

The Institute of History Belgrade
Collection of Works, vol. 45

Nizhny Novgorod State University
of Architecture and Civil Engineering

URBANIZATION IN EASTERN AND SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Editors in chief

Prof. Aleksandar Rastović, PhD

Prof. Aleksey A. Gordin, PhD

Proceedings editor

Vladeta Petrović, PhD

Belgrade 2024

REVIEWERS

Michal Bada, PhD, Institute of History Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava (Slovakia)

Assoc. Prof. Ivan Basić, PhD, University of Split Department of History Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Split (Croatia)

Mikhail V. Belov, PhD, Lobachevsky State University, Nizhny Novgorod (Russia)

Assoc. Prof. Eyup Kul, PhD, Recep Tayyip Erdogan University, Rize (Turkey)

Assoc. Prof. István Petrovics, PhD, University of Szeged, Department of Medieval and Early Modern Hungarian History, Szeged (Hungary)

Srdjan Rudić, PhD, Institute of History Belgrade (Serbia)

Slavenko Terzić, Full member, Serbian Academy of Science and Art, Belgrade (Serbia)

Assist. Prof. Julia Zlatkova, PhD, Institute of Balkan Studies & Center of Thracology, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia (Bulgaria)

This book has been published with the financial support of
The Ministry of Science, Technological Development and Innovation
of the Republic of Serbia

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTE/ОТ РЕДАКТОРА/РЕЧ УРЕДНИКА	5
Andrey A. Kuznetsov THE STRUGGLE OF POLITICAL SUBJECTIVITY OF ROSTOV AND VLADIMIR BEFORE 1218: IDEOLOGICAL FEATURES OF URBANISATION OF NORTHEASTERN RUS'	7
Vladeta Petrović FORTIFY THE CITY AND CREATE A CITY FROM THE FORTRESS: SOME MEDIEVAL EXAMPLES (XIV–XV CENTURIES)	21
Irena Cvijanović ANCIENT MOTIFS AND SYMBOLS ON THE FACADES OF MODERN BELGRADE	33
Jelena Ilić Mandić FIRST RESULTS OF SPATIAL PLANNING IN THE HABSBURG MILITARY FRONTIER: FRONTIER REGIMENTS, NUCLEATED SETTLEMENTS AND CADASTRAL SURVEY (C. 1745–1785)	59
Sergey A. Varakin ATHEISTIC PROPAGANDA AMONG GORKY'S SCHOOLCHILDREN IN THE EARLY 1930s	77
Radomir J. Popović CONSOLIDATION OF STATEHOOD: URBANISATION OF BORDER REGIONS OF THE PRINCIPALITY OF SERBIA IN 1833–1839	95
Nino Delić DEMOGRAPHIC DYNAMICS OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX POPULATION IN SYRMIAN CITIES IN 1802–1910	115
Aleksandra Vuletić URBAN POPULATION IN SERBIA IN 1900: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS	133
Galina V. Serebryanskaya, Natalia V. Sakovich DEMOGRAPHIC PROCESSES IN THE CITY OF GORKY IN 1941–1949	153

Elena D. Gordina CHILDREN'S HOMES IN THE GORKY REGION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CHILD HOMELESSNESS AND NEGLECT IN THE MIDDLE TO SECOND HALF OF THE 1940s	167
Zlata Vuksanović-Macura URBAN PLANNING AND THE URBANISATION PROCESS IN SERBIA IN THE EARLY 1950s	183
Tatiana A. Arbakova SOVIET POSTWAR CITY: ISSUES OF IMPROVEMENT	195
Aleksey A. Gordin SOVIET CITY IN THE CONTEXT OF INDUSTRIAL CORPORATISM	207
Nataša Danilović Hristić, Nebojša Stefanović STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NETWORK OF SETTLEMENTS, AND URBANISATION IN THE SPATIAL PLANS OF SERBIA FROM 1996 TO THE PRESENT	219

EDITOR'S NOTE

The intention of the publisher of this thematic collection is to present the process of urbanisation in Eastern and Southeastern Europe, particularly in the areas inhabited by Serbs and Russians over a broad chronological span – from the early Middle Ages to the modern era. According to the authors, the urbanisation process primarily involves the development of cities, but in a broader context, it also includes all other settlements. We believe that the authors' scientific results will show that geographical, political, economic, social and demographic factors have significantly influenced the urbanisation process in Southeastern Europe, the Balkans and Russia.

This international thematic collection consists of two major thematic sections: urbanisation and spatial planning in medieval Serbia, as well as the Principality and Kingdom of Serbia in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and northeastern Russia in the Middle Ages, and the political, social and demographic processes and circumstances in the Balkans, the Habsburg Monarchy, Russia and the Soviet Union from the 18th to the late 20th century.

The collection contains 14 papers authored by historians, demographers, geographers and architects from Serbia – the Institute of History Belgrade, the Geographical Institute "Jovan Cvijić" of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and the Institute of Architecture and Urban and Spatial Planning, and from Russia – Lobachevsky University, State University of Architecture and Civil Engineering and Social Technical University of Nizhny Novgorod.

Prof. Aleksandar Rastović, PhD

ОТ РЕДАКТОРА

Цель издателя этого международного тематического сборника заключалась в том, чтобы показать процесс урбанизации на территориях Восточной и Юго-Восточной Европы, а прежде всего на территориях, населенных сербами и русскими, в широком хронологическом диапазоне — от раннего Средневековья до современной эпохе. Процесс урбанизации, по мнению авторов, прежде всего предполагал развитие городов, а в более широком контексте — и всех других населённых пунктов. Мы считаем, что научные результаты авторов работ покажут, что географические, политические, экономические, социальные и демографические причины сильно повлияли на процесс урбанизации на территориях Юго-Восточной Европы, Балканы, России.

Международный тематический сборник состоит из двух крупных тематических разделов: урбанизация и пространственное планирование на территориях средневековой Сербии, а также и Княжества и Королевства

Србија в XIX и начале XX века, но и северо-восточной России в Средневековье, и политические, социальные и демографические процессы и условия на Балканах, на территории Габсбургской монархии, России и на территориях Советского Союза с XVIII до конца XX века.

Сборник содержит 14 работ, авторами которых являются историки, демографы, географы, архитекторы из Сербии, из Исторического института Белград, Географического института «Йован Цвиич» САНУ, Института архитектуры, урбанизма и пространственного планирования Сербии, а также и из России, из Нижегородского государственного архитектурно-строительного университета, Нижегородского государственного университета им. Н.И. Лобачевского и Нижегородского государственного технического университета им. Р. Е. Алексеева.

Проф.д-р Александр Растович

РЕЧ УРЕДНИКА

Намера издавача овог међународног тематског зборника је била да прикаже процес урбанизације на просторима Источне и Југоисточне Европе, а пре свега на подручјима која насељавају Срби и Руси у широком хронолошком луку – од раног средњег века до савременог доба. Процес урбанизације је према ауторима подразумевао пре свега развој градова а у ширем контексту и свих осталих насеља. Мишљења смо да ће научни резултати аутора радова показати да су географски, политички, привредни, друштвени, демографски разлози снажно утицали на процес урбанизације на просторима Југоисточне Европе, Балкана, Русије.

Међународни тематски зборник чине две велике тематске целине: урбанизација и просторно планирање на подручјима средњовековне Србије, али и Кнежевине и Краљевине Србије у 19. и на почетку 20. века као и североисточне Русије у средњем веку, и политички, друштвени и демографски процеси и прилике на Балкану, на подручју Хабзбуршке монархије, Русије и на просторима Совјетског Савеза почев од 18. до краја 20. века.

Зборник садржи 14 радова чији су аутори историчари, демографи, географи, архитекте из Србије из Историјског института Београд, Географског института „Јован Цвиич“ САНУ, Института за архитектуру, урбанизам и просторно планирање, као и из Русије из Универзитета Лобачевски, Државног универзитета архитектуре и цивилног инжењерства и Друштвеног техничког универзитета из Нижњег Новгорода.

Проф. др Александар Растовић

Andrey A. Kuznetsov

N. I. Lobachevski State University

Nizhny Novgorod

ORCID ID: 0000-0003-3914-301X

THE STRUGGLE OF POLITICAL SUBJECTIVITY OF ROSTOV AND VLADIMIR BEFORE 1218: IDEOLOGICAL FEATURES OF URBANISATION OF NORTH-EASTERN RUS'

Abstract: The paper deals with the participation of urban communities of the North-East in the political struggle of princes in 1157–1218. The conflict took place between the “old” cities, founded before the 11th century, and the new cities that appeared from the early 12th century. The dispute of cities was projected onto the conflicts of princes in 1174–1176 and 1211–1218. The struggle of princes contributed to the emergence of the political subjectivity of the cities. The “new” city of Vladimir became the winner in this struggle.

Keywords: North-Eastern Rus', Vladimir, Rostov, Andrei Bogolyubsky, Vsevolod the Big Nest, political subjectivity.

This paper examines the history of urbanisation of North-Eastern Rus' in the pre-Mongol times, taking into account *two considerations*.

The first consideration concerns the background of the concept of “political subjectivity of cities” in the history of Russia. More recently, it was prominently presented in the thesis of St. Petersburg colleague A. A. Selin about the factor of political subjectivity of various parts of Muscovy in the Time of Troubles of the early 17th century. Political subjectivity, expressed as the growth of local self-awareness and initiatives during the period when the political centre – the capital (in that case it was Moscow) – fell into decay, stemmed from the pragmatic need to organise everyday life. This included ensuring security, economic survival in the face of interruptions in trade communications, and developing a strategy in a rapidly

changing political and geographical environment. Some cities entered into independent relations with other lands/cities, political forces and even international counterparties¹ (the application of such a concept, for instance, to Nizhny Novgorod during the Time of Troubles makes it possible to explain Kuzma Minin's appearance not only by personal initiative, but also by the general state of mind in Nizhny Novgorod (people were obliged to obey and heed him), influenced by the already established subjectivity of the city). From this observation it follows that the political subjectivity of a number of Russian cities as district centres appeared in the early 17th century in conditions of weakening of the central monarchical power in the already established Russian centralised state. Similar conditions in different eras of Russian history encourage the search for the political subjectivity of cities. One of such eras is the political fragmentation of Rus' in the pre-Mongol times².

After the death of Vladimir Monomakh in 1125, the monarchical power of Kyiv weakened, and fragmentation slowly began. In these processes, individual cities as centres of land could acquire political subjectivity. Sources enable the tracing of such subjectivity in a number of parts of the Old Russian state in the 12th – first third of the 13th century. One of the reasons for attribution of the concept of cities' political subjectivity to old Russian history is the political vacuum in the conditions of the emerging political fragmentation. In addition to the spread of branches of the expanded Rurik family across the territories of the Old Russian state, the formation of political centres took place in cities of different lands. Their acquisition of political power was ensured by the emergence of boyars – the local nobility. The nobility, along with the princes of one or another branch of the Rurikids, who were consolidated in a certain territory, created the political subjectivity of each territory. Various variants of such subjectivity arose.

A boyar republic was formed in Novgorod, inviting some princes to the throne and expelling them if they became undesirable. In Chernigov, Smolensk, Vladimir-Suzdal and other lands, judging by historical sources, principalities were formed, where the princes played the main role, and the boyars were in the background; political activity of the cities was not noted. In the Galicia-Volhynia principality, after the death of Prince Roman Mstislavich in Poland in 1205 and the beginning of the struggle for these lands by representatives of various princely families, the Galich boyars tried to achieve independence and dominance over the princes. After 15 years of struggle, Daniil Romanovich (Galitsky) managed to restore his power in the territory of South-Western Rus'.

¹ Селин А. А. *Столбовский мир 1617 года.*, СПб. 2017, 11, 17–18.

² In historiography, there are two interpretations of political fragmentation. According to one of them, political fragmentation was the irreversible disintegration of the Old Russian state into independent states – principalities. Another point of view assumes the evolution of the relatively centralised Old Russian state into a (con)federation of individual principalities, united by a single dynasty, a common culture and language. The author of the article adheres to the second – “federal” – point of view.

But how common were these processes in the lands of the vast Old Russian state? In Russian historiography there is a current represented by the historical school of St Petersburg University, first of all by I. Yu. Froyanov and A. Yu. Dvornichenko. According to their conclusions, the political subjectivity of old Russian cities can be found in the activity of urban communities across the territory of Old Rus' and throughout its history. This subjectivity served as the basis not of the oligarchic power of boyars, but of the communal cohesion of the urban population. As indicated by the above historians, this was shown in veche assemblies, their challenging or supporting princely actions, etc. A subtle source analysis allowed historians to find examples of this and offer a universal explanation of the political history of Old Rus' in the 12th – first third of the 13th century.³ But how suitable is this for studying the political history of the Vladimir-Suzdal principality (Zalessky land, North-Eastern Rus', Rostov or Suzdal land), where political subjectivity is found (see below)?

In North-Eastern Rus' of the 12th – first third of the 13th century, the political subjectivity of cities was determined by the presence of a kind of frontier in the east of the Zalessky land, surrounded by the left bank of the Klyazma, Oka from the mouth of the Klyazma to the confluence with the Volga, and the right bank of the Upper Volga to the mouth of the Oka. There the interests of the Vladimir, Murom and Ryazan principalities, and Volga Bulgaria converged and affected the fate of the Finno-Ugric peoples living there. Therefore, it was impossible to immediately establish direct princely sovereignty and draw a clear military-political border. Certain territories were controlled from specific cities. But the question is how did this administration relate to the princely power that was establishing itself in the region, was it controlled by the princes or simply accepted by them?

The second consideration concerns the nature of the urbanisation of North-Eastern Rus' in the pre-Mongol times. It developed in the 12th century, in several stages and steadily. The stages were largely determined by specific princes, i.e. by a subjective factor. The starting point was an enclave of cities in the Upper Volga basin (Rostov, Yaroslavl, Uglich, Beloozero, etc.).

The cities stretching towards the Upper Volga – Rostov, Yaroslavl, Pereyasavl, Uglich – were quite old. Rostov, for example, seems to be originally created there. In 862 – according to the *Povest' vremennykh let* (Russian Primary Chronicle), Rostov in the Meryan land was given by Rurik to "his man"; Rostov appeared in the calculation of the Byzantines' ransom to Oleg in 907; Saint Prince Vladimir appointed first Yaroslav, then Boris, governor in Rostov⁴. The city of Yaroslavl was mentioned for the first time in 1071. It is mentioned as an already existing city⁵. Uglich was first

³ For more details see: Фроянов И.Я., Дворниченко А.Ю. *Города-государства Древней Руси*, Л. 1988; Фроянов И.Я. *Древняя Русь. Опыт исследования истории социальной и политической борьбы*. М.–СПб. 1995.

⁴ *Лаврентьевская летопись* // Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. I. М 1997, Стб. 20, 31, 121.

⁵ *Лаврентьевская летопись* // Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. I. М 1997, Стб. 175–178.

mentioned in 1148/1149⁶. The year 1152 saw the “translation” by Yuri Dolgorukiy of Pereyasavl from Kleshchin⁷ to the place where the city stands to this day.

In 862, Rostov featured the Sarskoye Gorodishche on the shore of lake Nero in the 8–10th centuries, which fell into decay due to the growth of present-day Rostov on the opposite bank. Yaroslavl was preceded by settlements of the 9–10th centuries, which were named after the modern villages of Timerevo, Mikhailovskoye, Petrovskoye. Before its transfer, Pereslavl was the village of Gorodishche of the 9–10th centuries – a dwelling of a *druzhina*. Ugleche Pole contained settlements of the 10–11th centuries. These settlements, which preceded the emergence of genuine cities, were called proto-cities by archaeologists⁸. This term, taken from the study of the outdated concept of the Neolithic Revolution, when applied to the settlements of Eastern Europe on the banks of large rivers, turns out to be unsuitable, since these proto-cities did not grow into cities, but gave way to them as full-fledged political, social and cultural centres. Proto-cities were founded at key points along the major rivers of Eastern Europe by the Varangians. Proto-cities were places of wintering, ship repairs, inns and points of attack on the local population – Finno-Ugrians, Balts, Slavs. Without being rooted in the environment, proto-cities had no chance of becoming cities. But these same key points also attracted princely power, which consolidated in the second half of the 9th century. One of the reasons for the interest was the lack of direct communication between the metropolis of Kiev and the north-eastern periphery, with access to the Volga. Until the 12th century, the path from Kyiv ran up the Dnieper to Smyadyn (it was there that Gleb Vladimirovich, who was going to Kyiv from Murom, was killed in 1015), and from there a system of portages led to the upper Volga.

In order to gain a foothold on the upper Volga, the Kyiv princes (primarily Vladimir Svyatoslavich, who baptised Rus’ in 988), turned their attention to the existing proto-cities, which were to be subjugated or destroyed. In relation to the four above proto-cities in the future North-Eastern Rus’, preceding Rostov, Pereslavl, Uglich and Yaroslavl, there was a transfer of settlements to a new location at the expense of the resources of the princely power. Literally, the transition to the sovereignty of the Kyiv prince occurred due to the opposition to the proto-cities of genuine political centres that were subordinate to the authority of the Kyiv prince. First Rostov, then Yaroslavl became cities established by the power of the princes who ruled from Kyiv. They did not need independent Varangians, but were quite satisfied with the Varangians who recognised the power of Kyiv and joined the *druzhina* of the Kyiv prince. Uglich and Pereslavl followed suit. This was the first period of urbanisation, its first wave in North-Eastern Rus’ – in the last third of the 10th – second third of the 11th century.

During the division of spheres of influence in 1024, North-Eastern Rus’ went to the vanquisher of Yaroslav the Wise – his brother Mstislav Vladimirovich

⁶ *Лаврентьевская летопись* // Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. I. М 1997, Стб. 320.

⁷ *Рогожский летописец* // Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. XV. М 2000, Стб. 21.

⁸ For more details see: Дубов И. В. *Города, величием сияющие*, Л 1986.

(Tmutarakansky)⁹, and even later began to change hands, depending on who reigned in Kyiv. It went to Svyatoslav Yaroslavich and his descendants, whose principality, ultimately, became the Chernigov land. North-Eastern Rus' then passed to the descendants of Vsevolod Yaroslavich and his son Vladimir Monomakh with very undefined borders in the east. Pereslavl-Yuzhny was also the possession of Vsevolod and Monomakh, with which the Zalesky land was connected¹⁰. And when Oleg, the son of Svyatoslav, began to bring together all the lands that were under the rule of his father and laid claim to the Zalesky land, in the early 1090s he faced resistance near Rostov from the son of Monomakh, Mstislav. Mstislav advanced to Rostov from Novgorod¹¹. As a result, the Zalesky land remained with Vladimir Monomakh and his descendants.

The constant struggle of the princes for North-Eastern Rus' led to the strengthening of the city nobility, primarily of Rostov. That is why the land was called Rostov and was geographically closer to the Upper Volga.

From the 1090s it became the possession of Monomakh. In 1108 after the raid of the Volga Bulgars¹², Vladimir-on-the-Klyazma was built on Suzdal¹³ and North-Eastern Rus' began to move towards the Oka and the Middle Volga. At the same time, the son of Monomakh, Yuri (Dolgorukiy), was sent to North-Eastern Rus'¹⁴, and the land got its own dynasty. Yuri himself began to promote Rostov as the capital: in historiography there is an opinion that he moved his residence to Suzdal. The political significance of Rostov was diminished. The increase in the political weight of Vladimir happened later and was associated with a shift in the emphasis of the prince's attention to advancing to the East.

⁹ *Лаврентьевская летопись* // Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. I. М 1997, Стб. 149.

¹⁰ Кучкин В. А. *Волго-Окское междуречье и Нижний Новгород в средние века*, Нижний Новгород 2010, 9–15.

¹¹ *Лаврентьевская летопись* // Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. I. М 1997, Стб. 237–240.

¹² The Volga Bulgars are representatives of the state of Bu(o)lgaria, which arose in the early 10th century on the lands of the Middle Volga region and the Kama basin and existed until the Mongol invasion in the 1230s. In 922, Islam was adopted as the state religion in Volga Bu(o)lgaria. The names "Bu(o)Lgars", "Bu(o)Lgaria" are associated with the military-political unification of the nomadic Bulgars in the second third of the 7th century in the southern Russian steppes in the northeastern Black Sea region and along the ridges of the North Caucasus. Under the attacks of the Khazar Khaganate, in the 660–670s, a part of the Bulgars, led by Khan Asparuh, went to the Slavic lands of the eastern Balkans, gave their dynasty to Danube Bulgaria, and the other part moved north and founded (Volga) Bulgaria in the Middle Volga region. During the 10–13th centuries, Rus' and Volga Bulgaria traded and acted as military-political rivals in the Volga region and the Northern Urals.

¹³ Кучкин В. А. *Волго-Окское междуречье и Нижний Новгород в средние века*, Нижний Новгород 2010, 12.

¹⁴ *Киево-Печерский патерик* // Древнерусские патерики. Киево-Печерский патерик. Волоколамский патерик. М 1999, 10.

This reorientation of military-political vectors is associated with Andrei Yuryevich (Bogolyubsky) (Vladimir reign: 1157–1174). After the death of his father Yuri Dolgorukiy, he made relatively young Vladimir the main city, i.e. the capital of the Zalesky land. This happened in 1157, when Andrei Yuryevich was elected Grand Duke of the Zalesky land. In addition to Vladimir residents, Rostov, Suzdal and Pereyasavl residents chose him¹⁵. Perhaps the participation of the Vladimir people in the choice of the prince was due to the fact that Andrei Yuryevich was in Vladimir, where he, having left his father in Southern Rus', fled in 1155 (see below). And if so, then before the eyes of researchers, Vladimir was included among the ranks of cities, whose population or nobility recognised themselves as bearers of political subjectivity.

The city of Vladimir, under the reign of Grand Prince Andrei Bogolyubsky, grew rapidly: through the efforts of the Prince, the Cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary was erected as a consolidation of the Theotokos' cult (where the icon of the (Vladimir) Mother of God, taken by Andrei Bogolyubsky during his final departure from Southern Rus' in 1155, played an important role), and the Golden Gate was erected¹⁶. The development of Vladimir as a new centre of political subjectivity also implied the choice of a new military-political direction – movement along the Middle Volga (Gorodets), the Oka (Gorokhovets) to the east. Vladimir is located on the Klyazma, a tributary of the Oka. Before Andrei Bogolyubsky, the principality had no access to the Oka. The movement towards it began precisely under Andrei Bogolyubsky. Thus, it became possible not only to subjugate the lower course of the Oka, but also to reach the junction of the upper and middle courses of the Volga.

Prince Andrei Yuryevich Bogolyubsky took care of the settlement founded at the confluence of the Klyazma and the Oka near Gorokhovets¹⁷, and on the left bank of the Volga 80 km north of the mouth of the Oka – near Gorodets (first mentioned in the winter of 1171/1172 during the campaign of the son of Andrei Bogolyubsky – Mstislav – against the Bulgars¹⁸). The prince's choice of the direction of military-political development, coupled with urbanisation, changed the history of the Zalesky land. This was all due to the merits of Andrei Bogolyubsky. They predetermined the further formation of the territory of North-Eastern Rus' to the East and in the Volga region, where there were territories that were scattered in the political sense. In other old Russian principalities, such opportunities were limited. But everything could have ended after the death of Andrei Bogolyubsky. In 1174 he was killed¹⁹. The

¹⁵ *Ипатьевская летопись* // Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. II. М 1998, Стб. 490–491.

¹⁶ *Лаврентьевская летопись* // Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. I. М 1997, Стб. 348, 351.

¹⁷ Насонов А. Н. *“Русская земля” и образование территории Древнерусского государства. Монголы и Русь*, СПб. 2006, 173; Кучкин В. А. *Волго-Окское междуречье и Нижний Новгород в средние века*, Нижний Новгород 2010, 24.

¹⁸ *Лаврентьевская летопись* // Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. I. М 1997, Стб. 364.

¹⁹ *Лаврентьевская летопись* // Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. I. М 1997, Стб. 367–371.

circumstances of the death and the driving forces behind this misdeed are unknown to this day²⁰.

The murder of Prince Andrei Yuryevich Bogolyubsky gave Rostov a chance to restore its former greatness. In 1174–1176, the struggle between the sons of Yuri Dolgorukiy – Mikhalko and Vsevolod Yuryevich and his grandchildren – Mstislav and Yaropolk Rostislavich unfolded. In this struggle, the Rostislavichs were at first successful as they were supported by Rostov and Pereyaslavl (the princely *druzhina*, another political force, was concentrated in this city). In this confrontation, Rostov behaved as the main and capital centre of North-Eastern Rus'. Young Vladimir-on-the-Klyazma supported Mikhalko and Vsevolod. The Rostislavich princes were not independent and pursued the policy of the Rostov boyars, including in relation to Vladimir. Rostov tried to regain the status of the capital by diminishing the importance of Vladimir. The policy of the Rostovites should be viewed as an attempt at revenge. An ally of the Rostislavichs, Ryazan prince Gleb, even robbed the Assumption Cathedral of Vladimir²¹. The desecration of the newly created shrine was to the benefit of the Rostovites: the cultural devaluation of young Vladimir was to lead to its further political desacralisation. Moreover, the Rostov boyars in every possible way encouraged the Rostislavichs to rob/confiscate the property of Vladimir's Assumption Cathedral²². But this did not happen, since the residents of Vladimir turned to Mikhalko and Vsevolod Yuryevich for help. They defeated their nephews, who were forced to leave the Zalesky land, and Mikhalko and Vsevolod began to rule in a kind of duumvirate. In this regard, the Vladimir chronicler, expressing the opinion of both the victorious brothers and Vladimir, allowed himself to denounce the Rostov and Suzdal residents. In the victory of the residents of Vladimir and the princes of Yuryevich, the intercession of the Mother of God was seen; under her patronage, the people of Vladimir were not afraid to confront the two princes of Rostislavich, and Rostov; Rostov and Suzdal, likening the boyar power to the *veche* orders of Novgorod, Kyiv (?) and Smolensk, tried to impose their will on the entire Zalesky land, thereby "not wanting to create all the truth of God"²³.

