was not by accident. Under Prince Andrey Bogolyubsky, as indicated above, the cult of the Virgin began to be established in Northeastern Russia, associated with the icon transferred in Vladimir, a majestic 5-domed temple of the Assumption of the Virgin was built [5, p. 348], and at the initiative of the prince, it was given various lands and even a whole town (Gorokhovets). The etymology of the onym Gorokhovets has not been clarified.

Gorokhovets not only closed the Klyazma downstream, creating a chain of outposts along the river with Vladimir and Yaropolch. It also provided the Vladimir Principality with the blocking of the entire Oka below the Murom and Ryazan principalities, a possible advance into the still politically undeveloped lands of the lower Oka region and gave the prospect of expansion along the politically undeveloped part of its course up to the confluence with the Volga.

In addition to gains from the risky exit to the Oka, there were some extra considerations. This is evidenced by the appearance, almost simultaneously with Gorokhovets, of another new fortress of Northeastern Russia. In the winter 1171/1172 Gorodets was mentioned for the first time as a town [5, p. 364]. Mstislav, the son of Andrey Bogolyubsky, gathered an army in Gorodets to advance in a successful raid against the Volga Bulgars. The foundation of Gorodets on the left bank of the Upper Volga marked the next – after and below Yaroslavl – stage of the advancement of the power of the Vladimir prince along the river, which was destined to become “Russian” in the XVI century from its source to its confluence with the Caspian Sea.

The appearance and spread of the incorrect date of the foundation of Gorodets in 1152 by Prince Yuri Dolgoruky went back to the assumption of V. N. Tatishchev, historian of the XVIII century. But the appearance of Gorodets further than on the eastern border of the principality under Yuri Dolgoruky who strengthened the center and the western borders of his possessions does not fit the historical and eventful context. On the contrary, it fits into the turbulent military-political and ideological activity of his son Andrey Bogolyubsky. In 1164 he successfully attacked the city of Volga Bulgars Bryakhimov under the sign of the icon of the Virgin of Vladimir [5, p. 353]. And Gorodets itself was mentioned in connection with another campaign of Andrey Bogolyubsky’s son against Bulgars [2; 3]. Gorodets, rising on a rare high place on the left bank of the Volga, marked the start of expansion in the eastern and the Volga directions of the Vladimir Principality under Andrey Bogolyubsky. The foundation of Gorokhovets also fits into the rapid flow of this offensive.

Gorokhovets at the confluence of the Klyazma into the Oka and Gorodets on the Volga, together with the territory of the Vladimir Principality, form a certain geographical frame. Its borders covered the lands between the right bank of the Volga from Gorodets to the confluence of the Oka and the left bank of the Klyazma in the west, another border was the left bank of the lower Oka from the mouth of the Klyazma to the mouth of the Oka. On this vast territory, one can project the residence of the Cheremis people, mentioned in the ethno-geographical description of the peoples and neighbors of Rus', in the "Tale of Bygone Years"[2], among the peoples of the lower Oka, between the Mordovians and the Muroma [5, p. 10–11; 1, p. 8]. Thus, the foundations of Gorokhovets and Gorodets under Andrey Bogolyubsky became the basis for the political and geographical coverage of the lands of this mysterious people. For the towns-fortresses to completely cover the Cheremis enclave, it was necessary to establish themselves at the place where the Oka flows into the Volga. Only from the XV century did the ethnonym Cheremis designate the Mari people, until the XV century its use in relation to the Maris living on the left bank of the Volga is not correct.

It must be noted that under Andrey Bogolyubsky, the expansion of the principality and its movement to the East and along the Volga began. The points of this process and further outposts became Gorodets on the Upper Volga and Gorokhovets at the confluence of the Klyazma into the Oka. The instrument of urbanization ensured effective expansion. It is noteworthy that the Volga from Gorodets and the Lower Oka from the mouth of the Klyazma meet 60-80 km downstream at the place where Nizhny Novgorod will be founded. The fixation at this place sphered the territory of residence of the Cheremis. It is obvious that Andrey Bogolyubsky planned to link the Volga and Oka vectors at this place. These plans were interrupted by the perfidious murder of the prince in 1174 [5, p. 367–371; 1, p. 580–593]. Evidence of this is the polysonym Gorodets. Its meaning is revealed in the pre-onomastic degree of deetymologization – "small city". This meaning is determined by the suffix formant –ец (ets), which is equivalent to the suffix formant of the modern Russian language –ок (ok). Initially, the town of Gorodets did not have a name and was conceived simply as a small city. The murder of Andrey Bogolyubsky fixed this designation of the settlement as a proper name [7, p. 71–73].

Unfortunately, neither written sources nor the poor preservation of

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[2] "The Tale of Bygone Years" is a unique and original monument of Old Russian literature, created at the beginning of the XII century in the Kyiv Caves Monastery. It is originally a Russian chronicle, included in subsequent Russian chronicles. It contains a narrative on the history of the creation and development of the Old Russian state until the beginning of the XII century, information about the ethnic groups and peoples of Eastern Europe from about the first half of the I millennium AD.

archaeological material allow us to say anything about the specifics of Gorokhovets and Gorodets in pre-Mongolian times, high-rise architectural dominants and the architecture of towns itself.

The ensuing power struggle in the Vladimir Principality in 1174–1176, and the reign of Vsevolod Yuryevich the Big Nest (Bolshoe Gnezdo) (years of life: 1154–1212) demanded other political solutions, which led to the half-remembered geostrategic project of his elder brother Andrey Bogolyubsky. Prince Vsevolod spent a lot of energy on restoring the authority and influence of the Vladimir Principality cracked after the murder of Andrey Bogolyubsky and during the two-year struggle for power. Vsevolod the Big Nest supported the military-political advance to the north-east of the principality. This direction and ignoring the former East Volga direction are also confirmed by the cities that appeared during the reign of Vsevolod Yuryevich the Big Nest (nuance: most of them are mentioned as already existing in the first 7 years after the death of Vladimir Prince Vsevolod in 1212). In 1178 Vsevolod Yuryevich rebuilt Gleden (Ustyug); in 1213 Kostroma and Nerekhta were found in the sources; Zubtsov was mentioned in 1216, and the town of Unzha was mentioned in 1219 [4, p. 26–27]. The continuation of the expansion of the Vladimir Principality to the east and along the Volga under this ruler was not noted. But it was precisely in the struggle for power in Northeastern Russia that, in addition to princes, cities and towns also met. The same “old” city of Rostov, on which Vsevolod’s opponent, his nephew Mstislav Rostislavich, relied, tried to deprive Vladimir of the capital status [5, p. 375–385] and regain the status of the main city of the Zalessky land. Vsevolod Yuryevich relied on Vladimir. And the victory of Vsevolod and Vladimir made it possible to preserve the legacy of Andrey Bogolyubsky.

And only Vsevolod’s son and Andrey’s nephew – Grand Prince of Vladimir, Georgy (Yuri) Vsevolodovich (years of life: 1188–1238) – in 1221 completed the stage of military and political expansion in the form of urbanization of the “unknown land” by founding Nizhny Novgorod [5, p. 445]. Like Gorodets, the city at the beginning of its existence did not have a full name – a polysonym. The formant Nizhny in the polysonym Nizhny Novgorod would only be used from the middle of the XIV century [7, p. 125–126]. Therefore, initially the lexeme Novgorod was not a name, but a simple designation of a new city. That is, the same pre-onomastic degree of deetymologization of a proper name is fixed here, as in the case of the onym Gorodets. The name of the city of Novgorod is indirect evidence of the military-political nature of urbanization in Northeastern Russia: it is a new city of the principality in a still undeveloped, foreign land. (Nizhny) Novgorod had no predecessors (see arguments below).

In this young border city in 1225, Prince Georgy Vsevolodovich erected a stone Cathedral of the Savior [5, p. 447]. The construction of a stone Orthodox church in the newly founded city is in itself a unique case in the history of Ancient Rus' (stone churches were erected in the capitals and large cities). The erection of the stone church of the Savior also shows that the urbanization of Northeastern Russia was carried out from the point of view of the spread of Christianity in wild, sparsely populated lands. The Cathedral of the Savior in Nizhny Novgorod was rebuilt in the middle of the XIV century, in the middle of the XVII century, in the 1830s and was destroyed in the course of the atheistic Soviet policy in 1929. The history of the Cathedral of the Transfiguration of the Savior, the tradition of erecting churches of the same name on the site of the former dismantled ones allow us to establish its place as the most ancient and main church of (Nizhny) Novgorod, and, therefore, to localize the most ancient Nizhny Novgorod. It was located in the eastern part of the current Nizhny Novgorod Kremlin. This location of the city on the high right bank of the Volga made it possible to control its flow over a large area. It was the Volga. The task of observing the Oka was removed by the fact that the entrance to it and the exit from it were visible when reviewing the Volga. This, apparently, lies the original idea of founding Nizhny Novgorod – access to the Volga with the task of further advancement along it.

On the outer side of the wall of ancient, small in size, (Nizhny) Novgorod – even before the arrival of the Mongols in the winter of 1237/1238 – there was a monastery of the Virgin and a wooden church. They were burned by the Mordovians in 1229, unsuccessfully trying to storm and destroy the new city in retaliation for the campaign of the regiments of the Vladimir and Murom Princes in the winter of 1229 [5, p. 451].

The location of (Nizhny) Novgorod 80 km downstream of the Oka and Volga relative to Gorokhovets and Gorodets ensured the safety of the former. In case of danger to a new city, a message about it and the arrival of help was possible within 8–10 hours (the maximum average speed of movement on a horse is 20 km/h per day (the speed of the Volga or Oka currents is 2 to 6 km/h – it is not here taken into account)) either from the side of Gorokhovets or from the side of Gorodets. Such an infrastructure, which ensured the survival of the military-political center at the mouth of the Oka, was not found on the part of the Volga Bulgaria. Its state territory was separated from the mouth of the Oka by a long distance. This circumstance is an important argument in the denial of speculative assumptions about the Bulgarian predecessor of Nizhny Novgorod. There is no reason to accept the guess about the Mordovian predecessor of the city, founded in 1221. Firstly, the Mordovians did not reach the level of development and political self-organization of society that would ensure the construction of a fortress on the high bank of the Volga. Secondly, the way of managing of the Mordovians did not imply their settlement directly on the banks of large rivers, such as the Volga and Oka. Thirdly, the establishment of a settlement right on the Volga bank would make it an inevitable victim of any large military detachment on ships – from Rus’ or Volga Bulgaria. After all, between them was a no one’s land and politically neutral territory.

Владимиро-Суздальское княжество в первой трети XIII века

— место битвы.

The map is based on the map in the book by A. N. Nasonov [6] with clarifications and additions.

With the foundation of Nizhny Novgorod, military clashes between the Vladimir Principality and the Mordovians began in 1226, 1228, 1229, 1232 [5, p. 448–449, 450–451, 459]. Prior to the founding of Nizhny Novgorod, such a series of conflicts between the Russian princes and the Mordovians is not noted in historical sources. The initiators of the active confrontation were the Prince of Vladimir – Georgy Vsevolodovich with his brothers and nephews on the line of brothers. This fact once again confirms the thesis about the military-political nature of urbanization in Northeastern Russia in pre-Mongolian times and its use as a means of expansion.

These clashes with the Mordovians marked a new stage of Old Russian statehood with neighboring peoples which either did not have a political tradition at all, or which so far had only potestar institutions. Until the 1220s, the Old Russian state built a defensive policy against aggressive neighbors – nomads in the southern Russian steppes, Lithuanians and Emi in the northwestern Baltics, put various tribes in tributary dependence, which were not able to organize resistance, naturally assimilated those peoples who turned out to be surrounded by Slavic-Russian settlement (Merya, Golyad, Cheremis, Vod, Izhora, etc.). With the entry of the Vladimir Principality through the foundation of Nizhny Novgorod into the Mordovian area and the counter resistance of the Mordovians began the formation of a centuries-old experience of cohabitation, a symbiosis of different peoples and cultures of the future Russian state. The example of the Mordovians is indicative. On the one hand, a small nation could not withstand the pressure of sovereign power, on the other hand, having met resistance, it was forced to look for different ways to overcome conflicts, negotiate, take into account the cultural characteristics of each ethnic group. This is what happened in the case of wars with the Mordovians. With one Mordovian leader – Purgas – Vladimir princes fought [5, p. 450–451], and the other – Puresh(a) – entered into a contractual relationship with Georgy sevolodovich and became his "rotnik (companion)"3), and his son even fought against Purgas [5, p. 451]. Similar conflicts in relations between Russia, which was expanding to the east

[3] "Lead in the company" – an expression in the chronicles used to denote an oath of loyalty/alliance (?) on the part of the nomadic Polovtsy and Mordovians in relation to the Old Russian princes. Recorded in pre-Mongolian times. Between the princes and the political centers of Rus', the use of a company in the sources is not noted.

and south, and various peoples were noted throughout the XIV–XIX centuries, periodically – in the XX century.

Nizhny Novgorod itself, having finally secured the Oka to the Vladimir Principality, predetermined the beginning of a new expansion to the East and already in the Middle Volga. Once again, this process was halted by the Batu invasion (since 1238) and the establishment of the Horde yoke[4] which lasted until 1480. The overcoming of the latter and the formation of the Russian centralized state in the last third of the XV century actualized the legacy of Princes Andrey Yuryevich and Georgy Vsevolodovich and became one of the factors of building up Russia.

The Volga and Eastern urbanization by Vladimir princes in the 1150s – 1220s was divided into two stages, separated by almost half a century. This process was preceded by the laying of its foundations by Vladimir Vsevolodovich Monomakh. He founded Vladimir and Yaropolch on the Klyazma. Despite the fact that they were given an exclusively defensive meaning, these cities implied the possibility of political advancement to the lower Oka, and from it to the Volga. This possibility began to materialize during the first stage. It fell on the reign of Andrey Yuryevich Bogolyubsky in 1157–1174. The second period was associated with the reign of Georgy Vsevolodovich in 1212–1216, 1218–1238.

Despite the large gap between them, both periods considered in the system allow us to talk about the urbanization aspect of the policy of Vladimir princes and the expansion of the Vladimir principality. Without the foundation of Gorodets and Gorokhovets, it was impossible to place Nizhny Novgorod at a distance from the main territory of the Vladimir principality. Successively, Gorokhovets and Gorodets brought the principality to the Oka and moved down the Volga, respectively, and Nizhny Novgorod, with its appearance, closed both of these movements. The large

[4] The figurative word "yoke" in Russian historiography is used as a term. It denotes the political priority of the khans of the (Golden) Horde in relations with the Russian princes, the recognition by the latter of the khans as the sources of their power, the regime of cruel economic exploitation by the Horde of the Russian lands. The Horde yoke was expressed in the systematic collection of tribute, the confirmation of power in their principality (humiliating for the Russian princes) expressed in receiving a label for which they had to give rich "gifts" to the khans and their officials, the purposeful pitting by the Horde of the princes in the struggle for labels, preventive punitive raids of the Horde on those principalities that expressed dissatisfaction and showed signs of an independent policy (as a result of raids – *rat'* (battle) (Nevryueva rat', Dyudeneva rat', Tugolykova rat', etc.), lands were ruined, cities were burned, prisoners were sold into slavery), etc.

time distance between the stages also turned out to be significant in this story. As noted above, the victory of Vsevolod Yuryevich the Big Nest in 1176 made it possible to preserve the political significance of Vladimir and the idea of moving through the Klyazma and the lower Oka to the Volga associated with it. It is likely that Rostov's victory would have buried this idea and set a different direction for the development of Northeastern Russia, with all the ensuing unpredictable consequences and alternatives.

Urbanization itself did not have a basis in the form of popular colonization, rural and commercial advancement, which was followed by power. On the contrary, in Northeastern Russia of the pre-Mongolian period, the princely (sovereign) initiative turned out to be primary, which, by founding Gorodets, Gorokhovets and (Nizhny) Novgorod, predetermined the subsequent formation of a socio-economic infrastructure around the cities and its connection with the main territory of the principality. And in the case of the foundation of the cities of Vladimir and Yaropolch by Prince Vladimir Monomakh in 1108, it must be said that they set the prospect for a military-political movement down the Klyazma to the Oka and to the foundation of Gorokhovets. It, together with Gorodets, set the task of further urbanization movement for the consolidation at the mouth of the Oka. The priority and primacy of the political aspect in the Eastern Volga urbanization in the 1150s–1220s were the result of the political will of two princes – Andrey Yuryevich Bogolyubsky and Georgy Vsevolodovich. Revealing the significance of the subjective factor makes it possible to evaluate the urbanization of Northeastern Russia both from the point of view of historical anthropology and the genre of historical biography. This also instills the history of urbanization of Northeastern Russia of the pre-Mongolian period with a living concrete personalization, gives it a genuine drama, refracts the events of great importance of the foundation of cities through the prism of human destinies.

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Urbanization of today’s Vojvodina and Habsburg policy in the XVIII-XIX centuries

Abstract: *Urbanization as an important segment of Habsburg domestic and foreign policy in Central Europe became particularly important after the Karlovac Peace Treaty in 1699. During the XVIII century, Serbs in the territory of the Habsburg monarchy were more intensively involved in urbanization and colonization processes, which would have a great impact on the resolution of Serbian issues. Therefore, the policies of the elites of Vienna and Pest should be considered much more broadly, taking into account where were the points of reference and directions of geopolitical interest in the Serbian areas in the XVIII-XIX centuries.*

Key words: *Habsburg monarchy, Serbs, colonization, Serbian question, Eastern question, Central Europe.*

With the conclusion of the Karlovac Peace Treaty in 1699, the balance of power in South-Eastern Europe changed forever. The Habsburg monarchy lowered its borders to the Danube and the Sava and occupied significant territories of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, which earned Emperor Leopold the title of King of Hungary. During the Great War of Vienna (1683-1699), the Serbs, pressed by the Ottoman advance in 1690, were forced to make the Great Migration, which brought them even closer to the Habsburg monarchy, especially in areas of today’s northern Serbia (Vojvodina) or Slavonia (today’s Croatia). The invitation of Emperor Leopold and then the Privileges (1690, 1691, 1695) significantly influenced the decision to remain in the territory of the monarchy. Although the pressure for unification was very strong, the Serbian Patriarch Arsenije III Crnojević, by creating a stronger Orthodox Church organization, managed to create a balance and protect the interests of Serbs in the territory of Bačka, Banat, Srem and Slavonia. The participation of Serbs as border guards and volunteers (so-called people’s militia) in the Habsburg victories over the Ottomans at Slankamen in 1691 and at Senta in 1697 greatly increased the self-confidence of Serbian elites [10]. Already at the Council of Baja (today's Hungary) in 1694, the formation of an independent Serbian territory with its own internal administration and voivode was demanded. In fact, this was the first idea that could be identified with the future Serbian Vojvodina. The region was located in Slavonia and was called Little Vlachia. Such Serbian demands were in line with key decision-making factors in Vienna, because they created a counterbalance to the Hungarian nobility, which demanded much more from Vienna. This strategy of the Court would remain unchanged in Serbian-Hungarian relations for a long time (until 1867) [11, p. 32-42].

However, the position of the Serbs in Vienna's plans after 1699 remains unclear. Busy with the war for the Spanish Succession (1701-1714), internal conflicts in the Rákóczi rebellion (1703-1711), the Habsburgs decided the Serbian question in a proven way – by delaying and waiting for a favorable opportunity to resolve the situation in their favor. The direct conflict between the Serbs (loyal to the king) and the Hungarians in the Rákóczi rebellion led to the first major demolition. The Serbian population disappeared from the territory from Pest to Baja. The suffering of the civilians was great. Patriarch Crnojević believed that by fulfilling his obligations to the emperor, he could solve the Serbian question in a more favorable way than by means of vague promises of an intolerant Hungarian nobility. On the other hand, the formation of the new military borders in 1701-1702 in Potisje and Pomorišje was to strategically use the displaced Serbs for the wars with the Ottomans. The Hungarian population living in the areas of Bačka, Banat and Srem in the period after the fall of Buda in 1541 weakened considerably, so that the resulting vacuum was filled by Serbs, but a large number of other peoples soon became apparent [7].

In the eyes of the Hungarian elites, it was about recolonization, which very quickly turned out to be a serious problem for the Serbs, who did not constitute a compact unit of the population. Geography proved to be a big problem in solving the Serbian question in the monarchy. The scattered Serbian population from Banat through Bačka, Srem, Slavonia to Lika, Banja, Krbava was in the eyes of the Viennese elite suitable for warfare, but not for the creation of stronger and larger independent territories. If we add to this the Danube, Sava, Tamiš rivers, many small rivers in unreclaimed lands, we see that the Serbian settlements were faced with an economic, demographic and political problem from the very beginning. The Habsburgs, on the other hand, were not willing to let the Hungarian Council (Sejm) interfere lightly in the colonization processes and thus retained both political and strategic advantage in future negotiations for the adoption of the Pragmatic Sanction (1723).

The Serbs, accustomed to functioning of the Ottoman Empire, with an increasingly weak central government and state that was slowly but surely slipping into trouble, losing its expansive power, found ways to function, become part of the system and began to acquire trade relations and increase their influence in the Balkans. The Peace of Požarevac (1718) brought the territory of Serbia under the rule of the Habsburg Monarchy (until 1739, the Peace of Belgrade), which would significantly affect the urbanization of all areas inhabited by Serbs. Within two decades, Serbs became an important factor in the urbanization of the cities of Pannonia and Serbia itself. It was shown that the skillful and proficient merchants who traded in Trieste and Vienna had a much better understanding of the relationship between Vienna and Constantinople, and that the rise of the Serbian idea through the baroqueization of society was inevitable and was an important step towards the idea of final liberation from the Ottomans [16].

For much of the XVIII century, Serbian elites regarded the Habsburgs as an important segment of the vision of liberation from the Ottomans (until the Treaty of Sistova in 1791), so accelerated urbanization was initially perceived not as a negative phenomenon, but as an opportunity to understand and adapt more quickly to the new system. These processes were viewed differently in Vienna. The creation of a mixed national environment, for example in Bačka and Banat, was to serve to facilitate governance and create the basis for the adoption of supranational universal royal institutions. Therefore, after the Peace of Požarevac in 1718 and the subsiding of internal problems in the Rákóczi rebellion, speculation began about the settlement of Banat and the transformation of the marshy and flooded areas of Banat into an area that was to become a prosperous part of the monarchy. Count Claude Mercy's grandiose plan, based on the transformation of Banat, was intended to induce merchants, artisans and peasants from parts of Bavaria and Swabia to move in with certain privileges. It was ambitious, so part of the French and Spanish population moved as well. Living conditions were more than bad. Malaria and dysentery took a large number of lives, and the funds invested in the reclamation of roads and lands could not be recovered until the end of the XVIII century. The colonization policy of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in this area in the 1920s had similar results. The urban centers of Banat, Veliki Bečekerek, Velika Kikinda, and Pančevo would survive and develop mainly due to factories and partial industrialization, the situation in the villages was significantly different, especially in the XVIII century [17].

In the basic ideas of the creators of Habsburg policy in the early XIX century, especially after the so-called Greek project of Empress Catherine and Emperor Joseph II, the Serbs were more important and were in the focus of Vienna. Therefore their role in the war of 1788-1791 was seen as part of the aspirations of the Viennese elites to free the territory of Serbia, in order to regain control of the strategic points in and around Belgrade to begin with. The first wave of colonization of Belgrade in 1718-1739 brought large numbers of Germans, Czechs, and Hungarians into the city as well as the whole of Serbia (city by city) [18].

During the First Serbian Uprising, Vienna was directly interested in events in Serbia. A large number of Serbs from the Habsburg monarchy were involved in the events in rebellious Serbia. Karadjordje's ideas and negotiations with the Military Frontier Command for assistance in the war with the Ottomans were in line with the perceptions of the Viennese elites. Even then, under Archduke Johan, the idea of Prince (General) Eugene of Savoy that the strategic position of the monarchy lay not in the west, but at the exit to the sea, above all near Thessaloniki, was realized. Since 1808, this idea again became an important decision-making factor in the plans of the Viennese elites. When about 150,000 Serbian refugees ended up in Banat and Srem after the dissolution of Karadjordje Serbia in 1813, the Military Frontier Command did not allow their resettlement, lest the national balance be upset and the Serbs become dominant in the number of inhabitants in the designated territories. A similar thing happened in 1815, during the Second Serbian Uprising, when control was further strengthened and an order was issued to shoot Serbian refugees [19, p. 104-221].

The issue of migration was particularly acute during the Revolution of 1848-1849, when a large number of refugees found themselves in the Principality of Serbia because of persecution by the Hungarian army. Later, the Habsburg monarchy prevented their return. It is especially important to note that the territories of Bačka, Banat and Srem were devastated to a certain extent by the fighting and demolition by Hungarian military units in places where Serbs lived. Parts of Bačka and Banat, where a strong Habsburg colonization policy was pursued in the XVIII century, were particularly affected. Serbs in Bečej, Ada, Senta, Mola, around Subotica, Veliki Bečerek, Velika Kikinda, especially in Pančevo and Vršac, were attacked by both German and Hungarian authorities. Novi Sad was destroyed by Hungarian bombardment on June 12, 1849, so that until 1867, i.e., the Treaty, Serbian policy was based on survival and reconstruction with constant demands for the revival of the Serbian voivodeship [12, p. 417-446].

The situation especially worsened after the Treaty and the adoption of the Equality Act in 1868. The official state policy was Hungarianization, which was particularly insistent in areas inhabited by Serbs, Slovaks, and Romanians. A whole set of laws in 1879, 1883, 1904, 1907 led to pressure, emigration of Serbs, forced Hungarianization, and new colonization, which was carried out in places where Serbs were the majority population [8]. Russian diplomacy believed that Hungarianization was sufficient for the political sobering of all Serbs. The fear of Hungarians was partly related to the fact that “Serbs occupy a strategic position in southern Hungary and if they touch Serbia, they will never retreat to the domination of the Hungarian tribe” [13, p. 92].