Thus, the chronicle records two ideologies of two different political subjects – Vladimir and Rostov. Vladimir's subjectivity is presented as monarchical, confirmed by the patronage of the Mother of God, with whom "God's" truth is associated. Another version of subjectivity – partial ("I don't want to create all the truth of God") – was revealed by Rostov and Suzdal. In them, the boyars, through the *veche*, controlled the entire land, and, therefore, the princely power. Perhaps the "old" cities of North-Eastern Rus' – Rostov and Suzdal – reproduced the administration model

²⁰ Кузнецов А. А. "Родственники Андрея Боголюбского в аспекте изучения обстоятельств и последствий его гибели", *Вестник Нижегородского университета им. Н.И. Лобачевского* 1 (2009), 135–139.

²¹ *Лаврентьевская летопись* // Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. I. М 1997, Стб. 379.

²² *Лаврентьевская летопись* // Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. I. М 1997, Стб. 375.

²³ *Лаврентьевская летопись* // Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. I. М 1997, Стб. 377–378.

adopted in Novgorod. This is how some kind of genetic connection could manifest itself: at the time of the formation of the Old Russian state in the 9th century, according to the Tale of Bygone Years, Novgorod and Rostov represented one whole; communication with the Upper Volga region, dominated by Beloozero and Rostov, went through the Novgorod land; from Novgorod, where the Varangians of Rurik settled, they sent Varangian men, apparently governors, to Beloozero and Rostov. Thus, the reader of the chronicle sees the process of changing the power ideology – from the boyar oligarchy, the veche republic, which subordinated the prince, to the princely monarchy, which enjoyed the support of the people, from the primacy of Rostov to the capital of Vladimir. The paradigm shift took place in a dramatic atmosphere.

In 1176, Mikhalko died and his death served as a signal for the Rostislavichs to try to take revenge and regain power over North-Eastern Rus'. The role of a provocateur in this case was played by the Rostovites, who obviously wanted to regain their lost political weight and status. They attracted the Rostislavichs to their side. In this final round, Prince Vsevolod Yurievich won, relying on Vladimir. The decisive battle in this struggle is noteworthy – the battle of Yuryev in 1176. Before it, Vsevolod proposed to the rival Rostislavichs to divide the land and end the matter peacefully on the following conditions: Vsevolod would receive the Vladimir part, and Mstislav and Yaropolk Rostislavichs would get the Rostov part²⁴. However, the Rostislavichs needed power over the entire land, and they decided to uncompromisingly go to the end. And they lost the battle of Yuryev.

Thus, the Zalesky land came entirely under the rule of Vladimir, where Vsevolod Yurievich the Big Nest ruled. The Rostislavichs, together with Ryazan prince Gleb and his son, who supported them, were taken to Vladimir and were blinded there (Gleb died in the Vladimir prison). The initiative for blinding came from the people of Vladimir, who demanded that the prince deal with his relative, and the young, 22-year-old Vsevolod could not restrain them²⁵. Vladimir regained the lost supremacy in North-Eastern Rus', Vsevolod Yurievich emerged victorious, and the land remained united. From that time on, Pereyaslavl ceased to be mentioned as a druzhina centre; apparently, the druzhina moved to Vladimir and, obviously, submitted to Prince Vsevolod. From this time – the late 1170s, the druzhina factor, judging by the available sources, lost its independent significance in the Vladimir land. But the same cannot be said about the political subjectivity of the cities of North-Eastern Rus'. It appeared in a slightly modified form after the death of Vsevolod Yurievich in 1212.

The entire subsequent reign of Vsevolod was marked by the strengthening and reinforcing of the capital status of Vladimir in North-Eastern Rus'. However, 30 years after Vsevolod Yurievich's victory over the Rostislavich nephews, a project for dividing

²⁴ *Лаврентьевская летопись* // Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. I. М 1997, Стб. 379–380.

²⁵ *Лаврентьевская летопись* // Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. I. М 1997, Стб. 384–385.

the Zalessky land into cities suddenly “surfaced”, including, first of all, Rostov and – de facto, by default – Vladimir. Vsevolod gave the Rostov land with five cities (Uglich, Yaroslavl, Beloozero) to his eldest son Konstantin and his sons in 1208²⁶. The Rostov land was a part of the Zalessky land, where there were “old” cities associated with the proto-cities.

The opinion established in historiography about the tendency in the Vladimir principality towards autocracy, the confirmation of which was found in the reigns of Andrei Bogolyubsky and Vsevolod the Big Nest, did not allow us to see a course towards fragmentation of the principality in assigning of Rostov and several cities in 1208 to Konstantin Vsevolodovich. It turned out that the eldest son of Vsevolod the Big Nest was given the oldest city. In this regard, the question arises about Vsevolod's will in 1212. The study of this issue led to a somewhat paradoxical conclusion: he wanted to divide all the land among his six sons.

In April 1212, the Grand Duke of Vladimir Vsevolod-Dmitry Yuryevich (the Big Nest) died, and a strife broke out among his sons. Different sources suggest different explanations for these events. According to the Moscow chronicle of the late 15th century, back in 1211, Vsevolod Yuryevich, angry with the eldest son of Konstantin because of his disobedience, transferred power in the principality and over the entire “brotherhood” to his second son George (Yuri). This decision was confirmed by the approval of a specially convened council of representatives of the Zalessky land. Konstantin Vsevolodovich became angry, which became the starting point for the subsequent struggle²⁷. However, the Moscow Chronicle of the late 15th century, in this case – for 1212 – is not a source, but only a later literary narrative interpretation. In it, the story about the death and funeral of the Vladimir prince is an episode in a large text about the will, the disobedience of the eldest son and granting to the second son everything that was possible... The chronicles, which reflected the Rostov chronicle (Ermolinskaya, Lvovskaya, Kholmogorskaya, Tver collection), are indicative of formation of this narrative. And, contrary to the opinion of A. N. Nasonov, in the Moscow Chronicle, when the events of 1211–1218 are covered, the influence of chronicler Yuri Vsevolodovich (the term was proposed by A. N. Nasonov to designate a hypothetical chronicle collection kept in Vladimir in the first decades of the 13th century), confirming this information, is not traceable²⁸. Clarity is brought by other sources, which turn out to be more reliable when reconstructing the events of North-Eastern Rus' in 1212–1218.

First of all, this is the news of the chronicler of Pereslavl-Suzdal and the concise summary of the Laurentian Chronicle. After describing the death of Vsevolod, at which his sons George, Yaroslav, Vladimir, Svyatoslav, Ivan were present (Konstantin did

²⁶ *Лаврентьевская летопись* // Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. I. М 1997, Стб. 434.

²⁷ *Московский летописный свод конца XV в.* // Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. XXV. М. – Л. 1949, 108, 109.

²⁸ For more details see: Андрей Кузнецов, “Политическая история Северо-Восточной Руси в 1211–1218 гг.: источниковедческий аспект”, *Ruthenica* 8 (2009), 66–89.

not manage to arrive), it says: “Then during his life he bestowed power to his children: to great Konstantin – Rostov, to George – Volodymyr, to Yaroslav – Pereyasavl, to Volodymyr – Gyurvev, and to little Svyatoslav and John – Gyurgy on the river, saying: “May you be instead of their father, and be there for them, as I have been. And may you not fight among yourselves, but if someone else rises up against you, take up arms against them”²⁹.

The comparison of information from the chronicler of Pereslavl Suzdal and the Laurentian Chronicle allows us to propose the following reconstruction. Vsevolod Yurievich died suddenly aged 57–58. The abruptness explains the fact that Konstantin simply did not have time to come from Rostov to his dying father. With his health rapidly deteriorating, he hurried to give the last orders: he gave Vladimir to George, Pereslavl (Zalessky) to Yaroslav, Yuryev to Vladimir and took care of George’s guardianship over the younger brothers, and Konstantin and his descendants retained possession of previously obtained Rostov part of the Zalessky land. Dying Vsevolod Yuryevich was most concerned about peace among his sons. Such a fragmentation of the principality in 1212 contradicts the widespread idea in historiography about strong princely power in North-Eastern Rus’. Vsevolod Yuryevich divided the principality among his sons, without designating a political centre (the guardianship of Prince George of Vladimir over his younger brothers was obviously temporary). But at the same time, the city of Vladimir was lower than Rostov; the second son of Vsevolod, George, reigned in Vladimir.

However, this division of the principality led to a struggle among Vsevolod’s sons, primarily George, Yaroslav and Konstantin, and it ended only in 1218. Konstantin opposed his father’s project with the principle of political seniority of the great Vladimir prince, which coincided with the seniority of his brothers. Relying on Rostov – Prince Konstantin also built churches there – he began to fight for the supreme power in all of North-Eastern Rus’. Having lost the first round to brothers George and Yaroslav, he, with the help of the Smolensk princes and Novgorod, led the Rostov troops to Lipitsa – the second battle in 1216. George offered him the same exchange: if you want Vladimir, give me Rostov³⁰ – approximately according to the same patterns that Vsevolod Yuryevich proposed to his nephews and rivals, the Rostislavichs. Konstantin won. The important thing is that in the First Novgorod Chronicle the Battle of Lipitsa is presented as a victory of the Rostovites, together with the Novgorodians, over the inhabitants of Vladimir. So Rostov took revenge over Vladimir (for a short time). And... Konstantin became the Grand Duke of Vladimir. He restored the unity of the principality, the supreme power, going against the will of his father. The events of 1212–1216 were the last manifestation of the political subjectivity of cities.

²⁹ *Летописец Переяславля-Суздальского* // Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. XL, М 1995, 129.

³⁰ *Летописец Переяславля-Суздальского* // Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. XL, М 1995, 129.

Konstantin Vsevolodovich managed to establish a new order after the defeat of George at Lipitsa in 1216. In 1218 Konstantin Vsevolodovich died³¹. But he managed to propose a new outline for the organisation of power: power belonged to the prince who ruled in Vladimir, his brothers and nephews reigned in some cities, recognising the power of the Vladimir prince. Having reigned for the second time after the death of Konstantin in 1218, George did not change the established political model, which does not seem advanced, as historiographers sometimes tried to present it. The same George Vsevolodovich had to respect the rights of the sons of Konstantin – they reigned in Rostov. The result was some kind of autonomy of the Rostov land with its own dynasty, which recognised the Vladimir prince. The autonomy is observed both in relation to Yuryev, where Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich reigned, and in relation to Pereslavl-Zalessky, where Yaroslav reigned.

Moreover, even in relation to the tendencies of autocracy of Andrei Bogolyubsky, the political model that emerged in the Zalessky land in 1216–1218 looks like a step back in the centralisation of power and, rather, corresponds to the all-Russian trends of political fragmentation. However, the political legacy of Andrei Bogolyubsky was preserved and maintained owing to the subjectivity of cities. It manifested itself in North-Eastern Rus' during a period of political fragmentation, when the Rurikovich family established themselves in the regions. Moreover, during the period of political fragmentation – the second third of the 12th century, this was due to the revival of dormant traditions of the "old" cities as opposed to the newly acquired capital status of Vladimir. The obtainment of political subjectivity by the cities of the region followed the model of Novgorod, whose characteristic feature was the boyar oligarchy. However, the *veche* order did not develop in the region. *Veche*s took place during the period of vacuum of princely power – in 1157, 1174–1176, whereafter no *veche*s were noted. If it is characterised as a passive factor, as a given fact that must be taken into account, then it entered into interaction with a constant factor of old Russian political history, which was princely power. In the 12th and the first third of the 13th century, it was the only initiator of urbanisation in North-Eastern Rus'. Princes founded and even moved cities depending on their military and political interests. Therefore, the historiographical dispute about the nature of the colonisation of North-Eastern Rus' – folk-peasant (V. O. Klyuchevsky, M. K. Lyubavsky) or princely-political (A. E. Presnyakov) – the 12th and 13th centuries, decided in favour of the latter³².

This separation subsequently caused a bitter struggle in chronicles – in the article "These are the princes of Russia"³³. Rostov scribes, contrary to the Vladimir chroniclers, indicated the true date of Vladimir – the year 1108, and not the 10th century, diminished the value of Vladimir and its Assumption Cathedral in comparison

³¹ *Лаврентьевская летопись* // Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. I. М 1997, Стб. 442–443.

³² Пудалов Б. М. *Начальный период истории древнейших русских городов Среднего Поволжья (XII – первая треть XIII в.)*, Нижний Новгород 2003, 198–202.

³³ *А се князи Русьстии* // Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. III. М 2000, 467–468.

with the antiquities of Rostov, devalued the activities of Andrei Bogolyubsky, sang the praises of Konstantin, and exaggerated the scale of the Battle of Lipitsa and the glory of the Rostovites³⁴. But this happened later – after the Mongol invasion. And it would be little consolation for Rostov after the loss of its status, since literary reality could not translate into historical reality under different conditions.

³⁴ See for example: Кузнецов А. А. “Летописная полемика о числе куполов Успенского собора”, *Вестник Удмуртского университета. Серия 5: История и филология* 1 (2010), 13–23.

Андрей А. Кузнецов

**БОРЬБА ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ СУБЪЕКТНОСТЕЙ РОСТОВА И ВЛАДИМИРА ДО 1218 Г.:
ИДЕОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ ОСОБЕННОСТИ УРБАНИЗАЦИИ СЕВЕРО-ВОСТОЧНОЙ РУСИ**

Резюме

В статье рассматривается вопрос об одном из акторов политической истории Северо-Восточной Руси, наряду с князьями, – городах этого региона. Данную роль города играли в первые 50 лет периода политической раздробленности Древнерусского государства – в 1120–1170-гг. Города Ростов, Суздаль выступили конкурентами утверждавшейся династии потомков князя Юрия Владимировича Долгорукого. Одновременно их противником стал Владимир, которого князь Андрей Юрьевич (Боголюбский) сделал столицей. Эти вектора политических стратегий столкнулись поле гибели Андрея Боголюбского в 1174 г. Ожесточенность борьбы в 1174–1178 гг. обуславливалась обретением городами политической субъектности. Разные варианты политических субъектностей Владимира и Ростова основывались на разных идеологических программах, восстанавливаемых по летописям. Владимирская программа связывалась с признанием первенства княжеской власти. Именно она и победила одновременно с утверждением в Северо-Восточной Руси Всеволода Юрьевича Большое Гнездо.

Андрей А. Кузнецов

**БОРБА ПОЛИТИЧКИХ СУБЈЕКАТА РОСТОВА И ВЛАДИМИРА ДО 1218. ГОДИНЕ:
ИДЕОЛОШКЕ КАРАКТЕРИСТИКЕ УРБАНИЗАЦИЈЕ СЕВЕРОИСТОЧНЕ РУСИЈЕ**

Резиме

У раду се истражују градови Североисточне Русије, који су, поред кнезова, били један од фактора политичке историје овог региона. Градови су играли ову улогу првих 50 година у периоду политичког распада Староруске државе – од 1120. до 1170. године. Градови Ростов и Суздаљ постали су конкуренти династији потомака кнеза Јурија Владимировича Долгоруког, која је настајала. Истовремено, њихов противник постао је град Владимир, који је кнез Андреј Јуријевич (Богољубски) прогласио главним градом. Правци ових политичких стратегија су се сукобили после смрти Андреја Богољубског 1174. године. Жестина борбе између 1174. и 1178. године обезбедила је овим градовима стицање политичког субјективитета. Различити облици политичког субјективитета Владимира и Ростова заснивали су се на различитим идеолошким програмима, који су реконструисани на основу летописа. Владимирски програм оснивао се на признавању првенства кнежевске власти. Управо тај програм је победио, истовремено са утврђивањем Всеволода Јуријевича Великог Гнезда у Североисточној Русији.

Vladeta Petrović*

Institute of History
Belgrade

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-2420-0221

FORTIFY THE CITY AND CREATE A CITY FROM THE FORTRESS: SOME MEDIEVAL EXAMPLES (XIV–XV CENTURIES)

Abstract: An analysis of original medieval material at the level of historiographical examination sheds light, in general, on what the Serbian medieval city represented compared to other urban medieval forms, both synchronously and diachronically. Written source material of different provenance has been used. In the case of Belgrade, the data from the Life of Despot Stefan Lazarević were analysed. In the case of Smederevo, the basis was epigraphic material, and in the case of Priština, a copy of the inscription from the Priština fortification, preserved in a manuscript that is kept today in the Saint Panteleimon monastery. A particular focus was placed on the fortress of Novi in Boka, which herzog Stefan Vukčić-Kosača transformed into an urban settlement.

Keywords: city, fortress, fortify, build, economy, trade, craftsmanship, Middle Ages, Serbia.

The fortification and economic strengthening of urban settlements were important processes in the development of all towns, which went through them in different ways. The importance of an urban settlement was not correlated to the existence of fortifications. Numerous urban settlements in the continental part of the Serbian lands were not fortified, but experienced vibrant economic growth. Some of these developed in the immediate vicinity of fortresses, while a part of prominent towns were fortified. The Serbian medieval state reached the pinnacle of urbanisation processes in the first half of the 15th century. Different types of towns and cities

* vladeta.petrovic@iib.ac.rs

emerged and co-existed in its territory – old Byzantine cities, mining urban settlements, capital cities, fortifications with suburbs and, market places. Each urban settlement was a separate entity where economic, social and political functions were developing.¹

An analysis of original medieval material at the level of historiographical examination sheds light, among other, on what the Serbian medieval city. This paper will attempt to answer how medieval writers described it.

When it comes to the city in the Serbian medieval state from the aspect of our topic, there is no written source material that could, for instance, be compared to the description of Dubrovnik by Philippus de Diversis.² The written source material is of different provenance.

Medieval legal documents provide important material for some aspects of urban life. Under Article 127 of Dušan's Code, the inhabitants of the town and its župa had the obligation to rebuild *the city and the tower*.³ Villages granted to monasteries were often exempted from the obligation of *city-building*.⁴ There were also exceptions. In the charter of Despot Stefan Lazarević, it was clearly emphasised that the villages belonging to the Monastery of Great Lavra of St Athanasius on Mount Athos were not released from the obligation to build Belgrade.⁵

¹ Владета Петровић, "Градска насеља у доба првих Немањића", у: *Стефан Првовенчани и његово доба*, Београд 2020, 411–427. Владета Петровић, Гордана Гаврић, "Цркве у српским средњовековним утврђењима и градским насељима (XII–XV век): изабрани примери", *Историјски часопис* 71 (2022) 35–62, 37.

Considering the historical, natural, and geographical conditions, the most important settlements in the area of the medieval Serbian state can be classified into three groups. The first group consists of the old urban centers in the fertile valleys of the Morava-Vardar Valley, Kosovo and Metohija, through which the most important roads in the Peninsula passed. The second group includes the settlements created in the immediate vicinity of the large mining areas and the roads leading to them, while the third group consists of cities on the Adriatic coast and in its immediate hinterland.

² In his *Descriptio* of Dubrovnik, Philippus de Diversis pointed out many things concerning every medieval city: the city should be built in a place suitable for trade and for people's health; where there is plenty of water, where the climate is good and mild; the city should be fortified with thick walls with large towers and everything else that is necessary for the fortification of the city and the safety of citizens. See Filip de Diversis, *Opis slavnog grada Dubrovnika*, са латинског превео Иван Божић, Dubrovnik 1973, 15–20.

³ Никола Радојчић, *Законик цара Стефана Душана 1349. и 1354.*, Београд 1960, 67, 124. Александар Соловјев, *Законик цара Стефана Душана 1349. и 1354. године*, Београд 1980, 280–281. *Душанов законик*, приредио Ђорђе Бубало, Београд 2010, 100, 196.

On the meaning of the word *tower* in medieval Cyrillic sources and in this article of Dušan's Code, see Jovanka Kalić, "Was verstand man in den mittelalterlichen serbischen städten unter 'Kula'", *Balkanoslavica* 7 (1978) 15–24, 18.

⁴ On the obligation of city-building, see Марко Шуица, *Градозиданије*, in: *Лексикон српског средњег века*, приредили Сима Ћирковић и Раде Михаљчић, Београд 1999, 125–126. Владета Петровић, "Град у ћириличној дипломатичкој грађи", in: *Урбанизација у источној и југоисточној Европи*, Београд – Нижњи Новгород 2019, 140–143.

⁵ Александар Младеновић, *Повеље и писма деспота Стефана*, Београд 2007, 260, 262, 264.

FORTIFY THE CITY AND CREATE A CITY FROM THE FORTRESS:
SOME MEDIEVAL EXAMPLES (XIV–XV CENTURIES)

The source material of another genre type offers possibilities for different interpretations or is often fragmentary. Hagiographies most often contain only brief notes that the ruler has built a *city*. Constantine the Philosopher writes that Prince Lazar has built many fortifications and mentions the construction of Kruševac by name. The emphasis is on the construction of fortifications, including the construction of the Lazarica church.⁶ In his idealised description of Serbia, this excellent writer points out that the country was protected: *it is surrounded by too high mountains (and) such cities as can be found in small numbers in many countries. They are remarkable for their high towers and fortifications, and (are supplied with) water that is called the joy of the cities.*⁷ Constantine the Philosopher also left a valuable description of the reconstruction of medieval Belgrade during the reign of Despot Stefan Lazarević, which is an exceptional source for understanding how the medieval man understood the city, i.e. what a settlement had to have in order to be considered a city. Analysing his data, we must always keep in mind the topoi of hagiographic literature. While describing the remodelling of Belgrade, the author speaks of the construction of the “seven-summit city”.⁸ In addition to fortifying the city, Despot Stefan Lazarević issued a charter for Belgrade in order to spur its economic development. The charter has not been preserved, and information about its content is given by Constantine the Philosopher in chapters 38 and 51 of the *Life of Stefan Lazarević, the Serbian Despot*. Pursuant to the charter, the city residents were granted privileges such as personal freedom, freedom of movement, exemption from hard labour, the right to free trade in the country with the exemption from customs duties, and the right to international trade in Hungary and neighbouring countries. Along with these measures, he encouraged that *the richest people* from other cities settle in Belgrade.⁹ Based on archaeological research, the spatial division of Belgrade during the time of Despot Stefan Lazarević implied the division into the castrum (Upper Town) and civitac (Lower Town) – the fortified part of the urban settlement. A significant part of the settlement was outside the fortification. The suburbs developed along the road that led from the Eastern Gates of the city to today’s Cara Dušana Street, where the medieval square was most likely located. The suburbs spread towards the west (the area of the present-day Cathedral Church on the Sava slope).¹⁰

⁶ Константин Филозоф, *Живот деспота Стефана Лазаревића*, превод и напомене Гордана Јовановић, Београд 2009, 33.

⁷ Ibidem, 21.

⁸ Ibidem, 57–59. For an analysis of the source value of Constantine’s description of Belgrade, see: Јованка Калић, “Нова сазнања о прошлости Београда”, *Историјски гласник* 1 (1971) 53–66. eadem, “Опис Београда у XV веку”, *Зборник Филозофског факултета* 12/1 (Београд 1974) 443–453. Марија Бајаловић – Хаџи-Пешић, “Унутрашње утврђење београдског града, V”, *Годишњак града Београда* 44 (1997) 67–88, 68–74.

⁹ Јованка Калић, “Београдска повеља деспота Стефана Лазаревића”, in: *Средњовековно право у Срба у огледалу историјских извора*, Београд 2009, 189–197, 195.

¹⁰ For more details on the spatial division of Belgrade, see Марко Поповић, *Београдска тврђава*, Београд 2006, 117–121.

Numerous urban settlements in the medieval Serbian lands sprang up in the wave of urbanisation, which was conditioned by the development of trade. These settlements were created at the foot of fortresses, at road intersections, near caravan stations or at the places of occasional fairs.¹¹ At the foot of certain fortresses, suburbs were formed where merchants and artisans lived. Over time, places around the fortress could grow into larger urban settlements. That process often did not leave numerous written testimonies. With the intensification of construction activity in the mid-14th century, fundamental changes in the design of the medieval city also took place. Wider or narrower suburbs, with residential houses and other public buildings, developed around larger fortresses, which were defended by garrisons. Fortifications were no longer built only in inaccessible locations, but also in suitable places in the plains, near rivers and road communications, where a civilian settlement could also be located.¹² Some of them later ceased to exist and some developed into well-known cities, depending on whether they retained their former economic importance after the collapse of the Serbian state. As they changed their appearance over time, it is today difficult to say what Serbian medieval cities looked like. The dilapidated houses where the medieval people lived disappeared, and only fortresses remained.¹³

It is assumed that Smederevo was an open urban settlement without ramparts. Σφεντέρμος, is mentioned in the charter of Byzantine Emperor Basil II in 1019. It belonged to the Braničevo bishop.¹⁴ Smederevo is also mentioned in the Ravanica monastery charter of Prince Lazar.¹⁵ The people of Dubrovnik appeared in Smederevo as early as 1408.¹⁶ The construction of the Smederevo ramparts left no traces in written medieval sources, as is the case with Belgrade. One epigraphic source testifying to the construction of the fortress has been preserved. According to the

¹¹ For more details on unfortified urban settlements, see Божидар Зарковић, *Тргови и урбанизација Србије у средњем веку*, Косовска Митровица 2017. Владета Петровић, Гордана Гаврић, "Црква као огледало урбаног простора. Свето и профано наслеђе средњовековног Трговишта", in: *Богословље и духовни живот Карловачке митрополије у оквиру 800 година аутокефалне Српске православне цркве*, Београд – Нови Сад 2019, 189–209.

¹² Иван Здравковић, "Постанак и развитак наших средњовековних вароши-градова", *Рашка баштина* 2 (1980) 179–187, 179; Гордана Симић, *Донжон куле у фортификацији средњовековних градова*, Београд 2010, 84.

¹³ Момчило Спремић, *Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић и његово доба*, Београд 1994, 720.

¹⁴ Heinrich Gelzer, "Ungerdruckte und wenig bekannte Bistümerverzeichnisse der orientalischen Kirche", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 2 (1893) 22–72, 43. See also Стојан Новаковић, "Охридска архиепископија у почетку XI века", *Глас Српске краљевске академије* 76 (1908) 1–62, 37–38. Сима Ћирковић, "Смедерево – престоница српске деспотовине", in: *Ослобођење градова од Турака 1862–1867*, Београд 1970, 61–69.