The bad situation of Serbs in southern Hungary and the drama around the new settlement of Hungarians in purely Serbian areas, which disturbed the elite of Pest, is illustrated by the well-known liberal from Novi Sad, Mihailo Polit-Desančić. In his author’s text “Citizenship and Nationality”, Polit thoroughly analyzed all the omissions of the state authorities when it comes to the 1868 Nationalities Act. His position that nationalities do not exist before the law and that the right of nationalities to a minimum of self-determination is denied is supported by many examples from Slovakia and Romania in conditions such as the abolition of schools, censorship, dismissal of school principals, settlement by Hungarians, etc. [1]. Polit text What is and what is meant by Hungarian imperialism argues that when it comes to the Hungarian state’s claims on Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, the situation is directed against Serbs and all peoples who live with them [2].

A few days later, on St. Nicholas Day in 1903, Polit again polemicized with the text “Hungarian Deceptions and Southern Hungarian Cultural Society”, protesting against Tisza’s desire to unite all peoples into Hungarian by creating cultural societies aimed at Hungarianization. He appealed to Dr. László Gyula and Albert Aponnyi, who at the opening of the said cultural society declared that the Hungarian millennial state was being eaten by worms. He bluntly accused the state of wanting to assimilate all peoples and of using state funds more and more recklessly and openly for this purpose [3].

Serbian-Russian relations were particularly vexing to the Hungarian elite, who were clearly against imperial Russia during the Russo-Japanese War of 1903-1905, as well as during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, with Hungarian youth playing a leading role. The Hungarian press was particularly critical of Serbian newspapers, which wrote enthusiastically in those days about the success of the Russian army in the war with Japan. The Serbs were described as a species claiming to be in danger of extinction, and this Paskević nation, thanks to Hungarian kindness, could express raptures toward the Russians here with impunity in its hatred of Hungarians [4].

The politician and publicist Gusztáv Beksics argued that the Hungarian state and Hungarians had to be taken into account, and that the optimal number of Hungarians for the survival of the state was about 72 percent. Therefore, the question of Hungarians colonizing Serbian villages in Bačka was raised again. Also Beksics’s position was that the number of Hungarians increased by 15.22% from 1880 to 1890, while the number of Romanians increased by 7.45% and the number of Slovaks increased by 2.2% precisely because of the assimilation of people with a higher culture, which was extremely offensive to nationalities [5].

Hence, Southern Hungary became the object of a policy of Hungarianization. The Šajkaška region came under particular attack again. This Serbian region was systematically becoming poorer. The number of Serbs who emigrated was not insignificant, just as the government carried out a well-planned settlement by Hungarians. As early as during the reign of Kalman Tisza in 1880-1890, this project was initiated. About 120,000 forints were allocated from the state treasury to the colonists in these areas. The clearing of forests facilitated the creation of new settlements (Budisava-Tiszakálmánfalva, 1887). The settlers were to serve as "a bridge for the Hungarian state idea in Krajina and, at the same time, form a border line on the extreme border of the homeland with the border Serbs and between the border Serbs and the Serbian kingdom".

This area, although not one of the richest, had for many years hampered the Hungarian government in its plans for southern Hungary. The number of Serbian inhabitants varied. In 1866 there were 29,026 (94%). In the next census in 1880 the number was 30,217 (79.35%). The emigration of Germans to the Reich and some of the ethnic inhabitants to America gradually changed the situation locally. From 1880 to 1910 the number of Serbs increased by 9,032 (29.89%), Hungarians – by 6,491 (272%) [6, p. 362-382]. The pressure of Hungarianization did not diminish all the time. A branch of the Southern Hungarian Cultural Society of Szeged (DMKE) was founded in Titel. According to information from Hungarian newspapers, 4 Hungarian families lived in Loka, and in 1908 their number increased to 450 Hungarians. The municipal government was often not consulted when appointing officials, so the coercion of Hungarians was continuous. A particularly striking example was in Čurug, where the Serbian population, "eating Hungarian bread", was asked to know the Hungarian language. The Hungarians in Čurug wrote to the competent district authorities that the Serbs were not worthy of "the favor that the Hungarians and their grandfathers had shown them, as aliens when they came as beggars" [6, p. 413-416].

The consequences of this Hungarian state policy were also visible in 1942, when the Serbian population of the Šajkaška region was defeated and liquidated during the raid. The outpost appealed several times to Albert Aponnyi, László Lukács, and Berzeviczy not to accept nor repeal legislative proposals that discriminated against non-Hungarians, but to no avail [9]. Aponnyi openly advocated a solution to the national question through complete, institutional and total assimilation. The idea of asserting the Hungarian language in all spheres of life under state control was to culminate in the complete Hungarianization of the nation by 1947 [14, p. 75].

Such processes were undoubtedly part of a much broader policy of the Viennese and Pest elites when it came to solving the Serbian question in the monarchy. Even with the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, the settlement of Germans, Czechs and Poles in the territories where the majority of Serbs lived began. Especially in the cities of Banja Luka, Bijeljina, and places in eastern Bosnia along the Drina. Thus, a special vacuum was planned for the Kingdom of Serbia and the Principality/Kingdom of Montenegro, the Serbian states, so that the monarchy would control the Serbs on its borders as much as possible. The situation was identical in the territories of Bačka, Banat and Srem [15, p. 372-387].

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary made no distinction in its policy between Serbs living in Novi Sad and Belgrade. A particular obstacle for the Hungarian government was the Šajkaška region, where the fiercest battles were fought in the Serbo-Hungarian War of 1848-1849, and where Svetozar Miletić, Laza Kostić and Mihailo Polit-Desančić as the main representatives of Serbs in the monarchy came from. For the same reason, the policy of pogroms continued during the occupation of 1942, when several thousand Serbian civilians were massacred during the raid with the desire to finally resolve the Serbian question in Bačka (by force).

World War I brought a new resettlement of Serbs in Srem. After the brief invasion of Srem by the army of the Kingdom of Serbia in the fall of 1914, a large number of villages were burned, destroyed and the Serbian population interned and relocated. A similar fate befell Serbs in eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina, who were subjected to crimes and sent to camp in Arad (to the greatest extent) or camp near Doboj. The treason trials against the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina were organized to put an entire people on the dock. In a large number of plans, these areas were either to be annexed to Hungary, populated by loyal Germans, Hungarians, and Czechs, or the Serbian question was to be solved with the introduction of a military administration [9].

Thus, we can constantly follow the policy of the Habsburgs when it comes to the position of the Serbs and the resolution of the political ideas and plans of the elites of Vienna and Pest. Since 1699, when the position of the Serbs began to strengthen, there were parallel plans for the continuous destruction of large Serbian settlements by settlement by Germans, Hungarians, Czechs and Slovaks. This Habsburg policy was also evident in other areas of the monarchy. By constantly influencing the national composition of the population and determining the direction of domestic policy in the long term the basis for further expansion in South-Eastern Europe and the Balkans was established.

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Nineteenth-century urbanization in the south-east of the Kingdom of Hungary: demographic dynamics, ethnic and religious composition of urban population

Abstract: *The paper deals with the problem of urbanization and demographic growth during the 19th Century in the south of the former Kingdom of Hungary. Data for towns in two Counties, Bacs-Bodrogh and Torontal were analysed, focusing on the change of the ethnic and religious composition of the population. Orthodox Christian Serbs made the vast majority of the town's population in the first half of the Century. The Revolution of 1848/49 caused negative tendencies in population growth but in the last decades of the Century urban settlements increased in size significantly. The Serbian Orthodox population, despite moderate growth in absolute numbers, lost majority in almost all towns in the south of the Kingdom of Hungary due to intense immigration of other ethnic and religious groups. The key part of the newcomers was made up by ethnic Hungarians which resettled as a result of government policies and accelerating industrialisation.*

Key Words: *Urbanization, Kingdom of Hungary, Demographics, Serbs, Orthodox Christians, Bacs-Bodrogh County, Torontal County.*

There is no universally accepted definition of urban settlements that could be applied to all regions and periods in history. It is therefore important to clearly define the meaning of the term in specific research studies. In the case of the Kingdom of Hungary, legal status appears to be the only suitable criteria for identifying urban areas of similar character. In the 19th century, prior to the Revolution of 1848/49 and further reforms, most settlements were incorporated into counties (basic political and administrative units of the kingdom) and had no self-governing privileges. On the other hand, the so-called royal free cities were separate political entities, not integrated in the counties at all, enjoying considerable autonomy and communicating with the central government directly. As a matter of fact, they had the same status in the Hungarian constitutional system as the counties. A number of large settlements within the counties had the status of privileged marketplaces, which included some self-governing rights relating to local, typically communal matters, but these rights were defined separately for each town. In the second half of the 19th century, several reforms completely changed the basic legal framework. One of the changes was the establishment of a two-tier system for urban settlements. Cities with municipal rights, as first-class towns, maintained most of the self-governing privileges of former royal free cities in communal matters, but lost judicial rights and the status of political entities. Consequently, they became clearly subordinated to the central government in Budapest, acting more as administrative units than autonomous components of the realm. Cities with established Magistrate, as second-class towns, were subordinated to the counties, with only limited privileges to act autonomously when dealing with typical urban issues. They essentially replaced the former privileged marketplaces, but now their status across Hungary was unified, according to the Constitution and special laws [2, p. 174–176; 3, p. 33–35].

This paper focuses on the towns that had the status of cities with municipal rights and cities with established Magistrate in 1910, regardless of their previous classification. In the 19th century, the territory of the counties changed to some extent, without affecting the number of urban settlements, except in the case of Pančevo, which was incorporated into Torontal County after the Banat Military Frontier was abolished in 1872.

The Serbian population of the Kingdom of Hungary was concentrated in the southeast, near the Military Frontier and the border with the Ottoman Empire and Serbia proper. Two counties had a significant Serbian Orthodox Christian population – Bacs-Bodrog and Torontal Counties. In Bacs-Bodrog County, almost all Orthodox believers were Serbs; meanwhile in Torontal County, a mixed Serbian-Romanian Orthodox Christian population lived in most parts of the territory, except in the cities, where Serbs made up the majority [2, p. 182; 4, p. 163–177].

In the first half of the 19th century, no real population censuses were conducted in Hungary. Still, occasional surveys of non-noble population, property and its owners, workforce, special religious counts etc., may be used as alternative sources of demographic data. During the second half of the 19th century, empire-wide professional censuses were conducted regularly, on a 10-year basis. Despite the fact that an exact comparison of data from all mentioned sources with respect to the same population groups is not possible, the margin of error remains rather low. The results of the analysis certainly offer a reliable overview of the basic demographic trends, which suits the goal of the research.

The data for Bacs-Bodrog County are quite comprehensive, providing a good overview for the entire 19th century (Tables 1 and 2). In most cases, the total population of the cities increased significantly from 1805 until the Revolution of 1848/49. War conditions affected the development of towns further south, leading to stagnation in Sombor and a significant decrease in Novi Sad after 1849. However, the cities soon recovered and pre-war population levels were reached in 1857 already. Population growth remained robust until 1910.

Table 1. Population of cities in Bacs-Bodrog County 1805–1851

Year	1805			1840			1851		
City	Total population	Orthodox population		Total population	Orthodox population		Total population	Orthodox population	
		Total	Share in %		Total	Share in %		Total	Share in %
Kanjiža				9139	1297	14.19	9407		
Senta				13653	2380	17.43	14797		
Baja				13834	1900	13.73	15410		
Subotica	21544	1829	8.49	32984	1251	3.79	48126	2615	5.43
Novi Sad	13312	8274	62.16	17332	9675	55.82	10007	6163	61.59
Sombor	14976	9003	60.12	21086	11897	56.42	21601	11283	52.23

Source: [11, annex; 7, p. 235–237, 294–296, 320–321, 331–334, 8, p. 869–871; 1, Президијални списи, бр. 1725]

Table 2. Population of cities in Bacs-Bodrog County 1857–1910

Year	1857			1910		
City	Total population	Orthodox population		Total population	Orthodox population	
		Total	Share in %		Total	Share in %
Kanjiža	11084	751	6.78	17018	378	2.22
Senta	16326	2170	13.29	29666	2076	7.00
Baja	17651	745	4.22	21032	332	1.58
Subotica	53366	2778	5.21	94610	3486	3.68
Novi Sad	14055	7024	49.98	33590	11553	34.39
Sombor	22601	11410	50.48	30593	11880	38.83

Source: [2, p. 183]

The situation in Torontal County was similar (Tables 3 and 4). City population grew quickly until the Revolution of 1848/49. While war conditions caused an overall population decline, pre-war levels were reached by 1857. Population growth until 1910 was significant, but not as fast as in Bacs-Bodrog County.

Table 3. Population of cities in Torontal County 1830–1851

Year	1830			1840			1851		
City	Total population	Orthodox population		Total population	Orthodox population		Total population	Orthodox population	
		Total	Share in %		Total	Share in %		Total	Share in %
Bečkerek	9780			15544	10398	66.89	14350	8407	58.59
Kikinda	10450			15000	11800	78.67	13866		
Pančevo	10244	7535	73.56	10644	7643	71.81	10956		

Source: [9, p. 448; 7, p. 287–289; 8, p. 790–792, 802–803; 1, Президијални списи, бр. 1725; 12, tafel 37]

Table 4. Population of cities in Torontal County 1857–1910

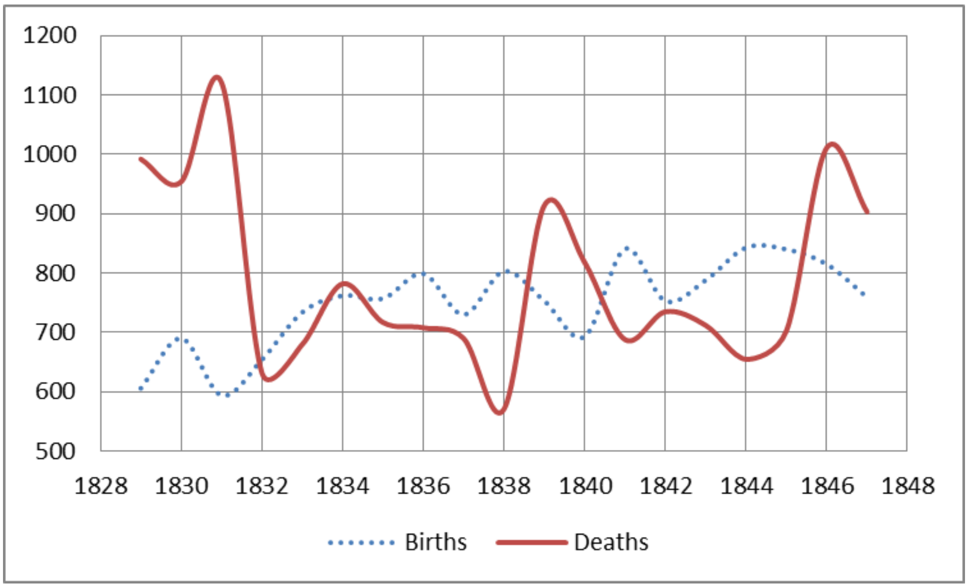
Year	1857			1910		
City	Total population	Orthodox population		Total population	Orthodox population	
		Total	Share in %		Total	Share in %
Bečkerek	16328	9071	55.55	26006	9341	35.92
Kikinda	17350	12492	72.00	26795	14721	54.94
Pančevo	12045	8318	69.06	20808	9361	44.99

Source: [2, p. 183]

In both counties, the majority of the population was Orthodox Christian and predominantly Serbian by ethnicity. The non-Orthodox population consisted mainly of Catholics, mostly of German origin, along with a significant share of other nationalities: Slovaks, Hungarians and others. Based on the presented data, we may conclude that cities in both counties had a predominantly Orthodox Christian and Serbian character in the first half of the century. Urban areas were centres of culture, education, economic and political life, and south Hungary was no exception. The Serbian national political elite was concentrated in cities, not in rural areas. All institutions that may be categorized as “national”, such as associations, schools, guilds and political parties, were active in urban areas, from where they spread their influence further to the countryside. The unofficial hub of the Serbian political movement was in the towns of Novi Sad and Bečkerek. As a relative majority, Serbs were more or less in control of official city government bodies, and therefore indirectly influenced policy-making procedures of the entire Kingdom. For example, in the city of Novi Sad, Serbs took control of the city assembly and the Magistrate in 1848, and played a key role in local politics during the following two decades [2, p. 182; 11, p. 97].

The overall rise in city population during the first half of the century resulted mostly from immigration. The case of Novi Sad shows that natural population increase was rather low; in fact, natural population change was negative in the 1829–1847 period (Chart 1). The cholera epidemic of 1831 and food crisis of 1845-1847 caused high mortality rates and a natural population decrease of around 800 people between 1829 and 1847. At the same time, the total population expanded by around 1,300 inhabitants, from some 16,600 in 1830 to 17,875 in 1848. Natural population decline together with total population growth points to significant immigration (around 2,100 people), which meant that in 1848 some 15% of the city's inhabitants were actually immigrants, though in reality the share must have been even higher, since vital statistical data prior to 1828 are lacking [11, p. 35–39; 6, p 98; 9, p. 252].

Chart 1. Number of births and deaths in Novi Sad 1829–1847



Source: [10, p. 35–37]

The situation changed dramatically in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The total population in the cities basically doubled between 1851 and 1910. But, more importantly, the religious and ethnic composition was significantly altered. Until the Revolution of 1848/49, most cities could be described as “Serbian urban strongholds” in Hungary. The majority of the population was Serbian, and therefore the impact of Serbian national politics, parties, leaders and other communities on the urban administration and policies was huge. After 1848/49 things changed, as the population became more diverse. The share of Orthodox believers, indirectly signifying ethnic Serbs, declined in all cities. In 1910, Orthodox Christians made up over a half of the population only in Kikinda, whereas in other towns the share was below 50%. In Novi Sad, the once unofficial capital of the Serbian movement in Hungary, Serbs accounted for a mere third of the total population in 1910. In most cases, even the absolute number of Orthodox inhabitants declined between 1851 and 1910, while the position of other religious groups improved.

It is clear that natural population increase was not the main reason behind the above changes. Rather, immigration was responsible for the fast growth of the cities. Natural demographic processes combined with government policies, which favoured the immigration of Hungarians in particular, contributed to the “ethnic restructuring” in southern Hungary. The number and share of individuals who listed “Hungarian as their mother tongue” during census-taking, which is considered a reliable identification of Hungarian ethnicity, was growing quickly until 1910 (Table 5). Before the outbreak of the First World War, Hungarians outnumbered Serbs in Novi Sad, the traditional “Serbian political centre in Hungary”. Even in Pančevo, at the very south, where almost no Hungarians had lived in the first half of the 19th century, every seventh citizen was a Magyar (Hungarian) in 1910.

Table 5. Share of Hungarians in cities 1840–1910

Share of Hungarians by mother tongue in the population – in %			
Year City	1840	1880	1910

Bacs-Bodrogh County			
Kanjiža	70	91.59	97.87
Senta	82	84.33	91.76
Baja	36	70.54	79.86
Subotica	33	49.01	58.75
Novi Sad	11	25.87	39.72
Sombor	17	20.56	32.94
Torontal County			
Bečkerek	23	18.63	35.18
Kikinda	18	14.92	22.27
Pančevo	/	6.61	16.17

Source: [7, p. 235–237, p. 287–289, 294–296, 320–321, 331–334, 8, p. 790–792, 802–803, 869–871]

This development, facilitated by government administration employment policies, was related to industrialization, bureaucratization and the expansion of transportation networks. The predominantly agricultural regions in the south of Hungary reached quite respectable levels of industrialization by 1910 (Table 6).

Table 6. Level of industrialization in cities 1880–1910

Population employed in Industry and Handcraft – in %		
Year	1880	1910
City		
Bacs-Bodrogh County		
Kanjiža	/	6.21
Senta	5.72	6.72
Baja	15.75	16.96
Subotica	5.49	7.3
Novi Sad	12.9	15.36
Sombor	8.67	9.5
Torontal County		
Bečkerek	11.32	14.11
Kikinda	/	11.75
Pančevo	12.79	14.88

Source: [7, p. 235–237, p. 287–289, 294–296, 320–321, 331–334, 8, p. 790–792, 802–803, 869–871]

The administration, under full control of the central government in Budapest, was packed with newcomers from inner Hungary. The expansion of railroads was used for settlement purposes as well. Railroad workers were a privileged class of semi-state employees, very suitable for planned relocation. The government did not hesitate to misuse its impact on workforce engagement. For example, in the 1880–

1910 period, in towns and stations along the Subotica-Novi Sad section of the main railroad from Vienna to Belgrade, built in 1882, the number of Serbs increased by 14.6%, and of Hungarians by 75.5% [11, p. 110–112]. The Hungarian government and political elites identified cities as centres for spreading political ideas, as well as national identity. Changing the ethnic composition of south Hungarian cities was actually considered a national interest and part of a semi-official political programme, or, in other words, an act of "demographic warfare" [5, p. 163–177]. The results were quite impressive. The ethnic character of the cities in Bacs-Bodrog and Torontal Counties changed drastically. The Serbian movement in Hungary lost, step by step, its main urban strongholds, necessary for maintaining the national identity of the population as a whole.

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The last founded provincial city of the Russian Empire (the history of the formation and development of Murmansk)

Abstract: *The article reveals the controversial issues of determining the date of the foundation of Murmansk and its status. The main city development plans, conditions and circumstances of its appearance, reasons and time of its renaming, problems and difficulties of social infrastructure development during the First World War, Revolution and Civil War are considered.*

Key words: *Murmansk, the Kola North, provincial city, urban development plans.*

Murmansk, one of the last provincial cities founded in the history of the Russian Empire, began its existence in extremely difficult conditions of the First World War. The construction of the Murmansk Railway, and the formation of commercial fleet and navy on the northern outskirts of the country predetermined the main activities and difficulties of life of Murmansk citizens. The city grew and changed its status and name.

The materials related to the participation in the work of the Special Interdepartmental Conference on the Arrangement and Development of the Russian North in 1916-1917, and the notes of actual State Councilors N. N. Grudistov and B. N. Kandiba pointed out the most attractive features of the area along the Murmansk Railway, which could be used for the creation and development of a new city: these were forests, and significant deposits of ore, allowing the development of industry, and numerous waterfalls, rivers and lakes, which “...give the opportunity to widely use the free power of falling water to serve all kinds of industrial devices and above all for processing wood. The abundance of fish in rivers and lakes, almost unused due to the lack of convenient means of communication for the sales of fish crop, opens a wide space for the development of all kinds of fishery along the railroad.

Healthy climatic conditions in the beautiful areas on the watersheds and on the high banks of rivers and lakes will attract tourists and cause the establishment of resorts for climatic treatment and hotels for tourists....". Officials noted that the city on the shore of the Kola Bay would eventually become a developed fishing and trading port, a link in the development of "...urgent passenger and commercial direct overseas communications between some Russian and foreign cities..." [1, s. 1-4].

One of the most controversial issues in the history of foundation of Murmansk remains the question of what date to consider the day of its foundation. The official date September 21 (October 4), 1916 is associated with the ceremony of breaking ground for the church-monument in the name of Saint Nicholas of Myra, dedicated to all those who died during the First World War defenders of the Fatherland and the heroic work of builders of the Murmansk Railway. This event was described in the Archangelsk Eparchial Bulletin, the Minister of Railways A. F. Trepov's report on his trip to the Murmansk Railway (October 1916) and the journal of the Special Interdepartmental Conference on the Arrangement and Development of the Russian North (January 30 (February 12), 1917) [15, p. 425-432; 1, s. 12-13, 21-21].

However, other versions are also put forward. In particular, taking into account the role and importance of marine trades and transportations in the life of the region, it is proposed to start the history of the city with the beginning of the port or railroad operations. Ideas to create a port in the Kola Bay have been expressed since the 80's of the XIX century, but only with the beginning of the First World War did the government seriously pay attention to them. The place for its construction was chosen in the southern branch of the Kola Bay, known as Semenovskaya Bay. The choice of the place was approved on February 21, 1915. A little earlier, on February 10, 1915, the Council of Ministers decided to allocate the first loan for the construction of the Murmansk Railway. The first team of carpenters from the Ministry of Railways arrived at the port site on April 3, 1915. By the summer 1915, eight barracks were built for the builders of the northern section of the railroad [9, p. 5-6]. In fact, they became a settlement near the future Murman railway station. There was also a small wooden pier. The settlement grew, it was called differently – Pristan station, settlement of Semenovskoye, Poselok, Semenovo [8, p. 16-17; 11, p. 12]. Thus, to some extent, June 1915 can be considered the beginning of the history of the future Murmansk, which began its way from the settlement to the provincial center. On the other hand, the actual work of the port and the officially recognized date of its foundation is connected by the majority of researchers with the call on August 19 (September 1), 1915 of steamship “Drott”, which delivered from New York railway rails and other cargoes for building of the railroad. And this is another of the possible dates for counting the history of Murmansk [9, p. 7].

If we turn to the official correspondence of the Minister of Railways A. F. Trepov with Nicholas II, we can see another date and another name of the future city of Murmansk. On June 29 (July 12), 1916 A. F. Trepov, during an audience in Mogilev, where the Royal Headquarters was situated, presented to the Emperor his report “On the Foundation of a Town on the Murman coast”, written the previous day, suggesting to name the city “Romanov-on-Murman”. Nicholas II approved this initiative. Here is another date for the countdown of the history of Murmansk – already a town, not a village. However, a little later, in another report to the Emperor (July 4 (17), 1916) A. F. Trepov spoke of the need to arrange the Romanov-on-Murman settlement. And exactly one month later, in a letter to the Minister of Trade and Industry V. N. Shakhovsky, he informed about the organization of an interdepartmental meeting on the transformation of Romanov-on-Murman into a town settlement. And only in April 1917, under the influence of revolutionary events, the city received a new name – Murmansk. But was Murmansk a settlement or a city during this period? It was not until April 4, 1919 that the anti-Bolshevik Provisional Government of the Northern region adopted a resolution “On the transformation of the settlement of Murmansk, Aleksandrovsk district, into the city of Murmansk and on the introduction in it of temporary regulations of government” [13, p. 4-8, 17-18, 66]. Murmansk received provincial status twice. For the first time the Murmansk province, with its center in Murmansk, was formed on February 2, 1920 by the Resolution of the Provisional Government of the Northern region from the Aleksandrovsk and Kemsk districts of the Arkhangelsk province and part of the Olonets province. It was planned to create a department headed by the governor of the Murmansk province and to organize a provincial territorial self-government. However, no steps were taken to implement those decisions due to the coup in Murmansk on February 21, 1920 that restored the Soviet regime in the North of the RSFSR. By Order of the Arkhangelsk Provincial Revolutionary Committee as of March 16, 1920, the Murmansk province was abolished, only to reappear in accordance with the decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee as of June 13, 1921 (in August 1927 it was reorganized as the Murmansk district of the Leningrad region) [14].

How was Romanov-on-Murman (Murmansk) or, more precisely, its predecessor, the settlement, initially arranged? In the minutes of the Conference chaired by the Deputy Chief of Naval General Staff, 1st Rank Captain, Count A. P. Kapnist on the construction of temporary bases on the Murman coast (February 17 (March 2), 1916), later approved by the Minister of Marine, Adjutant General I. K. Grigorovich, the buildings of the first phase in the Kola Bay included crew stores, a bakery, a meat store, an onshore infirmary (half of the buildings), winter quarters for the officers of small ships for half the number, winter quarters for conductors and lower ranks – for half the number, winter quarters for the base chief, his assistants, keepers and an office.

In the journal of the Meeting of the Naval Construction Board on June 22 (July 5), 1916 it was reported that all work on the Kola base was to be completed by December 15 (28), 1916. The Ministry of Railways made preparations for electric lighting from the power station in Murman-Port which was under construction, and in case the electric lighting was late, the Ministry had a stock of kerosene lanterns. Water was supplied by water carriers on horses belonging to the Murmansk Railway Construction Department from the nearest sources [2, s. 3-4, 32-33].

Reflecting on the settlement of the region, A. F. Trepov noted that, first of all, it was necessary to solve the issue with the accommodation of those arriving in Murman, with the construction of housing, “... to provide them with at least some barracks and to create for them warehouses of food, household and clothing items in the first stages. Finally, in connection with the expected settling of the region, it is necessary to be concerned, in close cooperation with the eminent pastor Nathanael, about the construction of churches and the arrangement of schools...” [1, s. 15].

Later, on November 16 (29), 1916, the head of the Kola base S. I. Lutonin in a secret report noted that to accelerate the pace of construction of the city it was necessary to reduce the cost of building materials. To do this he suggested the creation on site of a small sawmill and a brick factory (for manufacturing bricks from local clay) on the shore of the Varnichny Creek (note: the cost of bricks in Arkhangelsk was 100 rubles per 1,000 pieces, while at the Kola base they were already sold for 275 rubles due to markups and shipping charges; according to calculations of S. I. Lutonin it would be 90 rubles per 1,000 bricks; procured wood in Arkhangelsk after its delivery by sea cost 300 rubles per cubic sagene, and wood on the Tuloma would cost only 40 rubles per cubic sagene) [2, s. 161-165].

The “Russkoye slovo” newspaper in 1916 wrote that Romanov-on-Murman would be a city of a new type: with electricity, sewerage, water supply [12, p. 14]. In the articles of the only journalist who visited our region at the laying of Romanov-on-Murman, very touching, a little naive, but very sincere descriptions of hopes for the future of the new city were preserved. Journalist Andrey Mitrofanovich Selitrennikov (pseudonym – A. Rennikov) arrived in Murman as part of a delegation that was to attend the solemn laying of the church and the opening of the city on September 21 (October 4), 1916. He wrote: “Undoubtedly, numerous import and export offices will quickly appear in Romanov; there will be at the very beginning a lot of people connected with our trade with the West; factories and warehouses for motor boats and their parts for the needs of the Murman fish merchants will probably appear ... there will be fish-smoking plants, factories for the preparation of canned fish; the export of grain, timber, the import of English and American goods – all this will revive, create a dynamic port life, give the city a population and means of subsistence... Yes, the city will grow, rise from the ground as if by magic”, “joyful crosses of churches and roofs of huge buildings, as well as a port buzzing with life, motley with flags…” will appear [11, p. 5]. However, the arrangement of the city was carried out extremely slowly and not all of the planned was performed in reality.

By January 1 (14), 1917, most of the previously planned works on the construction of housing and various institutions in Romanov-on-Murman were completed on average about 40-55% [3, s. 10-13]. S. I. Lutonin's report noted that the construction program of the Kola base did not foresee the construction of houses for the district chief, district chief's headquarters, "... houses for the priest and parish clergy, fire brigade, port stables. ... To meet the religious needs of the officers and crews of the base, it is necessary to build a permanent stone church". The decisions noted "... to build a house for the base priest and parish clergy with an area of 75 sq. s.". But nothing about building a church. But, back in December 1916, at the request of the former bishop Aleksandr Gurgenidze, the Empress "... deigned to grant a movable church with utensils, full priestly garments and a bell to meet religious and moral needs of the naval crew and people serving the Murmansk Railway, situated in a newly founded town of Romanov-on-Murman" [3, s. 17, 72].

Only a boardwalk wooden Nikolskaya church was built in 1916 at the expense of the treasury or, more precisely, the naval department for the spiritual needs of the naval company of the Kola base. In one connection with the church there was a belfry in the form of an oblong quadrangle with five copper bells. It was crowned with an eight-pointed cross and, although it did not have a dome, reached a rather large height of ten sagenes (about 21.5 m). This church was supposed to be only temporary, but it was destined to serve for all parishioners of the city for eight years, as the events of October 1917 destroyed all hopes for the construction of a central cathedral in the city [7, p. 39-41].

In addition to the Nikolskaya church in Romanov-on-Murman, there were ship churches. In 1915, the St. Nicholas church began to operate on the ship ("transport" or "floating repair shop") "Ksenia", which was based on the naval company. In 1917, the church operated on the battleship "Chesma", which guarded Murman from the attacks of the German navy. The number of parishioners in these churches, apparently, was large. Even if we do not take into account the civilians of the town, there were 2,000 (according to other sources – 4,000) sailors who served by the autumn of 1917 on the ships of the Murmansk detachment of the flotilla of the Arctic

Ocean. Aleksandr Gurgenidze, Aleksey Ivanitsky, Petr Pokarov, Pavel Voronov and Ioann Stefanovsky were regular priests on these ships at different times. In addition to these priests, in the wartime period Vladimir Temin performed his difficult pastoral duty with honor in a mobile church-carriage at the 53rd working battalion in the Kandalaksha-Murmansk section [7, p. 41].

By March 1917 in Romanov-on-Murman there were about 12.5 thousand people, including 3 thousand soldiers and army [16, p. 16].

The minutes of the interdepartmental meeting for consideration and approval of the Murmansk settlement plan, held on October 5 (18), 1917 chaired by the engineer B. V. Sabanin, Head of Surveys for Arrangement of the Settlement, contained data on the improvement of the city.

According to G. D. Dubelir’s project, the city was to be divided into the following districts: commercial, administrative, residential, working and the Naval base district. Plots of land were to be allocated for the church, “the English Consul, the French Military Mission, the Post and Telegraph Office, the Treasury, the State Bank”, for a hotel, and for a church for immigrants from the railroad line. Answering some questions, the architect P. F. Aleshin said that the Murmansk Cathedral would be built “... on a high hill which dominates over Murmansk and is situated higher than the present-day cemetery which is moved to the territory to the south of the residential area. On the site of the old cemetery will be laid out a park with a monument to the first workers in the construction of Murmansk-city, port, and railroad, whose efforts laid the foundation of the development of the region”.

Permanent houses in Murmansk were not to exceed three storeys with the number of storeys decreasing from the center to the outskirts. “Some areas will be exclusively stone. The general style of buildings, obligatory for all, is North Russian. Not in decorations, not in details, not in expensive materials, but in the general character of the created architecture is all the value” [10, p. 6].

The plan provided for seventeen avenues and streets in Murmansk. Four streets almost parallel to the railroad, ten – spread out like a fan from the central square, and the rest – at the foot of the third terrace. It was decided to name the main thoroughfare of the city after the reigning monarch and call it Nikolaevsky prospekt (avenue). Olginskaya ulitsa (street) and Alekseevsky prospekt (avenue) were to adjoin it, the names of which were associated with the names of the eldest daughter and the son of Nicholas II. In honor of his brother, uncle and another of the daughters of Nikolay Aleksandrovich, Mikhailovskaya, Vladimirskaya and Mariinskaya streets were planned. The rest of the names corresponded to a greater extent either to the location of various institutions or to natural and climatic features: Arkhiereyskaya, Bankovskaya, Dumskaya, Zheleznodorozhnaya, Zemledelcheskaya, Inzhenernaya, Morskaya, Pochtovaya, Torgovaya, Soldatskaya, Sadovaya [12, p. 16].

G. D. Dubelir put forward a bold idea about the possibility of starting operation in Murmansk of the northernmost polar tram. The tram tracks, according to his plan, were to form a central ring with six branches. The tram depot on the coast of the Kola Bay was planned to consist of eight cars. They had to walk along the lines with an interval of 10–11 minutes. The movement was supposed to start at 7:30, and end by 23:30. Tram lines could cross Dumsky prospekt, Belomorskaya and Vokzalnaya squares, Naval Base, Khaldeevsky district... However, neither the tram, nor these streets, avenues and squares were destined to appear in reality [10, p. 6].

The "Considerations on the necessary measures and credits for the improvement of the settlement "Murmansk" as of October 11, 1917", sent together with draft plan of Murmansk No. 2 to the Chief of Murmansk Fortified Region Rear Admiral K. F. Ketlinsky on October 11 (25), 1917, contained instructions for surveying works, making ditches, cutting wood, grubbing, bridge building, but the streets were not planned because of lack of preparatory works and working drawings. During 1918 it was planned to pave all the main highways and squares along their way with all the earthworks, to solve the question of sewerage system arrangement in the whole city, to realize the water supply project, to draw up a new power station project and to proceed with its realization, to build a school for a higher elementary school, people's house (accommodating a theater hall for 500 people, a library with reading room, a gymnasium, a tea room, a dining-room, a billiard room, several rooms for public organizations, an entrance hall, smoking rooms, toilet facilities, rooms for artists), treasury, post and telegraph, cooperative, people's bank and the State Bank, houses of city government, territorial council, in the port – stone buildings of fish rows [4, s. 2, 2, 5, 21-24; 5, s. 1-3].

In conclusion, summarizing the analysis of the main features of Murmansk in the year of its foundation, the revolution and the first years of the Civil War and intervention, I would like to refer to the "Report note on the economic survey of the northern part of the Murmansk Railway Line", created on the results of the trip of the commissioner of the Murmansk Railway economic area engineer Petritsky (note: the name is illegible).

He noted that the development of the city around the port (plan of engineer V. V. Sabanin) was not implemented even by one tenth. Of all the achievements of the Civil War era, the city inherited only English barracks, completely unsuitable for housing, including due to the cold inside them. At the railway station, all the buildings were also temporary; there was no permanent housing. Commercially, the station was completely unequipped, with almost no warehouses. In the cargo area, two warehouses were built – one by the Murmansk port, one privately owned by Danishevsky brothers. The warehouses were built without any system. Indeed, the housing problem in Murmansk had not been completely solved by the end of the Civil War. Moreover, the city center remained mainly built up with wooden buildings until the mid 1960s. However, to be fair, it should be noted that the author of the report emphasized that even with the restoration of Soviet power the situation did not improve – the development of the city was hindered by numerous disagreements between departments [6, s. 3, 10].

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Nizhny Novgorod-1921: urban environment and mentality in a transition period

Abstract: *the article analyzes the everyday reality of the urban environment of Nizhny Novgorod in the interpretation of the "Nizhegorodskaya Kommuna" newspaper. The chronological framework of the study is limited to 1921. The combination of these parameters allows us to penetrate deeper the "information field", which reflected the essence of urban everyday problems in the conditions of transition to new social relations of the initial stage of formation of Soviet society. As a conclusion we offer the idea of the presence of inertial "plume" in the perception by the older generation, expressed in the rejection of new social obligations of communal dormitory, which largely explains the many difficulties of everyday life.*

Key words: *Nizhny Novgorod, urban environment, Soviet society, mentality of the transition period.*

If the architecture is "frozen music", the urban environment is a manifested collective mentality of the city's residents. In 1921, 88 thousand people lived in Nizhny Novgorod (upper part) [2, 236]. The city could not be called a model in terms of everyday life. If in winter, utility problems were associated mainly with a shortage of fuel, or electricity, then the spring and summer literally exposed all the homeliness of urban utilities. It is no coincidence, albeit in a joking form, that the Provincial Utility Department was publicly wished on New Year's Day to "stock up on life rings, so as not to drown in the spring... in a garbage pit" [2, 1].

It must be said, there were reasons for concern. A whole series of factors related, among other things, to changes in the socio-economic structure, to the specificity of "revolutionary legal consciousness", and besides that, to a lack of funds and material and technical resources, turned the "regally placed city" into a kind of analogue of Gogol's Mirgorod. That is how it was characterized by an article in the September issue of "Nizhegorodskaya Kommuna" – pets walk freely along the central streets, and huge puddles after the rain do not allow citizens to calmly walk to their intended destination: "Enough to say that the distance from the theater to the beginning of Kovalikha takes two hours, making circles across the square” [2, 200].

By the way, such a situation is not a peculiarity of Nizhny Novgorod. Even in Moscow, judging by Vladimir Mayakovsky’s poems, a similar “picture” was observed in 1921:

I’m coming.
Myasnitskaya.
Night is voiceless.
Rolling from bump to bump like a wagtail.
With a woman behind me with a cart.
With things
to Yaroslavsky
slopping along the bumps...

I
grew up on difficult agitation questions,
but I
can’t explain to a woman
why
about the filth
on Myasnitskaya
no
one decides this question on a general scale [1, 223]

In the spring, as the snow began to actively melt and problems became more prominent, local authorities took measures to clean up the garbage. A mandatory decree of the Nizhny Novgorod Provincial Executive Committee as of March 7 instructed all house commissioners and commandants of buildings to clean up the adjacent territory: splitting and removing ice, clearing roofs of snow, and sweeping away the snow-melted garbage into piles [2, 59].

Exactly one month later, the order was repeated. It was ordered to clean the city squares, ramps and “the most passable streets”, that is, virtually the entire historic part of the city from garbage in the first place [2, 78]. Not only citizens, but also the Soviet police were involved in solving the problem. The head of the Nizhny Novgorod Provincial Office reported: “With the beginning of spring, after the snow melting, a mass of garbage and sewage piled up in the yards, which decompose and contaminate the air and can serve as a source of spread of infection in the hot season". The Office's order instructed the head of the city police to "immediately take all measures to clean up the yards within a week", including prosecuting those who evade cleaning [2, 87].

Two months later, there were no results, except for the fact that garbage was collected in piles. It could not be removed. On Alekseevskaya Street, by the beginning of summer, these piles were grown with grass and formed "green hills". "How long will the garbage lie on the streets?" [2, 121], asks the author of the newspaper article. They tried to burn the garbage on site, but this also caused concern among Nizhny Novgorod residents – the harsh smoke penetrated into the apartments and prevented citizens from sleeping. It is interesting that in a published complaint about "air poisoning", its author linked the garbage disposal problems with the activities of speculators: "By the grace of speculators, the health of workers and children should not be poisoned" [2, 132].

Probably, those who were entrusted to ensure the removal of garbage did not have the ability or desire to do so. Administrative coercion and sanctions had to be applied. In September, the head of the transport department of the Central Union was imprisoned in a forced labor camp for two weeks "for failure to send horses to remove garbage" [2, 203]. To be fair, it must be said that the need for vehicles far exceeded the capacity of the city transport resource. But the problem, it seems, was not only (and not so much) in transport.

The reliance on public utilities, the delegation of authority to them to "take care of the people's welfare" and the observation of the everyday life of state employees ("what do they get paid for?") were the factors which led to the fact that street cleaning was not perceived by residents as their direct responsibility. The proverbial "breakup in the heads" was nothing more than a lack of civil responsibility, while the necessities of life took their course. On the other hand, the "liberated" Soviet citizens were just learning to manage their own economy, not at the will of the "lord", but on their own. The first step on this way was a public appeal to those who were obliged to do so in the people's state. That's why this kind of wording is so often found in newspaper publications: "Should have paid attention", "More attention!", "A sad phenomenon", etc.

If the government has promised a bright future, it must surely ensure that the streets are clean. Who else? – this was the title of a small feuilleton in the October issue of "Nizhegorodskaya Kommuna" – "Who else!?". Little boy Petya, trying to cross Pokrovka together with his mother, kept asking her questions, the answers to which seemed to be obvious, but the child's consciousness did not understand everything...

"Hastily, where they stepped over, where they jumped over, and where they "jumped in" over large and small lakes, ponds, bays, mud baths, and in general, so to speak, "through the improvement of the Pokrovka swamps", they got out of the dangerous "zone of frontline trips" of the trucks, through the ill-fated Pokrovka". "So what does the Utility Department do", the boy asks. "It organizes concerts for the benefit of the starving", answers his mother. "And who "does" make sure the sidewalks don't get mud like this?" – "Nobody!" [2, 243].

We have to admit that in terms of street cleanliness Nizhny Novgorod left much to be desired. The head of the Nizhny Novgorod Police at the end of November reported: "The streets of the city now present an unpleasant picture, not to mention the outskirts, where sewage solidly, directly from the front entrances, pours out on the streets, even on the central streets, as for example: B. Pokrovka, Alekseevskaya, Osharskaya, etc., you can observe such phenomena, when from many yards the sewage flows in an avalanche across the sidewalk onto the street. In addition, such a picture is unpleasant for the eyes and sense of smell of passing citizens and children playing here, it threatens with the onset of spring to take a turn, threatening sanitary danger and serving as a source for all kinds of diseases in the city" [2, 272].

Epidemics caused by unsanitary conditions were not long in coming, but about that later. Meanwhile, the authorities had to periodically resort to administrative measures to solve the problem – to draw up reports on the chairmen of house committees, commandants and other responsible persons, whose subordinate houses were in the "contamination zone", up to arrest. Unfortunately, the problem was never solved.

Another "headache" of the authorities and public utilities was the state of the city's improvement. In fact, it did not exist either. The term "ruin", although in relation to this period it is often understood in a more profound, socio-philosophical sense, had a very concrete content.

In spring and summer, in addition to snow-melted garbage, leaves appeared on trees, which were not only a source of oxygen and aesthetic enjoyment for citizens, but also often the only source of food for livestock. "Herds of goats", wrote the "Nizhegorodskaya Kommuna", "taken out to pasture, nibbled the bark of trees, dooming them to complete destruction. The unconscious citizens, laying fodder for the same goats in a store for the winter, break up the last limbs, transforming the city oases into a continuous Sahara burned with the rays of the sun..." [2, 126].

In general, domestic animals, which constituted a significant "sector" of the individual economy, caused a lot of damage to green spaces. But, understandably, they were not to blame. In the issue as of June 17, a Mandatory Resolution of the Presidium of the Nizhny Novgorod Provincial Executive Committee as of May 14, 1921 was published. According to this resolution "due to repeatedly observed cases of violation of the formerly issued obligatory rules of cattle control and garden protection by the residents of Nizhny Novgorod", it was strongly recommended "to pasture big and small cattle both in the upper and in the lower part of Nizhny Novgorod only at the places allocated by the Nizhny Novgorod Provincial Utility Department in the city pastures". It was strictly prohibited to let the cattle out into the city streets, on the slopes of ramps, and on the boulevards. The guilty had to be arrested from three days to three months [3]. The animals that were in the wrong places for pasture, were ordered to be taken away and handed over to orphanages [2, 133].

It was already obvious to concerned citizens that the urban economy needed to be put in order: "The fences were mostly broken or blown down by the wind, the sidewalks represented a series of bumps and holes, the benches on the slopes were pulled up, only memory remained of the small square near the city theater, goats roamed free through the city and finally destroyed the greenery that had survived in some places, and there were many such examples...” [2, 129].

“Under such concepts”, wrote another author, “the chaos that we observe around us develops. All this shows how great we are in immorality, how pathetically shallow in intelligence” [2, 207].

Here it is interesting to pay attention to the nascent manifestations of the psychology of social dependency on the part of city residents. The authorities with the help of newspaper publications of an educational nature are trying to “talk sense” to them – to show that garbage collection is also a common cause, the state is not yet able to provide citizens with everything they need in exchange for their labor. Citizens need to be personally involved not only in the performance of their professional duties, but also in all national (citywide) matters.

The main administrative body in this sphere was the Utility Department of the Provincial Executive Committee, but it could not cope with the enormous responsibility for reasons not only of a technical nature. Even then, apparently, a habit to act according to the principle “it is not my business” appears (or continues?). It seems that, to a large extent, the lack of attention to everyday problems on the part of individual citizens was caused by their peculiar “revenge” against the new government – they were promised golden mountains and a bright future, but in practice, they could not cross the street! As one newspaper correspondent wrote: “Each of us, seeing and feeling all the destruction in the field of urban economy, thinks “well, the Utility Department will come and fix everything”, but most often you hear such conversations: “they (the Communists) only know how to destroy, but not to build a new one” [2, 129].

The analysis of the presented materials allows us to talk about the presence of a specific transition stage in the development of the mentality of the generation of the period of the formation of Soviet power. The transition from the concept “all is of the owner” to the concept “all is ours” was carried out against the background of the objective process of generational change and was accompanied by inertial non-acceptance by a significant part of the adult population along with the new rights of new responsibilities designed to ensure the public good. In the future this problem will be solved by a combination of educational and repressive methods of regulating social relations.

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Urbanization and housing question: the case of interwar Belgrade, Serbia

Abstract: *Belgrade's population tripled in the two decades between the two World Wars, while rapid urbanization impacted the city's physical and social structure. Examining the population's social structure revealed that interwar Belgrade was a city of people experiencing poverty. The material hardship of a large part of the population resulted in difficult housing conditions. The housing question was among the main issues urbanization in interwar Belgrade brought up. This paper discusses three primary housing types that stand out as how the impoverished citizens of interwar Belgrade sought housing solutions.*

Keywords: *informal urbanization, housing question, housing and poverty, living conditions, housing types.*

The dominant issue raised by urbanization in interwar Belgrade was the "housing question" [13]. The end of World War I brought completely new political, economic and social challenges to the city's development. Belgrade, once the capital of the Kingdom of Serbia, became the capital of the newly formed, large, and complex Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, named the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929. An influx of people whose work brought them to the new capital, primarily poor from undeveloped parts of the country, brought about rapid population growth. During the two decades between world wars, the population of Belgrade tripled. Throughout the interwar period, an annual average of 10,000 people moved to the city [3]. Urban growth affected both the social and the physical shape of the city [10].

An analysis of the population's social structure showed that Belgrade between the wars was an impoverished city or as Slobodan Vidaković, publicist, sociologist and long-standing editor of Belgrade's municipal journal, noted: "Up until the war, Belgrade was a city of white-collar workers, and after the war it was a city of the poor!" [11] Although no official statistics exist on the number of poor people, various authors made estimates based on sources such as the 1929 population census, studies by workers' councils, housing surveys, etc. Economist Velimir Bajkić thus estimated that 80% of Belgrade's population was poor [2]. Miloslav Stojadinović, former vice president of Belgrade municipality, agreed with this estimate, while Slobodan Ž. Vidaković considered this number to be larger, i.e. 90.5% of the population was economically inferior [12]. According to our calculations based on various sources, around 66% of Belgrade's inhabitants were impoverished [13]. In the early 1930s, Belgrade had a population of around 260,000, which means that between 180,000 and 210,000 people were poor. They were divided into categories pursuant to the severity of their impoverishment. Some – the destitute – were at the bottom of society, others – the poor – lived a bit better, but still with great difficulty, and only the third category – the deprived – had the real possibility of rising socially and economically [9, 13].

The material hardship of a large part of the population resulted in difficult housing conditions. Bogdan Krekić, a member of the Central Secretariat of the Workers' Chambers of Yugoslavia and a council member in the Belgrade Municipality, noted in the early 1930s that "official surveys […] revealed the terrible housing conditions of a huge number of Belgrade's citizens" [7]. It was estimated that between 50% and 60% of Belgrade households faced the lack of appropriate housing, i.e. there were shortages of between 20,000 and 30,000 "small and hygienic" apartments in the city [11].

The housing shortage resulted in an uncontrolled urban sprawl, illegal construction and a new phenomenon, squatter settlements [14]. During the two interwar decades, a large part of Belgrade was covered with a fabric of impoverished housing [15]. Informal settlements, squatter settlements or shantytowns, existed in other European cities as well. For example, until the mid-1920s around 50,000 impoverished inhabitants in Paris lived in squatter settlements built on former fortifications, and several tens of thousands of people "simply occupied land on the outskirts, in huts in fields of mud, with no proper water supply". In the early 1930s, around 3% percentages of the population of Berlin lived in informal housing in allotment colonies. And in Vienna, after WWI allotment colonies grew into squatter settlements, also known as “wild settlements”. Illegal construction was also widespread in other large centers of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, in Zagreb, Split, Ljubljana, Sarajevo and Skopje.

We can recognise three main housing types through which the poor inhabitants of interwar Belgrade solved their housing problem: 1) dwellings built by various institutions, 2) apartments for rent, i.e. tenement apartments, and 3) self- construction of modest and most commonly bad houses built by the poor in the outskirts of the city and squatter settlements [13].