¹⁵ Александар Младеновић, *Повеље кнеза Лазара*, Београд 2003, 54, 62, 83, 94, 101, 113, 120.

¹⁶ Михаило Динић, *Грађа за историју Београда II*, Београд 1958, 13–14. About the Dubrovnik settlement in Smederevo see Десанка Ковачевић, "Дубровачка насебина у Смедереву у доба Деспотовине", in: *Ослобођење градова од Турака 1862–1867*, Београд 1970, 103–120.

inscription on the southern wall of the Cross Tower, the fortification was built between 1428 and 1430: *In Christ God, pious Despot Đurađ Branković, the lord of Serbia and the Littoral of Zeta. By his order, this city was built in the year 6938 (1430).*¹⁷ Ottoman chronicler Oruç notes that the fortress in Smederevo was built by Đurađ Branković secretly from Sultan Murat II. According to an older, Oxford manuscript, this took place in the Hijri year of 831 (22 October 1427 – 10 October 1428), and according to a younger, Cambridge manuscript it happened in the Hijri year of 838 (7 August 1434 – 26 July 1435).¹⁸ Most researchers believe that it was not possible to build such a large fortification in such a short time. Đurađ Bošković argued that the inscription on the Despot's tower refers only to the construction of the Small Town, and that the other parts of the town were built at a later time.¹⁹ Also, most researchers believe that there were several phases in the construction of Smederevo: the first phase concerns the construction of the Small Town, the second pertains to the construction of the Great Town, and the third – to the addition of polygonal towers by the Ottomans.²⁰ However, Aleksandar Deroko pointed out, "in terms of the general arrangement and equipment of the walls and towers, the city was conceived as a fortification set up for combat only with cold weapons and stone-throwing devices."²¹ All the towers in the Small Town, with the exception of the donjon, were completely open to the town yard. The towers of the Great Town and of the Small Town were subsequently arched over by a brick arch. In this way, the platforms on the highest floor were set up. Aleksandar Deroko believes that these platforms were built to mount lighter cannons in the period between 1453 and 1456.²²

There are sources that contain arguments for drawing different conclusions. A note from Aşıkpaşazade's chronicle testifies to the existence of the Smederevo fortress in the late 14th century. Aşıkpaşazade states that after Olivera married Sultan Bayezid I, the Sultan returned the Smederevo and Golubac fortresses to Stefan Lazarević at her persuasion. Based on this information, Nedim Filipović concluded

¹⁷ Млађан Цуњак, *Смедеревска тврђава: новија истраживања*, Смедерево 2011², 26–27.

¹⁸ Недим Филиповић, "Неколике биљешке око Смедерева", in: *Ослобођење градова од Турака 1862–1867*, Београд 1970, 122–123.

¹⁹ Ђурђе Бошковић, „Споменица петстогодишњице смедеревског града“, *Старинар* 8–9 (1933–1944) 326–329, 327–328.

²⁰ Александар Дероко, "Смедеревски град", *Старинар* 2 (1951) 59–98, 64–65. Млађан Цуњак, "Прилози познавању српске средњовековне материјалне културе", *Саопштења Републичког завода за заштиту споменика културе* 18 (1986) 229–238, 229. Idem, *Смедеревска тврђава: новија истраживања*, 59–79. Марко Поповић, *Смедеревски град*, Београд 2013, 55–73.

²¹ А. Дероко, "Смедеревски град", 59–79, 66.

²² А. Дероко, "Смедеревски град", 59–98, 66–67. Млађан Цуњак and Дејан Радовановић believe that Despot Đurađ Branković, after the first fall of the Despotate, began to build cannon holes in front of the entrance to the Small Town and cannon platforms on the towers. See Млађан Цуњак, Дејан Радовановић, "Смедеревска тврђава, резултати истраживања на кули 10 у 1984.", *Гласник Друштва конзерватора Србије* 19 (1995) 116–118. In detail with older literature М. Цуњак, *Смедеревска тврђава: новија истраживања*, 49–78.

“...that in the area where today’s Smederevo fortress is located, there was some, by all means a smaller, fortified stronghold.”²³ According to two Bulgarian scientists, a cartographic source also testifies that the Smederevo fortress existed in the late 14th century. It is a map of a part of the Balkan Peninsula by an anonymous author.²⁴ The cities are shown in the form of vignettes, and most of them have a flag. The flags have a cross, a crescent or there is no symbol. Of the 66 cities mapped, the flags of 14 cities have a cross and 26 a crescent moon, while the rest are either without a flag or without a mark. The fortress of Smederevo (Smedrico) is marked in the map.²⁵ The dating of the map is still disputable.²⁶ The fact that the Smederevo fortress is in the map served Milica Nikolić to conclude that the map could have been created after 1430 and before 1453.²⁷

There was also the practice to protect cities better by subsequently building a fortress. In case of danger, the inhabitants took shelter in nearby fortresses. The

²³ Н. Филиповић, “Неколике биљешке око Смедерева”, 121–142, 122. The information that Golubac was in the Ottoman hands is correct. After the Battle of Kosovo, Golubac fell under Turkish rule and was unsuccessfully besieged by the Hungarian army in 1399. See Вељан Трпковић, “Турско-угарски сукоби до 1402.”, *Историјски гласник* 1–2 (1959) 93–121, 118–119. Сима Ђирковић, *Голубац у средњем веку*, Пожаревац 1968, 10–11.

²⁴ The map is kept in the National Library in Paris: Codex Latinus 7239 on pages 113v and 114r. See Veselin Beševliev, “Eine Militärkarte der Balkanhalbinsel aus den letzten Jahren des 14. Jahrhunderts”, *Балканско езикознание* VII/2 (Софија 1963) 39–48, 39. Милица Николић, “Ренесанса Птоломејеве географије”, in: *Monumenta cartographica Jugoslaviae* II, Београд 1979, 67–90, 81.

²⁵ М. Николић, *Ренесанса Птоломејеве географије*, 81–83.

²⁶ Veselin Beševliev dates the map to the period between 1394 and 1396, based on the information that the flag over Vidin contained a cross – which testifies that the city was still in Bulgarian hands; see V. Beševliev, “Eine Militärkarte der Balkanhalbinsel aus den letzten Jahren des 14. Jahrhunderts”, 48. Franz Babinger believes that the map was made between 1452 and March 1453 because he considers an unnamed fortification to be Rumelihisari; see Franz Babinger, “An Italian Map of the Balkans, presumably owned by Mehmed II, the Conqueror (1452–1453)”, *Imago Mundi* VIII (1951) 8–15. Florio Banfi disagrees with Babinger’s dating. He believes that this fortress existed even before Rumelihisari and that it was drawn by Buondelmonti in his map from 1422. Banfi dates the map to October 1443 and believes that the map was made by Paolo Santini in Hungary for King Vladislav before his attack on the Turks; see Florio Banfi, “Two Italian maps of the Balkan Peninsula”, *Imago Mundi* XI (1954) 17–24. Peter Koledarov dates the map to the period between 1388 and the fall of the Tarnovo Empire in 1393, based on the flag over Archer; see Петър Коледаров, “Втората българска държава в страните карти от век”, *Векове* 4 (1973) 22–26, 26.

²⁷ М. Николић, “Ренесанса Птоломејеве географије”, 83. Also see Slobodan Ćurčić, “Visible and invisible aspects of building the fortified palace of Smederevo and its historical significance”, *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 50/2 (2013) 835–851, 838. The arguments of Bulgarian scientist Veselin Beševliev (see note 23) seem quite strong to us, and we should not lightly dismiss the possibility that Smederevo was fortified earlier. In addition, the Aşıkpaşazade chronicle mentions the Smederevo fortress in the last decade of the 14th century.

inhabitants of Srebrenica took shelter in the subsequently built Srebrenik. The same happened with the Olovac fortress near Olovo, while the inhabitants of Fojnica took refuge in the Kozograd fortress.²⁸ A similar case happened near Priština. Priština was a largely unfortified urban settlement. Emperor John Kantakouzenos considers Priština an unfortified village. It contained the court of Emperor Dušan.²⁹ With the development of mining production from the nearby mines near Novi Brdo, Janjevo and Trepča, and being on an important busy road, Priština developed over time into a significant economic centre, with flourishing trade and crafts. Silver and gold from nearby mines were traded in this market place.³⁰ It has been established with certainty that there were eleven specialised crafts in Priština. In the early Ottoman period, three mahallas were named after crafts: *Pojasar*, *Štitar* and *Lukar*.³¹ One interesting source about the construction of the fortress in this urban settlement has been preserved. It was probably a copy of the inscription from the Priština fortification, preserved in a manuscript that is kept today in the Saint Panteleimon monastery.³² *Pious master Vuk Stepan, the son of pious sebastokrator Branko, built a beautiful city (i.e. fortress) in the place of Priština.* In this charter, Vuk Branković clearly states the reasons for the construction of the fortress: *Turkish attacks on the Christian race.*³³ Earlier historiography had no information on any medieval fortification in

²⁸ Десанка Ковачевић–Којић, *Градска насеља средњовјековне босанске државе*, Сарајево 1978, 261.

²⁹ *Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије VI*, превод и коментари Сима Ђирковић и Божидар Ферјанчић, Београд 1986, 387.

³⁰ Customs duties were collected in the markets and they were the main trade income. They represented a tenth of the value of the sold goods and, after the income from the duties of the dependent population, they were the most important source of income for the ruler. It is therefore no wonder that Serbian rulers paid full attention to trade, its development and regulation, and customs. The customs system and method of customs revenue collection in medieval Serbia were finally established by the late 13th century and basically remained as such until the fall under Turkish rule. Customs duties were not collected at the border, but in the markets where the goods were sold, and only on the goods sold. If the merchant had any goods left, he could go to another market where the procedure was repeated. Customs duties were paid on all goods in the last market in case the merchant wanted to go to other countries. See Андрија Веселиновић, “Царински систем у Србији у доба Деспотовине”, *Историјски гласник* 1–2 (1984) 10–16, 7–38.

³¹ For more details about Priština in the Middle Ages: Десанка Ковачевић–Којић, “Приштина у средњем вијеку,” in: *Градски живот у Србији и Босни (XIV и XV вијек)*, Београд 2007, 57–91.

³² See Анатолий Аркадьевич Турилов, “Последний отголосок идеи ‘Царства Сербов и Греков’ (Градоданная надпис Вука Бранковича 1378–1379. Гг.)”, in: *Исследования по славянскому и сербскому средневековью*, Београд 2014, 519–538, 527–528.

³³ Анатолий Аркадьевич Турилов, “Последний отголосок идеи ‘Царства Сербов и Греков’ (Градоданная надпис Вука Бранковича 1378–1379. гг.)”, in: *Исследования по славянскому и сербскому средневековью*, Београд 2014, 519–538, 532–533.

Priština, and no attempt was made to ubicate it.³⁴ Among the Serbian population in the 19th century, there was a legend that the remains of the *courts* of King Milutin were located in the very heart of the city.³⁵ Since Vuk Branković's inscription mentions a metropolitanate in the city, it can serve as a good guideline for ubication. The Christian mahalla *Mitropolit* was recorded in Ottoman censuses from 1487 until the reign of Sultan Selim. The Pirinaz mosque was built with the material of the old metropolitanate.³⁶ Moreover, when it comes to Priština from the time of Vuk Branković, after the collapse of the Serbian Empire, the regional lords built their residences in urban settlements. The main residence of Prince Lazar became Kruševac, a fortified town, a military and state centre and a fortified feudal court.³⁷ The following generations of Serbian rulers were also drawn to urban centres. Belgrade and Smederevo were being built, becoming political, economic and cultural centres. They contained the rulers' courts where the ruler resided and where central government authorities operated. On the other hand, numerous urban settlements became the backbone of the branched state administration system. In them, the administration belonged to the local authorities through which the central authority – the ruler – collected revenues and implemented measures important for trade, mining, crafts and general life in the city.³⁸

³⁴ Атанасије Урошевић, "Приштина (Антропогеографска испитивања)", *Зборник радова* 14. Етнографски институт 2 (1951) 1–35. Војислав Јовановић, "Косовски градови и дворци XI–XV век", *Задужбине Косова: споменици и знамења српског народа*, Призрен–Београд 1987, 365–384, 382–383. Божидар Зарковић, *Тргови и урбанизација Србије у средњем веку*, Косовска Митровица 2017, 293–295. Весна Зарковић, *Приштина на размеђи векова*, Лепосавић 2019, 14–18.

³⁵ Тодор П. Станковић, *Путне белешке по Старој Србији 1871–1889*, Београд 1910, 84–85. А. Урошевић, "Приштина (Антропогеографска испитивања)", 26.

³⁶ Милојко В. Веселиновић, "Кроз Косово", *Годишњица Николе Чупића* 14 (1894) 298–350, 304, 307. Бранислав Нушић, *Косово, опис земље и народа*, Нови Сад 1903, 10–12. Олга Зиројевић, *Цркве и манастири на подручју Пећке патријаршије до 1683. године*, Београд 1984, 170, 253. Милан Ивановић, "Црквени споменици XIII–XX века", in: *Задужбине Косова: споменици и знамења српског народа*, Призрен–Београд 1987, 387–547, 513. It is possible that the area around the Pirinaz mosque contains the remains of the fortification built by Vuk Branković.

For more details on mahallas in Priština for the 1477–1569 period see: Rahman Şahin, "Priştine şehri mahalleleri (1477–1569)", *Journal of Süleyman Demirel University Institute of Social Sciences* 40 (2021/2), 306–329.

³⁷ Мирко Ковачевић, "Профана архитектура средњовековног Крушевца", in: *Археолошка истраживања Крушевца и моравске Србије*, Београд 1980, 13–29.

³⁸ Сима Ћирковић, "Двор српских владара: од утврђења до градског насеља", in: idem, *Работници, војници, духовници: друштва средњовековног Балкана*, Београд 1997, 423–434. Марко Поповић, "Утврђења моравске Србије", in: *Свети Кнез Лазар. Споменица о шестој стогодишњици Косовског боја 1389–1989*, Београд 1989, 71–87.

FORTIFY THE CITY AND CREATE A CITY FROM THE FORTRESS:
SOME MEDIEVAL EXAMPLES (XIV–XV CENTURIES)

It is justified to assume that the role of rulers and powerful feudal lords had a significant and, in some cases, decisive importance for such development. The granting of trade privileges to some settlements was a necessary precondition for smooth economic and social development of the city. The original medieval material about Novi in the Bay of Kotor clearly shows what legal, political and financial means a ruler used in order to establish and develop an urban settlement. Herzog Stefan Vukčić-Kosača intended to make Novi, a fortress in the Dračevica župa, an economically prosperous city. The people of Dubrovnik were frightened by the powerful magnate's intention. They interpreted the herzog's actions in Novi as his intention "to make a city out of a fortress".³⁹ In 1449, he opened a weaving mill in Novi, provoking resentment among the people of Dubrovnik. In addition, in order to create a strong economic centre, he took measures to increase the population – he constructed and gave incentives for the construction of houses. He attracted new inhabitants, particularly from the ranks of artisans by giving them *faith and free passage*, and by *waiving taxes for several years*. He publicly proclaimed that the settlers in Novi would not be charged or prosecuted for debts. If the Dubrovnik reports are to be believed, he even allowed people accused of theft and robbery to settle in Novi, without the fear of persecution. A large number of people from Dubrovnik and Kotor appeared among the settlers.⁴⁰

According to the Kotor accusations, in addition to opening the weaving mill, the herzog settled and organised craftsmen for the production of weapons and ballista (crossbows). The herzog lent money to artisans so that they start production and he purchased their products.⁴¹ In 1450, he succeeded in granting to the city of Venice the right to trade and transport food to Novi. In addition to grain, wine, meat, oil, etc., food also implied salt. It was only this approval, which was later often renewed, that ensured the future of Novi. In 1451, the herzog managed to obtain trade privileges from King Alfonso. However, the people of Kotor managed to achieve that all goods arriving in Novi were cleared through the Kotor customs.⁴²

So the herzog implemented measures similar to those that Despot Stefan Lazarević undertook in Belgrade. The city residents were granted privileges that included personal freedom, freedom of movement, exemption from hard labour, the right to free trade in the country with the exemption from customs duties, and the right to

³⁹ Сима Ћирковић, *Херцег Стефан Вукчић-Косача и његово доба*, Београд 1964, 122. Lett. Di Levante XV, 32', 25. II 1450: . . . come voleva far **del castello la cita**...

See also Д. Ковачевић-Којић, *Градска насеља средњовековне босанске државе*, 124–125, 312.

⁴⁰ С. Ћирковић, *Херцег Стефан Вукчић-Косача и његово доба*, 122. Ignacij Voje, "Sukno iz Hercegnovega", *Zgodovinski časopis* 19–20 (1965–1966) 181–185.

⁴¹ С. Ћирковић, *Херцег Стефан Вукчић-Косача и његово доба*, 124. Д. Ковачевић-Којић, *Градска насеља средњовековне босанске државе*, 202.

⁴² С. Ћирковић, *Херцег Стефан Вукчић-Косача и његово доба*, 126.

international trade in the neighbouring countries.⁴³ The role of rulers in the economic development of urban settlements in these two cases is undoubted and pivotal.⁴⁴

⁴³ See J. Калић, “Београдска повеља деспота Стефана Лазаревића”, 189–197.

⁴⁴ This indicates that even cities without a high degree of city self-government experienced significant economic prosperity. On the degree of autonomy of urban settlements in medieval Serbia, see a comprehensive study: Сима Ђирковић, “Неостварена аутономија: градско друштво у Србији и Босни”, in: idem, *Работници, војници, духовници: друштва средњовековног Балкана*, Београд 1997, 259–276.

Владета Петрович

**УКРЕПИТЬ ГОРОД И СОЗДАТЬ ГОРОД ИЗ КРЕПОСТИ: СРЕДНЕВЕКОВЫЕ
ПРИМЕРЫ (XIV–XV ВВ.)**

Резюме

Анализ источников средневекового материала на уровне историографического мышления, в основном, показывает, что представляет собой сербский средневековый город по сравнению с другими городскими средневековыми формами, как синхронно, так и диахронно. Используются письменные источники различного происхождения. В случае Белграда кратко проанализированы данные из *Жития деспота Стефана Лазаревича*. В случае Смедерева в качестве основы взят эпиграфический материал, на основе которого предыдущие исследователи ориентировались в анализе Смедеревской крепости. В работе приводятся аргументы, указывающие на возможное более раннее возникновение Смедеревской крепости. В случае Приштины, копия надписи из приштинского укрепления, которая сохранена в одной рукописи, находящемся сегодня в монастыре Святого Пантелеймона, говорит нам, что и этот средневековый город имел свою крепость. Особое внимание уделено укреплению Нови в Боке, который герцог Стефан Вукчич-Косача преобразовал в городское поселение. Жителям города, как и в случае Белграда во время деспота Стефана Лазаревича, были предоставлены привилегии, включающие личную свободу, свободу передвижения, освобождение от работы, право свободной торговли в стране с освобождением от таможенных сборов и право на международную торговлю в соседних странах.

Владета Петровић

**УТВРДИТИ ГРАД И ОД ТВРЂАВЕ СТВОРИТИ ГРАД: НЕКИ СРЕДЊОВЕКОВНИ
ПРИМЕРИ (XIV–XV ВЕК)**

Резиме

Анализа изворног средњовековног материјала на нивоу историографског промишљања, углавном, показује шта представља српски средњовековни град у односу на друге урбане средњовековне форме, како синхроно, тако и дијахроно. Коришћен је писани изворни материјал различите провенијенције. У случају Београда кратко су анализирани подаци из Житја деспота Стефана Лазаревића. У случају Смедерева за основу је узет епиграфски материјал на

основу којег су досадашњи истраживачи полазили у анализи Смедеревске тврђаве. У раду се износе аргументи који указују на могући ранији настанак Смедеревске тврђаве. У случају Приштине, копија натписа из приштинског утврђења, која је сачувана у једном рукопису који се данас налази у манастиру Светог Пантелејмона, нам говори да је и овај средњовековни град имао своју тврђаву. Посебна пажња указана је утврђењу Нови у Боки, које је херцег Стефан Вукчић—Косача преуредио у градско насеље. Становницима града, као и у случају Београда у време деспота Стефана Лазаревића, додељене су привилегије које су подразумевале личну слободу, слободу кретања, ослобођење од работа, право слободне трговине у земљи уз ослобођење од царина и право на међународну трговину у околним земљама.

Irena Cvijanović*

Institute of History

Belgrade

ORCID ID: 0009-0000-0006-3560

ANCIENT MOTIFS AND SYMBOLS ON THE FACADES OF MODERN BELGRADE

Abstract: This paper deals with ancient facade motifs in the recent architecture of Belgrade and the influences under which they were created. Generations of our students who stayed in France and other European countries brought the neoclassical style to Serbia. With the development of Neoclassicism, characters from ancient mythology came to life on Belgrade's facades. Particularly interesting antique facade motifs can still be seen today on the buildings of the Palace of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Archives of Serbia, Captain Miša's building, Old General Staff, Old Royal Palace, Turkish Embassy, Adriatic-Danube Bank, Palace of Yugoslav Bank, Government of the Republic of Serbia, and House of the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia.

Keywords: ancient facade sculpture, symbols in Belgrade architecture, Neoclassicism, Europeanisation.

In the mid-19th century, the transformation of the Serbian capital and the modernisation of society took place. Increasing attention was being paid to education. The Serbian national intelligentsia was being created, ready to embrace modernisation and join developed European countries. Classicist tendencies in Central Europe emerged by the late 18th century, while in the architecture of Belgrade at that time a strong influence of Oriental architecture was visible, which changed in a relatively short time, so a century later an architectural style based on classical models appeared in Serbia. Serbian architects and urban planners of the 19th century abandoned the Oriental tradition and adopted the standards of developed Europe.

* irena.cvijanovic@iib.ac.rs

The first urban agglomeration that arose in the territory of today's Belgrade was ancient Singidunum with the remains of Jupiter's temple and fragments of marble statues on the forum in today's Kralja Petra Street. In addition, sanctuaries dedicated to Hecate, Mithras, Nemesis and Silvanus were found during the exploration of Singidunum. In the conquered territories, the Romans gradually implemented Romanisation and urbanisation.¹ The establishment of cities in the network of Roman roads enabled their inclusion in the economic life of the Empire, as well as the creation of a unique culture in most of Europe and the Mediterranean.

In late antiquity, representations of Roman deities disappeared, and pagan sanctuaries were supplanted by Christian cult objects built in new quarters of the city. In early Christianity, spiritual values were emphasised, and the material forms of the body were neglected, so symbols were used, with human figures mostly depicted in clothes reminiscent of the Roman toga. The representations of Christ, the Virgin Mary and saints prevailed in Christian iconography. Late antique cities were transformed into episcopal centers.² Singidunum became the episcopal seat in the 4th century. The travelogue of Arab geographer al-Idrisi from the time of the Crusades testifies that Belgrade was a very important city in the 12th century, with a large number of churches.³ During the excavation of the foundations of the building of the Serbian Patriarchate, the remains of an episcopal church from the 11th century were discovered.⁴ In the immediate vicinity is the Cathedral Church in Kralja Petra Street, practically in the same part of the city where there used to be a Roman forum with a temple dedicated to Jupiter, which was supposed to bring victory to the Romans.

During the Ottoman rule, Belgrade experienced a complete transformation, turning into an Oriental town with all the hallmarks of the Islamic religion, which completely permeated the daily life of believers. The five centuries of Turkish rule changed the appearance of the city and the way of life of its inhabitants, so numerous mosques sprang up next to Christian temples. Christians and Muslims worked together in bazaars and lived separately in mahallas. Muslims consider Allah to be a pure spirit who cannot be represented with human features. This resulted in the prohibition of depicting deities and living beings, so the pictures of nature and

¹ Ирена Цвијановић, *Урбанизација у римским провинцијама на тлу Србије и Црне Горе* (магистарска теза, Филозофски факултет, Београд, 2004) 1–12, 23–27.

² Ирена Цвијановић, „Ранохришћанске крстионице јустинијанске епохе (527–565)”, *Историјски часопис* 51 (2004) 21–41; иста, „Типологија рановизантијских цркви салонитанске митрополије од 4. до 6. века”, *Историјски часопис* 53 (2006) 23–52.

³ Irena Cvijanović, „Arabic Written Sources on the Trade Routes and Towns in Slavic Lands from 9th to 12th Centuries”, *Archaeica* 2/2008 (2009) 229–238; eadem, „The Development of the Early Medieval European Urban Centres according to the Arabic Sources”, in: *Urbanization in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe*, Collection of Articles of the II International Scientific Conference, ed. A. A. Gordin and A. Rastović, Nizhny Novgorod 2021, 5–11.

⁴ Ирена Цвијановић, „Оснивање и континуитет у развоју градова на тлу Србије од антике до средњег века”, у: *Урбанизација у Источној и Југоисточној Европи*, одг. ур. Срђан Рудић и Алексеј Александрович Гордин, Београд 2019, 14–21.

sculptures were replaced by decorative art, plants, geometric arabesques, including the art of decorative letters, used to write quotations from the Koran.⁵

The leader of the Second Serbian Uprising (1815–1817), Prince Miloš Obrenović, maintained diplomatic relations with the Turks, but it was he who contributed to the spread of Serbian culture, the education of the youth, and the Europeanisation of Belgrade. Thanks to the privileges he received through diplomatic channels, he increasingly settled the Serbian population in Belgrade, so the Turks sold their properties and houses for nothing. Prince Miloš turned Belgrade into the capital of the liberated part of Serbia, which became an important economic, commercial and cultural centre. Education and the spread of literacy contributed to the modernisation of Serbian society and the separation of children from the exclusive traditional influence of the family. The 19th century was a period of struggle for human rights, the creation of civil society, with all children gaining the right to education, which enabled them to change their social status and participate in public and cultural life. The creation of the student elite led to the development of the civic class and the strengthening of national consciousness.