However, a small number of institutions built flats, primarily for their poorer clerks and workers. The Belgrade Municipality had built its first apartments before the WWI near the Danube River and the city’s garbage dump. After the war, several more residential buildings were built by the Municipality also in the outskirts of the city. Between the two world wars, the municipality of Belgrade disposed of 526 apartments (it built 496 of them during this period) and managed another 216 intended for the most destitute. The Ministry of Transport raised for its officials and railway workers a housing colony and several buildings near the central railway station. For the poorest families the Ministry of Social Policy provided dwellings in wooden barracks obtained from Germany as war reparation [1]. Major Belgrade companies built dwellings for a part of their workers, mainly those who played an important role in the production process. They built approximately 350 apartments and around 30 joint dormitories. The total number of dwellings built by municipal, state institutions and large companies was only about 1.400, providing accommodation for about 6,000 to 8,000 people [13]. For all these dwellings a rent was paid, but was more favourable than the price of renting in the private sector.

Apartments for rent could be found in all parts of the city, from the centre to the outskirts. In the city centre, such dwellings were located in devastated buildings built in the late 19th century. Anyhow, housing units consisting of a room and a kitchen, in ground-floor buildings lined along edges of narrow, elongated lots were the prevailing type of rental apartments. A part of this housing stock still exists and most commonly is called partaje [8]. Parts of apartments or rooms were also rented. It was possible to rent building lots. Such was an estate in the impoverished neighbourhood near the Danube. There are no statistics about numbers of rental apartments, but we can illustrate it with the data form survey conducted in 1926 in Bosanska Street, near the central Railway Station, where in 74 building were 602 unhygienic apartments for rent [4].

The poor with a somewhat better income could purchase modest plots in the far outskirts of Belgrade and illegally raise modest homes there. They bought construction lots from land speculators, often outside the construction zone. In the mid-1930s, it was estimated that around 150,000 people lived in the peripheral areas of the city. The poorest inhabitants established squatter settlements on locations that were unhealthy or not easily accessible, hoping that the authorities would leave them alone at least for a while [6]. The population of the three most famous squatter settlements in the interwar Belgrade – Jatagan-mahla, Pištolj-mahla and Prokop – was about 9,000 persons [14].

How did a poor people’s dwelling look like? Here we can read some of expressions used by researchers, journalists and public workers to describe them. Instead of “house” and “apartment”, they used the expressions such as “small room with the dank smell of the grave”, “disgusting shack”, “hygienic horror”, etc. Both self-built homes and rental apartments usually lacked fixtures and water supply. Inhabitants shared a fountain in the yard or even used communal fountains in the neighbourhood, and had shared lavatories or field toilets. The overpopulation of dwellings was pronounced. The customary size of the apartment was from 20-30 square meters, while a considerable number had only from 5-10 square meters [13]. The inner space did not have lighting, was poorly sunlit and damp. Houses were built from makeshift materials, depending on the economic situation of the landlords or families. All these things heavily affected the health of the occupants, resulting in a high presence of various diseases, and high mortality rates, especially in children.

Although small, overcrowded, damp and otherwise inadequate, the homes of the poor were insecure and costly. They were expensive for those who built their own houses because they had to invest their very modest incomes in land purchase, to build their own houses and later to participate in building the infrastructure in the neighbourhood. Although there was a basic agreement between the inhabitants and the municipal authorities on joint investment in infrastructure, regulating and paving streets, or setting up street lighting, there was a real possibility that these agreements would not be respected due to a government change or the lack of money in the municipal budget.

For the inhabitants of squatter settlements, homes were insecure due to the constant threat that their homes would be pulled down. In the years immediately following the war, the Belgrade Municipality had an inconsistent approach to the problem of squatter settlements [5]. Over time, and due to the support of central authorities, the Municipality became eager to erase these neighbourhoods from the cityscape. Pištolj-mala was demolished in several stages and most houses in Jatagan-mala were removed by 1940 [14]. A modest financial compensation and construction materials from demolished houses were the only recompense received by the inhabitants for their lost homes.

Poor people's attitude toward their own housing problem was neither uniform nor coherent. Sometimes it was seen in individual reactions, or those of smaller or larger groups and their ad hoc proposals to try and find a solution to a difficult housing situation or a pressing issue such as the immediate threat of a house or entire community collapsing. Part of Belgrade's poor who belonged to various civic associations had a different approach based on long-term and well thought-out activities directed at the situation in one of the city neighborhoods.

Neither Belgrade's economy, with regard to employment, nor municipal administrations, with regard to housing, were able to respond to the needs of the capital's inhabitants. In terms of housing, the problem was not the newcomers who had "rushed to the big city to earn their livelihood" but rather the inadequate capacities and financial resources of Belgrade's administration, and the lack of motivation to resolve the issue of housing for the poor in a humanely acceptable way.

Belgrade's municipal authorities had a fluctuating, uncertain and ambivalent attitude toward housing for the poor. The main dilemmas that were debated were whether apartments for the poor were a public responsibility and within this context whether a clear and long-term housing policy should and could be made; should the scope of housing construction for the poor be large or small; should poor communities that sprang up, often illegally, both within the city's construction zone and beyond it, be torn down; should these swelling communities be given hygiene and sanitation measures or be torn down. Wearing themselves out with polemics and with no action undertaken only made the situation worse, because the poor were not in a position to wait and therefore had to resolve their housing problems by themselves, by their own means and devices.

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The role of Nizhny Novgorod in the organization of Volga shipping in the XX century

Abstract: *The article is devoted to the history of the formation of the state management of the Volga navigation. It shows that in pre-revolutionary Russia there was practically no centralized management of river transport, except for creating conditions for navigation. A centralized management system was created in Soviet Russia through repeated reforms. Adoption of the Decree on Nationalization of the Russian River Fleet initiated the process of creating a new system of river transport management. Creation of provisional boards for management of shipping enterprises soon (1923) led to establishment of state river shipping companies, and then to their consolidation.*

In the post-war years, the tendency to consolidation led to the creation of the river monopolist represented by the Volga United River Shipping Company (VORP), which existed for almost 50 years.

The administrative center of Volga river navigation was Nizhny Novgorod for a hundred years, where the boards of state river shipping companies and later of the Volga United Shipping Company functioned.

Key words: *Volga navigation, river transport management system, administrative role of Nizhny Novgorod, organizations of Volga navigation.*

The revolutionary events of 1917 radically changed the entire socio-economic and political reality of tsarist Russia. Together with these changes, a radical restructuring of the management paradigm was required, including individual sectors of the national economy.

The organization of the Volga river steam navigation in the pre-revolutionary period is quite well studied at the regional level. There are works devoted to the history of the Volga river steam navigation in the XX century [7; 8; 9]. There is a whole school of researchers of Volga river steam navigation in Nizhny Novgorod (Khalin A. A., Pedanov D. B., Rychkov I. A.), which develops subjects connected with the history of formation and development of the Volga navigation and, first of all, steam navigation, shipping companies and individual shipowners, trading houses connected with river transport. The history of shipbuilding enterprises in the Volga basin has not been ignored either. However with the variety of topics, the formation and development of the management system of the Volga shipping industry should be considered as the most actual. It is especially interesting, from the point of view of regional history, to clarify the role of Nizhny Novgorod as the administrative and functional center of Volga navigation.

It is known that there was no single centralized management of the Volga river navigation in pre-revolutionary times. State management of river transport in the country was carried out only in terms of ensuring navigation conditions and supervising the observance of navigation rules. This work was carried out through communication districts (there were 10 of them), and within them, departments, inspection and technical areas. The beginning of Russian river transport management system creation refers to 1917.

Already in the spring of 1917 Nizhny Novgorod became the center of struggle between shipowners of the Volga basin and workers of shipping industry for the fate of the river fleet. Both created their own organizations, the activity of which reflected their interests. In March 1917 in Nizhny Novgorod the Central Committee of the Unions of Shipping Employees and Workers of the Volga Basin (Tsentrovolga) was formed. At the same time in N. Novgorod a meeting of shipowners of the Volga basin was held with the question of organizing the Union of Shipowners of the Volga basin. It was attended by almost all the Volga shipping companies [5, s. 38-43; 4, s. 12-14].

The Decree on Nationalization of Merchant Fleet (January 1918) ended the previous struggle for the fate of the Volga fleet and opened a new page in the history of the Volga navigation. Lack of trained personnel, resistance of the former owners, repair base undermined during the war, mobilization of many river fleet workers to the front created additional difficulties.

Under these conditions, the Bolsheviks found support in trade unions: the main role in the nationalization was assigned to trade union organizations of river transport workers. At the beginning of February 1918, the Central Committee of the Unions of Shipping Employees and Workers of the Volga Basin adopted an order that provided for the election of boards for the management of the shipping enterprises. According to it, “the collective immediately proceeds to takeover of business from the former board, shipowner or their proxies” [5, s. 1-2].

During February-March 1918 a new, temporary system of management of water communications and shipping enterprises was formed. According to the instruction of the Central Committee of the Unions, “the district union is in charge of the affairs of all the steamship companies affected by nationalization” [5, s. 3]. The management of shipping enterprises passed into the hands of elected boards. Small enterprises joined the boards of larger shipping companies.

In fact, the management of water transport in Nizhny Novgorod in 1918 was carried out by the Nizhny Novgorod District Union of Shipping Employees and Workers of the Volga Basin, receiving instructions from the Central Committee of the Unions of Shipping Employees and Workers of the Volga Basin. It was the Nizhny Novgorod District Union that sent letters and instructions to the boards, business councils, shipping and backwater committees. Thus, it is the trade unions that took over the mission of organizing and managing the nationalized enterprises and fleet.

The nationalization and formation of a new management structure gave rise to many organizational and economic-technical issues. The Nizhny Novgorod river transport employees undertook the solution of these difficult questions. On February 4/17, 1918 in Nizhny Novgorod a joint meeting of local boards of shipping companies, water transportation commissioner of the Upper Volga region, representatives of the Central Committee and the Nizhny Novgorod District Union of Shipping Employees and Workers of the Volga Basin was convened to discuss them. It was a large and representative meeting – about 150 people headed by Commissioner A. Preobrazhensky. It was attended by delegates from 22 boards of management of nationalized shipping enterprises, the Central Committee of Shipping Employees and Workers, and the Nizhny Novgorod District Union of Employees and Workers.

Particular attention should be paid to the question of how to manage the nationalized enterprises – each separately by its own board or “to merge them together and create one common central body, which will be the administrator of water transport" [5, s. 39]. It was planned to be located in N. Novgorod. It was decided to postpone its decision until the 3rd All-Volga Delegates' Congress, scheduled for March 1918. In order to coordinate common activities each board sent one representative to the Business Council of the Nizhny Novgorod District Union.

On the whole, the situation on the river transport was rather complicated. The solution of all accumulated problems demanded extreme tension of forces, strict discipline, well-coordinated and well-defined work. An illustrative document of responsibility for the entrusted business, for the Volga navigation is an appeal written by Konstantin Petrovich Sergeev, the chairman of the Board for the management of the nationalized Volga shipping company, on March 29, 1918. "Comrades, it said, we are all Volga natives and all love our business, created often by the backbreaking labor of our grandfathers and fathers, a lot of our efforts are made and we have the right to consider this business our native business, which we must take care of and put all efforts to promote it at high level" [6, s. 1-1].

In this appeal everything combined: the pride and pain for their business perceived as own and native; the desire to give all their strength, knowledge, experience to restore and save the Volga navigation. Nizhny Novgorod, as the administrative center of all Volga navigation, played a major role in solving this difficult task.

The role of Nizhny Novgorod is also testified by the documents on creation of the system of protection of waterways and river transport during these years. It is known that in pre-revolutionary times water police existed only in separate regions and had no centralized management [10].

Already in early 1920 a new system of river transport protection was created. Order No. 3 on river and sea police as of February 25, 1920 determined that "All river and sea police in European Russia by water systems, i.e. 7 important water basins, is divided into 7 regions of river and sea police" [2, p. 90]. In accordance therewith, the Volga region was created which covered the system of the Volga river with all tributaries, except the Oka, from the Kopaev locality to the mouth, the Ural river and the Caspian Sea coast within the RSFSR, and was divided into ten districts, in which sections were established: Nizhny Novgorod district (six sections), Kazan district (3), Simbirsk district (4), Saratov district (3), Tsaritsyn district (3), Astrakhan district (2), Perm district (4), Vyatka district (3), Ufa district (2), Guryev district (3) [2, s. 90]. Six months later, Order No. 4 of the Chief Directorate of the Soviet Workers' and Peasants' Militia as of July 2, 1920 determined that "the internal structure and composition of the water police are defined by the Chief Militia and approved by the NKVD" [3, s. 64]. Here it is very important to emphasize that a single centralized all-Russian system of protection on the waterways and the system of water police was created, which did not exist in pre-revolutionary Russia.

At the end of 1920, a new reorganization was undertaken. Water police and internal security troops were united, thus forming a single organization for protection of the Republic's waterways. The newly created security structure had its subdivisions in all the districts of the now Volga-Caspian region comprising 11 districts (the Volga-Caspian district was added). The former Regional Water Police Department of the Volga region was renamed into the Regional Water Police Department of the Volga-Caspian region. In connection with this, the following buildings were assigned to house the new Regional Water Police Department: 19, M. Pokrovka, and 67, Ilyinka. Thus a new zoning with the center in Nizhny Novgorod was created.

Further development of the Volga navigation was also directly connected with Nizhny Novgorod, which remained the administrative center of the Volga river system throughout the XX century. At first, in the course of endless reorganizations in the 1920s and 1930s, several state shipping companies were established. The final decision was made in February 1923 on the basis of the STO (Labor and Defense Council) Decree, when the Volga State River Shipping Company (VGRP) was established, with the board of directors located in Nizhny Novgorod. Another reorganization affected the Volga navigation in the course of the second five-year plan. In 1934 the Volga Shipping Company was divided into three companies. One of them, the Upper Volga Shipping Company with its administrative center in N. Novgorod, carried out freight and passenger traffic along the whole Rybinsk – Gorky

– Astrakhan route [9, p. 53].

In the mid-1940s, there was a large-scale reorganization of the Volga shipping companies. Two new Volga shipping companies were established on the basis of the former Upper Volga, Middle Volga and Lower Volga Shipping Companies. Since 1953 these shipping companies became subordinated to the Main Directorate of Fleet and Ports of Central Basins of the Ministry of Maritime and River Fleet. However, they did not exist in this capacity for long [11, p. 153].

In the mid-1950s the question of reorganizing the country's river fleet became more and more urgent. Decree No. 1239-553 of the USSR Council of Ministers as of June 22, 1954 determined the tasks of further increasing cargo transportation by river transport, increasing its share in the total cargo turnover of the country and improving the use of the fleet and ports. This required radical reorganization of the entire river transport system of the country. The beginning of its real reorganization was laid by the Decree of the USSR Council of Ministers as of December 18, 1954 "On Improvement of the Organizational Structure and Elimination of Excess Administrative and Management Personnel of Line Organizations of the Ministry of River Fleet".

The decree pointed out serious shortcomings in the organizational structure of the Ministry of River Fleet. The organizational structure of the existing shipping companies did not meet the objectives of improving fleet operation. It was especially noted that in the Volga basin, where freight turnover was about 50% of the total river freight turnover, the main Volga Cargo Shipping Company kept in hand almost the whole cargo fleet, while ports and wharfs were under control of the Volga Cargo and Passenger Shipping Company. Such division of fleet and port facilities between different shipping companies in one basin led to serious difficulties in the use of the fleet and reduction of transportation. The track facilities available in the river basins were disconnected from the shipping companies and did not fully meet the operational requirements of the shipping companies for the maintenance of the shipping lines. There were many small subdivisions in the Ministry's track facilities, which should be consolidated into larger subdivisions. A significant number of ship repair plants and small shipbuilding yards were directly subordinated to the Ministry of River Fleet, which led to separation of the fleet of river shipping companies from their repair base.

To eliminate these shortcomings, the Council of Ministers defined a wide range of organizational solutions in its decree. First of all, it was decided to oblige the Ministry of River Fleet to take measures to reorganize all shipping companies in the country. Creation of the VORP was a part of the state-wide policy of reorganization of shipping companies. In fact, it was about organizing monopolistic transport shipping associations in separate territories of the country.

Two orders (No. 154-пр and 155) of the USSR Minister of River Fleet dated as of December 23, 1954 reflected in more detail various aspects of establishing the Volga United River Shipping Company.

Under Order No. 154-пр based on the Volga Cargo River Shipping Company and the Volga Cargo and Passenger River Shipping Company, the Volga United River Shipping Company was founded with its directorate located in Gorky. Three line shipping companies were established within the structure of the united shipping company: Gorky – with control in Gorky, Kuibyshev – with control in Kuibyshev and Stalingrad – with control in Stalingrad [1, s. 308-309].

The fleet, ship repair industrial enterprises, ports and wharfs, other organizations and institutions were transferred to the newly created united shipping company and the Volga line shipping companies. As a result, 9 plants and 13 ship repair workshops were transferred. The port facilities included 9 large ports and 98 wharfs. In addition, working supply departments, housing and utilities departments, line-technical communication units, training institutions and stations, construction offices, design and engineering offices, printing houses, etc. were transferred to the line shipping companies of the Volga United River Shipping Company [1, s. 313-320].

Order No. 155 established the management structure of the Volga United River Shipping Company. It consisted of: management, traffic services, fleet and port operation, cargo and commercial activities, passenger transportation, ship facilities, industrial enterprises department, communication and electro-radionavigation service, planning and economic department, financial department, accounting department, capital construction department, personnel, labor and salary service, special department, administrative and economic department. A similar management structure was established in the Volga line shipping companies.

Creation of a huge transport enterprise in the form of the Volga United River Shipping Company was a difficult task. Its solution required personnel with the necessary knowledge, practical experience and organizational skills. The Minister of the River Fleet Z. Shashkov, realizing the importance and difficulty of the task, ordered “to provide practical assistance to the Volga United Shipping Company and the Gorky, Kuibyshev and Stalingrad line shipping companies in solving organizational issues and to send to the Volga basin a brigade of senior officials of the Ministry consisting of the Deputy Minister E. S. Seleznev (head) and five more people” [1, s. 317].

The successor of VORP liquidated in the early 1990s today is the Volga Shipping Company, the administrative center of which is located in Nizhny Novgorod.

There is no doubt that transport system is an important link in socio-economic development of the district and stable social development. This is especially important in view of the multinational composition of the district and its complex social structure.

Thus, historical documents certify that over the last hundred years Nizhny Novgorod has played a noticeable uniting role both in the Volga basin and in the Volga Federal District.

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Organization of atheistic propaganda in Nizhny Novgorod in the second half of the 1920s

Abstract: *The article examines the peculiarities of the leadership of antireligious propaganda in Nizhny Novgorod in the second half of the 1920s. Statistical data on the number of the Union of the Godless (hereinafter referred to as the "League of Militant Atheists") is given. The forms and methods of antireligious propaganda during this period are described.*

Key words: *Atheism, propaganda, antireligious agitation, League of Militant Atheists.*

The antireligious movement in Nizhny Novgorod began in 1924, when offices of the Society of Friends of the "Bezbozhnik" ("Godless" or "The Atheist") Newspaper were organized in the city. Later this society was renamed as the Union of the Godless of the USSR (1925) and later (1929) the League of Militant Atheists of the USSR (SVB). The leader of the organization was Em. M. Yaroslavsky.

Beginning in 1925, offices of the Union of the Godless began to appear all over the country. The Nizhny Novgorod region was no exception. The regional organization in the second half of the 1920s numbered 28,000 people [11, p. 979].

N. Novgorod was the center of all atheistic work in the region. Already in 1925 the city council of SVB began to work here.

The structure of the city council was the following: plenum consisted of 3 persons, presidium consisted of 11 persons, audit commission – 3 persons, chairman – 1 person, executive secretary – 1 person [3, s. 15].

The Council consisted of two departments: of organization work among the public and AMO. They, in turn, were divided into a number of sectors: sectors for work in the residential cooperation, for work in the industrial cooperation, military, transport, production, research and higher education sectors. In addition, the city council had commissions of national minorities, youth and women. The paid apparatus consisted of three people: executive secretary, instructor and clerical assistant [3, s. 15].

Such a structure contributed to the quality management of the work of district councils, offices and citywide events [3, s. 15].

The second half of the 1920s was characterized by the following areas of activity of the SVB city organization: conducting mass antireligious events, agitation and propaganda work, and participation in the closure of church buildings.

The objective of the mass campaigns was to cover as many people in the city as possible with atheist propaganda: workers and their families, intellectuals, students of schools and universities. The aim of these activities was to expose the reactionary essence of religion and the formation of a “new Soviet man”.

During the antireligious campaigns shock brigades of godless activists were created in factories, plants and construction sites. A labor competition was held between them. The creation of such brigades, shops “testified to significant changes in the consciousness and psychology of workers, in their attitude to religion and church” [5, p. 20].

The first mass campaign in the Nizhny Novgorod region was carried out in 1924. At a meeting of the Agitation Collegium of the Provincial Committee of the Russian Communist Party, a plan was adopted for antireligious propaganda among young people during the Christmas period. The plan provided for antireligious work both in the countryside and in the city.

In the city, in the Komsomol and workers’ clubs, evenings, lectures, and discussions were organized on the following topics: “The Religion of the Muzhik and the Religion of the Bourgeois” (morality, sectarianism, eternal values, class nature of religion); “The Legend of Christ” (what is the meaning of great religious holidays); “Biology and the Bible” (how science heals and how religion heals); “Achievements of Technology and Religion” (how man subdues nature and how nature subdues man). Conversations and lectures were accompanied by political lotteries, readings, dramatizations, slides, and films. On Christmas Eve and Christmas, evenings were held on the following antireligious topics: “Science, Life and Religion”, “The Origin of Man” [9, p. 3].

One of the significant mass events carried out by the godless activists was the anti-Christmas campaign. It took place from December 20, 1928 to January 20, 1929, and had a broad social and political character. Trade unions, Komsomol, political and educational department, and other cultural organizations and institutions of the city took part in its organization [4, s. 33].

The SB Provincial Council drew up a plan for the campaign. A leaflet was sent out throughout the region and Nizhny Novgorod itself, a radio lecture was held on the origins of Christmas, and antireligious films were distributed to clubs. In addition, at a meeting of the Council, plans for the campaign of the Sormovo, City and Beregovoy SB councils were adopted. Exhibitions of antireligious books, plays, slides and other aids were held in all libraries, stores of the provincial education department, the political and educational department and the central library. Visiting clubs, cinemas and skating rink during the campaign days was free [4, s. 20].

This anti-Christmas campaign had a number of objectives. The first of these was to reach as many citizens as possible, for which various forms of antireligious propaganda were used: discussions, lectures, readings, and artistic productions with an atheistic character. The fight against religion was declared the most important part of the struggle on the Soviet ideological front. The second task was to use the anti-Christmas campaign to strengthen the mass antireligious movement. Its implementation was to contribute to the organization and consolidation of local SVB organizations [4, s. 33]. The third task was to mobilize the forces and means of the workers to solve current issues of socialist construction – help to schools, improvement of the city, etc. [4, s. 33].

Clubs and propaganda groups, in addition to discussions, reports, and lectures, staged theatrical performances, published wall newspapers with antireligious content, and organized listening to lectures on the radio. Komsomol organizations in the city organized carnivals at skating rinks and physical education competitions [4, s. 34].

The agitation and propaganda work of atheists was carried out through antireligious posters, movies and press. The propaganda of the atheistic worldview by means of art of declamation was the most effective means of influence, since it was oriented on human perception of the images broadcast in the press, movies, theater and club scenes. Thus the atheists were focused on the accessibility of perception for the wide audience. It is also worth mentioning the availability of antireligious posters, which were widely circulated in the publications distributed by the atheists: “Bezbozhnik”, “Bezbozhnik u Stanka”, “Yuny Bezbozhnik”, etc.

In conducting antireligious work and popularizing atheism, the atheists widely used posters. They were one of the mass forms of atheist propaganda in the USSR in the 1920s-1930s.

V. I. Lenin in his work “On the Significance of Militant Materialism” noted that “... it is necessary for the masses to be given the most diverse material on atheistic propaganda, to familiarize them with facts from the most diverse areas of life, to approach them either way in order to interest them, to awaken them from their religious sleep, to shake them up from the most varied sides, and in the most varied ways” [7, p. 26].

The greatest artists of antireligious posters were D. S. Moor, V. N. Deni, and M. M. Cheremnykh.

D. S. Moor was the leading master of Soviet propaganda graphics throughout the 1920s-1930s. The dominant genre of his works was the “evil satire” up to the grotesque. Drawings of D. S. Moor denounced the features of the class enemy, which most fully expressed its reactionary essence. His works evoked in his contemporaries hatred and antipathy to everything outdated, the desire to cleanse the land of reactionary evil spirits as soon as possible [8, p. 15].

The most famous works of D. S. Moor are: “The Popes Help the Capital and Hinder the Worker. Out of the way!” (1920), a cycle of illustrations for A. Loginov’s book “Funny Stories from Sacred History” (1925–1929), “The Triumph of Christianity”, “Savior of the World” [8, p. 15-19].

Another master of the antireligious poster was V. N. Deni. Unlike D. S. Moor, his works were dominated not so much by satire as by humor. Showing class enemies mainly from a comical side, the author thereby emphasized their inner weakness and historical fatality. The artist’s main emotional weapon was mockery. Sometimes caustic and mocking, sometimes dismissive, it revealed the moral and political insignificance of the characters represented [8, p. 26].

Significant works of V. N. Deni were the following: “Denikinskaya banda (Denikin’s gang)”, “All people are brothers, I like to take from them”, a series of posters “Spider and flies” [8, p. 26-34].

The undoubted masterpiece of V. N. Deni is the poster “Spider and flies”, in which the central place is occupied by the figure of a giant pope-spider, rising from behind the church fence. An important role in this poster is played by the color scheme – the priest is depicted in dark colors as a symbol of evil and reaction, and the peasants are shown in bright colors as the personification of good. In the gaze of the priest, irrepressible greed is read, his mouth is twisted in a carnivorous grin and slightly open. The face as a whole expresses the anticipation of rich gain. A hand-paw, stretched out over the fence, rakes the peasants going to church. The poster reveals the acquisitive nature of the church.