Already in the 1830s, Prince Miloš started sending young men to be educated abroad. The education of female children was stipulated by law ten years later.⁶ Moreover, Belgrade was being increasingly visited by travellers, with foreign architects coming and leaving their mark.⁷ Generations of our students educated at European universities brought Neoclassicism to Serbian architecture. At the same time, Christian architecture in Belgrade between the two world wars is considered the golden age of church construction, with twenty temples built between 1918 and 1941. The largest number of our students studied in France, followed by Vienna, Pest, Germany, Swiss, and Russia.⁸ During the First World War, France received a large number of Serbian refugees, pupils, students and artists who, after returning to their country, brought the French influence.⁹ Belgrade was getting new bohemian districts where intellectuals and artists gathered, spreading new ideas.

During the 1840s, the Olympian gods descended again on the Belgrade roofs and facades. Although the iconography and attributes of deities remained the same as in antiquity, they assumed a new role in the age of Neoclassicism, conveying a different message to observers.

⁵ Husref Redžić, *Islamska umjetnost*, Beograd, Zagreb, Mostar 1982, 21, 33–38.

⁶ Љубинка Трговчевић, *Планирана елита. О студентима из Србије на европским универзитетима у 19. веку*, Београд 2003, 9–34.

⁷ *Руско културно наслеђе у Србији*, ур. Мирољуб А. Милинчић, Београд 2020, 41–58; Александар Кадиевић, „Новинарски дом – значајно остварење хрватских архитеката у Београду”, *Наслеђе* 12 (2011) 117–128.

⁸ Љ. Трговчевић, *Планирана елита*, 33–61.

⁹ Ирена Цвијановић, „Француска, нова домовина Срба у годинама избеглиштва од 1916–1918. године”, у: *Велики прасак: сто година од атентата у Сарајеву*, ур. Владета Петровић и Момчило Исић, Пожаревац 2015, 209–216; Љ. Трговчевић, *Планирана елита*, 42–43, 122–135.

The use of classical motifs was related with the historical trends in our country, the breaking of ties with Turkish influence, liberation wars, and the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The monumental, massive, and richly decorated architecture with ancient motifs was supposed to emphasise the power, strength, and stability of the people who freed themselves from the Oriental influence, returned to their European roots, and entered the new state – the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The use of the new style expressed the attitudes of the ruling class, the stability of the new state, and the sense of community of its citizens, based on ancient tradition.

The period between the two world wars was characterised by the most massive use of architectural decoration, the intensive development of the capital, where many richly decorated public and private buildings were built, whose owners emphasised their freemason affiliation.¹⁰ The Grand Lodge in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, founded in 1919, bore the name “Yugoslavia” for a whole decade before King Aleksandar, a freemason of the “Grand Orient of France”, designated the country with that name.¹¹ Changes in society led to the development of the economy, entailing different organisation and the construction of new private and public

¹⁰ The most famous buildings in Belgrade that bear the symbols of Freemasons are: the Gallery of the Natural History Museum on Kalemegdan, Monument on Avala and Pobednik according to the design of sculptor Ivan Meštrović, who was a Freemason, Captain Miša’s building – the building of the Rectorate, Postal Museum, originally the Ministry of Post, built according to the design of architect Momir Korunović, the house of Freemason Ilija Bogdanović, the Faculty of Engineering, which houses the Faculty of Civil Engineering, Architecture and Electrical Engineering, the Building of the Merchandise Magazine, built according to the design of Viktor David Azriel, a member of the “Srbija” lodge, Radio Belgrade, originally the House of Crafts. Captain Miša’s house was a gathering place for Belgrade Freemasons, to which Miša Anastasijević, the richest Belgrade citizen of his time, belonged. Captain Miša’s endowment housed the Gymnasium, High School, Ministry of Education, National Library, National Museum, and today there is the Rectorate of the University of Belgrade. The Masonic Regular Grand Lodge of Serbia has its temple at 35 Kursulina Street in Vračar, at the triangle of the spiritual and educational vertical of Serbia, between the National Library and St Sava’s Temple.

¹¹ The European Masonic meeting marking the 95th anniversary of the establishment of the Grand Lodge of “Yugoslavia” in 1919 was held in Belgrade from 5 to 7 June 2014, according to the official announcement of the Regular Grand Lodge of Serbia. On this occasion, the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade mounted the exhibition “Freemasonry in Serbia 1785–2014”, in cooperation with the Regular Grand Lodge of Serbia. The exhibition emphasised the participation of Serbian Freemasons in the creation of the Sretenje Constitution, as well as in the formation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, after the First World War. The portraits of famous Serbian Freemasons, such as Georg Weifert, Dositej Obradović, Vuk Karadžić, Prince Mihailo Obrenović, King Petar I Karađorđević, King Aleksandar I Karađorđević, Mihajlo Pupin, Slobodan Jovanović, Prince Pavle Karađorđević, Petar II Petrović Njegoš, Branislav Nušić and others were shown; Ранка Гашић, „Српски масони између два светска рата као друштвена група”, *Годишњак за друштвену историју* 5 (1998) 85–100; Zoran Lj. Nikolić, *Masonski simboli u Beogradu*, Beograd 2011, 37–54.

facilities. Political and economic changes led to an accelerated urban transformation of the capital and the construction of a large number of new buildings, particularly for government and social institutions. Numerous associations of a new layer of the civil elite that engaged in free professions were created, becoming the foundation of civil society.¹² Among them was the Society of Freemasons. The importance of the Serbian capital for interwar Europe is shown by the gatherings of freemasons in Belgrade, among which was a particularly important congress held in 1926 under the presidency of Georg Weifert, a Serbian industrialist of German origin, who was also Governor of the National Bank of Serbia. The Rotary Club was founded by doctor Vojislav Kujundžić in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1927. The district governor visited Belgrade in September 1928 to attend the meeting of the organising committee of the future Rotary Club of Belgrade at the “Srpski Kralj” hotel.¹³

In the mid-18th century, interest in antiquities awakened, and the Neoclassicist movement was born, as the basis for the creation of a universal, international artistic expression.¹⁴ After the outbreak of the French bourgeois revolution in 1789, new ideas appeared related to the formation of the identity of modern European states. The French Revolution differed from other revolutions in its universal demands and the fact that it aimed at all mankind. From the very beginning, its supporters proclaimed the universal significance of the French Revolution, which would be a model for revolutionary movements in other countries, the fall of monarchies and the establishment of republics. After the fall of the Bastille, the bourgeoisie passed a law on the abolition of feudal duties, which destroyed the old order. The Declaration on the Rights of Man and of the Citizen was passed, marking a turning point in the history of human rights. Freedom, equality and ownership were declared inalienable human rights.

A new civil society was created, in which everyone had the right to education and the opportunity to progress, regardless of their origin. The new layer of civil society looked for a foothold in classical, ancient models.¹⁵ Every government and ideology

¹² Дубравка Стојановић, *Калдрма и асфалт: урбанизација и европеизација Београда 1890–1914*, Београд 2009, 252–279, 263–265; The civic casino in Belgrade was a place where concerts, balls, dances, speeches, lectures and art exhibitions were held. This institution subscribed 48 newspapers and magazines from the country and abroad, including “Mercury”.

¹³ Р. Гашић, „Српски масони између два светска рата као друштвена група”, 97–98; Doctor Vojislav Kujundžić was a member of the Vienna Lodge, and had friendly relations with the Czechoslovak Rotary Club. Rotary in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia stopped working in 1941 due to the Second World War. The Rotary Club returned to Serbia only in the 1990s. Under the decision of the board of directors of Rotary International in May 1992, Rotary was re-established in Belgrade. The establishment of other clubs was postponed due to the UN sanctions against FR Yugoslavia. After the lifting of sanctions, more than 50 Rotary clubs were founded in Serbia.

¹⁴ Horst Waldemar Janson, *History of Art*, New York 1989, 453–489.

¹⁵ The totalitarian regimes of fascism and Nazism used ancient, Roman symbols as propaganda tools. The main symbol of fascism in Italy was the fasces, i.e. a bundle of tied sticks with an axe in the middle, which was carried by the lictors in the Roman Empire as a symbol of authority,

seeks justification and support for its power in religion or traditional values that cannot be contested. In prehistoric times, the tribal chief emphasised his divine origin, which gave him the right to preside over a council of elders. Clans had their own temples, and the clan cult was often transformed into the cult of the ancestor and founder of the clan. The anthropomorphic deities on Olympus, led by Zeus, resemble the hierarchy of Greek society, led by their leader.¹⁶ The Greek pantheon would be later taken over by the Romans, who gave new names to deities with the same attributes and characteristics.¹⁷ In addition, the Romans adopted the cults of other barbarian peoples, especially in the earlier period of Roman history.¹⁸

Ancient facade motifs in the newer architecture of Belgrade were created under different influences. However, in most cases, the facade sculpture is subordinated to the building and is not sufficiently distinguished by its size, so it serves more as an illustration of wealth and luxury rather than conveying the idea of common European roots, which is one of its main roles. The symbolism of the facade motifs was connected with the purpose of the building, bringing success, happiness, well-being, fertility, health, strength and protection. Until 1914, facade decoration was mostly imported from major European cities, or produced in Belgrade workshops. After the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, artists from all over the country, as well as from abroad, were engaged in creating facade decoration in Belgrade.

Ancient deities had their own attributes, and were supposed to bring prosperity and success in different spheres of life. Aristotle called the ancient deities "impermanent people", who for him were both the image of splendour and power, ideals and virtues, as well as the instincts and vices of the royal authority subordinate to the supreme military leader.¹⁹ The Greek deities led by Zeus, comfortably seated in their golden chairs on Olympus, observe the people and interfere in their lives, as mediators between the gods and the people. Ancient deities enjoy greater abundance,

power and justice. The tied bundle indicated the power of unity, and the axe warned of the bad fate of those who are not with their community. The symbols of the Italian fascists were the eagle, the Capitoline Wolf, the abbreviation SPQR, which were taken from the ancient, Roman culture. German Nazism differed from fascism in its extreme racism. The Aryan race provided many recognisable symbols from Italian fascism, i.e. from ancient Rome, such as, for example, the scenography of mass meetings, the Roman salute with an outstretched hand, the wearing of ancient Roman symbols and standards during Nazi rallies, the eagle on the coat-of-arms, and the tendency towards Roman monumentality and grandiosity in architecture; Predrag Haramija, „Percepcija simbola totalitarnih režima – vizuelni identitet fašizma, nacizma i komunizma u svetlu procesa brendiranja“, *Obnovljeni život: časopis za filozofiju i religijske znanosti* 3 (Zagreb 2017) 387–396.

¹⁶ J. P. Kane, „Grčka“, u: *Mitologija, ilustrirana enciklopedija*, prir. Richard Cavendish i Trevor O. Ling, ur. Miroslav Kutnjac, Ljubljana, Zagreb 1990, 120–135.

¹⁷ Милан Будимир и Мирон Флашар, *Преглед римске књижевности, De auctoribus Romanis*, Beograd 1996, 24–28; R. Ferguson, „Rim“ u: *Mitologija, ilustrirana enciklopedija*, prir. Richard Cavendish i Trevor O. Ling, ur. Miroslav Kutnjac, Ljubljana, Zagreb 1990, 136–143.

¹⁸ Растислав Марић, *Антички култови у нашој земљи*, Beograd 2003, 1–178.

¹⁹ Милош Н. Ђурић, *Историја хеленске књижевности*, Beograd 1996, 70–72.

immortality and power, but they have no higher moral principles, so they suffer like humans because of their human passions.

The 19th century was the age of new architectural forms in European cities. Ancient motifs were used because of their recognition and timeless ideas that reflect the aspirations of a community or an individual and had more of a symbolic than an aesthetic meaning. Belgrade facades from the Neoclassical era feature mainly the sculptures of Mercury, but other ancient deities are also represented.

Mercury is very often represented on buildings as the god of trade and profit. The Roman Mercury, the god of trade, is identified with Hermes in Greek mythology. His attributes are winged sandals and a cap, which signify the power of flying and the ability to quickly change places.²⁰ Mercury is also the god of travel, so statues of Mercury were erected at many intersections around the world, protecting against ghosts and misfortune. Sometimes he is represented with a model of a ship and a caduceus. The ship is a symbol of the effort and endurance created by sailing, and the caduceus is a symbol of the enigmatic human complexity, and the broad possibilities of its development, as well as the balance achieved by the joining of opposite forces. Mercury is considered the god of inventors, pilgrims and travellers, athletes, tricksters and thieves, the creator of art, the god of oratory, and the messenger of good news, symbolising the exchange between heaven and earth. God is a human idea of superhuman strength, so this is also true for Mercury, but like all gods, he has human weaknesses. In the 19th century, it became an interchangeable part of the decoration of banks, insurance companies, chambers of commerce and other trade institutions.

The masks and heads of Mercury on the facades indicate his apotropaic power, because he is the one who removes evil, brings peace and happiness, and protects the entrance to the house. All masks and heads are made of artificial stone, and some were made by famous sculptors Živojin Lukić, Lojze Dolinar and Nikolay Krasnov. The authors of most of the sculptures, especially the works created in the period up to 1914, are mostly unknown. Some works may be copies of classical or Renaissance sculptures. They are shaped in a classicist manner, and in accordance with the academicism present in our sculpture until the Second World War. Facade sculptures symbolised liberation and the achievement of the European ideal in contemporary art. In contrast to reliefs and full sculptures, which can be said with considerable certainty to have been created mainly in the third and early fourth decades of the last century, masks and heads were found in all decades, from the moment national independence was gained until the beginning of the Second World War.

²⁰ Драгослав Срејовић и Александрина Цермановић-Кузмановић, *Римска скулптура у Србију / Roman Sculpture in Serbia*, Београд 1987, 5–15, 56–57, 62–63, 66–67; Надежда Гавриловић, *Култ Херкула и Меркура у Горњој Мезији / The Cult of Hercules and Mercury in Moesia superior*, Београд 2014, 63–88, 112–131; Љилјана Тadin, *Ситна римска бронзана пластика у југоисточном делу провинције Паноније*, Београд 1979, 16–17.

Hermes is an ancient god who was a very common symbol among Freemasons.²¹ Hermes was a Greek deity, the only one who had the right to communicate between the two worlds, a god who also has a significant role in the Freemasonry symbolism. Before the Second World War, the sculptures of god Hermes were mostly on the buildings of banks and insurance companies, because he was mostly “invoked” as the protector of financial institutions. That did not bother the Masons. He was also very important within the Freemasonry iconography.

In the ancient Greek Pantheon, Hermes is the god of shepherds (even nomads) and merchants, and as the messenger of the gods and the messenger between heaven, earth and the underworld, he is also the protector of orators.²² He is the protector of eloquence and spiritual agility. As the patron of eloquence, Hermes is understandably the patron of the priesthood as well. His winged helmet reveals to us a creative and quick intelligence. His winged sandals symbolise the speed of changing places, agility, but each symbol has several interpretations, even completely opposite, and ability in the practical and daily life, and accordingly, he is also the protector of thieves, the perverted spiritual ability for cunning, treachery and fraud. Hermes mediated the exchange between heaven and earth. Because of his ability to quickly change places, Hermes is the patron of travel, so in his honour the Greeks used the term *hermai* to denote the stone slabs embedded in roads and at intersections, and erected monuments in his honour at intersections.

Hermes is the main character of one of Sophocles’ plays. His experiences are described in the Iliad and the Odyssey, and Homer dedicated the longest hymn to him. In his work “Psychology and Alchemy”, Carl Gustav Jung says: “But Mercurius is the divine winged Hermes manifest in matter, the god of revelation, lord of thought and sovereign psychopomp”.

The Freemasons sought to unite those bright spiritual principles of Hermes, Solomon, Thoth, Socrates, Plato and the ultimate rise of Alexander’s age. Hermes is equated by many with Thoth, the Egyptian god of wisdom, learning and magic, who invented writing. Egyptian symbols were also used by Freemasons. Serbia accepted the existing European practice of making obelisks in order to commemorate important events, or pay tribute to the king or famous people.²³

Sculptures and masks of Mercury made in the inner city of Belgrade:²⁴

²¹ Z. Lj. Nikolić, *Masonski simboli u Beogradu*, 239–245; Alen Gerbran i Žan Ševalije, *Rečnik simbola: mitovi, snovi, običaji, postupci, oblici, likovi, boje, brojevi*, Novi Sad 2004, 268–269.

²² Tamara Micković, „Arhitektonska plastika sa motivima antičke Grčke u Beogradu”, veb-sajt Centra za alternativno društveno i kulturno delovanje – CASCA (2012) 1–8.

²³ Вера Васиљевић, *Сенка Египта*, Београд 2016, 175–223; Monuments in the form of obelisks are found in memorial architecture between the two wars, and especially until 1930, and on the roofs of the buildings built by private investors, such as the National Bank of Serbia. The pyramid shape was also used for public monuments, usually over ossuaries. The pyramid was placed in front of the entrance to the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Knez Mihailova Street; Z. Lj. Nikolić, *Masonski simboli u Beogradu*, 196–200.

²⁴ Darko Šarenac, *Mitovi, simboli: Skulpture na beogradskim fasadama*, Beograd 1991, 1–104; Đurđica Sikimić, *Fasadna skulptura u Beogradu*, Beograd 1965, 1–188.

1. Stone sculpture of Mercury with winged sandals and a cap – Terazije 35/V, 1930.
2. Mercury – Terazije 5/V, 1921.
3. Mercury mask above the entrance to the Izvozna banka building, Terazije 5. Mercury's wings are sometimes oversized. The buildings where god Mercury appears in this form are banks, buildings of the Ministry of Finance, Administrative Funds, Ministry of Transport and private houses of merchants.
4. Mercury with Hephaestus on the roof – Kneza Mihaila 18/III and IV, 1883; Hephaestus is a lame Greek god of fire and war, a master blacksmith, who forged and made weapons for other gods and heroes, and jewellery for goddesses and beautiful mortal women. He married the most beautiful goddess, Aphrodite.
5. Mercury with a model of a ship and a caduceus – Obilićev venac 4/IV, 1924.²⁵
6. Mercury on the facade of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA) – Kneza Mihaila 35/III, 1924.
7. Mercury who sits on the globe, and mediates between gods and men. – Kralja Petra 24, 1923.
8. Mercury invented the flute which he gave to Apollo, in order to receive a golden caduceus in return – Uzun Mirkova 6 / Kralja Petra 45/II, 1907; In Uzun Mirkova Street, several buildings were built around the same time, and they all have similar symbolism related to Freemasons. They are located in the part of the street closer to Kalemegdan, between the place where Uzun Mirkova intersects on one side with Cara Uroša Street and on the other with Kralja Petra Street. On them appear two figures of god Mercury, in Uzun Mirkova Street 6 and 12.
9. Mercury on the globe with a bag of money – Svetozara Markovića 43/II–III, 1929.
10. Mercury with a staff and a bag of money – Kralja Milana 11, 1925.
11. A reclining naked figure of Mercury with a sailing ship in Kralja Milana 11.
12. Mercury and Venus (Aphrodite) – Kralja Milana 11, 1925. Mercury is paired with Venus on the wave of the sea, which is a symbol of maritime trade.
13. Mercury – Kneza Miloša 22, 1938. The mask has wings that are often followed by laurel branches, cornucopias or other flowers.
14. Mercury – Admirala Geprata 9/II, 1928.
15. Mercury – Makedonska 33/I, 1923.
16. Mercury – Vlajkovićeve 32, 1927.
17. The mask of Mercury on the facade at Nušićeva 4 is part of the capital column.
18. Relief on the facade in Kraljice Natalije 64. Mercury sits while two male figures bow to him and offer gifts, like worshipers during ancient festivities.

²⁵ Mercury is shown with wings as well as the caduceus, which is his symbol. A caduceus is a herald's staff with snakes wrapped around it, and a mirror with wings on top of the staff. Representation of the wing is a Masonic symbol; Ketj Barns, *Masonski i okultni simboli*, Beograd 2005, 111–129.

Particularly interesting antique facade motifs can still be seen today on Captain Miša's building, SASA Palace, Serbian Archives building, Old General Staff building, Old Royal Palace, Turkish Embassy, Adriatic-Danube Bank, Palace of the Yugoslav Bank, Government of the Republic of Serbia, and House of the National Assembly of Serbia.

1) Captain Miša's building in Studentski Trg 1 is one of the most famous buildings of the 19th century. It was built from 1857 to 1863, according to the plans of Czech architect Jan Nevole. Captain Miša Anastasijević donated this building to his homeland for educational purposes. The Great School was moved to this building in 1863, and today it houses the Rectorate of the University of Belgrade and a part of the Faculty of Philosophy. Its architecture is testimony to the transformation of Belgrade from an Oriental town into a European capital with a modern urban structure and representative buildings.

The facade is decorated with sculptures of "Apollo with a lyre" and "Minerva with a spear and shield", located in niches around the entrance to the building. With their thematic and symbolic meaning, they allude to the artistic, educational and scientific purpose of the building. Apollo is a symbol of victory over ferocity, self-mastery, connecting passion and reason, the highest spirituality, and human ascent. He is shown with a lyre, which is the symbol of a poet, and the seven strings on it correspond to the number of planets that are in harmony and freely circulate in the cosmos. Apollo with a lyre was the first sculpture placed on a Belgrade facade – in 1863, with Minerva in the niches on Captain Miša's endowment, today's Rectorate of the University of Belgrade – Studentski Trg 1/I.

2) The Palace of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts – SASA (SANU) in Kneza Mihaila Street 35/III. Although Prince Mihailo Obrenović donated land for the Academy in 1886, it took a long time before the idea was achieved. The palace was built in 1923–1924, according to the design of architects Dragutin Đorđević and Andra Stevanović made in 1912.²⁶ The constructor was Matthias Blech, the architect from studio in Prague. The facade decoration was made by "Jungman and Sunko" company from Zagreb. The works on redesigning the building's interior lasted from 1947 to 1952. The building was officially opened on 24 February 1952, when the Academy permanently moved into its palace. The adaptation of the SASA Gallery was carried out in 1967, and the windows with stained glass of the entrance hall were made in 2000. The SASA Palace was protected as a cultural monument in 1992.

The sculptural composition with the representation of Nike crowning trade and industry is above the entrance. Nike stands triumphantly on the prow of a ship, wearing two wreaths and crowning on the left a man with an industrial wheel, and on the right Mercury. The industrial wheel is a symbol of dynamic and industrial development. To the side of the central play, mothers with children are shown,

²⁶ Бојана Ибрајтер Газибара, *Палата САНУ (The Palace of Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts)*, Београд 2018, 1–12.

because children are the future of the country. One figure of the mother holds a torch in her hand, and another one a dove. According to Greek mythology, Nike is the goddess of victory and success. Sculptors present her with wings of success.²⁷

3) The Archive of Serbia was built in 1928 according to the design of architect Nikolay Krasnov, a Russian emigrant, employed in the architectural department of the Ministry of Construction of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The single-storey monumental building in Karnegijeva Street 2 was built in the spirit of academicism with pronounced decoration on the main facade inspired by ancient art: Aristotle and Plato. In the park in front of the entrance to the Archives of Serbia, there is a monument to Krasnov, and the street leading to St Sava's Temple is named after him.

4) The Old General Staff or Stone Palace or Baumgarten's Palace in Kneza Miloša Street 33 was built in the period from 1924 to 1928, according to the design of Vasily Wilhelm Baumgarten, a Russian emigrant and architect. This highly monumental and decorative building represents one of the best examples of public buildings built in Belgrade between the two world wars in the spirit of academicism. It housed the headquarters of the General Staff of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and after the Second World War, the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army of the SFRY. The building has been under state protection since 1983. The facade was damaged during the NATO bombing of the FRY and its restoration began in 2008.

Decorative sculptures representing warriors and scenes from warrior life are above the architrave wreath. As a rule, the groups have two members and represent: the fight of a warrior, a warrior and a wounded man who kills his wife and himself, an archer and a warrior with a sword. Each group was repeated three times, so groups of four groups were placed on all three corners of the facade. The author of these sculptures is Ivan Rik. A good connoisseur of ancient sculpture of the classical period, Rik produced designs in which the subject matter, movement, clothing and weapons were accurately interpreted. These sculptures can be classified as better achievements of decorative art on the facades of Belgrade buildings. The workshop of Ivan Vanik and Milan Duhač richly decorated the facades with architectural elements.

5) The Old Royal Palace is a representative building on the corner of Kralja Milana Street and Dragoslava Jovanovića Street, built between 1882 and 1884 according to the design of Aleksandar Bugarski in the 19th-century academicism style. It was built by King Milan Obrenović. In 1903–1921 it was the residence of King Petar I Karađorđević. King Aleksandar I Karađorđević resided there one year, while today it houses the Belgrade City Assembly.²⁸

The facade facing the garden is lavishly decorated with caryatid motifs. Above the terrace at the ends of the facade, there are richly decorated tympanums of the end

²⁷ Aleksandrina Cermanović-Kuzmanović i Dragoslav Srejski, *Leksikon religija i mitova drevne Evrope*, Beograd 1992, 383.

²⁸ Биљана Мишић, *Зграда Старог двора (Old Royal Palace)*, Београд 2013, 1–12.

windows. The caryatids are also repeated on the facade facing Kralja Milana Street, and below them there is a row of palace columns.

6) The Turkish Embassy is located in Krunska Street 1, near the Presidential Palace and the Serbian Parliament. The building was rented in 1933, and became the property of the Turkish state in 1967. Famous Serbian poet Jovan Jovanović Zmaj (1833–1904) lived in this building, as evidenced by the memorial plaque. The facade is decorated with antique motifs. The Mercury Hotel is located in the immediate vicinity of the Turkish Embassy, which shows that this ancient deity appears in the names of modern buildings.²⁹

7) The Adriatic-Danube Bank was built in 1924 at the intersection of Kneza Miloša (Kralja Ferdinanda Street at the time) and Kralja Milana Streets, opposite the former London Hotel. This monumental building testifies to a combination of architecture, mythology and banking. It was built in the academic style, with beautiful facade sculpture and relief representations, which are mainly the work of Slovenian sculptor Lojz Dolinar. Facade architecture is full of symbolic representations. Mercury, with the masks he wears, is a mediator between gods and men, protector of trade, travellers and everything that brings profit. He is skilfully connected with the other figures on the facade, which expands his powers, with other sculptures of Poseidon (Neptune), Aphrodite Pelagia, and Eupoleia (Venus) helping him in this. Thus, the story of banking is combined here with Greek and Roman mythology.