An important place in the art of antireligious poster is occupied by the works of M. M. Cheremnykh. They feature a conscious simplification of images, schematization of drawing, composition, color, single-plane, roughly grotesque characteristics of negative characters, while the posters are realistic, created on a historically and socially specific basis [8, p. 36].

The main work of M. M. Cheremnykh is “Antireligious Alphabet” (1930), 28 multi-colored lithographed sheets, on each of which is presented an antireligious couplet to one of the letters of the alphabet and a picture illustrating it [8, p. 39-40]. In addition to “Alphabet”, the works “The Cross and the Tractor”, “Let the Wife Fear Her Husband”, “Thus the Church Teaches” and others are known.

The poster “Thus the Church Teaches” depicts a peasant with a rod in his right hand. His wife kneels before him, begging him not to beat her. In the background, a priest and an old woman are placed, paying attention to the Holy Scripture, opened in the phrase “let the wife fear her husband”. Particular attention should be paid to the color palette of the poster: the peasant and his wife are depicted in bright colors, and the old woman and the priest are dark. This indicates that religion is an evil, a dope, with which the new regime is fighting, leading the peasants to a brighter future. This work depicts the oppressed and dependent position of a woman in front of her husband, due to the Holy Scripture.

It is worth noting that one of the tasks of antireligious propaganda was the liberation of a woman from the remnants of the past – the oppression of her husband, from a religion that approved of the humiliated position of women.

Cinema played an important role in spreading atheistic ideas. The effect was achieved due to the availability of perception that took place on the screen and due to the mass character of this art form.

V. I. Lenin, highly appreciating the possibilities of cinema as one of the most effective types of agitation and a means of popularizing knowledge, noted that "... of all the arts the most important for us is the cinema" [6, p. 579].

One of the most interesting films of that period is the work "Judas" of 1929 by Evgeny Ivanov-Barkov. This film was very popular among Soviet citizens. This is due to the fact that many city people came from the village and what is happening in the film was close to them. The film reveals the class essence of religion through the relationship between the monastery and the local peasants during the civil war. Under these conditions, a behind-the-scenes struggle is unfolding among the clergy themselves.

Director E. Ivanov-Barkov presented the monastery in the form of a spider, which captured the surrounding villages in its net and robs the poor for non-payment of rent. And all this is happening against the background of a civil war. In the end, the peasants, with the help of partisans, raise an uprising against the monastic brethren, but an approached detachment of White Guards suppresses the rebels.

The clergy, dissatisfied with the rebellion, entered into an alliance with the White Guards in order to take revenge on the poor and the rebels. The last livestock was taken from the peasants, and the partisans were sentenced to death. At the same time, along with the condemned, it was planned to shoot the local elder Jonah, despite the help rendered to the White Guards. The thing is that he learned too much about the internal affairs of the monastery.

Of course, among the peasantry there were a large number of sympathizers with the rebels, and in order to distract them, the clergy decided to present a “miracle” – a myrrh-streaming icon. This aroused great interest among the local population. As a result, the arrested were saved by the partisans, the “miracle” was revealed, and the population, armed by priests to fight the “Red Antichrists”, turned this weapon against them.

Thus, we see that the church, in the person of its clergy, was shown to be an ideological opponent of Soviet power, a defender of the old, reactionary order.

An important place in the agitation and propaganda work of the SVB took the press. The Society issued a number of newspapers and magazines: the “Bezbozhnik” newspaper (circulation in 1922 was 15 thousand copies, in 1930 – 400 thousand), the “Antireligioznik” (Antireligious) magazine (circulation in 1925 – 200 thousand, at the end of 1920s – 30 thousand). In addition to these editions, the following magazines were also issued: “Bezbozhnik” (circulation in 1925 – from 30,000 to 135,000 and in the late 1920s – from 85,000 to 175,000), “Bezbozhnik u Stanka” (circulation in 1923 – from 40,000 to 75,000 and in the late 1920s – 75,000).

Let’s take a closer look at the “Bezbozhnik” newspaper, which was the central press organ of the SVB.

The newspaper was based on the main slogan of the godless: “The struggle against religion is the struggle for socialism”. From this appeal derived the following tasks: exposing religion and its reactionary essence, and educating workers in the spirit of socialism. The newspaper was also the organizing center for the creation of SVB offices.

“Bezbozhnik” in the 1920s and first half of the 1930s had the following headings: “At Factories and Plants”, “In Villages”, “To Combat Religious Doubt”, “Building a New Life”, “Criticism of Religious Prejudice”, “At Churchmen”, “Spiders and Flies”, and “Village Darkness”, in addition, letters from readers were printed. It is worth noting that in the early 1930s, “Bezbozhnik” introduced a column devoted to the Nizhny Novgorod region (Gorky region).

An important place in the newspaper occupied articles by I. I. Skvortsov-

Stepanov "Thoughts on Religion", F. N. Oleshchuk on the work of the SVB in the USSR, as well as a series of articles by Em. Yaroslavsky "Bible for Believers and Unbelievers" (these materials were printed in almost every issue). The goal of Em. Yaroslavsky's articles was to explain the processes and phenomena not from the point of the Bible, but from the point of view of natural science.

In the materials of "Bezbozhnik" it was emphasized that the antireligious propaganda should be conducted systematically, in-depth, on a scientific basis, without offending the feelings of believers, in the form of lively and understandable speeches, and it was recommended that natural scientists and materialists be increasingly involved as authors of antireligious speeches. A special place in the newspaper was given to the education of young people in the spirit of atheism, in connection with this many articles were published on issues of school education.

One more direction in the work of the city's SVB organization was the SVB's participation in the closing of churches.

Thus, in 1925 Sormovsky Nikolsky Church was closed, in 1926 Spassky Staroyarmarochny Cathedral was closed (the military department occupied it as a storehouse) [1, p. 14].

In 1928 four churches were closed: Zhivonosovskaya Church in the Lower Bazaar near the Kremlin and Ioanno-Predtechenskaya Slobodskaya Church (near the Annunciation Monastery) – due to the emergency state of the buildings, Krestovozdvizhenskaya Church at Krestovozdvizhensky Monastery (was transferred to the headquarters of the 17th Rifle Division), Kozmo-Damianskaya Church near the River Station (the church was exploded at night of July 11 to 12, 1928) [1, p. 16].

In 1929 three churches were closed: Pokrovskaya Molitovskaya Church ("at the request of the public" it was given to the nursery), Nikolaevskaya Nizhneposadskaya Church (intended for dismantling to use bricks to build the House of the Soviets in the Kremlin), Smolenskaya (Odigitrievskaya) Gordeevskaya Church (as too "close to the educational institution") [1, p. 16].

Believers had an extremely negative attitude toward the closure of churches. Thus, according to the materials of the Unified State Political Department, the closure of the Pokrovskaya Church in Molitovka caused protest sentiments among the population. A crowd of almost 500 people (mostly women) influenced by the agitation of three anti-Soviet women actively opposed the inventory of the property of the church closed by order of the Regional Executive Committee (the order was approved by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee) [2, p. 382].

Next year a township workers' conference was scheduled to discuss the closure of the church, but the workers of the "Krasny Oktyabr" factory refused to elect their delegates. The conference scheduled for June 24, 1930, did not take place due to the absence of the workers. On the same day a group of religiously minded female workers of the "Krasny Oktyabr" factory organized the collection of signatures under a statement protesting against the closure of the church. The statement was signed by 218 people (mostly women). In protest against the withdrawal of the statement by the secretary of the shop cell, 25 female workers of the workshop gave up work and carried out anti-Soviet agitation in the shop. The outreach efforts resulted in some change in the sentiments of the workers [2, p. 483].

On August 23, 1930, a crowd of up to 400 people (mostly women) organized by an anti-Soviet element resisted the seizure of church property from a closed church in the township of Molitovka. To the shouting of the crowd: "Robbers, bandits, blasphemers, you will soon be finished", the crowd threw stones at the people who were seizing the church property. The incident was remedied by a detachment of mounted police [2, p. 483].

As S. V. Pokrovskaya notes, "the Bolsheviks paid great attention to ensuring that the actions they inspired to close churches were in the nature of the people's will – churches were closed "at the request of the working people, and the authorities allegedly only responded to them" [10, p. 169].

In their work, the atheists faced numerous difficulties, including their rejection by the older generation, based on religious ideas. Nevertheless, atheistic propaganda found a lively response among young people during antireligious campaigns, watching atheistic films and posters. The work of the SVB did not go unnoticed;

later, thanks to the activities of the atheists, the population began to move away from religion.

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Cult against illiteracy in Nizhny Novgorod, the period of industrialization

Abstract: *The article is devoted to the peculiarities of cultural campaign in the period of industrialization. The author uses wide factual material to reveal the forms and methods of illiteracy liquidation in cities (towns) and villages of the Nizhny Novgorod region. The reaction of the population to the cultural campaign is disclosed. The conclusion is made about the reasons for the closing up of this process.*

Key words: *cultural campaign, elimination of illiteracy, industrialization.*

The problem of illiteracy of the population, as one of the most acute, was tried to be solved since 1917 until the beginning of the Great Patriotic War. “The problem of illiteracy in the Soviet Union became especially urgent in the early 1930s, when the task of transforming the country from an agrarian to an industrial one was set” [14]. In urban, industrial centers the presence of elementary education became an urgent need, as the country needed trained, literate workers and specialists to ensure the industrialization. In Nizhny Novgorod in the late 20’s and early 30’s building of one of the largest Soviet enterprises – Nizhny Novgorod, and later Gorky Automobile Plant – was carried out. Under the conditions of construction, the problem of illiteracy of the urban population was one of the top priorities in Nizhny Novgorod. During the beginning of industrialization, one of the most interesting stages in the elimination of illiteracy was the cultural campaign announced in the fall of 1928 at the initiative of the Komsomol. “...The Bolsheviks understood the importance of raising the general educational level of the population as one of the ways of a more accelerated industrial transformation of the country, for industry was in dire need of a literate professionally trained staff” [12]. This article aims to show what methods were used to eliminate illiteracy in Nizhny Novgorod during the beginning of industrialization.

It is worth emphasizing that the coverage of the topic of eliminating illiteracy in the Nizhny Novgorod province is largely of an overview and statistical nature. The history of the study of the problem dates back to the Soviet era. Back in the 1920s, works devoted to the problem of educational program began to appear, first of all, these were works of agitation and propaganda, collections of party and Komsomol resolutions on literacy project issues, brochures on the organization of educational program circles, etc. In 1930, the economic and statistical sector of the regional committee published the collection “Results of the Census of the Illiterates and Low-Literates in the Nizhny Novgorod Territory”. [1] The collection was aimed at summarizing the statistical data collected during the censuses of 1926-1930, so the authors practically did not draw conclusions regarding the nature, methods, etc. At the same time, in addition to detailed statistics on the dynamics of the number of literate and low-literate people, the collection contained an essay “Literacy of B. Nizhny Novgorod”. It emphasized that the pace of illiteracy elimination was insufficient.

In 1948, an essay “Public Education in the Gorky Region for 30 Years” was published. [10] A. K. Zheltov, among other things, described in it the development of the elimination of illiteracy in the territory of the Nizhny Novgorod province/region. The author emphasized the mass nature of this phenomenon: “All more or less literate people, especially young people, took part in this important work”. The high role of the “Down with Illiteracy” society was also noted, the role of Komsomol or party structures in the educational program was practically not mentioned. P. I. Shulpin in the article “Cultural construction in the Nizhny Novgorod region during the years of the first five-year plan”, included in the collection “Socialist Construction in the Gorky Region in 1957” [15], also noted the high activity of participants of the cultural campaign.

In general, in the works of the Soviet period, considerable attention was paid to the dynamics of the growth of the literate population. According to a number of Soviet researchers, by the beginning of the 1930s, the population of the region in the overwhelming majority had already mastered reading and writing. Despite the publication of a significant number of statistical collections, at the present stage of studying the problem, the conclusions of the Soviet period were called into question. So, Yu. K. Kalistratov, a researcher of the working class and Soviet culture of the 1920-30s, noted in his dissertation that such issues remained debatable as the participation of workers in the cultural movement of 1928-1941, a real assessment of the level of literacy based on new documents and research, etc. [11]

The Nizhny Novgorod region leadership paid attention to cultural and educational activities. In the report on the state of cultural and mass work in the spring and summer of 1928 among the activities carried out by the Komsomol offices were the following: “...youth clubs and workshops were organized, on various subjects of interest to the youth, for example, in the “ARS” club, the youth club organized lectures on the following subjects: “Political Review of Current Events”, “Chemical Weapons”. A number of organizations and offices organized collective visits to the cinema. Viewing of “The Cobbler of Paris” film with discussion was held in the city, Kanavino, Rastyapino, and Sormovo”. Such a visit was organized in the city as a center, which has an opportunity to provide the population with a cinema. In the district centers such events were replaced by an alternative: in Rastyapino, Balakhna, Kanavino, visits to the theater were organized [6].

One of the main types of mass work in the summer time were also excursions conducted by the offices of both territorial units (city, Kanavino, Sormovo) and the offices of large industries, which in such events acted on a par with the offices of urban areas. Thus, as an example, the office of the “Krasnaya Etna” Plant purchased boats for collective boating. In the city, excursions were organized to villages – to Myza, as well as to Mokhovye gory. From the examples given in the summaries and reports, most of the activities were carried out by the city organizations of Nizhny Novgorod. The second place was taken by organizations of district centers or production centers near the city, such as Kanavino, Sormovo.

After the announcement of the cultural campaign, an appeal to the intellectuals of Nizhny Novgorod was issued. Its text, addressed to the residents of the city, testifies to the fact that the leadership of the region was anxious to involve as much of the public as possible in the process of the illiteracy liquidation, which was not an easy task even in the city. “An unprecedented, grandiose Socialist reconstruction of the entire economy is underway, but the illiteracy of 9,000 workers between the ages of 16 and 35 in the Nizhny Novgorod region stands as a tremendous obstacle to Socialist construction. ... Without the elimination of illiteracy, the Soviet economic and social apparatus cannot be purged of careerists, bureaucrats, secret and obvious saboteurs, conscious and unconscious agents of the bourgeoisie. ... Literacy will not only help to identify bureaucrats, it will make it possible to replace unfit officials with nominees from among the workers and peasants. ... Literacy and technical knowledge will help to rationalize production, raise labor productivity, improve quality, and thereby help to lower prices” [7]. Thus, initially the cultural campaign against illiteracy was presented to the population as a way of solving urgent social and economic problems.

It should be pointed out that according to the plans reflected in the documents, in the city, unlike in the village, illiteracy was to be completely eliminated as a result of the cultural campaign. “The Party and the Komsomol put forward the idea of a 100 percent illiteracy liquidation in Nizhny Novgorod” [3]. This is also confirmed by later documents. So, in the decision of the presidium of the provisional bureau of the Central Committee of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League of the region about the Komsomol participation in the liquidation of illiteracy, one of the basic tasks of the cultural campaign means “... coverage by education in the village first of all of its proletarian part and in the city – total involvement of workers and housewives in particular. At the same time having in mind the task of complete liquidation of illiteracy in the regional, district and republic centers and in workers settlements” [5].

One of the main distinctions of the cultural mass work in the city at the beginning of industrialization in 1928-1929 was the most serious attention to the problems of everyday life. In 1928, among the activities carried out by the Komsomol offices of the city as part of the cultural campaign against illiteracy, the main activities were precisely those to improve the living conditions of Komsomol members of the city. Virtually every organization that appeared in the reports as the cultural campaign activities cited household surveys of the dormitories where Komsomol members lived, and distribution of individual and anonymous questionnaires to find out about problems with living conditions. Thus, in the district of B. Nizhny group of builders conducted "... a survey of the living conditions of four Komsomol members ... Now is conducted a survey of all Komsomol members. There was a youth evening, through the party office we asked the city council to set up a dormitory for the lonely people who live in separate apartments". The provincial court conducted a survey of the living conditions of the Komsomol members, after which they "raised before the administration the question of reclassifying certain groups and increasing wages". In some cases, the offices sought to improve living conditions for members of their organizations. The "Trud" society organized a household body, it surveyed the everyday life of 17 Komsomol members. "One girl got a better apartment". Interestingly, some factories and some organizations conducted surveys on the non-working hours of their Komsomol members. The summary presented information that the NizhRabkornod organization, for example, kept a record of how Komsomol members used their salary and how they organized their leisure time. This attention to the everyday problems of Komsomol youth as part of the cultural campaign was prompted by the problems that arose in the urban environment among factory workers. Many workers arrived at the construction site from the countryside – during the formation of the new districts. As a result, the young people working in the city were originally villagers who had recently arrived in B. Nizhny and joined the Komsomol. By no means always did the everyday life and habits of the people who came to work match the ideals of the Komsomol organization. In the reports on all kinds of cultural and mass work attention was drawn to the domestic corruption that "... existed among individual Komsomol members: drunkenness, hooliganism, foppery, filth, ... these phenomena seized the whole groups of youth in some cases led by the active, up to the members of the plenum of the provincial committee" [6].

The Nizhny Novgorod press for the same period represented the same problems. In the Nizhny Novgorod Komsomol newspaper “Leninskaya Smena” for 1929, you can find several notes on the problems of life of young workers.

Thus, in the article entitled “Dirty of Factory School”, the situation in the hostel for young girls was demonstrated: “There are 120 girls in the hostel. All of them are former pupils of orphanages. There are no signs of collectivization in the hostel. Each of them lives only for herself. Theft in the hostel is a common occurrence. They break locks on chests. You can’t leave anything behind. The Komsomol member Vlasova was recently accused of stealing at the market. The Komsomol member Rudakova became so lazy that she stopped going to the bathhouse and had lice. They had to move her out into the corridor”. [9] In the same article, they pointed out the lack of culture of girls, their complete absence of any cultural and social life: “The festivities cross all boundaries. Several times hooligans, guys, with whom the girls were walking, came to the hostel and smashed the windows. Political circles don’t work. The only circle of singing, having existed for two months, closed. No newspapers are read in the hostel. The school-factory arranged an excursion to the Myza. The girls were asked to go. Nobody agreed. The girls collectively never went to the cinema, theater or excursions”. [9] In addition, the newspaper covered various collective events dedicated to raising the cultural level of Komsomol members. For example, in the article “Walks and rest. Excursion of the “Leninskaya Smena”, a river excursion along the Volga organized by the bureau of the Central Committee of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League of the Nizhny Novgorod region was covered: “In addition to the radio receiver, it is planned to install a short-wave radio transmitter on the “Blagodarny” steamer. On the pages of the “Leninskaya Smena” reports of the head of the excursion and radiograms of a special correspondent will be posted daily. The chairman of the Provisional Bureau of the Central Committee of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League of the Nizhny Novgorod region under the Provincial Department of Builders, Comrade Mashingisser, before the Presidium of the Provincial Department, raises the question of sending ten people on excursions at the expense of the cultural fund”. [9]

On July 16, a meeting of workers of the regional propaganda department was held, which was attended by 17 delegates. “The following questions were worked out: about the theoretical movement and political education in the Komsomol for the 1929-1930 academic year, about the participation of the Komsomol members in the elimination of illiteracy, about a semimonthly of physical education, about holding the International Youth Day and about the Komsomol meeting. The meeting noted the need for the total involvement in the education of the core group, up to the leading cadres, as well as the mass nature of political education and the in-depth study of issues. The meeting, considering the work of teaching the illiterate one of the main issues, decided to announce from September 1 a mass cultural campaign against illiteracy. The month of August will be the month of preparatory work for the cultural campaign. The meeting decided to raise the question of convening a regional congress on the elimination of illiteracy, at which it’s necessary to involve all professional, Soviet and public organizations”. [9] Thus, we can conclude that the events of the cultural campaign were not held all year round, the cultural campaign was scheduled every year again, before the start of the academic year.

“The campaign for the harvest and social competition are the main tasks. But the fulfillment of these tasks is closely connected with raising the cultural level of the masses. The situation with the liquidation of illiteracy in the region is not good. In September we organize a cultural campaign again. In the content of the cultural work of the Young Communist League, there is still no proper connection with the main work now being carried out by the Party and the Komsomol. We must fight to ensure that every Komsomol member knows the five-year plan of the country, region, and workshop.” [13]

The next activity that the Komsomol offices at various enterprises in the city engaged in from the very beginning was the identification of illiterates and low-literates among them and their training. Thus, the NizhRabkornvord organization identified three illiterates and sent them to school through a questionnaire; the provincial court identified 5 illiterate people and sent them to a school for the liquidation of illiteracy, the “Oktyabr” factory allocated 7 specialists; the “Trud” society created a group to eliminate illiteracy and identified 7 illiterate people, proceeded to teach them; the State Labor Organization allocated 50 people to work on literacy, 26 people participated in the registration of illiterates in B. Nizhny. Before unification of the city, the districts of Sormovo and Kanavino were considered separate industrial centers, reports for them were presented separately. So, the shipbuilding shop at the Sormovo plant registered illiterates and low-literates, and sent four Komsomol members to teach groups, and 10 persons were allocated for individual training. Second level school gave 65 specialists to eliminate illiteracy. In the district of Kanavino at the "Krasnaya Etna" Plant 30 illiterate people were identified. All of them were sent to a school for the liquidation of illiteracy [3].

Another activity that was widespread in the city as part of the cultural campaign were open debates, lectures, and conversations with Komsomol members on acute social and everyday topics which showed what major problems Komsomol members and young people of the city encountered at that moment. Komsomol organizations in B. Nizhny, Sormovo and Kanavino organized disputes and lectures on the following subjects: "Komsomol Ethics", "Sex Question", "Diseases of Youth", "How Czechoslovak Youth Work", "About the New Man", "Sexual Life of Youth", and "Fighting Alcohol". The topics of such events also testify to the problems that arose in the new urban environment and the desire of the leadership to set the norms of life of the young workers of the city [3]. Thus, the framework of the cultural campaign in 1928–1929 included not only the training of illiterates, but also the cultural development of Komsomol members. One important aspect of cultural development was the improvement and modification of the living conditions of Komsomol members.

At the same time, in relation to the village, the city undertook patronage and assistance. Many offices of city organizations, among the activities they carried out within the framework of the cultural campaign, cited some kind of patronage assistance to various villages and individual collective farms. So, Komsomol members of the state shipping company went to the sponsored village with a report, brought three people from there to visit, showed museums, factories, and so on. They were going to go again with a doctor to help the office. The electrical and mechanical shops of the Sormovo plant began collecting books for the village, received literature from the State Publishing House for distribution. RIZh also organized the collection of literature for the sponsored villages [3].

However, the effectiveness of cultural activities did not match the center's plans. Already the next year, 1929, unsatisfactory results were reported. The resolution on the report states: "As of January 1, only 40% of the set plan has been covered with education on average in the district" [5]. It can be assumed that the methods of the cultural campaign could only be useful if the public was involved, and there was an opportunity to carry out various activities, both cultural and social. At the time of the beginning of industrialization, such opportunities, primarily economic ones, were only available in the city. Moreover, young people who had come to the factories were concentrated precisely in the large industrial centers, and hence the methods of work of the Komsomol could be applied mainly here. In the village, however, both the necessary conditions and the people (young, Komsomol members) who could support them were absent, so the elimination of illiteracy in the village proceeded at a much slower pace.

Gradually, the activities that were carried out within the framework of the cultural campaign began to displease the party leadership. The results of the cultural campaign in 1928–1929 did not coincide with the pace which the state had planned.

The resolution made after the receipt of reports on the state of the cultural campaign in 1928, 1929, summarizes: "Having discussed the report on the state of the cultural campaign in the district and the participation of the Komsomol organization in it, the bureau of the district committee notes that the general state of the cultural campaign is unsatisfactory. ...Komsomol organizations, despite repeated directives of the bureau of the district committee, did not fulfil the relevant requirements, the task of allocation of 2,000 participants of the cultural campaign was not performed, the attention of Komsomol masses was mobilized weakly, the accelerated tempo in work was not taken, the proper responsibility for the cultural campaign was not felt. All this is a consequence of the fact that the cultural campaign – elimination of illiteracy as the most important political task – was not in the focus of the Komsomol organization's work" [5].

"In addition to the educational, trade union and cooperative organizations, the Komsomol should also be included among those responsible for disrupting this year's cultural campaigns. Last year, the Komsomol was the initiator of a cultural campaign. An organized thousand of Komsomol members who performed works on literacy project, gave good results. Then the first thousand was followed by the second thousand. As a result, the energy of the Komsomol thousands raised the work of liquidating illiteracy last year to its due height. Over a million illiterates were trained last year. Such a colossal scope of educational work in the very first year of the cultural campaign was a good reinforcement of the successful fulfillment of the five-year "plan of five-year works". However, we meet the second year of the cultural campaign inappropriately. The six million illiterate people scheduled for education this academic year are still waiting in vain for the necessary cadres of participants of the cultural campaign. The obligation undertaken by the Central Committee of the Komsomol to allocate one hundred thousand Komsomol members is not being fulfilled locally or is being fulfilled extremely weakly. From this it is clear that this year's cultural campaign is in danger of being disrupted, from this it is clear that on the third front, on the front of the struggle against darkness and ignorance, the most serious reinforcements are needed, which the Komsomol can and must provide. Our era of socialist construction requires an accelerated pace of work. In the course of socialist competition, the organizations must therefore multiply the cadres of cultural workers tenfold, accelerate the pace of work, as the responsibility for the fulfillment of the plan for the elimination of illiteracy among industrial workers and farm laborers in this academic year lies with each Komsomol member." [2]

Gradually, the activities carried out by the organizations during the cultural campaign began to be taken under stricter control by the Party. Already in 1929 the Nizhny Novgorod Komsomol was ordered to take certain obligations: "Considering such a situation intolerable, the bureau of the district committee demands from the district organization a decisive break in the improvement of participation in the cultural campaign and directly in the work for the elimination of illiteracy" [5].