8) The Palace of the Yugoslav Bank was built in 1923 at the corner of Kolarčeva and Makedonska Streets, as a dominant corner building. The project was created in the Prague studio of Matthias Blech. This representative palace was built in the spirit of academicism. The architectural decoration is the work of sculptor Kirill Paviak from Prague. The sculpture in artificial stone was carved by Giuseppe Pino Grassi, a Belgrade architect of Italian origin, whose works adorn many Belgrade buildings. The Palace of the Yugoslav Bank, later the “Jugoexport Building”, is protected within the “Old Belgrade” complex.

There are ten figures of Atlanteans on the facade.³⁰ The Atlanteans carry the globe, are tall and of great strength. They come from Greek mythology, and the Atlantic Ocean and Atlantis were named after him. The Atlanteans rebelled against the supreme god Zeus, so as a punishment he holds the firmament, and symbolically represents a man holding a beam. According to legend, after his death he turned into the African mountain Atlas. The myth of the giants is a call to human heroism, because

²⁹ The Mercury Hotel belongs to the international chain of modern hotels. The eponymous hotel exists in Vrnjačka Banja, where next to the Roman spring covered by a glass pyramid in the park there is a statue of King Aleksandar I Karađorđević, with the inscription: “To the knightly king, the unifier”. Vrnjačka Banja is one of the eight royal spas of Serbia with a long tradition. Nikolay Krasnov left his mark on the architecture of Banja Koviljača during the reign of Aleksandar I Karađorđević.

³⁰ Ljiljana Tadina, *Sitna rimska bronzana plastika u jugoistočnom delu provincije Panonije*, Beograd 1979, 26–27.

the giant represents all that man must overcome in order to liberate and develop his personality. These Atlanteans on the roof who carry the globe were made in 1934.

9) The building of the Ministry of Transport in Belgrade is located in Nemanjina Street 6. Construction began in 1927, according to the design of Svetozar Jovanović, and lasted until 1931. The building of the Ministry of Transport was built in the spirit of academicism, with a complex architectural composition of a clock tower, above the central tympanum of the main facade, which is highlighted by the laterally placed figures of Atlanteans who carry the globe, made in 1931. The authors of the sculptural ensembles are Toma Rosandić, Dragomir Arambašić, Živojin Lukić, Lojze Dolinar and Risto Stijović.

10) The Palace of the Ministry of Finance of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, today the building of the Government of the Republic of Serbia. The palace was built between 1926 and 1928. The original design of the building, as well as the subsequent extension of the third floor in 1938, was entrusted to architect Nikolay Krasnov. The building was conceived as a representative building with an irregular square base and an inner courtyard. The breakdown of the facades, designed in the spirit of academicism, was achieved by massive pilasters, located between the windows of the first and second floors. Emphasised projecting cornices, window frames and sawn timbers with ring reinforcement give the facade plastic liveliness and a monumental effect. The corner part of the building is most luxuriously designed, and its verticalism is accentuated by the dome with a bronze sculpture, which is the personification of Yugoslavia, made by sculptor Đorđe Jovanović. The sculpture holds a torch, resembling the Statue of Liberty in New York.³¹ This sculpture, as well as the free statues of Fertility with a cornucopia, Craftsmen, Industry and Mercury on the facades of the building, were made by sculptor Đorđe Jovanović. The choice of motifs and symbolism of the facade sculptures is subordinated to the purpose of the institution. The Palace of the Ministry of Finance of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia is a representative work of the Belgrade academic architecture of the interwar period, and is the most significant achievement of architect Krasnov.

11) The House of the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia. Originally the House of People's Representatives, it began to be built in 1907 as a representative building for the needs of the Kingdom of Serbia. The project was entrusted to architect Konstantin A. Jovanović, who lived and worked in Vienna. According to Jovanović's idea, this representative building was designed in the spirit of academic architecture of monumental public buildings, but the state did not have sufficient funds to finance it.

³¹ Z. Lj. Nikolić, *Masonski simboli u Beogradu*, 192–193; French Freemasons presented the Statue of Liberty to American Freemasons, placed at the entrance to New York Harbor. The Statue of Liberty represents the friendship and help of France to the American settlers in their struggle for independence from Great Britain, which began in 1776. The sculptor of the monument is Frederic Bartholdi, and the interior of the structure was made by famous engineer Gustave Eiffel, the designer of the Eiffel Tower.

Based on new designs, the Assembly building was built until 1926, but further works were stopped. The next phase in the construction of the parliament building began after the death of King Aleksandar in 1934. The Architectural Department of the Ministry of Construction carried out the work, while the chief designer was architect Nikolay Krasnov, a Russian emigrant close to the court. The Assembly building was completed and consecrated on 18 October 1936, almost three decades after the foundation stone was laid.

Facade decoration from antiquity are four figures in four medallions: Demosthenes, Cicero, Pericles, and goddess Athena.³² Demosthenes (384–322) was an Athenian statesman, orator and lawyer from the 4th century BC, a democrat, a man who devoted a good part of his life to restoring the old glory to his beloved Athens. Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–143) was a lawyer and politician from the period of the late Roman Republic and consul in 63 BC. Athena was the Greek goddess of wisdom, crafts and the patroness of heroes and heroic endeavours, the patroness of numerous poleis. Pericles (495–429) was the most famous Athenian and ancient Greek statesman of the 5th century BC, orator and general from the “Golden Age”.

³² Z. Lj. Nikolić, *Masonski simboli u Beogradu*, 157–162; Several facades in Belgrade are decorated with medallions depicting an athlete holding a pair of compasses, the symbol of freemasons.



1) Captain's Misha's building



2) The Palace of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts – SASA



3) Nike crowning trade and industry, entrance of SASA



4) The Archive of Serbia



5) The Old General Staff



6) Sculptures of warriors – the Old General Staff



7) The Old Royal Palace



8) The Turkish Embassy



9) Adriatic-Danube Bank



10) The Palace of the Yugoslav Bank



11) The building of the Ministry of Transport in Belgrade



12) The building of the Government of the Republic of Serbia



13) House of the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia.



14) Mercury sitting on the globe



15) Mercury with caduceus

Ирена Цвиянович

АНТИЧНЫЕ МОТИВЫ И СИМВОЛЫ НА ФАСАДАХ СОВРЕМЕННОГО БЕЛГРАДА

Резюме

Белград развивался в античной традиции, начиная с того, что первая городская агломерация на его территории был город Сингидунум с римскими храмами и скульптурами. Создание городов на сети римских дорог позволило их включение в хозяйственную жизнь царства, а также создание уникальной культуры в большей части Европы и Средиземноморья. В поздней античности исчезли представления о римских божествах, а языческие святилища были заменены христианскими культовыми объектами, построенными в новых кварталах города. В раннем христианстве акцент делался на духовные ценности, а пренебрегались материальные формы тела, поэтому использовались символы, а человеческие фигуры в основном изображались в одежде, напоминающей римскую тогу.

Во времена османского владычества Белград претерпел полное преобразование, ставши ориентальным городом со всеми особенностями ислама, который полностью пронзал повседневную жизнь верующих. Мусульмане считают Аллаха чистым духом, который нельзя изобразить человеческими характеристиками. Это привело к запрету изображения божеств и живых существ, и изображения природы и скульптуры были заменены декоративным искусством, растительными мотивами и геометрическими арабесками, а также искусством украшательных букв, которыми пишутся цитаты из Корана.

В середине XVIII века возник интерес к античности, родившись движение неоклассицизма, как основа для создания универсального, международного художественного выражения. После французской буржуазной революции в 1789 году появились новые идеи относительно формирования идентичности современных европейских государств. Французская революция отличается от других своими универсальными требованиями и тем, что она адресована всему человечеству. Девятнадцатый век был периодом борьбы за права человека и создания гражданского общества, в котором все дети приобрели право на образование, что позволило им изменить свой социальный статус и участвовать в общественной и культурной жизни. Создание студенческой элиты привело к развитию гражданского класса и укреплению национального самосознания. Новый слой гражданского общества искал опору в классических, античных образцах.

Князь Милош Обренович начал отправлять молодых людей на обучение за границу уже в 1830-х годах, а образование женского населения было предусмотрено законом через десять лет. Поколения наших студентов, обучавшихся в европейских университетах, принесли неоклассицизм в сербскую архитектуру.

Олимпийские боги снова стали воплощаться на кровлях и фасадах Белграда в 1840-е годы. Хотя иконография и атрибуты божеств остались теми же, что и в античности, в эпоху неоклассицизма они приобрели новую роль и передавали другое послание. От древних божеств ожидалось приносить прогресс и успех в различных сферах жизни. Античные мотивы на фасадах использовались из-за своих вечных идей, отражающих стремления общества или отдельных лиц, и имели большее символическое, а не эстетическое значение. На белградских фасадах периода неоклассицизма наиболее распространена скульптура Меркурия. Атланты на крыше, держащие земной шар, часто изображены на фасадах. Иногда Меркурий сидит на земном шаре.

Первые здания с античными мотивами возникли в Белграде в середине XIX века: здание капитана Миши Анастасиевича, Старый королевский двор и нынешнее здание Посольства Турции. Свободный каменщик Миша Анастасиевич был одним из самых богатых людей в Белграде своего времени и подарил это здание своей родине в образовательных целях. Фасад была украшена скульптурами “Аполлон с лирой” и “Минерва с копьем и щитом”. Скульптура Аполлона была первой, установленной на белградской фасаде, а затем также скульптура Минервы в том же 1863 году. Период между двумя мировыми войнами характеризовался наиболее массовым использованием архитектурной пластики, интенсивным развитием столицы, где было построено множество богато украшенных общественных и частных зданий, чьи владельцы подчеркивали свою принадлежность к свободному каменщичеству. Массивные, монументальные здания с античной фасадной декорацией, возводившиеся в Белграде между 1923 и 1928 годами, свидетельствуют о экономической мощи Королевства СХС, а также о мастерстве тогдашних архитекторов и скульпторов. В этот период было построено восемь общественных зданий: Дворец Сербской академии наук и искусств (САНУ), Архив Сербии, Старый Генштаб или Каменный дворец или дворец Баумгартена, Адриатико-Дунайский банк, дворец Югославского банка, здание Министерства транспорта, Дворец Министерства финансов Королевства Югославии - современное здание Правительства Республики Сербии, и Дом Народного собрания Республики Сербии. Из них четыре здания были завершены в Королевстве Югославии, а некоторые были позднее переделаны или дополнительно украшены внутри. В репрезентативных общественных зданиях этого периода и по сей день находятся главные государственные институты.

Ирена Цвијановић

АНТИЧКИ МОТИВИ И СИМБОЛИ НА ФАСАДАМА САВРЕМЕНОГ БЕОГРАДА

Резиме

Београд се развијао на античкој традицији будући да је прва урбана агломерација на његовом тлу био град Сингидунум, с римским храмовима и скулптурама. Оснивање градова на мрежи римских путева омогућило је њихово укључивање у привредни живот Царства, као и стварање јединствене културе у већем делу Европе и Средоземља.

У касној антици нестају представе римских божанстава, а паганска светишта бивају замењена хришћанским култним објектима изграђеним у новим четвртима града. У раном хришћанству наглашавају се духовне вредности, а занемарују се материјални облици тела, те се користе симболи, а људске фигуре се углавном приказују у одећи која подсећа на римску тогу.

Током османске владавине, Београд је доживео потпуну трансформацију, тј. постао је оријентални град са свим обележјима ислама, који је у потпуности прожео свакодневни живот верника. Муслимани сматрају Алаха чистим духом који се не може представити људским карактеристикама. То је довело до забране приказивања божанстава и живих бића, те су слике природе и скулптуре замењене декоративном уметношћу, биљним мотивима и геометријским арабескама, као и уметношћу украсних слова, којима се исписују цитати из Курана.

Средином 18. века буди се интересовање за антику и рађа се покрет неокласицизма, као основ за стварање универзалног, међународног уметничког израза. Након избијања Француске буржоаске револуције 1789. године, појавиле су се нове идеје у вези са формирањем идентитета модерних европских држава. Француска револуција се разликује од других револуција по својим универзалним захтевима и по томе што је намењена целом човечанству. Деветнаести век је био период борбе за људска права и стварања грађанског друштва, у коме су сва деца стекла право на образовање, што им је омогућило да промене свој друштвени статус и учествују у јавном и културном животу. Стварање студентске елите довело је до развоја грађанске класе и јачања националне свести. Нови слој грађанског друштва тражио је упориште у класичним, античким моделима.

Кнез Милош Обреновић почео је да шаље младиће на школовање у иностранство још тридесетих година 19. века, а образовање женске деце предвиђено је законом десет година касније. Генерације наших студената школованих на европским универзитетима донеле су неокласицизам у српску архитектуру.

Олимписки богови поново су сишли на кровове и фасаде Београда четрдесетих година 19. века. Иако су иконографија и атрибути божанстава остали исти као у антици, у доба неокласицизма добиће нову улогу и посматрачима ће преносити другачију поруку. Од древних божанстава очекивало се да донесу

напредак и успех у различитим сферама живота. Антички мотиви на фасадама коришћени су због својих ванвременских идеја које одражавају тежње заједнице или појединца, и имају симболичко у већој мери него естетско значење. На београдским фасадама из доба неокласицизма најзаступљенија је скулптура Меркура. Атланти на крову који држе земаљску куглу често су представљени на фасадама. Меркур понекад седи на земаљској кугли.

Прве грађевине са античким мотивима настале су у Београду средином 19. века: Капетан Мишино здање, Стари краљевски двор и данашња зграда Амбасаде Турске. Слободни зидар Миша Анастасијевић био је један од најбогатијих људи у Београду свог времена и поклонио је ту зграду својој отаџбини у образовне сврхе. Фасада је украшена скулптурама „Аполон са лиром“ и „Минерва са копљем и штитом“. Аполонова скулптура била је прва која је постављена на београдску фасаду, а потом и скулптура Минерве исте 1863. године.

Период између два светска рата карактерише најмасовнија употреба архитектонске пластике, интензиван развој престонице, где су изграђени бројни богато украшени јавни и приватни објекти, чији су власници истицали своју слободнозидарску припадност. Масивне, монументалне грађевине са античком фасадном декорацијом подигнуте у Београду између 1923. и 1928. сведоче о економској моћи Краљевине СХС, као и о умећу тадашњих архитеката и вајара. У том периоду подигнуто је осам јавних објеката: Палата Српске академије наука и уметности (САНУ), Архив Србије, Стари генералштаб или Камена палата или Баумгартенова палата, Јадранско-подунавска банка, палата Југословенске банке, зграда Министарства саобраћаја у Београду, Палата Министарства финансија Краљевине Југославије – данашња зграда Владе Републике Србије и Дом Народне скупштине Републике Србије. Међу њима, четири зграде завршене су у Краљевини Југославији, а неке су накнадно преуређене или накнадно украшене изнутра. У репрезентативним јавним зградама из овог периода и данас се налазе главне државне институције.

Jelena Ilić Mandić*

Institute of History

Belgrade

ORCID ID: 0000-0001-7172-6915

FIRST RESULTS OF SPATIAL PLANNING IN THE HABSBURG MILITARY FRONTIER: FRONTIER REGIMENTS, NUCLEATED SETTLEMENTS AND CADASTRAL SURVEY (C. 1745–1785)

Abstract: There are numerous examples of spatial planning on the periphery of the Habsburg Monarchy, which was organised within the regiments of the Military Frontier in the second half of the 18th century. Our focus was on the territory of the Slavonian-Syrmian Military Frontier, the Šajkaš Battalion, and the Banat Military Frontier, where flat landscapes enabled various forms of state spatial intervention, approximately at the same time – around 1770. This paper presents some aspects important for understanding this complex topic, such as the influence of militarisation and centralisation, colonisation and spatial planning of settlements (following the nucleated settlement model), as well as the tight structuring of rural areas and parcelisation of arable land, and their final results in the form of land and tax reforms (cadastral surveying).

Keywords: Military Frontier, Habsburg Monarchy, spatial planning, 18th century.

Introduction

During the 18th century, several factors converged that influenced spatial development towards its planning and usage on the broader periphery of the Habsburg Monarchy. Undeniably, the most significant driving force behind this was state intervention, and the results and scope can be analysed based on various types of sources, such as contemporary accounts, official reports, censuses, maps, etc.¹ We will focus on the processes that affected the territory of the Military Frontier, which

* jelena.ilic@iib.ac.rs

¹ In the 18th century, the Habsburg Monarchy implemented measures under the comprehensive political programmes of mercantilism or cameralism, as dominant socio-economic doctrines of the Enlightenment (G. Otruba, *Die Wirtschaftspolitik Maria Theresias*, Wien 1963, 123).

served as a defensive belt towards the Ottoman Empire, stretching from the Adriatic Sea to the Carpathian Mountains. The beginnings and initial results of spatial planning are visible primarily in regions whose geographical characteristics allowed for it, such as predominantly flat land areas of Slavonia, Syrmia, Bačka, and Banat. By organising regulated frontier regiments in Slavonia and Syrmia regions in the 1740s and in Banat and Šajkaš in the 1760s, new chapters in the history of these areas were opened.² Although on the state periphery, these regions were under the administration of central authorities, and a series of reform measures were implemented in them during the 18th century, leading to long-term consequences regarding spatial organisation.³

With militarisation, military administration was introduced to the previously civilian areas, and military control was established over a relatively wide territory (in the form of *regiments* under *generalates*). Simultaneously, the building of new settlements or quarters for colonists, and application of urban regulations (often due to relocation) to indigenous villages created a network of typical settlements following the nucleated settlement pattern.⁴ Furthermore, a broad range of measures was taken in order to familiarise the authorities with the terrain and intensify the use of arable land by the local population. Measures such as surveying the terrain and mapping, defining compact agricultural areas, parcelisation and allocation of arable land to individual households, keeping records of landowners and tax assessment for each household were implemented.⁵ The state's intention was to learn the extent of

² It is important to differentiate between the civilian (county) and Military Frontier territories of the historical-geographical regions of Slavonia, Srem, Bačka, and Banat. For the purposes of our paper, we will focus only on the last phase of the Military Frontier organisation, after 1745, when the "regulated" regiments were established as the primary territorial-administrative units in the Military Frontier system. This model was initially introduced in the Slavonian-Syrmian Military Frontier and later used in the organisation of the Šajkaš Battalion (within the territory of the Bacs County) in 1763, and the first regiments of the Banat Military Frontier in southern Temeswarer Banat in 1764. For more on the new regimental organisational model, refer to: K. Kaser, *Slobodan seljak i vojnik I*, Zagreb 1997, 239–246.

³ Some aspects on this subject, in: X. Havadi-Nagy, *Die Slawonische und Banater Militärgrenze. Kriegserfahrungen und räumliche Mobilität*, Cluj-Napoca (Klausenburg) 2010.

⁴ The contemporary definition of *nucleated settlement* corresponds to the circumstances of the formation of this type of settlement in the Military Frontier, as cited: "A settlement clustered around a central point, such as a village green or church. ... Nucleation is fostered by defense considerations, localized water supply, the incidence of flooding, or rich soils so that farmers can easily get to their smaller, productive fields while continuing to live in the village." In: Nucleated settlement - Oxford Reference, *A Dictionary of Geography*, 4th ed., Oxford University Press 2009.

⁵ The same scope of activities was applied in the civilian territory under the state's control – in the Temeswarer Banat – as a result of colonisation policies from 1762 to 1772, with visible results until 1773 (B. Landais, "La réforme cadastrale dans les villages du Banat au XVIII^e siècle", *Historie et sociétés rurales*, No 37 – 1^{er} semestre 2012 (2014) 66–79.

usable terrain while increasing the possibilities for its taxation. As a result, a tax on arable land for each household was introduced (*terestral*), which was the first time that the basic tax in the Military Frontier was land-based.⁶

The extent of the measures taken and their far-reaching consequences can be understood by considering the conditions prevailing in the regions of Slavonia, Syrmia, Bačka, and Banat before these reforms. In short, at that time, land in the agricultural areas was at rural communities' disposal as private right.⁷ Their settlements were of scattered type, and the population was predominantly oriented towards livestock farming. Agriculture was limited to subsistence production since the annual survey of cereal yields and handing over *tithes* to officials did not incentivise significant investments in cereal farming, given its perishability and transportation difficulties. The easiest way to obtain money was by selling livestock, especially fattened cattle and pigs, which were in high demand in the large cities of Central Europe.⁸ Livestock farming was extensive and occupied the best and largest areas throughout southern Hungary, often leading to complaints from locals as the best land was left to individuals for grazing their herds at the cost of pushing crop farming to poorer-quality terrain. These conditions were prevalent both in civilian and military-frontier territories, indicating that the frontier society was far from the social equality commonly attributed to it.⁹ Official statistics also confirm that the highest income in the southern Hungary provinces came from selling livestock and animal products (wool, fur, lard, wax, etc.), with cereal exports playing a much smaller role.¹⁰ Finally,

⁶ Fr. Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte der Militärgrenze* II, Wien 1875, 231 (for the Banat Military Frontier); K. Kaser, *Slobodan seljak i vojnik* II, Zagreb 1997, 82–85.

⁷ Johann Jacob Erler, a knowledgeable observer and imperial official in the province of Temeswarer Banat, vividly described the high degree of autonomy of local communities, stating that “the village leader has not seen anyone of higher rank than himself for about half a year” (J. J. Erler, *Banat*, [Temeswar 1774], translated by M. Mitrović, Pančevo 2003, 54). The small number of officials meant weak supervision over local affairs, leading to the strengthening of the autonomy of village communities and the social position of their leaders (B. Landais, “Village Politics and the Use of ‘Nation’ in the Banat in the 18th Century”, in: *Forschungswerkstatt: Die Habsburgmonarchie im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Barth-Scalmani, etc., Bochum 2012, 200–201).

⁸ J. Ilić Mandić, *Banatska vojna krajina*, Beograd 2020, 301–302.

⁹ We will refer to the description of the problem regarding the use of arable land in the territories of the Banat *Landmiliz* (a predecessor of the Illyrian Banat Regiments), where in 1755, accusations were made against officers “for keeping too much livestock on arable land [...] and for not following the rules regarding ploughing and mowing, although the fields and meadows were limited by hummocks”. A particular problem were the arable lands that could not be fenced as meadows due to seasonal movements of livestock and were “ploughed in one place, and then in another”. The authorities recommended that in both cases officers should work together with the community (L. Hofmann, “Kikindski distrikt 1755”, *Glasnik Istoriskog društva u Novom Sadu* X (1937) 325).

¹⁰ In 1770, in Temeswarer Banat, the export of livestock and animal products amounted to about one and a half million forints. At the same time, the export of grains was worth 142,000 forints, and the mining products only 34,200 forints (J. J. Erler, *Banat*, 49–50).

it should be noted that these regions were sparsely populated compared to other provinces, such as Austrian, Czech, and German lands. This fact was of crucial importance as a starting point for affirming the state policy of intervention aimed at maximising land use for cultivation in order to create conditions for establishing new settlements and expanding existing ones.¹¹

There is evidence that measures implemented in the last quarter of the 18th century resulted in the introduction of cadastre in areas under direct state administration, such as the regions of the Military Frontier and the *Temeswarer Banat* province. Describing the conditions in the latter, during the eighth decade of the 18th century, the official Franz Grisellini pointed out that the current land policy involved the creation of a *tax cadastre* (*Steuerkatastrum*) to “calculate the annual revenues of the imperial and royal treasury more securely, according to the allocated land”. The land allocated to the individual households would be separate from the land that could be “offered for lease to the highest bidder”, constituting a “new type of state revenue”.¹² Thus, the state’s interest was formulated in a straightforward manner, with the goal of land reform being translated into taxation reform. The purpose of these measures was directed towards achieving the principle of autarky, and in that sense, with the cantonal arrangement introduced in the territory of the Military Frontier in 1786, Emperor Joseph renounced any outflow of funds from it to the state treasury.¹³

Militarisation and centralisation in Frontier regiments

The concept of territorialisation of generalates emerged after 1745 and was based on the establishment of “enclosed” regiments (*Regimenten*) as the primary territorial-administrative units in the Military Frontier. Before this period, there was no efficient distribution of responsibilities between the Court Chamber (*Hofkammer*) and the Court War Council (*Hofkriegsrath*) since they were conducted based on personal,

¹¹ Regarding state intervention in the economy and demographic development of the province of Temeswarer Banat during the period from 1718 to 1778, which largely served as a testing ground for implementing reform measures considered to be modernising, more can be found in: S. Jordan, *Die kaiserliche Wirtschaftspolitik im Banat im 18. Jahrhundert*, München 1967; E. Schimscha, *Tehnik und Methoden der Theresianischen Besiedlung des Banats*, Wien 1939.

¹² F. Grisellini, *Versuch einer politischen und natürlichen Geschichte des Temeswarer Bannats in Briefen an Standespersonen und Gelehrte*, Erster Theil, Wien 1780, 185. Furthermore, Grisellini noted that the first task of Count Klari, who was appointed President of the *Land Administration* in Timișoara in 1768, was to implement a plan for the allocation of land to local farming families (basic 32 acres). This was done with the goal of introducing a tax-cadastre, ensuring that the revenues of the imperial and royal treasury could be determined with certainty and in proportion to the allocated land (F. Grisellini, *Pokušaj proučavanja političke i istorije prirode Temišvarskog Banata*, Pančevo 2008, 158).