Among the specific actions to be taken by the Komsomol were the following: to mobilize 2,000 Komsomol members for the fight against illiteracy according to the instructions of the bureau of the district committee; to undertake to teach 7,500 illiterate people, 1,750 low-literate people, to organize 50 propaganda rooms, 120 groups of agrarian literacy and to distribute 5 units of field equipment; to distribute special literature for the low-literate in an amount of 1,750 copies, to recruit new subscribers to newspapers in an amount of 750 people, and also to completely cover all the illiterate and low-literate Komsomol members with training, to apply methods of Union influence to those who do not attend" [5]. The need to train a large number of people in the shortest possible time elementary knowledge forced the leadership to focus already on the training of illiterates. Special facilities for the elimination of illiteracy were opened in the city where were sent illiterates who had been discovered among the young [8]. One can say that in order to teach people, coercion methods were used as well, so that one could not speak of pure initiative.

At the same time, it should be noted that when giving instructions and setting standards for the mobilization of workers to combat illiteracy, for the urban population the standards were significantly higher. So at a meeting of the bureau of the Nizhny Novgorod Provincial Committee of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League, for work on the elimination of illiteracy it was determined to approve the allotment of workers by districts and regions, according to which: there were 300 people in the Sormovsky district committee, 500 people in the Kanavinsky district committee, and 700 in the "city" one, and in total for these three district committees – 1,500 people. Here it should be noted that at the time of the meeting, the city was not yet territorially united and, as before, the "city" was called its upper part. The districts of Kanavino, the location of the pre-revolutionary Nizhny Novgorod Fair and the territory of the former village of Sormovo, where one of the largest factories Sormovsky was located, were still considered other districts and the district committees of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League existed in each of these districts, although in fact they all already represented one urban settlement. This is confirmed by the fact that the report summarizes the allotment of these three urban areas together. Thus, the allotment in the territory of the industrial center amounted to 1,500 people. For comparison, at the same meeting, an allotment was adopted for the Vyatka district which amounted to 1,200 people, and for the Murom district – also 1,200 people. [5] Thus, the city itself required almost the largest number of mobilized workers to combat illiteracy. On the one hand, more people live in the industrial center, on the other hand, this is due to the fact that, as already mentioned, the population from the village comes to the construction of factories, and is still mostly illiterate. And since the largest number of workers aspire to the center, a large number of illiterate people accumulate in the industrial center, who must be trained first of all, since they, having come to work at the factory, are already turning into proletarians.

Gradually, the method of cultural campaign as a method of combating illiteracy came to naught, giving way to the creation of a new school system. In May 1931 "... Moscow declared the completion of the elimination of illiteracy in the capital ... In 1928–1930 the country eliminated illiteracy in relation to over 20 million people, including over a million people in the Nizhny Novgorod region" [12]. It follows from the documents that the activities that were carried out within the framework of the cultural campaign, mainly operated in Nizhny Novgorod or large district centers. The main activities carried out in the city were mass cultural ones: lectures, conversations, excursions, as well as studying the everyday life of young residents and improving their living conditions. Gradually, under pressure from the leadership, the events became more monotonous. The state demanded mandatory identification and training of all illiterates in the Komsomol, and also demanded that the Komsomol offices achieved certain results in teaching illiterates and supplying special personnel for this purpose. The city was the main center of coordination of the activities of cultural campaign participants in the Nizhny Novgorod region.

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Gorky during the Great Patriotic War. Organization of protection of the city from German aggression

Abstract: *To show, on the basis of diary entries of Franz Halder, Chief of General Staff of the German Army Ground Forces, how the Barbarossa plan was developed, and its implementation with regard to the city of Gorky. To summarize and clarify materials on the construction of the Gorky defensive line and the organization of the city's anti-aircraft defense.*

Key words: *Barbarossa Plan, Franz Halder's Diary, Great Patriotic War, Gorky, Gorky City Defense Committee, defensive line, anti-aircraft defense.*

The city of Gorky (now Nizhny Novgorod) was and remains the regional center of the Gorky (Nizhny Novgorod) region, which even in the pre-war period was one of the leading industrial regions of the Russian Federation and the Soviet Union as a whole with developed transport routes. Before the war, its territory was 89.2 thousand square kilometers. As of January 1, 1941, the region included 62 districts, 17 cities, 26 urban-type settlements, 909 village councils [1, p. 9-10; 22, p. 252]. According to the 1939 census, 3,551,329 people lived in the Gorky region, including 1,219,876 of urban and 2,650,011 of rural population. Of these, 643,689 people lived in the city of Gorky [2, p. 23; 11, p. 61]. In 1940, out of more than one and a half thousand enterprises in various branches of large-scale industry, 44 enterprises belonged to the defense people's commissariats. The Gorky region was also the scientific and cultural center of the country [11, p. 61-62]. 11 universities and 49 technical schools, 13 museums, 10 theaters, 1,462 library institutions functioned here [9, p. 384; 12, p. 102; 26, p. 100]. Most of the industrial facilities and institutions of science and culture were located in the city of Gorky.

The Gorky region as a major military-strategic and industrial center could not be ignored by the German High Command when developing the Barbarossa plan, as evidenced by the records of the diary of the Chief of General Staff of the Ground

Forces, Franz Halder. Since this problem is little-studied, let us fix on it in more detail. The plans with regard to Gorky were considered, of course, in line with the development of a general strategy for the capture of our country as a whole. The first record of Halder, as evidenced by the diary, relates to June 30, 1940, where the case is “about the way of striking a decisive blow to Russia forcing it to recognize the dominating role of Germany in Europe” [3, p. 18]. And on July 22 of the same year he made a meaningful note: “The Russian problem will be solved by an offensive. It is necessary to think over the plan of the coming operation. ... Such an advance deep into Russia is desirable so that our aviation could defeat its most important centers [3, p. 60]. On this day Brauchitsch [Commander-in-Chief of the Ground Forces] for the first time received instructions to begin preliminary development of the plan of the campaign against Russia. The next record as of July 31, 1940 states that “... Russia should be liquidated. The term is the spring of 1941” [3, p. 80]. “The sooner we destroy Russia, the better. The operation will only make sense if we crush the entire state in one swift blow. Only the capture of some part of the territory is not enough. The beginning [of the military campaign] is set on May 1941. The duration of the operation is five months” [3, p. 80-81]. At this time the main directions of the strike were defined. Moscow was designated as the main target [3, p. 83]. Then at meetings on August 5, 6, 7, 9, 1940 questions were raised regarding the preparation of the operation in the East. A map of military operations was drawn up [3, p. 88, 89, 90, 92]. Thus went the process of developing the Barbarossa plan. At the same time, information about what was happening in Russia at that time was being gathered. At the meeting with Hitler on November 4, 1940 the order was given “not to stop the preparation of the operation in the East” [3, p. 222]. However, the situation was changing and Halder tried to change Hitler’s mind about the terms of the Eastern campaign, speaking about the difficulties of its implementation in the planned time [3, p. 224]. And if it were not for the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union leadership, restraining Hitler’s plans, the war could have begun much earlier than on June 22, 1941.

But let us return directly to the object of our attention. About the plans for the

Gorky region the records in Halder's diary were made just before the war. In his notes as of May 5, 1941 it is about the publication of new works on German history after the "defeat of Russia and the achievement of Hitler specified operational goals" – on the exit to the line Arkhangelsk-Astrakhan [3, p. 501-504]. As we will become clear later, the advance of German troops on Gorky was originally planned through this direction. On the eve of approval of the Barbarossa plan by Hitler, on September 17, 1940, Halder mentioned Gorky in the record about the placement of the Russian military industry: "32 percent – Ukraine, 28 percent (especially the aviation industry) – in the region of Moscow and Gorky, 16 percent – in the Leningrad region, the rest in the Urals and the Far East". Gorky was subject to direct capture at the beginning of the third, final stage of the implementation of the Barbarossa Plan. The assault on Moscow was supposed to begin on August 30, and its capture – in early September. Consequently, in the second half of September – early October 1941, the Germans were going to enter Gorky in a victorious march. The arrival to our city was planned along the roads leading to it from the west along the Moscow highway and along the Gorky–Murom highway, built in 1940. The city was not to be destroyed. The enemy planned to seize all industrial and cultural facilities safe and sound [18, p. 10, 11].

In order to manage the potentially conquered territories of the USSR (in particular the RSFSR) on the basis of Hitler's decree of July 17, 1941 "On civil administration in the newly occupied eastern regions", the Reichs Ministry of the Occupied Eastern Territories was established [24]. This ministry was headed by the Reichsleiter of the Nazi Party A. Rosenberg. In its most complete form, the program for the destruction of the USSR was set out in the so-called "Generalplan Ost", which began to be developed back in 1940. Then it was constantly elaborated and improved [24]. The entire territory of Eastern Europe was divided into Reichskommissariats. In the central part of Russia, it was planned to create the Moscow Reichskommissariat, the territory of which was to extend from Moscow to the Urals. Muscovy was to be divided into eight districts. Among them were the following: the city of Moscow itself with adjacent lands, Gorky (Nizhny Novgorod) – Central Muscovy between Kazan, Moscow and the Vyatka-Kirov region, Vyatka – Northern Muscovy. Central Muscovy in the center with the city of Gorky was considered the main one [28]. Beyond the Urals, it was necessary to create the state of Idel-Ural, where all representatives of non-Russian nationality were to be exiled. “The whole East to the Urals should be a center of the Aryan race” [15]. All peoples exiled to Western Siberia were deprived of their native language. “It will be impossible, and politically, perhaps, wrong to make Tatar or Mordovian the main language in the Urals, and, say, Georgian in the Caucasus. Therefore, it is worth considering the introduction of the German language as a language that connects all these peoples...” [15].

But the situation was changed. Already in the initial period of the war, during the fighting near Smolensk and Yelnya, thanks to the heroic resistance of the fighters of our army, the enemy’s initial plans were broken. The fascist German army was forced to go on the defensive for two months. On September 16, 1941 a new plan of attack on Moscow was approved with the code name “Typhoon”, the deadlines for reaching the city of Gorky were postponed. The offensive of the fascist troops on Moscow on September 30 and October 2 created the threat of capturing the capital. The Gorky region became a front-line region. At the city meeting of the activists on October 17, 1941 it was decided: “To take all necessary measures to make the city an impregnable fortress for the fascist troops...” [18, p. 11].

In such a difficult situation on October 16, 1941 the Gorky Regional Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks and the Gorky Regional Executive Committee adopted a resolution on the construction of the Gorky defensive line on the right bank of the Volga and the left bank of the Oka with by-passes around Gorky and Murom (which at that time was part of the Gorky region).

On October 23, 1941 the Gorky City Defense Committee was created here. It was the supreme body of state power in the region formed due to emergency situation. The first meetings on October 24 and 25 addressed the issues related to the defense of the city: on the commandant of Gorky and Dzerzhinsk, district commandant’s offices, anti-aircraft defense, placement of orphanages in Gorky and others [20, p. 28, 29-30].

On October 30, the Gorky City Defense Committee considered the issue on building the Gorky line, and on October 31 – on the construction of the Oka defensive line, on December 6 it approved the plans and schedules of defense work [14, p. 284, 288]. The Gorky City Defense Committee clearly supervised the work on the construction of defensive structures throughout the construction. As evidenced by archival documents, the problems associated with the construction of defensive lines were considered at almost every meeting of the City Defense Committee. 43 resolutions were adopted: on the mobilization of workers for the construction of a defensive line, on the organization of air defense at the defensive line, on the organization of a fighter aviation patrol service, on providing workers employed in construction with equipment, inventory, clothes and footwear, on the production of repair and restoration works, etc. [5, s. 48, 117, 123, 134; 7, s. 153-155, 161, 163].

And it was very important because later the enemy did not give up its plans to capture Gorky. So, on November 13, 1941 in the Belarusian city of Orsha there was a meeting of the German commanders of the Army Group "Center" where Halder said that the German troops before the full onset of winter could seize Vologda and Gorky in the north [4]. The enemy, without waiting for the capture of Moscow, intended to attack Gorky with a separate strike of Guderian's tank army. But, as evidenced by the materials of this meeting, Lieutenant Colonel Kurt von Liebenstein, Guderian's Chief of Staff, in response to Halder's demand to lead the offensive by the 2nd Panzer Army to the Gorky area, said that "this is not May and we are not in France" [19]. The German offensive on Gorky was also planned in 1942. In Halder's diary as of November 19, 1941 after the meeting with Hitler there is a record: "Tasks for the next year, 1942. First of all – the Caucasus. In the north – depending on the results of the operation this year. Occupation of Vologda or Gorky. Deadline – by the end of May" [4]. The task to reach Gorky in 1942 is repeated three times by Halder.

As we can see, the measures to create a defensive line of fortifications to protect the city were necessary and timely.

The heroic work of the local population on the construction of the defensive lines cannot be described in one article. Over half a million people (it was planned to involve 350 thousand people) were involved in the construction of these defenses in severe weather conditions in the fall and early winter of 1941-1942. Total volume of the executed works at Gorky and Oka by-passes amounted to: excavation works - 11,364 thousand cub. m., anti-tank obstacles - 793 km, firing points - 2,332, dugouts - 4,788 [18, p. 13]. By January 1, 1942 the Gorky defensive line was commissioned and on January 14 it was accepted by the special commission of the People’s Commissariat of Defense of the USSR.

From December 15, 1941 to January 21, 1942 the Gorky Defense Committee considered awarding citizens and labor collectives, who especially distinguished themselves during the construction of defensive lines, with certificates of merit and bonuses [14, p. 290-292]. 80 builders were awarded orders and medals, 10,186 people were awarded Certificates of Merit of the Gorky City Defense Committee, and 875 people were awarded bonuses [5, s. 283-2875; 6, s. 43-458]. With the end of the Moscow battle in April 1942, according to Decree of the State Defense Committee as of March 26, 1942 No. 1501 cc “On the construction and restoration of defensive lines”, all erected rear defensive lines were transferred to the jurisdiction of the military councils of the respective military districts. They were responsible for the safety of structures and maintaining them from destruction [23]. Repair work at the Gorky defensive line continued for almost the entire 1942.

The city of Gorky at the same time was forced to strengthen the defense in the air. The organization of the city’s air defense is more studied than the construction of the defensive line [21]. But it has also been falsified most of all during the perestroika period of our history. Of course, the factor of surprise attack of Nazi Germany affected this direction of defense as well. In particular, as the situation showed, it was necessary to strengthen the troops of the Gorky air defense area already in military conditions. Besides the defense of its air borders, the actions of the Gorky air defense area at that time represented a direct and immediate combat support of the troops defending Moscow. This situation obliged the local authorities to promptly solve the problem of strengthening the anti-aircraft defense. The Gorky Defense Committee adopted more than 40 resolutions on its organization and improvement of the use of active anti-aircraft defense of the city of Gorky, on the condition of bomb shelters and other urgent problems [7, s. 72; 8, s. 38, 39-41].

In Gorky were established city and district anti-aircraft defense headquarters, their own headquarters were created at large enterprises. The author considered this problem in more detail based on the archival materials in earlier works [27]. Here we shall reproduce only some facts, which to date have been insufficiently reflected in the works of local historians. For a long time, materials on air defense were classified.

In the summer of 1941 the air defense of Gorky and the nearby major industrial centers was provided for by the Gorky Brigade Air Defense Area. It included air defense points of Gorky, Dzerzhinsk, Balakhna, Arzamas, Vladimir, Kovrov, Ivanovo, Komsomolsk, Kineshma and Murom. In July 1941 the 90th reserve anti-aircraft artillery regiment began to form, which played an extremely important role in procurement of new units of the Gorky air defense area. In September 1941, on the basis of the 90th reserve anti-aircraft artillery regiment were formed, in addition, the 17th and 18th separate anti-aircraft artillery battalions. In October 1941, a battalion of the Gorky anti-aircraft artillery school was involved in the defense of Gorky. Additional forces in the form of separate anti-aircraft artillery battalions arrived in Balakhna, Seima and Vladimir [17, p. 13-14; 18, p. 13; 21, p. 63-64].

Air operations of the enemy to destroy the Gorky military-industrial area took place, as already known, in three stages:

the first one – November 4-6, 1941, the second – from November 12, 1941 to May 27, 1943, the third – June 4-22, 1943. Thus, the air defense troops, Volga fleet, NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) and other forces conducted an anti-air battle for Gorky for 596 days. Prior to that, in October 1941, the enemy's aircraft made reconnaissance from a high altitude and conducted aerial surveys in the area of the Gorky Automobile Plant and other industrial facilities. In addition, the German pilots were provided with accurate maps of industrial districts of the city and the Gorky region. At present these pictures and maps are available on the Internet.

In the night of November 4-5, 1941 the first raid on Gorky was made, in the night of November 5-6 a new raid was performed. In both raids, 300 Heinkel-111 and

Junkers-88 enemy aircraft attacked the city, only 25 broke through to Gorky. Aircraft that broke through caused damage to the Gorky Telephone Plant named after V. I. Lenin, the "Engine of the Revolution" Plant, automobile plant [16, p. 14; 21, p. 48]. People got hurt; 127 people were killed, 176 were seriously injured, 195 were slightly injured [17, p. 14]. After these raids, the Soviet command took additional measures to strengthen the Gorky air defense area. By the order of the commander of the Moscow air defense zone as of November 8, 1941, all units and headquarters of the Gorky Brigade Air Defense Area were included in the active Red Army [21, p. 49]. And according to the decision of the State Defense Committee as of November 9, 1941 "On Strengthening and Reinforcing Anti-Aircraft Defense of the Territory of the Soviet Union", the Gorky Brigade Air Defense Area was transformed into the battalion area which included new units. An echelonized air enemy warning system, separate units of anti-aircraft machine guns and small caliber anti-aircraft artillery were created. The camouflage of large military objects was strengthened, and other measures were taken [21, p. 52, 63-65]. In accordance with the decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR as of June 24, 1941 "On the Fight against Paratroopers", on a voluntary basis, fighter battalions were formed. In October, 74 fighter battalions numbering 13,700 people and several ski units were formed from them [17, p. 8].

Other additional measures were urgently needed to organize the security of the population, as enemy air raids continued.

With the outbreak of war, the Gorky region became one of the main evacuation and hospital bases for the rear. In accordance with the decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR as of July 5, 1941 "On the Procedure for the Evacuation of the Population in Wartime", an evacuation point was created in Gorky – MEP 41. From the first days of the war, Gorky became a rehabilitation center, where mainly seriously wounded front-line soldiers were treated. In 1941, 89 hospitals for 39,125 beds were formed here, 28 hospitals relocated from other regions were hosted, of which 37 hospitals were located at that time in the city of Gorky (later: 53 hospitals). In different periods of the war, their number in the Gorky region reached 171 institutions [11, p. 70; 16, p. 658-659; 25, p. 174].

Factories, design bureaus, educational and scientific institutions, military schools, orphanages, theaters, and cultural values of museums were also evacuated at first instance to Gorky compared to other regions. The first echelons with evacuees from Moscow, Smolensk, Leningrad, the Tula, Orel, Kursk, Voronezh, Rostov regions and the Crimean ASSR, Belarus, Ukraine, Lithuania and other front-line regions of the country arrived in Gorky already on June 28, 1941. The main part of the human contingent arrived in the Gorky region in the summer and autumn of 1941. By October 1, 1941 the Gorky region accepted and accommodated 145 thousand evacuated citizens [11, p. 62]. In the regional center as of October 11, 1941, 37 thousand people were accommodated. Basically, these were people who arrived here with evacuated factories and educational institutions. Of the hundred factories evacuated to the Gorky region, 13 were of national standing [22, p. 259]. Due to the evacuees and the influx of new workers for production, the population of Gorky from 699,810 people (as of January 1, 1941) increased to 708,547 people (as of the end of 1941). And in the first months of the war it reached 900 thousand [11, p. 62 and 20, p. 20]. In total, 185.8 thousand people arrived in the Gorky region in terms of evacuation (including 60.3 thousand people of the urban population and 125.5 thousand people of the rural population) [27, p. 252]. Among the evacuees there were almost 82 thousand children [13, s. 152]. In particular, more than 700 children of employees of the Central Committee of the MOPR, the apparatus and the executive committee of the Comintern found shelter in the Nizhny Novgorod region. For German, Hungarian, Romanian, Finnish, Austrian, Japanese, English and French children, it became a second home [27, p. 344]. On November 9, 1941 the Gorky City Defense Committee made a decision (protocol No. 3) on the evacuation of women and children from the city of Gorky to the districts of the region [5, s. 81-82]. Then employees and museum valuables, taken to the city of Gorky mainly from Leningrad, as well as collectives of their own museums began to be evacuated to the Urals and Siberia. So, a huge amount of the exhibits arrived in the Gorky region in July 1941 for the safety from the Leningrad museums: the State Russian Museum, Palaces - Museums of Pushkin (Alexander, Pavlovsk, Catherine Palaces), the State Ethnographic Museum, the Smolensk Regional Museum, the museums of the city of Sumy had to be urgently taken out of Gorky. These cargoes were in Gorky from July to November 1941 (inclusive). Then, they were sent further east, to the cities of Molotov (now Perm), Sarapul, Tomsk and Novosibirsk. In the evacuation to the countryside of the Gorky region were sent such local museums as the Gorky Regional Museum of Local Lore – to the village of Tonkino, the Literary Museum n.a. A. M. Gorky and the museum of his childhood "Kashirin's House" – to the village of Bolshie Selki of the Tonshayevsky district. The property of the Ostashkovsky Regional Museum of the Kalinin region was also exported to Tonkino. The Gorky Art Museum having a special value was sent to Novosibirsk [27, p. 363-364; 22, p. 266-267]. All these movements of cultural property, first to Gorky, and then from Gorky in such a short period of time – from July to November 1941 – were associated with a huge amount of work done by the authorities and employees of various institutions in emergency conditions. Since enemy air raids on the city of Gorky continued, on November 12-18, 1941 operational intelligence data on the actions of enemy aircraft in the Moscow air defense zone recorded the following results: "Attempts of the enemy to bombard defense facilities in Gorky, Dzerzhinsk, Balakhna were repulsed by anti-aircraft artillery" [21, p. 51]. Fighting in the sky of Gorky continued throughout 1942. It was necessary to further strengthen the air defense of the city. Security was to be ensured not only for the civilian population, industrial and cultural facilities of Gorky, hospitals, but also military schools that trained officers and military units and formations in the city for the army. Gorky residents prepared replenishments for infantry, armored and mechanized forces. Here were created: 16 infantry divisions and brigades, in 1942 were formed 57 fighter-antitank artillery regiments (IPTAP). In the city and region, the Gorky School named after M. V. Frunze, 3rd Gorky Tank School, Order of Lenin Red Banner Higher Officer Artillery School, Arzamas Military Machine-Gun and Mortar School worked. The Order of Lenin Leningrad Higher Naval Engineering School, the Leningrad Military Topographic School were evacuated and accommodated. In the city of Gorky there was an interregional school of security agencies, which trained radio operators and other military institutions [17, p. 7-8, 196, 200]. Cadets of the schools were also involved in the defense of Gorky, including anti-aircraft defense.

From the beginning of 1942 the Gorky Battalion Air Defense Area became a corps-based one. Thanks to the actions of air defense units the enemy was forced to switch from massive strikes to single strikes by single planes, sometimes the enemy managed to break through to separate industrial facilities [16, p. 15]. Depending on the events at the front, the tactics of Hitler's air force also changed. As mentioned above, the enemy did not lose hope to capture Gorky. During the entire 1942 the raids on Gorky did not stop, but they were not so massive as in 1941. The air enemy again appeared in the zone of Gorky air defense in February 1943. Preparing for the Battle of Kursk, the Germans managed to carry out a large-scale operation against the industrial centers of the Volga region, and first of all, against Gorky. The number of enemy aircraft during this period reached up to 160 in one raid [16, p. 15]. The German aviation still tried to break through to the automobile plant and the "Krasnoye Sormovo" Plant. In the night of February 4, 1942, with single aircraft from different directions and at different altitudes, with engines shut down, the enemy bombed in the Gorky air defense area. One aircraft at high altitude passed undetected to the automobile plant from the south-west direction, dropped 3 high-explosive bombs weighing 50-100 kg and left in the northern direction. The wheel and engine shops were damaged, there were human losses [21, p. 70]. During February 6, the enemy again repeatedly tried to reach the facilities of Gorky, in the afternoon broke through to the automobile plant, but was not allowed by the forces of the fighter aviation. But especially the raids became more frequent in the summer and autumn of 1942, when the German troops were advancing in the Stalingrad and Caucasus directions [21, p. 82, 83]. In November 1942 the Nazis again made a major bombing raid on Gorky. Serious damage was done to the "Neftegaz" Plant and residential neighborhoods [16, p. 15]. But the most 7 massive raids of German aviation on Gorky were made on June 4-22, 1943. Only on June 8, 402 high-explosive bombs were dropped on the residential sector of the Avtozavodsky district of Gorky, 132 bombs were defused. 232 people suffered; 73 were killed and 149 wounded. Of those admitted to hospitals 8 seriously ill people died [14, p. 376-377]. (Unfortunately, to date, there is no accurate data on the losses of the population of Gorky during the entire period of German bombing). The main object of the bombardment during this period was the Gorky Automobile Plant. The enemy aircraft made 645 sorties, dropping 1,095 high-explosive and 2,493 incendiary bombs on GAZ causing significant damage to it. One hundred days of heroic labor were required to restore the Gorky Automobile Plant [10, p. 143]. By 1944 the Nazi air raids ceased. After the victory at Kursk, all the plans of the German Wehrmacht, including with regard to our city of Gorky, were finally disrupted.

Thus, the organization of the two main directions of the defense of Gorky – air defense and creation of defensive lines – were the main components of ensuring the safety of the city's population, its industrial, medical and cultural potential during the Great Patriotic War.

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Soviet post-war city issues of improvement

Abstract: *The article deals with the peculiarities of the perception of Soviet reality in 1945-1952. The basis of the research are the regional archive materials – the letters of the citizens of Gorky to the local authorities in those years. The article presents their opinions on the questions connected with the post-war city, namely the state of housing and communal services, the preservation of cultural monuments.*

Key words: *post-war reality, archive documents, citizens' letters, city of Gorky, life of the city and its residents.*

The post-war years – 1945-1952 – are the most important in the history of the Soviet society. They are the transition from the victory in the Great Patriotic War to constructive civil life.

The purpose of this article is to study some aspects of social life in the city of Gorky, a major industrial center of the Soviet era. The task of the study presented below is to consider how in those years the ordinary Gorky residents solved public and private issues. The documents of the State Socio-Political Archive of the Nizhny Novgorod region located in Fund 30 of the Gorky City Party Committee (Gorkom) – the letters of citizens to its departments, local council record management – were studied as basic historical materials.

It is well known that a written appeal is a traditional opportunity for Soviet people to draw the attention of government representatives to their problems and to obtain their help in solving them. In the difficult conditions of the war and the first post-war years, this practice was for many people the only way to survive. The residents of Gorky on various social issues appealed to the City Party Committee. The authors of some of the letters were front-line soldiers who had encountered considerable everyday difficulties in peaceful life and, therefore, needed comprehensive social support. At the same time, a significant number of them were written by women – wives, mothers, relatives of yesterday's soldiers, who had hardly adapted to the realities of post-war everyday life. They appealed to the Gorky City

Committee for various material assistance for their families. The citizens in their letters urged the officials to pay careful attention to their requests.

The system of state material aid helped citizens to survive from 1941 to 1945: it provided at a minimum level basic necessities of life in the sphere of nutrition, housing, employment, and medical care. These remained a priority in 1945-1948.

The housing problem remained the most acute. The City Committee had to solve it not only with regard to the discharged from the army, but also with regard to the citizens returning from evacuation who had lost their homes because of the enemy's bombardment of Gorky. The question of medical care for the citizens and especially for the war veterans was also present in the appeals. Their authors pointed to shortcomings in the organization of work, material and food provision of hospitals and city hospitals [1].

Gorky residents in 1945-1946 also drew the attention of local authorities to the enormous difficulties in food supply. The letters noted that in the stores that issued food against coupons, the quality of bread, salt, and other food products was very low; there were constant interruptions, shortages in their selling. In a letter of 1946: "If before you could get bread at an expensive price, now you can't get any". It was almost impossible to buy tobacco, clothing, manufactured goods, and if they were on sale, they were at very high prices, inaccessible to ordinary people [2]. For the elimination of these problems residents of the city proposed to develop cooperative trade in the city and regularly at the state level to reduce the prices of goods of high demand [3].

Gorky residents, like many people in 1945-1948, faced a huge number of other social problems [4]. At the same time in letters they drew the attention of the municipal leadership to the situation with housing and transport services of the city. The situation was as follows: bad work of public water pumps and baths, frequent switching-off of light in blocks of flats; insufficient supply of the city districts with fuel, regular flooding of streets with sewage water. Particular dissatisfaction of the city people working at the enterprises of the Sormovsky district, Gorky Railway, etc. was caused by the lack of tramways and buses on intracity routes. This situation was aggravated by the lack of permanent bridges across the Oka and Volga rivers, which at that time were replaced by a seasonal ferry crossing.

Citizens also emphasized the government’s view of the neglect of the city itself, the lack of sanitation of the urban workers’ settlements, and the state of the housing stock. In a letter of 1949: “In Gorky the squares are covered with paper trash, the flow of people and vehicles is disorderly. The police do nothing, there is no order in the streets, and beggars and various fortune-tellers are everywhere. Most of the houses are in need of partial or complete repair. Unpainted, holed, falling apart chimneys, broken corners of buildings, lack of drainage pipes, crumbling fences and gates – this is an incomplete picture of our housing services in many streets of the city. [5].

Gorky residents were sincerely concerned about its desolation, noting that with proper improvement it could become one of the best cities in our country.

The analysis of citizens’ appeals allows us to say that these problems persisted afterwards. In a letter of 1950 to the central newspaper Pravda: “The unsanitary condition of the yards: they are left with ruined barns, cellars; in the apartments, the plumbing (sewerage, water supply) has been faulty for years. All this contributes to the destruction of the already insufficient housing stock. There are so many shortcomings in the field of housing, public and cultural construction in Gorky that it is impossible to list them all. Where exactly and for what purposes are the millions of rubles allocated to the city by the government in order to make our city truly exemplary and cultural? Our Gorky, which has a large population and played a special role during the Great Patriotic War, deserves special attention, which is felt according to the decisions of the Party and the government, by its care, but it is not provided for by the city and region leadership” [6].

Such appeals were returned to the department of urban services “for the adoption of necessary measures”. After reviewing and confirming the facts outlined, the necessary measures were taken: stairs and gutters in residential buildings were repaired, yards were cleaned, the work of urban transport was adjusted, etc. The applicants were informed about the work carried out according to the letters through conversations in the City Party Committee.

The residents of Gorky also put forward proposals for the improvement of the city's memorable sites, noting the special historical and cultural significance of the Chkalov Stairs, the A. M. Gorky Museum, etc., as well as the shortcomings of their preservation by the city authorities. In a letter of 1951 to the local newspaper Gorkovskaya Pravda: "About the unfair attitude of the Gorky City Council to the repair of the monument to Valery Pavlovich Chkalov. ...The stone parapet, covering the monument in a wide arc, is broken in several places and began to fall down. No one is keeping order around the monument. The polished surface is scratched. The ruby star, marking the capital of our Motherland on the map of the pedestal, has disappeared, as many bronze dots, marking points of Stalin's route of the glorious pilot". The City Party Committee answered this letter with a message that the improvement and repair of the monument are planned, the necessary funds are allocated for it [7].

Very acute in 1945-early 1946 was the question of the lack of premises for the restoration of training in secondary and higher educational institutions: theater school, technical colleges, pedagogical, medical institute, etc.; schools in Gorky. The city authorities were in a difficult situation: the buildings of these educational institutions were occupied by military hospitals.

Leisure time after hard work, way of escaping the complexities of post-war life for Gorky citizens, were going to the movies, visiting musical dance evenings and thematic lectures. By analyzing these documentary sources, one can get only an indirect and incomplete picture of the cultural interests and impressions of the city residents. Thus, they contain Bibliography to the viewing of the "The Fall of Berlin" film by a group of citizens, about the interest of young people in "trophy" films.

The public of Gorky was concerned about the level of development in the city of team sports and especially - football. Concerned citizens wrote to the City Party Committee that for their development it is necessary to organize sports schools, to allocate premises, and for football at the City Committee of Physical Education to organize a coaching council and to create a new team, selecting players in it from the best teams of the city [8].

The analysis of the set of documents of 1945-1948, presented in the study, allows us to assert that the residents of Gorky perceived the Soviet post-war reality in the same way as in central Russia. Their life was associated with the daily overcoming of social and everyday difficulties, which were quite often associated with the scarcity of material resources available to the city party authorities for material support of citizens and improvement of the state of housing and communal services in Gorky. Residents of the city sharply criticized the local authorities, which, due to their limited capabilities, could not quickly overcome the urban post-war breakdown. At the same time, entering into a dialogue with them, Gorky residents contributed to the post-war restoration of social life in the city, which was an indicator of its return to peaceful life.

Despite the efforts of the authorities to overcome the social problems of Gorky residents, they remained acute in the following decade.

Thus, the leading topic of appeals to the City Party Committee in the early 50s was the provision of housing to citizens and the improvement of the city districts. The letters mentioned the issues of repair of the city housing stock, relocation of families from barracks and basement premises, provision of flats to the needy, etc. Quite often the workers, approving the activities of the local party authorities, expressed the following wish to its representatives: “To work in favor of the workers and to take care of the urgent needs of the workers, especially housing” [9].

A lot of social issues were touched upon by the citizens of Gorky, participating in campaigns to elect deputies to the central and local councils, which were regularly held from the first post-war years. Their preparation, the procedure and outcome of the vote were controlled by district, city and regional party committees. The election campaign was extremely centralized; the Party leadership provided candidates for councils at all levels with the necessary propaganda support [10].

Agitators had a special role in the election conduct. They were assigned to each polling station and carried out constant work among the workers, encouraging them to vote. The analysis of campaign documents allows us to state that they not only explained various aspects of election campaigns to citizens, but quite often activists helped residents to solve those problems that could not be noticed by the district and city Party committees.

Thus, in the materials of the 1950 campaign for the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR there were many reports about the assistance of agitators to voters. From the letters of residents of the Avtozavodsky district (Lower part of the city) to the election committee: “Agitator B-va is a welcome guest at the voters of our house. Once B-va asked me in detail how I live. Noticing that the plaster in my room had collapsed in some places, she promised to ask for repairs. The room has now been repaired. I am 73 years old. My son died at the front during the Great Patriotic War. I don’t feel lonely. Such warm relationships are possible only in our country” [11]. Or: “I am 65 years old, I am a participant of the civil war, I express heartfelt gratitude to agitators P-ko, O-v, who as true Soviet citizens went to my old man’s satisfaction and achieved the correct accrual of residential rental as from a disabled person” [12]. From letters of the Sverdlovsky district, located in the Upper part of the city: “Agitator P-n, seeking a full turnout of voters at campaign meetings, visited the flat of not appearing K-ko M. F. He saw the material need of two children, who for lack of clothes and shoes stopped attending school, in the room there was no suitable furniture. He asked M. F. K-ko to bring the furniture for repair to the workshop of which he was the head. The furniture was immediately repaired. The question of material assistance was raised: the agitator succeeded in providing children with clothes and shoes. The agitator became close to each family, for which he was respected and valuable” [13].

The agitators solved the social problems of the residents of the polling stations in cooperation with the local authorities. In the district party committees and district councils they submitted information about the necessary repair of residential buildings, dormitories, flats, relocation of large families from barracks to communal flats, etc.

They also contributed to the cultural education of workers. In the course of preparation for the elections, the agitators together with the voters visited cinema, exhibitions and held their joint discussions.

Their work was oriented towards different social groups of citizens. The traditional topics of campaign conversations were the international situation, the current political and economic development of the USSR, and electoral legislation. At the same time, quite often there were lectures and events that attracted the attention of women mothers and housewives. For example, special reports “Character Education and Prevention of Nervousness in Children”, “Why Children Are Stubborn”, “Features of Home Floriculture”, festive children’s matinees [14].

Workers in the course of such meetings again and again raised the problems that worried them. The main one was the provision of foodstuffs. The agitators had to give explanations on questions for which there were no answers at the time, such as: “Why are there shortages of bread?”, “When will prices be reduced?”

The most important topic remained the improvement of the city of Gorky; especially – of the settlements that had sprung up around large plants and enterprises. It was constantly raised in the voters’ petitions to the deputies. The reason for such confidence was that in those years the voters saw in the deputies a real political force, expressing not only the interests of the workers in power, but also capable of solving many social problems. Special importance was attached to the interaction between voters and deputies. Citizens hoped that the delegation of their representatives – deputies to power would contribute to further improvement of their standard of living. In accordance with this, a significant place among the documents of election campaigns was occupied by proposals to improve the development of the city of Gorky.

Thus, the materials on the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (held on March 12, 1950) outlined the same urban problems that were raised by residents in the abovementioned letters to local authorities in the late 40’s. For example: “Why is the destruction of the housing stock allowed and no radical measures are taken to preserve it (painting of roofs, arrangement of gutters, fences)?” [15] Gorky residents pointed out to the deputies the problems of certain parts of the city. In the materials for the Sverdlovsky (now Nizhegorodsky) district they were presented in a generalized form: “Keep the city clean, tidy up the pavements”, “Provide transport to separate districts. Route No. 1 from the city to the railway station should work exemplary in any weather conditions”, “Strictly punish for barbaric attitude to tree plantations in the city. Sometimes we hear in reports: so many trees were planted, but how many were destroyed? They keep silent about it” [16].

In the documents of the election campaign and activities of the Local Soviets of Workers’ Deputies of the IV convocation (December 1950 – December 1952), similar information was presented more specifically and emotionally: “Petition us, the residents of Izhorskaya ulitsa (street), for a pavement. In spring and autumn we drown in mud”, “The area near the Srednoy Bazaar from the side of Pushkinskaya ulitsa and from Sverdlova ulitsa during the rains drowns in mud. Puddles remain, they rot, propagate infection”, “Take strict measures to protect the green spaces on Belinskogo ulitsa, which are barbarously destroyed during the laying of tramways” [17].The citizens of Gorky drew the deputies’ attention to serious city-wide issues that required the cooperation of local and central authorities: “When will the railway bridge over the Oka River be built to connect the Gorky and Kazan railways? Will a bridge across the Volga be built to connect Gorky and Bor? The cost of this bridge will be recovered within five years” [18].

As noted earlier, the city authorities, deputies of local councils paid great attention to the improvement of working settlements formed around large industrial enterprises. Thus, in the materials on the voters’ petitions to deputies, in their correspondence, again and again traditional questions were raised, criticisms were made. They were the following: creation of bus routes, tram lines to the buildings of Avtozavod, Stankozavod; resettlement of residential barracks of Gvozdilnoye, Severnoye and other settlements; improvement of lighting of their streets, carriageways, water supply, heating of residential houses, etc.

These problems were considered in cooperation of local councils at different levels: the executive committee of the city council and specially created commissions: housing and communal services, city transport, improvement, trade, health care, etc.; district councils. The deputies contributed to their solution: they constantly spoke at the sessions of the district council, executive committee, controlled the timely taking of measures. Thus, the deputy of the Zheleznodorozhny district council Loginova spoke 12 times at the sessions of 1950-1952 and in each report spoke about the improvement of the Sortirovochny village located near the Gorky railway. She reported: “In Sortirovochny there is still bad road: children can not go to school, residents – to the shop”; “On behalf of all working and living there, I simply demand to conduct water supply as soon as possible”; “I pay attention to the poor condition of the outpatient clinic and hospital, their irregular provision with medicines: often there are no medicines”; “Enterprises of consumer services do not work: sewing ateliers and shoe workshops” [19]. The deputy also spoke out about the procrastination of the district and city authorities: “We’ll talk at the session about it, but we’ll put the decision on the shelf. We are tired of saying the same thing. We are frustrating” [20].

The residents of the nearest settlements had similar problems. For example, residents of the Berezovsky settlement repeatedly appealed to the Zheleznodorozhny district council to improve the condition of roads and pavements. However, the deputy noted that for a long time the problem had not been solved: “Because of their poor condition in the autumn of 1952, the population was not supplied with bread for two months as it could not be brought; workers had to walk 5 kilometers for bread”; “A proposal was made to pave and green the streets. It was included in the work plan, but it was not fulfilled in time due to lack of funds. Then they were provided, but the bitumen allocated for this purpose was transferred to other construction projects” [21].

Local councils also studied the organization of youth leisure time in the hostels of the district enterprises. From the statement to the party committee of the Voroshilovsky district about the hostel of a meat processing plant: “ ... There is a propaganda room. All work on the organization of cultural recreation of young people in it is reduced to dances. The party organization has still not bought for it musical instruments, checkers, dominoes, though in 1951 funds were allocated for this purpose. Young people ask to buy a radio or a harmonica for the propaganda room. Here sometimes films are shown, lectures and reports are carried out, but there is no plan of work in it and in the hostel" [22].

During the next campaign for elections to Local Councils in Gorky (held on February 22, 1953) voters drew attention of candidates for deputies for the Zheleznodorozhny district to the prospects of its further development: to improve the food supply of residents, "to improve the Moskovskoe highway: to build a new school, library, bookshop, canteen, new water supply station" [23].

Similar proposals were submitted to candidates in other industrial districts of the city. The voters of the Sormovsky district recommended the deputies to pay attention to its cleanliness and improvement: construction of a kindergarten, nurseries, baths, a polyclinic [24].

The above commissions under the executive committee of the city council controlled the implementation of decisions taken on the basis of the systematization of voters' petitions. Thus, housing and communal commission controlled the construction of a new water supply station in Sormovo, the expansion of the sewerage network in the Avtozavodsky district, surveyed the sanitary condition of the city, checked the work of bathhouses [25].

The deputies of the Gorky City Council contributed to solving issues related to the improvement of the city: the expansion of the network of cultural, educational and medical institutions, improving the work of transport, enterprises of domestic service, communications, trade, etc. [26]. Overwhelming assistance to them was provided by the citizens of Gorky, who voluntarily united in street committees and public commissions to promote housing. With their direct participation sanitary cleaning of the city districts was carried out, roads, wells were repaired, city houses were put in condition, trees and shrubs were planted in the streets [27].

Close cooperation between the party authorities, executive structures of Local

Councils, deputies, and citizens contributed to the fact that by the early 50’s the city of Gorky gradually began to overcome the severe social consequences of the Great Patriotic War. It began its way to becoming one of the most beautiful and well-appointed cities of the Soviet Union in the second half of the XX century.

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In the second half of the 40s – beginning of the 50s of the XX century

Abstract: *The article analyzes the state of health care in the first post-war decade in one of the largest regions of the Russian Federation, the Gorky (now Nizhny Novgorod) region, which made a significant contribution to the victory during the war. It shows the efforts of authorities to restore and reform its structure, the availability of human resources, the protection of public health, and the fight against infectious diseases. Difficulties and shortcomings of the post-war period in the implementation of the tasks set.*

Key words: *Gorky region, government, health care, medicine, reform, personnel, population, treatment, infectious diseases.*

The first war decade is the hardest period in the country's history. Loss of human lives, destroyed cities, settlements, and villages, lack of means for recovery of national economy, children's homelessness, handicapped people crippled by war, hunger and diseases. In a slightly advantageous position were the regions not occupied by the enemy and forging the victory in the rear. The Gorky region, which in the prewar period and during the Great Patriotic War was the military-industrial base of the country, belonged to such regions. Here in the thirties there was formed a system of public health which included civil medicine, medical units of defense enterprises and medical institutions of large enterprises, and hospitals. At the beginning of the war the Gorky region became a major evacuation and hospital base of the rear. But, if the health care of the Gorky region during the war is reflected in the national historiography, then this problem in the post-war period requires development. This, above all, is the scientific relevance of the topic.

In this article the author sets a task to show the reconstruction of the Soviet public health system and the level of its development in the specified chronological period by the example of the Gorky (Nizhny Novgorod) region.

In the post-war years the public health service had to face such multifaceted tasks as the liquidation of sanitary consequences of the war, rendering qualified medical aid to all strata of population in conditions of post-war hunger of first years of recovery period, continuing struggle with infectious diseases, supporting health of industry workers, disabled war veterans and workers, women, children, and all that under the acute shortage of financing. These problems could only be solved by restructuring the health care system to work under peaceful conditions.

The main goal of the reforms was to make the health care apparatus more manageable, flexible, and effective. The first stage (1946) was connected with the renaming of the USSR People's Commissariat for Health into the Ministry of Health of the USSR and was marked by a clearer distribution of functions between departments and sectors of the Ministry, as well as consolidation of not only medical institutions, but also medical industry and science under a single leadership. During the second stage (1948) the structure of the Ministry of Health of the RSFSR was modified, the functions of the local bodies were specified and revised. Along with rendering medical aid to the population, the primary task was to organize measures for preserving public health, including the implementation of a set of measures aimed at improving sanitary and preventive measures. A certain innovation was the development and active involvement of medical personnel in scientific research, which was imposed on regional health departments [10, p. 147].

In accordance with Order of the Ministry of Health No. 870 as of November 21, 1949 "On Regulating the Network and Establishing a Unified Nomenclature of Health Care Institutions", they were brought to a unified standard nomenclature. Inpatient institutions were merged with outpatient and polyclinic institutions [9].

In the Gorky region, which during the war years had finally turned into a powerful military-industrial complex, there were problems associated primarily with demographic processes; population re-evacuation, reduction of labor resources and a whole range of social and everyday problems. By September 1, 1945 32.6 thousand evacuated people remained in the region from 186.2 thousand who arrived in the region by the beginning of 1943 [14, p. 42]. In general, the population in the Gorky region in 1945 amounted to 3,079.5 thousand people, by 1946 its number decreased slightly (by 62.5 thousand) and amounted to 3,017.0 thousand people [14, p. 42].

Almost half of them lived in the regional center of Gorky.

Here, as well as throughout the country, simultaneously with the restoration of the national economy people's lives had to be adjusted. Having survived the war, they were in dire need of food, clothing, housing, utilities, and medical care.

By the end of the war serious changes had already taken place in the health care system of the Gorky region. By the beginning of 1945 there were 53 of 171 hospitals with 25,400 beds and as of January 1, 1946 there were 18 acting hospitals with 6,700 beds [1, p. 70]. All of them were mainly engaged in treatment and rehabilitation of disabled war veterans. On the whole, the material base of civilian health care during the war was undermined. On April 2, 1946 the Commissioner of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks for the Gorky region Krylov sent to the Central Committee and the Secretary of the Regional Party Committee a report with the analysis of public health situation in the regional center and the region. On July 15, 1946 the Central Committee of the Party adopted a resolution "On the Shortcomings in Health Care in the Gorky City and the Gorky Region". On July 31, 1946 the Secretary of Gorky Region Party Committee S. Ya. Kireev informed the Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks A. A. Zhdanov about the measures taken [7, p. 373-375]. The Institute of Reconstructive Surgery, maxillofacial, neurosurgical hospitals, an emergency hospital and a city hospital for hospitalization of cancer patients were opened for the rehabilitation of war invalids [2]. But it mainly concerned the provision of medical institutions with materials, equipment, fuel, repair of hospitals, meetings held and visits to districts with specific assistance.

The number of available civilian medical institutions was also insufficient, despite the fact that only in Gorky seven hospitals with 935 beds were opened in 1944: tuberculosis, eye, physiotherapy and others. The number of hospitals in the Gorky region was reduced from 203 in 1944 to 121 in 1951. The number of out-patient clinics amounted to 167 (in comparison with 237 in 1941) [8, p. 439]. The number of medical personnel in comparison with the war period (according to the data of the People's Commissariat for Health of the RSFSR) also decreased, although in 1946 there were 294 doctors who were discharged from the army and from the liquidated hospitals and who came to the city preventive medical care network. In 1944, 1,486 doctors (without dentists) worked in the Gorky region, and in 1951 – 988 [12, p. 161; 3, s. 67]. And although during the second quarter of 1946 medical institutions received more than 100 people of medical personnel in the city of Gorky and 67 people in the districts of the region, there was still a shortage of doctors, especially focused specialists [7, p. 374]. Measures were urgently taken to improve the qualifications of doctors and nursing staff. In 1946 on the basis of the clinics of the Gorky Medical Institute, as well as in Moscow, Leningrad and Kazan 96 doctors specialized for Gorky, while the plan of the Ministry of Health of the RSFSR included 86 people, and 226 people with the plan of 170 people took advanced training courses [3, s. 68]. As of December 1, 1946 in the system of the Gorky Region Health Department 971 doctors worked on 1,924 staff positions (without evacuation hospitals). There were 236 physicians, 122 pediatricians, 94 surgeons, 87 obstetricians-gynecologists, 64 sanitary physicians, 21 neurologists, 23 ophthalmologists, 21 otolaryngologists, 18 epidemiologists, 13 radiologists. There were considerably fewer other specialists and only two oncologists. The Ministry’s plan for 1946 was to train 628 members of the nursing staff, more were trained – 659 [3, s. 81, 83, 93]. Still, the shortage of medical personnel remained.

In the fifties, the government still had a lot to do to turn the situation for the better. First of all, in the territory of the Gorky region was organized work on the implementation of Order of the Ministry of Health of the USSR No. 870. The basis of the City Health Department was the plan for reorganization of the medical network for 1950-1951, drawn up in April 1950, adopted by the Executive Committee of the City Council and approved by the Commission of the Ministry of Health of the RSFSR [5, s. 12]. This plan provided for the redeployment and re-profiling of beds, deployment of inpatient facilities and hospitals, completion of the association of hospitals and polyclinics in all districts of the city and region.

However, as can be seen from the note of the Regional Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks on the state of health in Gorky dated as of

1950, it was noted that the process of combining hospitals and polyclinics in the regional center was difficult. At the time of writing, there were indicated 6 non-united polyclinics, 2 of them large. There was still a shortage of doctors. Instead of 1,888 doctors in 1950 in Gorky there were 1,428, and the compatibility was not excluded [5, s. 2; 11, p. 147]. Of the total number of physicians, 359, i.e. 26%, worked only in polyclinics [5, s. 1]. As of January 1, 1951 in the Gorky region there were 1,553 doctors and 7,434 specialists of nursing staff, who were sent to work after training in 8 secondary medical schools [5, s. 37]. Lack of doctors and excessively enlarged divisions formed as a result of the reform created an overload of medical appointments and medical care at home in the city.

There was not only a shortage of medical personnel, but also a shortage of space for the deployment of hospitals. The existing infectious diseases hospital was housed in old dilapidated barracks. City hospital No. 29 for emergency care was located in the lower floors of the school, while the upper floors were occupied by children. A number of buildings administered by the City Health Department were occupied by nurseries, schools and even a dormitory for workers of Plant No. 222 [5, s. 2]. An acute shortage of space for medical institutions required their use for their intended purpose. There were unpreparedness of institutions to work in winter conditions (including due to lack of fuel), lack of hard and soft equipment, medical tools.

Insufficient allocation of premises resulted in limitation of functioning of medical institutions. The number of beds available to the population of the region remained lower than the figures for the USSR. Archival documents demonstrate that the most insufficient number of hospital beds was in surgical, tuberculosis and eye divisions. On the whole, the number of beds in the hospitals of the Gorky city alone as of 01/01/1950 amounted to 71% [5, s. 12].