¹³ Fr. Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte der Militärgrenze III*, Wien 1875, 17.

instead a territorial principle.¹⁴ The territorial development of regiments took place gradually as settlements were grouped and removed from the jurisdiction of civilian institutions (either the *Hofkammer* or feudal estates in the *comitats*) and placed under military administration. The regimental model imposed the concept of territorialisation, where exclusive jurisdiction over all matters within the regiments belonged to the central military institution – *Hofkriegsrath* in Vienna. Its jurisdiction was delegated to the headquarters of the general command of the Slavonic-Banat region (located in fortifications in Osijek and Timișoara), and then to lower authorities in the form of the headquarters of individual regiments in Petrovaradin, Brod, Nova Gradiška, Titel and Pančevo.

The presence of military authority had a direct impact on the spatial development of the mentioned cities, leading to their intensive urbanisation, albeit under controlled conditions. However, most settlements within the regiments were still of rural type, and during the reorganisation, they developed following the nucleated settlement pattern. It should be noted, however, that in addition to settlements, the regiments included uninhabited areas, such as pastures, marshlands, swamps, etc. The military jurisdiction extended over the entire territory, not just the populated areas. A good example of territorial development is the German-Banat Regiment (*Deutsch-bannatische Grenzregiment*), situated between the Tamiš river and the Danube. It was founded in 1764 when the frontier obligations were taken over by the inhabitants of some of the villages around Pančevo. However, by 1770, it was proclaimed as necessary to take over the entire territory that formed the “outer ring of the frontier, even if it contained only barren, flooded, impassable, or unusable areas”.¹⁵ The example of the Banat Regiment testifies to the existence of a total approach in territorial development of regiments with the aim of creating, as called in sources, an “uninterrupted belt” (*ohnunterbrochenen Granizkette*) in the Military Frontier system. Striving for their own “enclosure”, almost all regimental borders were established along natural (physical) barriers, most commonly rivers.¹⁶

Another aspect of building regiments concerned the political centralisation that was carried out in them. It was not only the territorial principle that was inviolable;

¹⁴ K. Kaser, *Slobodan seljak i vojnik I*, 227–233.

¹⁵ The distribution of wasteland is best illustrated by the data indicating that in the territory of the German-Banat Regiment in 1784, there were 122,306 acres recorded as wasteland and *überland* (J. Ilić Mandić, *Banatska vojna krajina*, 213–215, 217).

¹⁶ Similarly, the Banat Military Frontier is a good example of the gradual expansion of military administration over a broader territory. Although the formal establishment of the *Illyrian* and *Ansiedlungs* (later German) Regiments was proclaimed in 1764, and the Wallachian Battalion in 1769, they were individually territorially developed until 1775, when they were unified within the framework of the Banat Military Frontier and its two regiments, the German-Banat and Wallachian-Illyrian regiment (J. Ilić Mandić, “Making the Border and Frontiersmen. Militarization in Temeswarer Banat, 1764–1775”, in: *From Medieval Frontiers to Early Modern Borders in Central and South-Eastern Europe*, ed. F. N. Aderlan, L. Cimpeanu, G. Fodor, L. Magina, Peter Lang Publishing 2022, 211, passim).

regiments were supposed to represent areas where no other political authorities existed except military ones. Until 1745, the situation in Syrmian villages by the Sava and Danube was chaotic since both military subjects and civilians lived there. The restoration of counties and demarcation with the Military Frontier in Slavonia and Syrmia lasted from 1745 to 1749 and caused many conflicts. It turned out that the division of the population by preference for civilian or frontiersman status did not follow the original plan, since dissatisfaction among communities and individuals with the allocated land was far from easily and quickly resolvable.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the experience gained at this time undoubtedly improved the efficiency of the process in the future, which was evident during the militarisation of the areas in southern Banat and Bačka. For example, the constitution of the Banat-Illyrian Regiment, starting from 1 May 1764, was preceded by an agreement between the Court War Council as the new beneficiary and the Aulic Bank Deputation (*Ministerialbankdeputation*) as the previous beneficiary of revenue from land militia. The organisation in that regiment was prescribed following the model of the "Slavonian system", and the new administration manifesto was implemented by reading the Transfer of Jurisdiction Act (*Übergab Aktus*) from village to village, between 28 March and 17 April of that year.¹⁸ By abolishing the jurisdiction of the Aulic Sanitary Deputation (*Sanitätshofdeputation*) in 1776, until then in charge on sanitary stations (*Contumazen* at border crossings), the last step towards the centralisation of all affairs and activities in the Military Frontier was put under the control of the Court War Council.¹⁹

There is no doubt that the physical presence of the military contributed to the establishment of a new order that caused significant turbulence among the resident population, both in the Military Frontier and civilian territories.²⁰ The consolidation of the military administration territorial scope certainly facilitated the implementation of measures that were considered, in the manner of the Enlightenment, a priori modernising. This is evidenced by the words of Friedrich Wilhelm von Taube, an imperial official well-versed in the conditions in Slavonia and Syrmia, who described the organisation of their frontier area as follows: "It cannot be denied that everything is arranged in a more orderly and better manner in the military districts than in the counties. The ruler's decrees and all the new measures and regulations aimed at the

¹⁷ S. Gavrilović, "Obnova županija i njihovo razgraničenje sa Vojnom granicom (1745–1749)", *Zbornik za društvene nauke* 25 (1960) 65–66, passim.

¹⁸ Fr. Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte der Militärgrenze* II, 183; J. Ilić Mandić, *Banatska vojna krajina*, 47.

¹⁹ Fr. Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte der Militärgrenze* II, 249. The only exception were some civil domains in Karlovac- and Banalgrrenze, resolved by Joseph II on behalf of military authorities by 1784 (ibidem, 258–269).

²⁰ In the case of civilian Slavonia, according to Taube's assessment written in the 1770s, "public peace and security have been restored about fifteen years ago", thanks, among other things, to the consent of the nobility of the three counties to build barracks for accommodation of 20 to 30 cavalymen from German regiments on their estates (F. V. Taube, *Istorijski i geografski opis Kraljevine Slavonije i Vojvodstva Srema*, Novi Sad 1998, 121).

progress and betterment of the country, and therefore the well-being of its subjects, are not only carried out willingly and diligently, without slowness and hesitation as in the counties, but are actively and persistently enforced once they are introduced". Taube explains his opinion by stating that the reason for this is "military obedience, discipline, and pressure", as well as the fact that there were "many more low- and high-ranking officers than royal officials in the provinces".²¹ He concludes that in the Frontier, "supervision is stricter, and the introduction of new and useful measures is far easier than in the counties, where there is a considerable shortage of supervisory staff". The problem of the bureaucratic network on which the implementation of the measures directly depended existed not only in the provinces' administration, where officials were in the royal service, but also on chamber estates, where officials were in the service of financial institutions, as was the case with the district officials of the Land Administration in the Temeswarer Banat.²²

The inhabitants of the Military Frontier had to accept the status of frontiersmen, which entailed certain rights and obligations, and in return, they acquired the privilege of exclusive landownership.²³ Decisions were made by higher military authorities in Vienna, the general command, and regimental staff, while Military Frontier officers executed these decisions, since they were present in each *company* (at the lowest ranks of warrant officers, lieutenants and second lieutenants, and captains). The commanders of the companies – which generally included two to three villages each – were in charge of maintaining the land system. In the 1771 Urbarium for Kovin, a colonised settlement on the Danube in the German-Banat Regiment, one of the final articles states that "the Commander of the Company should not only apply the prescribed good [land] system, but also nurture and multiply it, and should not only perform the prescribed tasks from year to year but also personally visit his district in spring and autumn to observe how the frontiersmen differ from each other in their diligence, and thus have the opportunity to admonish and guide the less diligent to follow the example of those more diligent, for their own good. Furthermore, he should mark and restore every border marker and detect whether someone has ploughed over the border lines or committed any other offense that he could

²¹ Ibidem, 130.

²² Erler considered that frequent official visitations in villages were a prerequisite for effective administration. Furthermore, he justified his advocacy for the introduction of taxes on cultivable land of rural households by the fact that the existing number of district officials was insufficient to organise annual censuses of male household members who paid taxes, as well as other types of censuses on a yearly basis, such as the census of movable property, which primarily consisted of livestock (J. J. Erler, *Banat*, 57).

²³ Only subjects who had the frontiersmen status were eligible to own land in the Military Frontier, as stated in the second provision of the Basic Frontier Law (*Grundgesetz*) from 1807: "According to this rule, only those individuals can acquire and retain properties in the Frontier who have either already settled there and subjected themselves to frontier duties, or who intend to settle there with their families and take on specified duties". (S. Gavrilović, "Osnovni graničarski zakon iz 1807 (1808) godine", *Zbornik za istoriju* 38 (1988) 145).

immediately correct; if an offense was committed from the other side [referring to the Ottoman territory], he has an obligation to immediately inform higher authorities about it.”²⁴ In the civilian territory under state administration, such as the Temeswarer Banat province, a similar order was in force.²⁵

The immediate influence of military officials on the spatial scheme was evident in numerous instances, especially when it involved collectively organising frontiersmen in a joint work endeavour. The compiler of the church description of the Šajkaš Battalion in 1785 noted, among other things, that the instruction to relocate village public cemeteries at a minimum distance of 400 klafters from the settlements and enclose them was not fulfilled in almost any of the 12 villages, and “they [the locals] will not do it until officers force them to”.²⁶ There is no doubt that, in addition to the initiative coming from the military authorities, the implementation of specific ideas and achievement of effective results in spatial planning required the application of direct pressure, provided by lower-ranking officers in each of the frontier villages.

Nucleated and urban settlements

In the Military Frontier, as well as in other areas conquered during the Ottoman-Habsburg wars (1683–99; 1716–18; 1737–1739) in the region of southern Hungary – which had been under centuries-long Ottoman rule – the villages were of a scattered type, while urban settlements almost did not exist.²⁷ The first settlements following the urban planning pattern called nucleated settlement appeared through systematic action of military and chamber authorities – in Slavonia starting from the 1740s, and in Banat from the 1760s. The beginnings of urbanisation coincided with the renewal of the Slavonian and Syrmian counties in the hinterland of the Military Frontier and

²⁴ J. Ilić, “Urbarn naselja Kovin (1771. godina)”, *Mešovita građa – Miscellanea XXXIII* (2012) 213–214.

²⁵ The Commissioner for Settlement Affairs (in *Ansiedlungskommission*), Wolfgang von Kempelen, noted in his elaboration from February 1768 that in each district, supervision should be established – one governor, one deputy governor, as well as one parish priest, one Hungarian official, and one judge – who would visit and serve two or three villages each, “so that the official apparatus would not be excessively enlarged”. In addition to collecting complaints from the locals, they were responsible for ensuring that “all fields are ploughed by autumn, so they can be cultivated in the spring” (A. Reininger, “Wolfgang von Kempelen und die Bevölkerungspolitik unter Maria Theresia und Joseph II im Banat (1Teil)”, *Analele Banatului* XV (2007) 209).

²⁶ Similar remarks were recorded in the description of most of the settlements of the Šajkaš Battalion in 1785 (S. Pecinjački, “Podaci iz 1785. o naseljima i školama Srema i Šajkaške”, *Zbornik za društvene nauke* 49 (1968) 140–143).

²⁷ Serbian villages in the southwestern Banat in the mid-18th century still consisted of irregularly clustered houses and homesteads. The cultivated plots were of varying shapes and sizes, irregularly distributed. There were no planned roads, and some houses or structures stood isolated (E. Roth, *Die planmässig angelegten Siedlungen im Deutsch-Banater Militärgrenzbezirk 1765–1821*, München 1988, 31, passim).

the redefinition of the boundaries of the local feudal estates after 1745. In the eighth decade of the 18th century, Taube recorded a tradition where the construction of a network of nucleated villages was part of the fight against widespread brigandage and robbery in Slavonia and Syrmia during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48). Namely, after Trenck and his *pandurs* had gone to the battlefield in Germany, it was considered that “one of the most useful means to start making villages is to have the houses that were scattered in huge forests or hills demolished and then raised together in one place”.²⁸ At this stage, completely planned construction of a new headquarters of the Gradiška Regiment began, following the building of Nova Gradiška (1748). In addition to promoting public security, the building of nucleated settlements was also encouraged by the state’s intention to adapt the rural land to the needs of controlled agricultural activities, land reform, and colonisation. The fact that the regulation of settlements in Slavonia was carried out by the eighth decade of the 18th century is confirmed by Franz Stefan Engel, another active official in that area, writing ten years after Taube (1786). Engel described each of the hundred or so settlements of the Slavonian regiments with an identical, concise formulation – “immaculately built”.²⁹ In the same way, he described the frontier settlements of the Šajkaš Battalion, which were built a few years after 1780.³⁰

The application of the nucleated settlement pattern in the frontier of Banat was initiated by the German veterans’ colonisation, starting from 1764.³¹ Paradoxically, the first planned and regulated settlements in southern Banat – Bavanište, Dolovo, and Novo Selo – were built in 1766 by the Court Chamber to house the Serbian population that had withdrawn from settlements on the Danube to avoid militarisation.³² However, their civilian status as subjects of the Chamber (*Cameralisten*) did not last, as there was a rapid expansion of the frontier area towards the hinterland of the Danube line. Initially, militarisation was equated with the colonisation of German veterans, but after 1772, it was extended to indigenous settlements to encompass a larger geographical area and be “territorially enclosed” (bounded by the Danube and Tamiš rivers, including the Deliblato Sands).³³ The process of planned settlement

²⁸ F. V. Taube, *Istorijski i geografski opis*, 121.

²⁹ F. Š. Engel, *Opis Kraljevine Slavonije*, Novi Sad 2003, 165–217.

³⁰ Ibidem, 217–225. In the Šajkaš Battalion, apart from the recently built headquarters of the battalion in Titel, he also described the settlement of Gornji Kovilj with as many as “188 houses built in immaculate order” (Ibidem, 221).

³¹ The colonisation of German veterans as frontiersmen in the so-called *Ansiedlungsregiment* since 1764 was a process separate from the simultaneous colonisation of Germans in the civilian territory of the Temeswarer Banat. Despite this, the characteristics of the development of colonised settlements were almost the same (E. Schimscha, *Tehnik und Methode*, Anhang: Impopulations-Haupt-Instruktion, 184–198).

³² V. S. Dabić, “Srpsko selo (XVI–XVIII vek): Oblikovanje životnog i privrednog prostora”, u: *Prostorno planiranje u Jugoistočnoj Evropi (do Drugog svetskog rata)*, Beograd 2011, 35–36.

³³ The German-Banat Regiment encompassed only 16 settlements until 1775, 32 until 1781, and as many as 43 by 1793 (J. Ilić Mandić, “Making the Border and Frontiersmen”, 214–215).

regulation proceeded in the same dynamic, which, after the construction of new quarters in the 12 colonised settlements,³⁴ was soon spread onto indigenous villages by imposing regulatory tasks on them too. By the 1780s, the process of planned regulation, i.e. nucleation of settlements, had been completed in almost all settlements of the German-Banat Regiment.³⁵

As a *terminus ante quem* when the new nucleated type of settlements prevailed in the broader area of the Habsburg frontier regions, we will use the information that testifies to an attempt to transplant this model to the newly conquered area of Serbia during the short Austrian rule in Belgrade and its surroundings, during the last Austro-Turkish War (1788–91). By the construction of houses for settlers in the newly conquered Belgrade and its surroundings (*Ansiedlernhauser*), it was recommended, “not to scatter them and build them somewhere on the side, but on the roads so that they can be under supervision, just as the construction for settlers was carried out in the German-Banat and Wallachian-Illyrian frontier regiments”. According to the recommended model, in addition to building houses along the roads for supervision, “each house had to be provided with a plot for a yard and a garden, as well as a stable for livestock, and when allocating arable land, care should be taken that it is not too far from the house”.³⁶

The end result was that the settlements acquired a standardised appearance following the pattern of a nucleated settlement. What they all had in common was the presence of urban core with a square and public buildings (for civilian purposes such as churches, parish house, school, and inn, but also for military purposes like officer’s quarters and drill grounds), while the square was surrounded by a regular grid of streets and blocks of residential units with yards. The construction regulations stipulated the typical appearance of houses, rules on street width and fire protection, the existence of public wells, sanitation rules, and so on. The initial plans for “solid” construction of all buildings (using baked bricks) were later replaced with cheaper solutions, and most houses were built using rammed earth. However, solid construction remained a desirable prerequisite for building corners, floors, and chimneys in residential buildings, and brick was still the mandatory construction material for public buildings.³⁷ By using statistical data from state services when

³⁴ The German colonists-veterans population mostly settled in newly built places or quarters: Gornje (Serbian) and Donje (German) Pančevo, Sefkerin, Jabuka, Starčevo, Omoljica, Brestovac, Kovin, Pločica, Opovo, Glogonj, and Crepaja. Among these settlements, only two were exclusively populated by colonists (Jabuka and Glogonj), while in the remaining ten settlements, the colonists settled their communities alongside existing Serbian communities, forming the new quarters (J. Ilić Mandić, *Banatska vojna krajina*, 113, 120).

³⁵ E. Roth, *Die planmässig angelegten Siedlungen*, 155, *passim*. Some of the Serbian and Romanian villages were first relocated and then systematically rebuilt, as was the case with Idvor, Uzdin (Padina), Gaj, and others.

³⁶ D. Pavlović, *Srbija za vreme poslednjeg Austro-turskog rata (1788–1791)*, Beograd 1910, 293.

³⁷ E. Roth, *Die planmässig angelegten Siedlungen*, 319, 320–335, *passim*; J. Ilić Mandić, *Banatska vojna krajina*, 218–232.

compiling his descriptions, Engel precisely determined the extent of predominant use of rammed earth and wattle and daub (a mixture of earth and straw between beams) in construction. According to his data, it can be calculated that by 1786 within the territory of three regiments of the Slavonian Frontier and the Šajkaš Battalion, there were around 20,000 buildings, with approximately 19,500 frontier houses constructed in the mentioned manner and around 500 solidly built buildings for public purposes.³⁸ Despite the fact that traditional construction methods were predominantly used, it is important to emphasise that all of the houses were built according to new construction principles that, despite the materials used, provided improved sanitary and safety conditions for living.³⁹

Although most residential houses in the Military Frontier settlements were of “common” construction,⁴⁰ building using solid materials, such as stone or brick, was mandatory for military, economic and administrative buildings.⁴¹ Most settlement’s central parts were organised in the form of squares with buildings for housing officers, churches, schools, inns, and other public needs.⁴² Places with a larger number of such buildings took on the appearance of real “urban” centres and acquired multiple administrative functions.⁴³ Although this is often overlooked, and the Military Frontier

³⁸ In the Petrovaradin Regiment area, there were 7,723 “frontiersmen houses made of wattle and daub” in 66 settlements. In the Brod Regiment, there were 5,456 “houses built of rammed earth and wattle and daub” in 96 settlements, while in the Gradiška Regiment, there were 4,728 “frontiersmen houses made of wood” in 125 settlements. In the territory of 12 settlements of the Šajkaš Battalion, there were 1,680 inhabited “frontiersmen houses made of rammed earth” (F. Š. Engel, *Opis Kraljevine Slavonije*, 235–137).

³⁹ Foundations were raised several feet above the ground, and brick chimneys, as well as mandatory installation of windows and doors, were some of the examples that testified to the sanitary and safety improvements in construction. Regardless of the general regulation of settlements, the construction of residential buildings remained predominantly traditional, which involved walls made of rammed earth and roofs made of thatch, as stated in the description of the German-Banat Regiment from 1859 (E. Roth, *Die planmässig angelegten Siedlungen*, 280, passim).

⁴⁰ Such construction of houses also applied to the military communities of Stara Gradiška, Nova Gradiška, Brod, Mitrovica, and Vinkovci (F. Š. Engel, *Opis Kraljevine Slavonije*, 243–248).

⁴¹ According to the church census from 1785 of the Šajkaš Battalion 12 settlements, all churches were built of bricks and adobe (S. Pecinjački, “Podaci iz 1785. o naseljima”, 140–143).

⁴² One such example, according to Engel’s description, was Vinkovci, where 168 frontiersmen houses and 136 civilian houses were entirely constructed of wattle and covered partly with straw and partly with shingles. Additionally, the town had a square and new well-built buildings on it, such as the “magnificent” parish church, quarters for brigadier and colonel, “new and modernly built two-story guardhouses”, and even a “two-story new mathematical school” (F. Š. Engel, *Opis Kraljevine Slavonije*, 283–284).

⁴³ If we look at the example of Titel, we can see what public buildings were required for the functioning of a headquarters town since Engel recorded a whole list of existing buildings, noting that they were “partly made of good material, and partly of Egyptian bricks or rammed earth”. In Titel, there were recently erected Catholic church and Orthodox church, quarters for the battalion and canton command, a number of apartments (quarters) for officials such as

territory is seen as exclusively “rural”, there were also settlements with the status of privileged military communities (*privilegierte Militärcomunitäten*) that were the counterparts of the Hungarian free cities (*Königliche Freiestädte*).⁴⁴ Around 1785, some of these *Militärcomunitäten* resembled towns due to the presence of buildings made of “good or solid material”, brick and stone. Engel records that in Zemun, the largest town in the Military Frontier, there were as many as 943 buildings, including the quarantine, post office, inspectorate, barracks, commander’s house, salt office, the parish and magistrate houses, and several town houses, “which are mostly built of good materials and can be called beautiful”.⁴⁵ (Sremski) Karlovci was slightly smaller, with 789 houses, but of notably more respectable architecture, since even “about three hundred houses were made of stone, and about a hundred were two-story houses”. Moreover, Engel noticed that the best houses were built in the neighbourhood of the metropolitan’s residence, which itself was “the first and most elegant of these buildings”, and that “several of them would be considered beautiful even in big cities”. The final steps toward urbanisation in Karlovci were taken “recently”, Engel writes, in 1785, when the old houses bought from the owners were demolished to expand the town square.⁴⁶

Far more impressive examples of planned construction were cities with fortifications (and headquarters of general command) such as Osijek, Petrovaradin and Timișoara. Simultaneously with the construction of fortresses, which lasted for decades, the settlements around them were also developed, and the inhabitants were subject to certain construction requirements and restrictions in regard to the position of the fortresses. For example, in the mid-18th century, the construction of a new Orthodox church in the Timișoara suburb of Fabrika had to wait until it was determined whether the fortress esplanade would be 1000 or 600 klafters wide. On the other hand, the construction of the seminary and school was allowed “at a designated location according to the existing fortress plan”.⁴⁷ At the same time, in

captains, auditors, lieutenants, surgeons, pursers, adjutants, as well as for accounting offices. Additionally, there were the main guardhouse, state inn, blacksmith’s shop, parish house, people’s school, butcher’s shop, armoury, wharf, gunpowder magazine, storage for pontoons and boats (tschaikas), and six state wells (Ibid, 218).

⁴⁴ This status was granted first to Zemun, Karlovci, Bukovac, and Petrovaradin in 1753, and later of the same year to Brod, Stara Gradiška and Nova Gradiška, and temporarily to Mitrovica and Vinkovci. Bela Crkva got this status in 1774, and Pančevo in 1794. Their evolution into urban-type settlements represents one of the urbanisation achievements of the second half of the 18th century (Fr. Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte der Militärgrenze* II, 295–298).

⁴⁵ F. Š. Engel, *Opis Kraljevine Slavonije*, 249–251. The urban structure of Zemun is best shown by the detailed plan of its area and the urban core from 1780 (Austrian State Archives (=ÖStA), War Archives (=KA), Map Collection (=KS), B IX 906).

⁴⁶ F. Š. Engel, *Opis Kraljevine Slavonije*, 254–255.

⁴⁷ Archive of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (=ASANUK), fund MP A, Box 24 (1755), doc. 393 and 442.

Petrovaradin, the request for the construction of the (Orthodox) metropolitan's residence and church, as well as residential buildings, had to be rejected based on the fact that "there was no space left in the existing and available fortress plan for such buildings, and that there was a lack of space for necessary barracks and other fortification structures already".⁴⁸ Data on the advanced urbanisation in the mentioned places and areas are numerous, as well as on the completion of the process by the end of the 18th century.⁴⁹

Land plots ownership and cadastral surveying

Any kind of land-use planning could not be realised without the nucleation of settlements. By grouping buildings closely together around a central feature, conditions were created for the purposeful allocation of fields in line with the planned activities – for agriculture or livestock farming. The frontiersmen were owners of arable land plots that they cultivated themselves.⁵⁰ Even the residents of *Militärcommunitäten* with the status of citizens and those with wardship status (*Burger* and *Schutzleute*), otherwise exempt from frontiersmen duties, were owners of arable land and its cultivators. This is best shown by the structure of the land in *Militärcommunitäten* around 1780, even in the largest ones like Zemun, whose inhabitants, despite the growth of the urban core and urban occupations, were simultaneously owners of arable fields, meadows, vineyards, and pastures.⁵¹ In the planning of the village land structure, the position of the fields was determined, where possible, following the ideal model – pastures near the populated core, and arable

⁴⁸ Ibidem, doc. 414.

⁴⁹ In 1794, Count Teleki travelled through these regions and described the appearance of four Hungarian fortresses (Osijek, Petrovaradin, Arad, and Timișoara), judging that the Petrovaradin fortress was the largest and "in the most beautiful position" in Hungary, while the Timișoara fortress was "large, with an arsenal well-stocked with all kinds of weapons, and with barracks and casemates for 3,000 people, and a city fortified following all the rules of the art of fortification" (D. Teleki, *Reisen durch Ungern und einige angränzende Länder* [1796], aus dem Ungarisch übersetzt durch Ladislaus v Nemeth, Pesth 1805, 143, 162).

⁵⁰ Although it is often stated in literature that the frontiersmen were merely users of land as fief, with the supreme owner being the Emperor, their ownership rights were not challenged in practice. Therefore, in the first provision of the Basic Law (*Grundgesetze*) from 1807, it was unequivocally stated: "It follows that these military estates (fiefs) are not merely granted goods, temporarily handed over and subject to the will of superiors, as it has been understood in some places until now, but they are permanent properties for continuous use" (S. Gavrilović, "Osnovni graničarski zakon", 145).