According to the data, the availability of beds in medical institutions in Gorky, in general, significantly lagged behind the norms of Order No. 870. The deficit was 2,033 beds. The provision of children's beds was better, and infectious disease beds were even 57% higher than the norm [5, s. 12]. According to the plan, the City Health

Department had to organize 206 new beds in 1950, and in 1951 – 384 beds [5, s. 13]. The shortage of beds should have decreased compared to the normative indicators, but they continued to fall short of the norm. In 1950 there were 8,614 beds in hospitals in the Gorky region, and in 1951 there were 9,055 beds. And yet the provision of hospital beds for the population of the Gorky region was insufficient. Instead of 7,066 beds in the Gorky city alone as of 01/01/1951 there were 5,246 beds, and as of 01/01/1952 it was planned to increase their number up to 5,630 beds. As we can see, there were still 1,346 beds missing [5, s. 1]. On the whole, as of 01/01/1952 the deficit in the region amounted to 1,481 beds, of which 881 were urban, 600 were rural [5, s. 43].

Even more difficult, as evidenced by the documents of the regional health department, the availability of medical institutions and their staffing were in the district towns and district settlements of the Gorky region, not to mention the villages, as the author wrote about in one of her previously published works [11, p. 147].

In the post-war period in the Gorky region, as well as in the whole country, the fight against infectious diseases, especially tuberculosis, dysentery and influenza, continued. Although during the war a lot was done to prevent these diseases, they still had high rates [11, p. 142-149]. The anti-epidemic work was carried out in accordance with Order No. 310 of the Ministry of Health of the USSR as of August 11, 1947 [4, s. 52-53]. Only for the first half of 1948 16,175 sanitary activists took part in the mass-health and anti-epidemic work. There were 5,416 sanitary posts, including 700 on state farms and 291 on collective farms, as of July 1, 1948. In addition, reserve nurses were trained at the courses [4, s. 7, 8, 54, 59]. It was necessary to urgently develop sanitary and anti-epidemiological service. As a result, in 1950 eight district and one city sanitary-epidemiological stations deployed on the base of three districts of Gorky were opened. In 1950 and in the first quarter of 1951 five sanitary-bacteriological laboratories were organized again [5, s. 24]. However, the incidence of a number of diseases such as tuberculosis, malaria and dysentery remained high. Compared to 1949, in 1950 the incidence of dysentery increased by

37.9%. Of the total number of dysentery cases, 65% accounted for by children under 2 years of age [5, s. 5]. The incidence of cancer diseases increased, 24% of them were stomach cancer [5, s. 7]. There was an overload of X-ray rooms, which resulted in complicating the timely diagnosis of this disease. However, for a number of infectious diseases, thanks to vaccinations, a decrease was observed. In 1950 vaccinations against typhoid and dysentery covered 267,495 persons, which amounted to 124% of the vaccination plan [5, s. 25]. The incidence of typhoid decreased by 20.5% compared to 1949, and paratyphoid – by 23.2%. Typhus morbidity was observed as isolated cases. The incidence of malaria also decreased from 9,214 to 2,379 cases [5, s. 24, 25]. The spread of infectious diseases was adversely affected by the sanitary state of the cities and towns; lack of sewage treatment facilities and discharge of wastewater into the rivers within the city limits. In Gorky the existing treatment facilities had not functioned since 1942, and in Dzerzhinsk – since 1947 [8, p. 444-445]. There was also an insufficient supply of bathing facilities.

The situation with tuberculosis after the war was difficult. First of all, there were not enough beds to treat tuberculosis patients. In 1950 there were only 283 beds in the Gorky city instead of the planned 773. In 1951 three TB Dispensaries were opened in the region with hospitals in Arzamas, Balakhna, Vyksa, Kulebaki, Pavlovo. But there were no sanatoria, except for one for the disabled veterans of the Great Patriotic War and 2 children’s TB sanatoria [5, s. 5]. Tuberculosis patients were in particular need of caloric nutrition, which in the conditions of the post-war famine was not possible to provide.

No matter how difficult it was to solve the problems in the field of health care after the war, the state continued to pay attention to the protection of children’s and mothers’ health. During the war, the birth rate declined throughout the years, and only from 1946 onwards there was a gradual rise in the birth rate. In Gorky in 1947 16,183 people were born, in 1949 – 18,638, in 1950 – 17,496 people. [13, s. 10] Baby boom, as statistics show, occurred in the city of Gorky in 1949. The natural population growth in 1949 in the Gorky region amounted to 46,718 people, or increased by 69.6% against the previous year, 1948, and by 75.3% against 1940. The general increase in birth rate in 1950 led to a natural population growth in the Gorky region of 52,977 people, which was higher than the pre-war values. According to the population census of 1959 in the Gorky region the number of urban population since 1945 was growing, and the rural population since 1950 sharply decreased [13, s. 10, 15].

In connection with the baby boom it was necessary to urgently solve such problems as support of obstetrics, the fight against abortion, the increase in women's clinics, outpatient clinics, maternity hospitals, nurseries, baby homes and others. It was necessary to increase the capacity of medical institutions, to create conditions for working mothers, especially for those who worked in night shifts. In 1946 in the Gorky region there were 215 hospitals with 14,036 beds, 241 outpatient clinics and polyclinics, 21 tuberculosis dispensaries, 14 maternity hospitals, 736 obstetric stations, 115 health centers at enterprises, 15 children's outpatient clinics and polyclinics, 254 nurseries with 13,242 beds. The number of nursery beds increased compared to 1940 in cities by 1,457 and in villages – by 1,393. Also in 1946 in Gorky there were 2,716 boarding school beds serving children whose mothers worked in shifts [2, s. 8]. However, this was clearly insufficient. In addition, the problem of child mortality was not solved. And, although, compared to 1940, in 1946 there was a 2.5-fold decrease in the mortality rate of children, they mostly died of infectious diseases. And, nevertheless, at that time there was a decrease in the incidence of typhoid fever by 3 times, compared to 1945 by 1.5 times, dysentery – by 6 times and 1.3 times, diphtheria – by 10 times and 1.4 times, measles – by 2 times and 1.6 times, the morbidity of children remained high [2, s. 8; 7, p. 388]. By the beginning of the 50's the situation in public health changed somewhat for the better. In the districts and towns of the Gorky region there were already 200 medical institutions with a total number of 10,690 beds. 16 hospitals were opened again, 11 of them in rural areas, 8 in-patient clinics at dispensaries were opened. 96 health centers and 9 medical units were functioning to serve the workers at the enterprises. There were 810 feldsher-midwife stations. There were 110 collective farm maternity hospitals for collective farmers, 88 children's clinics and 204 permanent nurseries with 8,045 places for children, and 102 women's clinics for women [7, p. 386]. There were 1,675 doctors and 7,525 middle-level workers in medical institutions. At the same time, there was a turnover of medical personnel, especially in rural areas. About 650 doctors were needed to complete the staff positions [7, p. 387]. Thus, there were still many problems in the health care system of the Gorky region, as well as in the country as a whole. The main problem was the lack of financing. All the accumulated problems were to be solved in the following post-war decades.

But on the whole the joint work of health care institutions with local executive committees, Red Cross and Red Crescent helped to prevent epidemics in the conditions of migration, re-evacuation of the population and the increase of military production at industrial enterprises of the city and the region of Gorky, which during the cold war continued to provide security for our country. Public health in the Gorky region in the second half of 40's – beginning of 50's of the XX century as a whole was able to adjust to work in peacetime conditions. But, unfortunately, the limited material resources did not allow to solve in full the problems of the main direction of the post-war medicine – preventive care and protection of public health, adaptation of invalids and war veterans to peaceful life.

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Gorky infrastructure development during the eighth and ninth five-year plans (1966-1975)

Abstract: *The article reveals the peculiarities of Soviet city development during the period of the eighth and ninth five-year plans. The focus is on the issues of housing construction and development of urban infrastructure according to the materials of Gorky.*

Key words: *Soviet city, infrastructure, way of life, construction, the eighth and ninth five-year plans.*

The period of 1960-1970s became one of the most successful in the development of the social sphere of the Soviet Union (Russia). The purpose of this article is to identify the main directions in the development of the social infrastructure of the Soviet city during the period of the eighth and ninth five-year plans (1966-1970 and 1971-1975, respectively). The object of the research is the city of Gorky, one of the largest industrial and scientific-educational centers of the USSR. The historiography of the problem of social development of the city of Gorky in the period of 1960-1970s is insignificant. To date, the most significant work for the study of the topic is the documentary edition “Society and Power. Russian Province” [1]. In addition, important material for studying the problem is presented in books devoted to the history of Gorky factories [2-12] and the history of the city of Gorky [13-15].

In September 1965, the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee outlined a set of measures aimed at further improving industrial management, improving planning and strengthening economic incentives for industrial production. The tasks were set to expand the economic independence and initiative of enterprises and associations, to enhance their role as the main economic unit in the economy, to strengthen and develop the self-financing by such means as price, profit, bonus, credit [16, p. 28-29]. This was the beginning of the economic reform called the Kosygin’s reform (A. N. Kosygin – Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers from 1964 to 1980, the initiator and organizer of the economic reform).

The economic reform created favorable conditions for the effective development of production and its modernization. In the period from mid-1960s to late 1970s, all Gorky factories were covered by a new wave of large-scale reconstruction. Grandiose industrial construction was launched at the city's enterprises, the machine park was renewed, modern equipment and methods of production organization were implemented [15, p. 448-449].

The work of plants began to be evaluated not by the output, but by the products already sold. The notion of "gross" was put in the middle distance. At the same time, a significant part of Soviet enterprises had a stable plan, and, most importantly, there were no problems with the sale of products. The new system of planning and economic stimulation provided for a new principle of creating a fund of material incentives, in which a large percentage would be allocated to the fund at the expense of product sales and profits. Enterprises and labor collectives acquired a certain degree of independence – they distributed the profit themselves. N. M. Chirkov, General Director of the "Krasny Yakor" Plant, noted that the enterprise was given wide rights for the initiatives of the workers. The rights of the enterprise, as well as their responsibility were increasing in the field of labor organization and wages. The enterprise was planned in this field only one indicator – wages fund. The staff, its structure, forms of wages, salaries were determined by the enterprise independently [11, p. 98-200].

As a result of the reform carried out in the eighth five-year plan, the profitability of all industry increased significantly, and the eighth five-year plan was one of the most successful in the Soviet history [16, p. 57].

Many industrial projects launched during the period of the eighth five-year plan were continued in the 1970s. For example, in 1969 a new (third) plan for reconstruction of the Gorky Automobile Plant was adopted. During the 1970s, the enterprise built the 9th building and the machine assembly building, designed for the production of trucks (it was 1.5 times larger than the area of all the buildings of the plant commissioned in 1931). In November 1970, the head of the Soviet government

A. N. Kosygin visited the construction of the 9th building, which became the most important industrial facility of the Gorky Automobile Plant [11, p. 222-223, 231-233].

The “Gidromash” Plant started works on the reconstruction of the enterprise – the expansion of existing facilities and construction of new production facilities: building No. 7 for the production of hydroelectric units and building No. 9 were laid for all necessary tests [5, p. 8-9]. The “Teploobmennik” Plant underwent an intensive reconstruction of the enterprise – workshops No. 9 and 10 were put into operation [6, p. 44].

The targets of the ninth five-year plan were high. The city’s factories had to increase production volumes. Almost all of this increase was to be obtained mainly due to an increase in labor productivity. After the gradual winding down of the Kosygin’s economic reform by the early 1970s, the issue of “gross” indicators in the production of consumer goods and a certain shortage of goods was again acute [1, p. 26-217]. Despite this, on the whole, the industrial sector of the city developed dynamically throughout the ninth five-year plan (Table 1) [17, p. 16]. Plants were the most important socio-cultural centers of the Soviet city determining its image and way of life.

Table 1

Growth rates of the total output of industry in the Gorky region in 1940-1977 (in %)

Years	In percent		
	by 1940	by 1960	by 1965
1960	541		
1965	780	144	
1970	1,203	222	154
1975	1,709	316	219

In the period of 1960-1970s, the process of formation of the agglomeration took place around the regional center. The Gorky agglomeration (according to data for the early 1980s) was the fifth largest in the USSR and the third largest in the RSFSR by the number of inhabitants. It included 8 cities (towns), 22 urban settlements, and about 700 villages (the central cities – Gorky and Dzerzhinsk; satellites of the 1st order – Bor, Kstovo, Zavolzhye, Pravdinsk; satellites of the 2nd order – Volodarsk, Balakhna, Gorodets; urban settlements – Reshetikha, Ilinogorsk). The agglomeration accounted for about 60 percent of the region’s population. It produced 40 percent of the industrial output of the Volga-Vyatka economic region. Allied enterprises were located in the settlements surrounding Gorky, which provided services to the industrial complex of the regional center. The leading role in the development of this type of interaction belonged to the Gorky Automobile Plant. The labor relations determined the nature of the agglomeration. The greatest economic importance in it had scientific and production complexes of automotive, shipbuilding, and chemical industries, i.e. those industries that ensured the prominent place of the Gorky agglomeration in the Soviet Union. During the 1960s-1970s, the regional center became a “million city” [18, p. 5-22]. According to data as of 1970, 1,170 thousand people lived in Gorky [17, p. 5].

The rapid growth of the urban population exacerbated the housing problem. In the second half of the 1960s and early 1970s the social policy of the city paid special attention to civil engineering.

Back in 1956 the design and planning work in the city of Gorky resumed. In 1967 the general plan of the city was approved by the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR. The main task of the general plan was to organize the best working, living and recreation conditions for the citizens. A zonal division of the urban space was assumed (industrial, utility and warehouse, intended for building, etc.). Transport routes for various purposes were clearly identified. It was planned to connect the upper part with the Avtozavodsky and Sormovsky districts with the help of the subway. In 1960-1970s, the development in Gorky was mainly carried out by residential areas. Civil construction was carried out on an industrial scale. Large-block, large-panel and prefabricated reinforced concrete constructions were put into practice, typical stairways, floor slabs and exterior wall panels were produced. In 1964 nine-storey, 12- and 14-storey standard houses began to be built in the city. By the 1970s large-panel house building factories were producing several types of houses. In the 1970s, there was an intensive development and improvement in housing construction. The apartments became more comfortable and had more area.

The rise of mass housing construction quickly changed the face of the city [20, p. 94-99; 14, p. 94-99; 15, p. 468]. The pace of construction was major (Table 2) [19].

Table 2

Housing construction in the city of Gorky
during the period of the eighth and ninth five-year plans

Figures	1966-1970	1971-1975	Percentage ratio of the ninth five-year plan to the eighth one
Housing construction (total area commissioned in the city) (thousand square meters)	3,009.7	3,277.2	108.9
Number of built houses	755	656	86.9
Number of built apartments	63,465	64,709	102.0
Commissioned by number of storeys			
5-storey	627	380	60.6
9-storey	121	249	two-fold
12-storey	4	22	by 5.5 times
14-storey	3	5	

Most of the residential area was commissioned in the largest industrial districts of the city – Avtozavodsky and Sormovsky districts (Table 3) [19]. The main developers in these industrial districts were these enterprises – Gorky Automobile Plant and “Krasnoye Sormovo” Plant. The rapid growth of plants and sharp increase in industrial production required new workers and engineers. Therefore, the management of plants made great efforts to provide their workforce with housing.

According to data as of 1975, the average provision per inhabitant of Gorky with a total floor area was 11.5 sq. m. [19].

Table 3

Commission of total floor area by the districts of Gorky (1971-1975)

District	Total commissioned area (1971-1975) (thous. sq. m.)
Avtozavodsky district	853.9
Sormovsky district	562.5
Sovetsky district	475.1
Kanavinsky district	322.5

Leninsky district	310.4
Prioksky district	254.7
Nizhegorodsky district	253.1
Moskovsky district	245.0

In the 1960s-1970s, the Avtozavodsky district of the Gorky city was actively built up in the south-western (Avtozavodskiye Cheremushki) and northern parts of the district. Modern neighborhoods with 5, 9 and 14-storey houses grew up here. At the same time dilapidated barracks disappeared from the landscape map of the industrial district.

The old village of Monastyrka located in this territory gradually disappeared. The dilapidated houses were demolished (there were about 400 of them) and 5, 9 and 14-storey buildings were erected. The construction was unfolded on a large area within four thoroughfares: Leskova, Vedenyapina, Prygunova streets and Yuzhnoye highway. The new micro-districts stretched along the Yuzhnoye highway and reached almost to the Oka River. If in I and II micro-districts the arrangement of houses in the plan somewhat resembled small blocks, in other micro-districts the arrangement of houses in the plan was made “free”. The development of the street and the neighborhoods adjacent to it was mainly carried out with standard houses (series I-447, I-464, etc.). Kindergartens, schools and shops were built in the micro-districts. New roadways and highways were laid in the territory of the Avtozavodsky district [23, p. 128].

In the years of the eighth and ninth five-year plans, the city worked hard to move families from communal apartments and dilapidated housing (hollow-wood houses, barracks) into comfortable houses (Table 4) [19].

Table 4

Families moved into comfortable apartments in the city of Gorky during the period of the eighth and ninth five-year plans

Figures	1966-1970	1971-1975	Percentage ratio of the ninth five-year plan to the eighth one
Families relocated to comfortable apartments	14,919	22,849	153.1
including from barracks	6,604	9,473	143.4%
from basements	1,290	1,879	145.6%

from dilapidated houses	7,025	11,497	163.9%

In the mid-1960s, the reconstruction of the city center began. In 1966 a competition was announced for the project of detailed planning and development of the center of Gorky. The project of Gorkovgrazhdanproekt (architects Yu. Bubnov, V. Kovalev, Yu. Konovalov, B. Nelyubin, N. Ushakov, G. Shirokov) was accepted for implementation. According to the project, the administrative center was located in the Kremlin (in the Upper part of the city), and the public center – on Lenin Square (across the river, in the Lower part). This project could not be fully realized. In 1970 to the centenary of Lenin’s birth the monument was opened (sculptor Yu. Neroda, architects Yu. Voskresensky, V. Voronkov). The monument became the dominant part of the Oka River embankment. At that time, within the boundaries of the Upper part of the city, the development of the center in the area of Fedorovskogo embankment and Kovalikhinskaya street was completed. From the side of Svobody Square the contours of M. Gorky street began to form, in Sormovo – the 6th, 7th and 9th micro-districts. In the Moskovsky district residential construction was carried out on the areas adjacent to Sormovskoye highway. In the Avtozavodsky district in the 1970s, the areas of Yuzhnoye highway and Severny settlement were actively built up [20, p. 102-103, 117].

By 1970 large-panel construction plants began to produce eleven types of five- and nine-storey houses. This allowed to diversify the volumetric and spatial compositions [20, p. 99].

During the period of the eighth and ninth five-year plans a lot of work was carried out by the “Gorkovgrazhdanproekt” design institute under the executive committee of the Gorky Regional Council of Workers, which was the leading organization for the formation of the spatial environment of the city of Gorky.

As an example, let us take a number of projects of the institute for the development of the Avtozavodsky district of Gorky. The development of new territories was carried out comprehensively: residential neighborhoods, kindergartens and schools, shops were built.

In 1969 the project of development in the south-western part of the

Avtozavodsky district in the area of Monchegorskaya street, designed for settlement of 34 thousand inhabitants, was executed. The population of the quarter was planned at the rate of 5 thousand people with the provision of living space of 9 square meters per person. Two kindergartens, playgrounds and sports grounds, trade institutions were designed in the neighborhood. The school was located taking into account the development prospects of the residential area.

The existing development was taken into account. The houses were not arranged in a straight line, but by creating a common area in which the primary service block was located. A group of nine-storey houses emphasized the location of the social and commercial center of the district in the northern part of the quarter.

The combination of buildings of different number of storeys – five- and nine-storey residential buildings, a three-storey school, two-storey buildings of children's institutions and a one-storey building of the public shopping center – made it possible to create sufficient expressiveness of the development. The following typical projects with improved flat layout were adopted for the neighborhood development: 5-storey brick houses of I-447c series with a total living area of 24,750; 9-storey brick houses of I-447c series [21].

In the early 1970s, major design works were laid down, which were realized in the second half of the 1970s – early 1980s. In 1974 the "Gorkovgrazhdanproekt" institute prepared a project of the northern part of Sotsgorod for the Avtozavodsky district (the author of the project – G. B. Shirokov). The construction of the micro-district was supposed to be carried out within five years. According to the project of detailed planning of the northern part of the residential area of Sotsgorod, developed by Gorkovgrazhdanproekt in 1964, the territory of the residential area was 140 hectares with a settlement area for 43.7 thousand inhabitants.

The area of the II micro-district within the red lines established by the City Department of Construction and Architecture in 1973 amounted to 52 hectares. The micro-district was designed for 28 thousand inhabitants (living area – 9 square meters per person). The area of the micro-district was 52 hectares. The territory was divided into three equal plots with two residential streets of radial direction. Each of the three plots consisted of a pair of residential groups with a population of 3.5-4.6 thousand people. Schools were placed on the periphery of the neighborhood, and kindergartens were planned to be located between the residential groups. To organize the connection between residential groups it was planned to create a semicircular pedestrian boulevard with a driveway. All kindergartens were to be located on one side of this boulevard. At the intersections of the semicircular boulevard with the residential radial streets, small squares were planned, along the perimeter of which built-in and annexed service institutions were placed. The concentration of service establishments on these two squares allowed them to be regarded as the social and commercial centers of the micro-district.

The radial street segments leading to these centers had a continuous line of service establishments. This allowed to consider the segments of radial streets as trade streets.

The volumetric and spatial composition of the micro-district was represented by nine-storey houses of six residential areas, which were the background for two fourteen-storey compact residential groups emphasizing the commercial areas.

On the eastern side of the II micro-district it was planned to place twelve-storey multi-section houses with service institutions on the ground floors.

The territory of the center of Sotsgorod from the northern side received a unified solution in the form of extended curvilinear houses, placed on a circle.

In the north-eastern part of the neighborhood, in the area of intersection of the district thoroughfare of Krasnodontsev street and Lvovskaya street with the city-wide thoroughfare of Raevskogo street, it was supposed to create a pair of sixteen-storey single-section houses with service institutions on the first two floors. Here the semicircular boulevard began. In the southern part of the neighborhood at the end of this semicircular boulevard it was planned to locate a pair of fourteen-storey single-section houses.

The total number of houses in the neighborhood was 81 (living area – 298,348.79 sq. m.). These were mostly nine-storey panel houses, but also twelve- and sixteen-storey buildings. More than 70 per cent of flats were designed as two- and three-room flats [22].

It should be noted that a special role in the spatial development of the city was played by the opening of the Faculty of Architecture at the Gorky Civil Engineering Institute (GISI named after V. P. Chkalov) in 1966. This made it possible to train specialists in demand both in the region and throughout the Soviet Union. In the 1970s there was a change in the generation of Gorky architects. Graduates of GISI n.a. V. P. Chkalov became active [20, p. 89, 117].

An important direction of the city's social policy was the development of the network of educational and cultural institutions. From 1966 to 1975 in Gorky 33 schools (42,414 seats), 92 children's institutions (18,515 seats), 4 libraries, 5 cinemas were built. New facilities significantly improved the educational and cultural sphere of the city [19].

Gorky utility network developed rapidly (Table 5) [19]. General utilities were among the most complex and costly elements of civil engineering. In the second half of the 1960s – first half of the 1970s there was an accelerated process of gasification of the Gorky housing stock. Almost everywhere in the city houses there were water supply, sewerage and gas. In the 1950-1970s a qualitative change took place in the life style of the citizens of Gorky.

Table 5

Public construction in the city of Gorky
during the period of the eighth and ninth five-year plans

Figures	1966-1970	1971-1975	Percentage ratio of the ninth five-year plan to the eighth one
Water supply network in the city (km)	172.9	189.1	109.4
Sewerage network	113.7	167.5	147.3
Apartments gasified	92,723	76,670	78.4
Bridges, viaducts and overpasses built	11	4	36.6%

In the years of the eighth and ninth five-year plans positive changes in the development of urban transport were occurred. There was a growth in the volume of transportation and an increase in the number of new transport units (Table 6) [19].

Table 6

Development of urban transport in the city of Gorky
during the period of the eighth and ninth five-year plans

Figures	1966-1970	1971-1975	Percentage ratio of the ninth five-year plan to the eighth one
Tramway A) Transported (million people)	767	878	109.3
B) Cars received	228	126	55.6
Trolleybus A) Transported (million people)	278	387	139.2
B) Cars received	120	172	143.3
Bus A) Transported (million people)	942.3	1,315	140.3
B) Cars received	902	1,441	159.7

During this period the amount of capital investments in the development of social infrastructure of the city in relative values was quite stable. Housing construction was a priority direction in the city. It was to this sphere that the main funds were directed. Moreover, in the first half of the 1970s, the volume of capital investments in housing construction increased. The second place in the volume of financing in the city was occupied by the public construction. Budgeting for new objects of education, health care and culture in Gorky took much less volume (Table 7) [19].

Table 7

Capital investments in the city of Gorky
during the period of the eighth and ninth five-year plans

Figures	Unit of measurement	Years		Percentage ratio of figures of the ninth five-year plan to the eighth one
		Eighth five-year plan (1966-1970)	Ninth five-year plan (1971-1975)	
Volume of capital investments (total)	million rubles	552	690	125%
Volume of capital investments in housing	million rubles	345	441	127.8

construction				
Volume of capital investments in public construction	million rubles	95	145.6	153.3
Volume of capital investments in education	million rubles	45.0	30.5	67.8
Volume of capital investments in health care	million rubles	30.9	30.3	98.0
Volume of capital investments in culture	million rubles	32.9	22.5	68.4

The period of the mid-1960s and early 1970s was one of the most successful in the history of the city of Gorky in the sphere of implementation of large-scale social infrastructure development projects. Industrial enterprises played an important role in shaping the urban environment. The process of reconstruction and modernization of industrial enterprises contributed to the rapid growth of the city infrastructure. Special attention in the city's social policy was paid to the issues of housing construction.

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