⁵¹ ÖStA, KA, KS, B IX 906. The ownership of land plots of different sizes and types (fields, meadows, vineyards) was common even in cities on the civilian territory, as evidenced by the cadastral book of the city of Rijeka (Fiume) from 1785/87 (I. Erceg, *Jozefinski katastar grada Rijeke i njegove uže okolice* (1785/87), Zagreb 1998).

land and meadows towards the edges of the village area (*Hotars* or *Districts*).⁵² In addition to protecting the arable land from livestock movement, the goal was to limit the areas for livestock farming and redirect this activity to *überland* (unallocated land, usually marshes) and wastelands, where keeping livestock was taxed.⁵³ The dominance of arable land over pastures and unusable land was achieved precisely through the rural land (re)structuring and allocation of arable land to the frontiersmen. For example, in the land tax-inventory of the German-Banat Regiment from 1781, 85% consisted of cultivated land (arable land, meadows, orchards, and vineyards), and the remaining 15% were pastures.⁵⁴

The parcelisation of arable land was a fundamental element in the process of creating cadastral records, i.e. the registration of household heads in landowner books (*Grundbücher*) and imposing proportional tax obligations on them. Defining the land tax (*Grundtax*) as the primary tax for households, was seen as a solution to the multi-decade issue of simplifying population tax-obligations and stabilising revenues.⁵⁵ The introduction of the land tax in the territory of the Military Frontier in 1774 (first in the German-Banat Regiment) was proclaimed by the regulation of Major Žišković and was the result of a comprehensive and systematic action of central authorities.⁵⁶ The success achieved in Banat was due to the fact that the province was the first to start with the project of measuring the entire land and mapping it within the Josephine survey or cadastre (*Josephinische Aufnahme*), during the period 1769–73.⁵⁷ In addition to mapping, there was also a reorganisation of agricultural land and its distribution to the frontiersmen based on a decree issued in 1768, stating that

⁵² Ibidem. Regarding the rural land in colonised settlements of civilian Banat, the same was recommended by Kempelen in his elaboration from February 1768, where it is suggested that “common pastures should be near villages” (A. Reininger, “Wolfgang von Kempelen und die Bevölkerungspolitik”, 209).

⁵³ J. Ilić Mandić, *Banatska vojna krajina*, 286.

⁵⁴ Ibidem, 256.

⁵⁵ In 1774, Erler noted that instead of the head tax (apparently referring to civilian Banat), which took too much of the officials’ time due to annual census, it is advisable to introduce a “tax per session, after the land distribution is completed”, and that “there are very good methods and techniques for collecting land taxes, accepted in other civilised countries.” (J. J. Erler, *Banat*, 57).

⁵⁶ Žišković’s regulation of socio-economic conditions in this part of the Military Frontier was based on the idea that the tax burden should be on the land holdings of the households and their “non-serving” members, allowing recruited members to fulfil their frontiersmen duties without harming the household (F. Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte der Militärgrenze* II, 230–231; K. Kaser, *Slobodan seljak i vojnik* II, 82–85).

⁵⁷ The Josephine land survey was a comprehensive state project conducted in Temeswarer Banat in 1769–73 and 1773–78, and in the entire Military Frontier in 1780–84. Mapping had a lasting effect since the sections created at that time became the basis for taxation until 1819, when the so-called Second or Francis (after Emperor Francis I) Cadastre was created (J. Paldus, *Die militärischen Aufnahmen im Bereich der Habsburgischen Länder aus der Zeit Kaisers Josephs II*, Vienna 1919, 104–108).

each frontiersman should be given a landholding of 30 acres (*Joch*), consisting of 18 acres of arable land, 6 acres of meadows, and 6 acres of pastures (or 24 acres without pastures).⁵⁸ During the land distribution, this model could not be consistently applied since it depended on the nature and quality of the land in different areas, while pastures were soon excluded from the distribution. Additionally, in rural areas where colonists were settled alongside the local population, the redistribution was carried out with less available land. According to the *Urbarium* for seven colonised settlements of the German-Banat Regiment in the vicinity of Pančevo in 1769, individual land holdings amounted to only 20 acres (10 acres of arable land and 10 acres of meadows).⁵⁹

Land books (*Grundbuch; Urbarium*), which have been preserved for only a few settlements, are direct evidence of the implementation of land reform in militarised agricultural areas at the time. In the Banat Military Frontier, the 1769 map of Idvor (*Plan von Idvor*) and the 1771 land book of Kovin (*Urbarium von Kubin*) are preserved in the form of a cadastre.⁶⁰ The appearance and content of these sources are similar. They consist of a cartographic representation of the settlement and a list of names of owners of various types of plots in its area. Land plots are described by their location, type (arable land or meadows), and size (*Joch, Klafter*).⁶¹ The most important aspect is that the plots were registered under the name of the owner who, in addition to ownership rights, had certain tax obligations on their property. At that time, Idvor was a Serbian frontier settlement of the Illyrian Regiment (with its headquarters in Velika Kikinda), and its regulation was initiated by relocating the settlement from a marshy area around the Tamiš river, while the regulation of Kovin was carried out as a consequence of the colonisation of German veterans and the distribution of land to

⁵⁸ J. Ilić Mandić, *Banatska vojna krajina*, 180, 271. The decision from 1768 applied to the frontier Banat but it coincided with decisions made in the civilian territory prompted by colonisation (e.g. Kempelen's model from 1769). For the sake of comparison, the frontiersmen holdings were determined to be approximately the same size as the peasant session of 36 acres (*Ganz Session*), which was prescribed as a land unit in the *urbaria* for civilian territories – for Slavonia in 1756, Hungary in 1767, and Banat in 1780. However, the difference lay in the fact that peasant families often had 1/8, 1/4, or 1/2 sessions, while frontier households had "a session per frontiersman" (S. Gavrilović, "Banatski urbar", *Zbornik za društvene nauke* 34 (1963) 77; B. Landais, "La réforme cadastrale dans les villages du Banat au XVIII^e siècle", 68–71).

⁵⁹ J. Ilić Mandić, *Banatska vojna krajina*, 274.

⁶⁰ The cadastral map shows the boundaries and ownership of land parcels in Banat settlement Idvor in 1769: ÖStA, KA, KS, G I h 242. The List of Idvorian landowners shown in this map was published in: S. Pecinjački, "Individualna raspodela zemlje idvorskim graničarima 1769. godine", *Zbornik za istoriju* 7 (1973) 124–128. The cadastral book of Kovin contains the list of landowners and describes the parcels by their ownership, in: J. Ilić, "Urbar naselja Kovin (1771. godina)", 199–229.

⁶¹ A Viennese acre equalled 1,600 square klafters, and it amounted to 0.57 hectares.

their families, including the necessary redistribution to local Serbian households.⁶² Colonisation brought another lasting effect – the three-part division of arable plots and the so-called three-field system of land cultivation.⁶³ In the Kovin area, arable plots were “divided into three separate parts, where the owners could use one part for winter crops, another for summer crops, and leave the third one fallow” (*Urbarium*, §18). In addition to being applied to the land holdings of new colonist households, the three-field system was also applied to indigenous households (*Urbarium*, §19: ... *auf nehmliche Art bey denen Militaren geschehen*). Local officers were supposed to supervise the implementation of the three-field crop rotation in land cultivation (*Urbarium*, §48).⁶⁴

Outside of Banat, land and tax reforms were implemented during the early 1780s. After the successful implementation of the land reform based on the *Urbarium* model in the German-Banat Regiment, its commander, Colonel Geneyne, was promoted to frontier inspector in 1782, with the task of applying the same model in other parts of the Military Frontier. The effective continuation of Geneyne’s work is evidenced by the results he achieved in the Šajkaš Battalion, where, according to Engel, “in 1784, the entire land of this battalion was measured for each house according to its needs and requests and handed over to the frontiersmen as ownership for use, and the arable land was divided into two fields for winter and one field for spring sowing, and into meadow, then into pasture, which were specifically allotted to each village community, with surplus land set aside either as uninhabited land (wasteland) for grazing, or as village communal, unallocated land (*überland*)”.⁶⁵ The detailed maps of frontier regiments created during the period 1780-84 represent a kind of manifesto of the land reform campaign and its results in the Military Frontier.⁶⁶

With the exception of the German-Banat Regiment, the Šajkaš Battalion, and partly the regiments in the Slavonian Frontier, significant obstacles were encountered in implementing land reforms and introducing land taxation as their final result in all

⁶² Ibid. Although implemented on the same principles, the model of land reform in these two settlements differed in the size of individually allocated plots. In Idvor, households were granted a land holding of 24 acres (arable land and pasture) per frontiersman, meaning that households with two, three, or more recruited members received arable land holdings sized two, three, or more times the prescribed basic holding. Kovinian colonists were allocated 25 acres of land, which included 15 acres of arable land (three plots of 5 acres each) and 10 acres of meadows (two plots of 5 acres each). Since the colonised families were by rule nucleated families, only basic holdings were distributed.

⁶³ J. Ilić Mandić, *Banatska vojna krajina*, 283–286. The three-field model was more economical than the four-field model used by the indigenous households, in which the land allowed to lie fallow amounted to as much as half of the total arable land.

⁶⁴ J. Ilić, “*Urbar naselja Kovin (1771. godina)*”, 208, 213–214.

⁶⁵ F. Š. Engel, *Opis Kraljevine Slavonije*, 224.

⁶⁶ J. Paldus, *Die militärische Aufnahmen*, passim.

other regions of the Military Frontier.⁶⁷ However, the success of this tax model is evidenced by the fact that the *Grundtax* remained the primary taxation model in the Military Frontier until 1850. The largest part of the Frontier Treasury revenue (approximately three-quarters) was collected from the *Grundtax*, while smaller revenues were generated from various fees and leases (e.g. individual right of use).⁶⁸ State intervention did not address all challenges entirely and immediately. Indeed, demands for a new redistribution of arable land in the frontier areas were also heard during the 19th century, and the process was occasionally repeated.⁶⁹ Although it is difficult to measure the full extent of the land reform success, the fact is that planned land use and the cadastre survived as its foundations throughout that century. Evidence that the reform left long-term consequences in the frontier landscape can be found, among others, in the 1834 travel journal of General Marmont, who, while travelling along the eastern border of Banat, passing through Caransebeş towards Orşova, noticed that the cadastre had been successfully introduced in the Banat regiments' territories "half a century ago".⁷⁰

⁶⁷ General Commander of Slavonian Military Frontier, Count Serbelloni, wrote in 1785 an apprehensive account, in which he stated that the application of land and tax reform according to the Banat and Šajkaška model – was not to be recommended in parts of Slavonian and especially the Karlovac and Banal frontier (F. Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte der Militärgrenze* III, 7–8).

⁶⁸ The land tax was defined in monetary equivalent based on the size (per acre) and quality (1st, 2nd, and 3rd class) of arable land registered in the form of parcels (ploughland, meadows, vineyards, and orchards) alongside the owner's name in the land book. In the Military Frontier, specifically, this duty could be reduced by the amount of a special subsidy granted as a tax relief to each recruited frontiersman (F. Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte der Militärgrenze* II, 231; K. Kaser, *Slobodan seljak i vojnik* II, 82–85, 88–95).

⁶⁹ Despite that, the effects of the land reform in the Military Frontier territory were not annulled as it happened in the civilian (county) territory after the death of Emperor Joseph II, when the cadastral books were systematically burnt (I. Erceg, *Jozefinski katastar grada Rijeke*, XI).

⁷⁰ I. Kirža, "Francuz na proputovanju kroz Banat. Graničarska regimenta u Karansebešu u putopisu maršala Marmona (1834)," in: *Vojna granica u Banatu i banatski militari u 18. i 19. veku*, ed. M. Samardžić, Novi Sad 2014, 66.

Елена Илич Мандич

**ПЕРВЫЕ РЕЗУЛЬТАТЫ ПРОСТРАНСТВЕННОГО ПЛАНИРОВАНИЯ НА ВОЕННОЙ
ГРАНИЦЕ ГАБСБУРГСКОЙ МОНАРХИИ: ГРАНИЧНЫЕ ПОЛКИ, УШОРЕННЫЕ
СЕЛА И КАДАСТРОВЫЙ УЧЕТ (1745–1785)**

Резюме

Есть много примеров административно-территориального устройства пограничных областей Габсбургской монархии, на которых во второй половине XVIII столетия были организованы граничарские полки. В центре нашего внимания территории Славонско-сремской военной границы, Шайкашского батальона и Банатской военной границы. Особенности физико-географического положения этих территориальных единиц, а именно расположение на равнинной местности, способствовали тому, что они становились объектом для разного рода вмешательств со стороны государства. В работе будут представлены некоторые, важные для рассмотрения этой сложной темы, аспекты, а именно: влияния милитаризации и централизации, основание и планировка поселений (по модели ушоренного села), а также межевание земельных владений и разделение пахотных земель, реализованные в виде земельной и налоговой реформ на основе кадастра.

Јелена Илић Мандић

**ПРВИ РЕЗУЛТАТИ ПРОСТОРНОГ ПЛАНИРАЊА У ХАБЗБУРШКОЈ ВОЈНОЈ
ГРАНИЦИ: ГРАНИЧАРСКЕ РЕГИМЕНТЕ, УШОРЕНА СЕЛА И КАТАСТАРСКИ
ПОПИС (1745–1785)**

Резиме

Бројни су примери планског уређења простора на периферији Хабзбуршке монархије, која је у другој половини 18. века била уређена у оквиру регименти Војне границе. У фокусу нам је била територија Славонско-сремске војне границе, Шайкашког батаљона и Банатске војне границе, чији је равничарски простор омогућио различите облике државне интервенције у простору. У раду ће бити представљени неки од аспеката важни за сагледавање ове комплексне теме попут утицаја милитаризације и централизације, колонизације и планске регулације насеља (по моделу *ушореног села*), као и потесног структурирања атара и парцелизације обрадивог земљишта, те њихових крајњих резултата у виду земљишне и пореске реформе у форми катастра.

Sergey A. Varakin

State University of Architecture and Civil Engineering
Nizhny Novgorod
ORCID ID: 0009-0002-5626-6513

ATHEISTIC PROPAGANDA AMONG GORKY'S SCHOOLCHILDREN IN THE EARLY 1930s

Abstract: The paper examines the issues of atheistic education of Soviet schoolchildren, carried out by the League of Militant Atheists. A focus is placed on the history of the establishment of this organisation, its activities in general and among the children of Nizhny Novgorod in particular. The paper analyses the features of the organisation of children's godless movement in a Soviet city school, pioneers, as well as among preschool children. Attention is paid to the key features of atheistic propaganda, as well as its forms and methods. An emphasis is also placed on the influence of atheism on the consciousness of children.

Keywords: Atheism, propaganda, school, young atheists, anti-religious agitation, League of Militant Atheists.

In the USSR, the first public anti-religious organisations came to life in the early 1920s. The cause of the mass atheist movement were the political, socio-economic and cultural transformations that took place during socialist construction.¹ However, all these leagues, societies and circles did not have centralised administration. The editors of the newspaper "Bezbozhnik", Glavpolitprosvet, and the Central Committee of the Party received requests for assistance to anti-religious propagandists.²

On 27 August 1924, at the editorial office of the newspaper "Bezbozhnik", a constituent meeting was held among its correspondents and active atheists, bringing

¹ Коновалов, Б. Н. *Союзу воинствующих безбожников – 60 лет*, 1975, С. 19–20.

² Коновалов Б. Н. *Драгоценный опыт ветеранов. 50 лет со времени образования Союза воинствующих безбожников*, 1985, С. 34.

together 48 persons, primarily from Moscow, as well as from the Volga region and some other areas. They considered a number of reports on the state of atheistic propaganda in the USSR³. At the meeting, a decision was made to create the Society of Friends of the newspaper "Bezbozhnik" (ODGB), the statute of the society was defined and a temporary Central Council and the Executive Bureau of the ODGB Central Council were elected, chaired by Yem. Yaroslavsky.

According to the statute, the society was a voluntary league of opponents of religion and each member of the society was obliged to actively fight for the complete emancipation of the working people from spiritual slavery under the banner of militant atheism. It was stipulated that members of the society were not to use in their work those forms of agitation and propaganda that would offend the feelings of believers.⁴

In 1925, the First All-League Congress of members of the Society of Friends of the newspaper "Bezbozhnik" and correspondents of this newspaper took place. About 50 delegates from 100 thousand members of the ODGB were present at the congress.⁵

The congress summed up the results of the anti-religious movement and outlined milestones for the further development of the anti-religious movement. It defined the requirements for the moral character of a member of the ODGB: honesty, integrity, hard work. In addition, an atheist had to show by personal example his attitude to religion.⁶

On 5 June 1925, at the presidium of the Executive Bureau of the Central Council of the ODGB, a decision was made to rename the organisation into the "League of Atheists of the USSR".⁷

The structure of the League of Atheists was regulated by its statute. The first was adopted in 1925 at the First Congress, which defined the League of Atheists as "a voluntary league of opponents of all religions", which "under the banner of militant atheism is waging an active struggle for the complete emancipation of the working people from religious intoxication, revealing the social roots of religion".⁸

The governing documents adopted by the congress defined the goals and objectives of the established society, the principles of its activities, and the content and forms of anti-religious propaganda. Much attention was paid to the training of propagandists, the publication of atheistic literature, especially for national minorities, and the development of programmes for circles and seminars. It was emphasised that in atheistic education one should use the press, radio, cinema, theatre, clubs, and wall newspapers. It was recommended to attract teachers,

³ Коновалов Б. Н. *Драгоценный опыт ветеранов...* 1985, С. 34.

⁴ Покровская С. В. *Союз воинствующих безбожников СССР: организация и деятельность: 1925–1947*, Москва, 2007, С. 27–28.

⁵ Ярославский Ем. *Против религии и церкви. Т. 3. Пролетарская революция в борьбе с религией*. Москва, 1935, С. 535.

⁶ Коновалов Б. Н. *Драгоценный опыт ветеранов...* 1985, С. 34.

⁷ Покровская С. В. *Союз воинствующих безбожников СССР...* Москва, 2007, С. 34.

⁸ Ibid, С. 112.

agronomists, doctors, and demobilised Red Army soldiers to work in villages. It was especially noted that the propagandist must take into account local conditions. Much attention was given to the issues of restructuring everyday life, in particular to the propaganda and creation of new, Soviet holidays and rituals.⁹

The highest governing body of the League was the All-League Congress, which considered and approved reports from the central institutions of the League of Atheists, revised and amended the statute, determined the main line of all activities of the League, elected central bodies and an audit commission. Between congresses, the highest governing body was the Central Council of the League of Atheists of the USSR.¹⁰ It included the Plenum, the Executive Bureau.¹¹

League of Atheists organisations on the outskirts and in autonomous regions and federal republics formed district, regional or central councils for a given national republic, whose number of members was determined taking into account local conditions.¹²

To achieve its goals, the League opened cells at factories, in villages, in Red Army units, and the construction was based mainly on the production principle. But in accordance with local conditions, it was allowed – with the permission of the higher bodies of the League of Atheists – to organise cells on a territorial basis: in housing associations, communal houses with a proletarian composition. Where necessary, cells were also built along national lines, including individuals of the same nationality fighting directly against their religion.¹³

The cells directly carried out all the work of the League of Atheists, attracted new members, sought funds, etc., and were guided in their work by all the resolutions of congresses, conferences and councils of the League of Atheists.¹⁴

In the period between the two congresses (1926–1929), the League of Atheists developed successfully and intensively: in 1926 the League of Atheists had 87 thousand members and 2,500 cells,¹⁵ while on 1 January 1928 it had 123 thousand members and around four thousand cells.¹⁶ In 1929, it had 500 thousand members and ten thousand cells.¹⁷

The Second Congress of the League of Atheists was held in Moscow on 11–15 June 1929, and 956 people attended. Opening speeches were held by: D. Bedny, writer M. Gorky, ethnographer V. G. Tan-Bogoraz, Yu. Larin, People's Commissar of Public Health N. A. Semashko, poet V. V. Mayakovsky.¹⁸ At the congress, it was decided to

⁹ Коновалов Б. Н. *Драгоценный опыт ветеранов...* 1985, С. 35.

¹⁰ Покровская С. В. *Союз воинствующих безбожников СССР...* Москва, 2007, С. 114–115.

¹¹ Ibid, С. 115.

¹² Покровская С. В. *Союз воинствующих безбожников СССР...* Москва, 2007, С. 112.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid, С. 113.

¹⁵ Коновалов Б. Н. *Драгоценный опыт ветеранов...* 1985, С. 35.

¹⁶ Покровская С. В. *Союз воинствующих безбожников СССР...* Москва, 2007, С. 124.

¹⁷ Ibid, С. 35.

¹⁸ Ibid, С. 49.

rename the League of Atheists into the League of Militant Atheists. Its motto was the slogan: "The fight against religion is the fight for socialism".¹⁹

Of course, the new statute of the society was also adopted. Let us look at it in more detail.

The statute defined the League of Militant Atheists (SVB) as a voluntary proletarian public organisation whose task was to unite the broad masses of the working people of the USSR into an active, systematic and consistent struggle against religion in all its types and forms as a hindrance to socialist construction and the cultural revolution.²⁰

The highest governing bodies of the League were the All-League Congress of the SVB and, in the period between congresses, the Central Council of the SVB. All-League congresses met every two years. Extraordinary congresses were convened at the request of one third of the SVB members. To recognise the congress as valid, the presence of representatives of local organisations of the League, uniting at least one third of all members of the League, was required. The norm for the representation of local organisations was established by the Central Council of the SVB on the principle of proportional representation from the number of members of the SVB of a particular organisation, as well as taking into account the characteristics of individual national regions and republics.²¹

The Central Council of the SVB was elected by the congress, and it also determined the number of members and candidates for membership of the Central Council of the SVB. It conducted steering work between congresses on the basis of decisions adopted and established by the congress on all general issues, monitored the implementation of these decisions and all resolutions of the congresses, issued relevant instructions to all its bodies, and considered the reports of the republican, regional and district councils and the Executive Bureau of the Central Council of the SVB. The plenum of the Central Council of the SVB was convened at least once every six months and was considered valid if at least half of the composition of the Central Council of the SVB participated in it.²²

The work to implement the decisions of the Central Council of the SVB was carried out by the Executive Bureau of the Central Council, elected from among its members. The Executive Bureau was headed by the Chairman of the Central Council of the SVB. It resolved all current affairs and issues, managed the internal activities of the League, its departments, sections and local organisations, conducted financial reporting and general office work, entered into relations with various organisations on behalf of the Central Council of the SVB and the entire League, and enjoyed all rights of the Central Council of the SVB as a whole, being directly accountable to it.²³

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ *Устав Союза воинствующих безбожников*. Москва, 1930, С. 3.

²¹ *Устав Союза воинствующих безбожников*. Москва, 1930, С. 14–15.

²² Ibid, С. 15–16.

²³ Ibid, С. 16–18.

To audit the affairs of the League, the congress elected for a period until the next congress an audit commission and determined the number of its members and candidates; the commission monitored the activities of the Central Council of the SVB and other bodies of the League, monitored the accuracy of reporting and the condition of the property of the League, organised an audit of the affairs of the League, and supervised the activities of republican and local audit commissions of the League and reported to the next congress.²⁴

The primary organisation of the SVB, as before, remained a cell, built mainly on a production principle at factories, plants, institutions, military units, clubs, reading rooms, state farms, collective farms, educational institutions, villages, hamlets, farmsteads, housing lease cooperative societies etc.²⁵

A SVB cell could be organised if there were three persons (previously, a minimum of five people were required to create it) who wanted and had the right to become members of the SVB (in schools that included youth under 14 years of age, groups of young atheists were created with members at least eight years old who contributed to the work of local cells and local organisations of the SVB).²⁶

The cell could be organised on the initiative of party, Komsomol, professional and public organisations and individual members of these organisations, as well as on the initiative of individual members of the SVB and individual workers, peasants, and employees who left religion. The cell and group of young atheists were registered, and their membership was approved by the higher body of the SVB.²⁷ In a cell of less than ten people, only the executive secretary stood out. In large enterprises and institutions, cells were created in workshops and departments with secretaries or presidiums at their head; on a plant-wide scale, the work was led by the SVB Bureau.²⁸

To control the expenditure of the cell's funds, conduct reporting and do office work, as well as to monitor the implementation of the directives of higher-level organisations of the SVB, an audit commission of three persons was elected at the general meeting of the cell.²⁹

To manage the work of the cell, a bureau consisting of three–seven people was elected at the general meeting. It was re-elected once a year.³⁰ The general meeting of the cell was convened at least once a month. If there were guild cells, a factory-wide meeting of atheists was held at least once every two months.³¹

In all federal republics, republican sections of the League were created, which were part of the USSR SVB and carried out the directives of the Central Council (CC), taking into account local conditions and work characteristics.³²

²⁴ Ibid, C. 18.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid, C. 11.

²⁷ *Устав Союза воинствующих безбожников*. Москва, 1930, С. 11–12.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid. C. 12–13.

³⁰ Ibid, C. 12.

³¹ Ibid, C. 13.

³² Ibid, C. 5–6.

The highest body of the SVB in each federal republic was the republican congress of the League, convening at least once every two years, at which the Republican Council of the SVB, active until the next congress, and the republican audit commission were elected. All republican councils of the SVB reported directly to the All-League Council of the SVB.³³

On a regional (territorial) scale, regional (territorial) congresses were held at least once every two years, at which regional (territorial) councils of the SVB and their corresponding audit commissions, subordinate directly to the relevant republican councils of the SVB, were elected.³⁴

Extraordinary republican, regional and district congresses could be convened at the request of the Central Council of the SVB or one third of the members of the republican, district or regional organisation. The norm of representation at republican and regional congresses was established by the relevant councils of the SVB. Plenums of republican and regional councils were convened at least once every six months.³⁵

County conferences of the SVB were convened annually and elected county councils of the SVB and relevant audit commissions. The bodies of the SVB elected at the county conferences were directly subordinate to the higher regional (regional or republican) councils of the SVB (the norm of representation at the conference was established by the organising council of the SVB). Plenums of organisational councils with representatives of district councils were convened at least once every four months.³⁶

The grassroots councils of the SVB, elected at the relevant conferences of the SVB members, were district councils in the city and village. In large urban centres, with adequate leadership, city councils were created. County councils of the SVB in villages were established only if there were at least three cells in the area. Otherwise, the district cell was in charge of organising cells in the county and preparing for the convening of a county conference.³⁷

All congresses and councils of the SVB, from the republican to the county ones, were completely autonomous in resolving local issues of anti-religious work, extending their decisions and leadership to all grassroots organisations of the SVB located in the territory of activity of the given council of the SVB. All SVB councils followed the directives and instructions of the superior bodies of the SVB, and submitted a report on their activities to the higher SVB council within the deadlines specified by them.³⁸

The tasks of the local councils were the direct management and organisation of anti-religious work, taking into account local conditions on the basis of plans and instructions from higher councils, recruitment of members of the SVB, the creation

³³ Ibid, C. 19.

³⁴ Ibid, C. 19–20.

³⁵ *Устав Союза воинствующих безбожников*. Москва, 1930, C. 20.

³⁶ Ibid, C. 20–21.

³⁷ Ibid., C. 21–22.

³⁸ Ibid, C. 22–23.

of cells and anti-religious circles and the implementation of directives from higher bodies of the SVB.³⁹

Every worker living in the USSR could be a member of the League of Militant Atheists, as well as working citizens of the USSR who reached 14 years of age, lived abroad, left religion and paid membership and international fees.⁴⁰ Persons who did not reach the specified age and were not dependents of those deprived of voting rights, but were not younger than eight years old, could join the League without the right to a decisive vote, and constituted groups of young atheists.⁴¹

Each member of the SVB was obliged to actively work in one of the organisations of the League, take care of their political literacy and be an active assistant to the Communist Party and the Soviet government in the activities they carried out.⁴² All SVB cells enjoyed the right to admit members; admission was carried out by open voting when candidates were discussed at the general meeting of the cell. In exceptional cases, admission was allowed directly by the cell bureau, but with subsequent approval at the general meeting.⁴³

The League's funds consisted of entrance and membership fees, income from publishing activities, property income, income from lectures, evenings, performances, and voluntary donations.⁴⁴

The unemployed, students of first- and second-level schools, and Red Army soldiers were exempt from membership fees. No one was exempt from the entrance fee. International contributions were sent in their entirety to the Central Council of the SVB.⁴⁵ In addition, the statute of the SVB contains a number of provisions on international cooperation within the framework of "the internationale of proletarian freethinkers".⁴⁶

This statute was in force until the society ceased to exist.

In the early 1930s, the SVB continued to expand.

³⁹ Ibid, C. 23.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid, C. 8.

⁴² *Устав Союза воинствующих безбожников*. Москва, 1930, С. 8.

⁴³ Ibid, C. 8–9.

⁴⁴ The entrance fee for members was set at ten kopecks for members of city cells and five kopecks for members of village cells, as well as for the unemployed, students and Red Army soldiers. The membership fee for members of urban cells was set at 15 kopecks per quarter, and for rural ones at six kopecks per quarter (*Устав Союза воинствующих безбожников*. Москва, 1930, С. 23–24).

⁴⁵ Membership and entry fees were distributed between organisations as follows: each grassroots organisation, starting with a cell, sent 50% of the received membership and entry fees to the higher one. Other amounts remained at the disposal of those councils and cells by which they were collected. The funds were spent by the League according to the resolution of the League councils (*Устав Союза воинствующих безбожников*. Москва, 1930, С. 23–24).

⁴⁶ *Устав Союза воинствующих безбожников*. Москва, 1930, С. 26–31.

Thus, in January 1930, the First Plenum of the Central Council of the SVB was held, dedicated to the first godless five-year plan.⁴⁷ The Second Plenum was held in March 1930, at which the Deborin group, i.e. “leftist turns”, was criticised.⁴⁸ In January 1930, Em. Yaroslavsky announced two million members of the SVB; by the spring of 1931 there were already four million.⁴⁹

The third (also known as the Third Plenum) congress took place on 3–8 June 1931, and was attended by 62 members of the Central Council of the SVB and 141 specially invited “representatives from the field” – from national regions, collective farmers, and employees of local organisations of the SVB. It was reported that the total number of members was five million people, and that there were 32 thousand godless shock brigades, 61 godless guilds, seven godless factories and up to 300 godless collective farms.⁵⁰

Since 1934, as S. V. Pokrovskaya notes, “a landslide decline in the number and activity of the SVB began, and the collapse of grassroots organisations was initiated.”⁵¹ In 1933–1935, the receipt of membership fees fell ten times. After it was decided in early 1935 to exchange tickets for SVB members by 1 September, by the end of this period only 253 thousand new forms were requested from the Central Council of the SVB by local organisations”.⁵² In 1938, F. N. Oleshchuk estimated the number of SVB members at two million, while in 1939–1941 there were 3–3.5 million people.⁵³

Since 1925, organisations of the League of Atheists were established throughout the country. The Nizhny Novgorod region was no exception. Here the SB, and later the SVB, began its work in 1925, and in different periods of its activity the organisation both expanded and shrank.

The anti-religious movement in the Nizhny Novgorod region dates back to 1923, when a circle of atheists was organised at the Pedagogical Institute.⁵⁴

Subsequently, it became the basis for the formation of an activist group of anti-religious propagandists. In October 1924, members of the circle began to hold anti-religious seminars at which issues of anti-religious propaganda were discussed. Classes were held twice a week. During the work of the circle, a group of more than 50 people was formed. Of these, 20 activists were identified.⁵⁵ It was planned to make the listeners and participants of the seminar the leaders of lower-type anti-religious circles in clubs and workers’ enterprises. The purpose of the seminar was not only to give them the experience of systematic, in-depth anti-religious propaganda on a mass

⁴⁷ Покровская С. В. *Союз воинствующих безбожников СССР...* Москва, 2007, С. 66.

⁴⁸ Ibid, С. 73.

⁴⁹ Ibid, С. 124–125.

⁵⁰ Ibid, С. 74.

⁵¹ Ibid, С. 80.

⁵² Покровская С. В. *Союз воинствующих безбожников СССР...* Москва, 2007, С. 125.

⁵³ Ibid, С. 125–126.

⁵⁴ Эмпе. *Учащиеся укрепляют безбожие*, 1925, С. 6.

⁵⁵ ГКУ ГОПАНО. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. Д. 4170. Л. 10.

scale, but also to consolidate the acquired knowledge among the listeners.⁵⁶ Owing to the seminar participants, an ODGB cell of 50 people was created in 1924.⁵⁷

To disseminate the acquired knowledge, in 1925, atheist activists were instructed to organise anti-religious circles in workers' clubs and enterprises. A representative of the movement was appointed as the responsible administrator, and he was assisted by two–three students who had completed the seminar. A special seminar was held for the leaders of the circles for the purpose of preliminary instructive preparation and elaboration of the main topics planned for study in the working circles. The general educational leadership, approval of candidates for circle leaders, accounting, and control of nominated activists were entrusted to the educational part of the Governorate Party School and the head of the seminar. All circles were provided with propaganda literature. The following topics were studied in the circle classes: "Faith and Knowledge", "Religion and Morality", "Origin and Development of Religion", "Origin of the Universe and Man", "Origin of Christianity", "Origin and Meaning of Easter", "Church and State".⁵⁸

In late 1925 and early 1926 there were 23 SB cells with 468 people in the Nizhny Novgorod region.⁵⁹

By the early 1930s, the Nizhny Novgorod organisation of the SVB grew to 85 thousand people (including the main organisations: Sverdlovsk city – 12 thousand people, Kanavinskaya – 4.5 thousand, Sormovskaya – 5 thousand, Dzerzhinskaya – 3 thousand).⁶⁰

Now let us turn to the state of the city organisation of the SB (later SVB), using the example of Nizhny Novgorod (Gorky).

In July 1925, in Nizhny Novgorod, on the initiative of the city district committee of the Party, a temporary regional branch of the bureau of atheists was organised.⁶¹ Comrade Lebedev was elected Chairman of the SB Bureau (1925), Soloviev was deputy comrade, and Pruss was secretary comrade.⁶²

In the autumn of 1925, the Bureau planned to open from 30 to 50 community cells in enterprises and institutions in Nizhny Novgorod. Already in July 1925, the Bureau began to organise community cells in ten enterprises in the city. In August, a collective of anti-religious propagandists was organised. The Bureau was located on the premises of the Sverdlov Inter-League Workers' Club. A corner for atheists and an office for anti-religionists were set up.⁶³ The first city conference of the SB took place on 17 December 1925, and there were 56 representatives from three SB cells, five anti-religious circles and several initiative groups.⁶⁴

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Эмпе. *Учащиеся укрепляют безбожие*, 1925, С. 6.

⁵⁸ ГКУ ГОПАНО. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. Д. 4170. Л. 10 Об.

⁵⁹ И. С. *Дела религиозные и антирелигиозные*, 1927, С. 3.

⁶⁰ Розанов П. А. *Антирелигиозная политика и деятельность власти*, Москва, 2005, С. 979.

⁶¹ Прусс Н. *Общество безбожников в Н. Новгороде*, 1925. С. 3.

⁶² ГКУ ГОПАНО. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. Д. 5546. Л. 2.

⁶³ Прусс Н. *Общество безбожников в Н. Новгороде...* С. 3.

⁶⁴ Малиновкин С. Н. *От религии к атеизму...* С. 45.

At the meeting, the first Nizhny Novgorod District Council of the SB of the USSR was elected, consisting of 11 persons: Rachkov (city district committee of the Party (b)), Soloviev (Governorate Party School), Malinovkin (Pedagogical Institute), Ilyasov (Tatpedtechnicum), Lakhin (Cultural Department of the Governorate Council of Professional Unions (GSPS)), Uvarov (Political Department of the 17th Division), Muravyov, Chernyaev, Osinovsky (Governorate Party School), Mokshanov, Lakhin (All-Union Leninist Young Communist League (VLKSM)). Presidium – Soloviev – Chairman of the City Council (Gorsoviet) and head of Agitprop, Rachkov – member of the presidium and head of the organisational department, Malinovkin – secretary of the City Council.⁶⁵ Along with the City District Council of the SB, the Sormovo District Council of the SB and the Beregovoy District Council of the SB were set up.⁶⁶

In 1925, in the Sormovsky district there were 300–400 members of the SB, united in 23 cells headed by the district council.⁶⁷ In 1926, the inter-district council of the League of Atheists was created, which was engaged in the development of practical measures to form the inter-district organisations of the SB.⁶⁸

An anti-religious information bureau was formed at the Sverdlovsk Club, where one of the members of the City Council was on duty.⁶⁹

In 1927, the city council united eight SB cells in which there were 300 members of the League: at the Governorate Party School, Nizhny Novgorod State University, Nizhpoligraf, Neftesindicat, League of Builders, Gortramway, Narpit, Tatpedtechnikum. Though each cell had an anti-religious circle, there were six more circles: at Gostorg, Gosspirt, Factory School, Medical College, Utilities Club and Club named after Sverdlova – a total of eight SB cells and 14 anti-religious circles, led by the SB City Council consisting of nine persons: Malinovkin (student of Nizhny Novgorod State University), Kirsanov (GSPSh teacher), Tumakov (GSPSh teacher), Shelgunov (Nizhkommuna), Osipov (Nizhpoligraf), Levashkina (GSPSh), Ilyasov (Tatpedtech), Kotelnikov (Red Army), representative from the Gorcom All-Union Leninist Young Communist League (VLKSM).⁷⁰

In 1929, the Nizhny Novgorod City Council of the SVB comprised 62 cells, with over three thousand members of the SVB. There were 50 anti-religious circles in the city, with around one thousand attendees.⁷¹ The Kanavinsky district council of the SVB united 45 industrial and 12 school cells of the SVB, with three thousand members; an anti-religious university was created in the region, in the 1st year with 38 students.⁷² The Sormovo district organisation had 66 SVB cells, in which there were 1,624

⁶⁵ ГКУ ГОПАНО. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. Д. 5546. Л. 20–21.

⁶⁶ Ibid. Л. 22.

⁶⁷ Ibid. Л. 18.

⁶⁸ ГКУ ГОПАНО. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. Д. 5033. Л. 150.

⁶⁹ ГКУ ГОПАНО. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. Д. 5546. Л. 22.

⁷⁰ ГКУ ГОПАНО. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. Д. 5546. Л. 19.

⁷¹ Малиновкин С. Н. *От религии к атеизму...* С. 53; С.Н.М. *Профсоюзы в стороне*, 1929. С. 5.

⁷² Ibid.

members, among them 1,045 members were factory workers.⁷³ In 1931, there were 85 godless shock brigades in Nizhny Novgorod. Of this number, in 60 godless shock brigades, where there were also two completely godless shock guilds.⁷⁴

In Nizhny Novgorod, on 1 January 1932, there were 402 cells with 41,600 members of the SVB, which accounted for 75% of the total number of members of the regional organisation. The SVB cells were united by four district councils: Kanavinsky, Sormovsky, Sverdlovsky, Avtozavodsky, in which, in addition to Sverdlovsky, there were two paid employees.⁷⁵ In total, the regional organisation of the SVB numbered 200 thousand people.⁷⁶ In 1932 the city council was reorganised. This was dictated by the following considerations: the city had a huge organisation that had to increase in size and strengthen qualitatively. The centre of all godless work was transferred to grassroots cells (factory guilds, brigades, shifts). The reason for its reorganisation was also the strengthening of godless work among the working people of the city and the improvement of the operational and differentiated leadership of district councils and grassroots cells and the conduct of citywide events.⁷⁷

The City Council was organised according to the structure of the party organisation, covering and subordinating four districts to the City Council. The City Council, in turn, was subordinate to the Regional Council. Kanavino was established as the place of subordination of the council.⁷⁸

The structure of the City Council was as follows: the Plenum consisted of three persons, the Presidium – 11 persons, the Audit Commission – three persons, the Chairman – one person, the Executive Secretary – one person. Departments were: Orgmass and AMO. Sectors included those for work in housing and industrial cooperatives, military, transport, manufacturing, research and university. In addition, commissions of national minorities, youth and women worked in the city council. The payroll apparatus consisted of three people: the executive secretary instructor and clerk.⁷⁹

This structure existed until the late 1930s.

Several areas can be distinguished in the work of the SVB: conducting mass anti-religious campaigns, agitation and propaganda work, participation in the closure of churches, and work with foreign freethinkers.⁸⁰

⁷³ Малиновкин С. Н. *От религии к атеизму...* С. 53.

⁷⁴ Ibid. С. 60.

⁷⁵ ГКУ ГОПАНО. Ф. 30. Оп. 1. Д. 127. Л. 15.

⁷⁶ Малиновкин С. Н. *От религии к атеизму...* С. 75.

⁷⁷ ГКУ ГОПАНО. Ф. 30. Оп. 1. Д. 127. Л. 15.

⁷⁸ ГКУ ГОПАНО. Ф. 30. Оп. 1. Д. 127. Л. 15.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Варакин, С. А. *Антирелигиозная деятельность Союза воинствующих безбожников (СВБ) в Соцгороде Автозавода в 1930-е годы* / С. А. Варакин, А. А. Гордин, А. А. Абаймова // *Современные проблемы науки и образования*. – 2013. – № 6; www.science-education.ru/113-10881-2.06.2013; Варакин, С. А. *Антипасхальная кампания 1931 года (на материалах Автостроя)* / С. А. Варакин, А. А. Гордин, Е. Д. Гордина // *Приволжский научный журнал*. – 2013. – № 1. – С. 183 – 186; Варакин, С. А. *Антирелигиозная деятельность*

The most important place in the atheistic activities of the SVB was work with children, because it was much easier to influence them mentally and emotionally.

Now let us move on directly to the work of atheists with the children's activists of Nizhny Novgorod.

The Nizhny Novgorod atheists were led by I. N. Uzkov.⁸¹ Groups of young militant atheists worked alongside adult atheists. Their activities were controlled by the school-pioneer section under the Central Council of the SVB. In July 1931, the number of members of the organisation of Young Militant Atheists of the Nizhny Novgorod territory was more than 10 thousand people.⁸²

The children's godless movement came in several forms:

The first of these were groups of young atheists aged 8 to 14 (as a rule, at 1st level schools).⁸³

Groups of young atheists, depending on age, were divided into two: from 8 to 10–11 years old and the older group from 11 to 13–14 years old. When working with the younger group, practical issues were resolved: they had to attend school on religious holidays, refuse to attend church services, perform various religious rituals, etc.⁸⁴

Anti-religious work at school involved classroom (studying programme material) and extracurricular activities. The classroom was held in anti-religious school clubs for children aged 13–14 years.⁸⁵ Their task was to improve the qualifications of Young Militant Atheists and train new personnel.

It is worth noting that the programme included many topics on natural sciences, history of religion and political issues. Classes in the circle were not limited to the established programme and were accompanied with practical work: assigned tasks were completed, independent examinations and conversations were conducted, and members of the circle gave reports at evenings.

The work of the circle focused on the emotional impact on children. To do this, the leader of the circle conducted expressive readings of anti-religious works of art, staged them, and held conversations based on what they read so that the children could draw appropriate conclusions. In addition, the excursion method was used. The children were taken to excursions to the anti-religious museum, the natural science museum, and former monasteries.⁸⁶

СВБ в 1930-е годы на материалах Соцгорода Горьковского автозавода / С. А. Варакин. – III Всероссийский фестиваль науки: сборник докладов / Нижегород. гос. архитектур.-строит. ун-т; редкол. : С. В. Соболев, Н. Д. Жилина. – Нижний Новгород : ННГАСУ, 2013. – С. 16–17.

⁸¹ Олещук, Ф. Н. *Под знаком третьего, решающего*, 1931, С. 3.

⁸² Голубев, Л. *Лицом к пятилетке*, 1931, С. 3.

⁸³ Амосов, Н. *На детском антирелигиозном фронте (материалы 1-й всесоюзной конференции юных воинствующих безбожников)*, Москва, 1930, С. 45.

⁸⁴ *Клубно-кружковая работа в школах 2-й ступени*, 1930, С. 6.

⁸⁵ *Клубно-кружковая работа в школах 2-й ступени*, 1930, С. 6.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

After the training, the best prepared members of the Young Militant Atheists could carry out independent educational work. As a rule, the work plan was drawn up at the beginning of the new academic year, at a meeting of members of the Young Militant Atheists, where a new bureau was also elected. Then the tasks were distributed among the children. The work was based on key events of the Soviet calendar: harvest and collectivisation day, October Revolution Day, the days of V. I. Lenin, the anti-Christmas campaign, International Women's Day, the anti-Easter campaign, etc. In their work, the young militant atheists adhered to the principle of shock work.⁸⁷

In particular, as part of the implementation of universal education, members of the Young Militant Atheists involved schoolchildren, illiterate and semi-literate adults in health centres, where they gave anti-religious readings. In addition, they were involved in shaping the public opinion on the issue of transferring church buildings to a school, through campaigning in the family, speaking at public meetings, and collecting signatures. Young Militant Atheists organised and renovated atheist corners in reading rooms, collective farms, and clubs; they also distributed the newspaper "Bezbozhnik" and other atheist publications.

The anti-religious work of Young Militant Atheists was accompanied by socialist competition.

Thus, children were immersed in the anti-religious movement directed by the SVB.⁸⁸

Children over 14 years old joined the school cells of the SVB. The work of the SVB school cell was supervised by a special commission consisting of teachers and representatives of the Pioneers and Komsomol.⁸⁹ The SVB school cell, through a special commission, supervised the entire work of young atheists. It is worth noting that the forms and methods of work of such cells corresponded to the activities of adult SVB cells: the creation of anti-religious circles, holding seminars, lectures, mass campaigns, dissemination of anti-religious literature, etc.⁹⁰

A lot of work was carried out by pioneer organisations, which included members of the Young Militant Atheists. The task of the pioneers was to lead atheistic propaganda among children. For this purpose, godless squads were created under the advice of the detachment. They were recruiting children into organisations of militant atheists. The squad under the pioneer detachment carried out internal educational work both in the entire detachment and in individual units, organised anti-religious work among future pioneers and preschool children and provided assistance to SVB cells, clubs, reading huts, being active in SVB school cells or groups of Young Militant Atheists.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Школьно-пионерский сектор ЦС СВБ СССР *Что надо сделать юным безбожникам в течение года*, 1930, С. 4.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Амосов, Н. *На детском антирелигиозном фронте (материалы 1-й всесоюзной конференции юных воинствующих безбожников)*, Москва, 1930, С. 45–46.

⁹⁰ Покровская, С. В. *Союз воинствующих безбожников СССР: организация и деятельность: 1925–1947*, Москва, 2007, С. 113.

⁹¹ Амосов, Н. *На детском антирелигиозном фронте (материалы 1-й всесоюзной конференции юных воинствующих безбожников)*, Москва, 1930, С. 46.

Despite the active work of the godless children's movement, there were a number of problems: insufficient help from teachers, lack of in-depth anti-religious education, weak support from the pioneers, and lack of atheistic benefits for working with children.⁹² It is worth noting a number of organisational problems that young atheists faced: the lack of registration in local councils of the SVB, lack of membership cards, in some places there was confusion regarding the organisation of school cells of the SVB and groups of young atheists, and the issue of connecting the SVB cells with groups of young atheists was resolved differently. Preschoolers and unorganised children remained uncovered by anti-religious work.⁹³ Another important problem was the lack of living artistic forms of work and children's godless games.⁹⁴

Often, young atheists, instead of in-depth explanatory work among believers, i.e. instead of patiently and thoughtfully persuading them, reduced their work exclusively to demands for the closure of churches, mosques, synagogues, etc., the forcible removal of icons, and sometimes showed unacceptably rude and mocking behaviour towards believers. At the same time, among some of the children there was a conciliatory attitude towards religious rituals and traditions in their families.⁹⁵

In order to remedy the current situation, the First All-League Exhibition and Conference of Young Militant Atheists was convened in Moscow from 29 April to 5 May 1930.⁹⁶ It summed up the first years of the children's godless movement.

There were also delegates from the Nizhny Novgorod region at the conference.

Rzhavin, a member of the League of Militant Atheists, reported on the state of affairs in the city: "Our SVB work is going on in three directions. One job is on the Pechersk collective farm, the second is with parents and the third is at a sponsored plant named after Ulyanov. A lot of work was done by the cell at the Pechersk collective farm – conversations and lectures were held daily. When the lecturer came for the first time to give a talk, and this lecturer came with a long beard, the women shouted: "Pluck his beard, what does he want to do here". Only then was it possible to calm them down, when the lecturer (chemistry teacher) began experiments and showed how milk is made from water and how milk turns into blood – a turning point occurred in the mood of the public. The audience no longer shouted: "Drag the lecturer by the hair", but thanked him, shook his hands, and the lecturer was taken on a cart to the city and was invited to give a wonderful lecture. Then in April the Pechersk collective farm carried out the 'First furrow'. Our SVB cell took an active part in this; during the break, when the collective farmers were resting, the young atheists stood in a circle, and in this circle our 'zivaya gazeta' demonstrated its work."⁹⁷

⁹² Ibid. C. 60.

⁹³ Ibid. C. 60–61.

⁹⁴ Ibid. C. 61.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Амосов, Н. *На детском антирелигиозном фронте (материалы 1-й всесоюзной конференции юных воинствующих безбожников)*, Москва, 1930, С. 3.

⁹⁷ Ibid. C. 25.

At the plant named after Ulyanov, every lunch break, our lecturers held wonderful conversations. The workers were grateful for this. Work was carried out with women – cells of atheists were set up in housing lease cooperative societies, atheist work was also carried out on children's playgrounds and in nurseries. In addition, five school groups declared themselves atheists and joined the SVB."⁹⁸

The congress had a positive impact on the work of the League of Militant Atheists.

To solve existing problems, anti-religious inspectors in all departments of public education were relieved of additional workload that distracted them from their main work. In addition, a review of school curricula and textbooks began, and the necessary anti-religious material and textbooks were supplied. Preparations began for the publication of manuals based on local material and a number of methodological letters. When recruiting teachers, attention was paid to their anti-religious attitude; religious teachers were not allowed to work with children.⁹⁹

The training of such teachers was carried out through short-term anti-religious courses and long-term seminars, through which teachers of social studies, natural sciences and literature were primarily trained. Through the Institute for Advanced Training of Teachers, correspondence anti-religious courses for teachers were created. The training of anti-religious teachers was carried out at the stage of training them in pedagogical colleges and pedagogical universities. Their textbooks covered the issues of anti-religious education in school, as well as questions on the history and criticism of religion. In all other educational institutions, the programmes were filled with anti-religious content.¹⁰⁰

The following work was carried out directly with schoolchildren. SVB cells took over patronage of nearby housing lease cooperative societies and preschool institutions. To guide the children's anti-religious movement, school pioneer sections were organised under the councils of the SVB, which collaborated with the commissions on anti-religious work at the regional and district methodological councils of the department of people's education and sciences (ONO). The Regional Council of the SVB, together with the regional department of people's education and OGIZ, published anti-religious companions for educators and an anti-religious manual for pupils based on local material, and also took part in the production of children's anti-religious literature of a local nature, visual anti-religious aids, notes, plays, etc.¹⁰¹

In the area of extracurricular work among children, the Regional Council of the SVB, together with the anti-religious commission under the regional department of people's education, began work on a textbook for anti-religious circles organised at schools, pioneer detachments, orphanages and playgrounds. It was planned to establish work with unorganised children through children's libraries. Local museums

⁹⁸ Ibid. C. 26.

⁹⁹ *Что решил краевой съезд безбожников*, 1931, С. 3.

¹⁰⁰ *Что решил краевой съезд безбожников*, 1931, С. 3.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

and excursions were actively used. Anti-religious segments were written in pioneer and children's literature, pioneer newspapers and magazines.¹⁰²

Mass work among children began: together with radio broadcasting stations, systematic transmission of speeches, stories, ditties, and songs of an anti-religious nature was organised; anti-religious performances were staged for children in children's theatres, and excursions were conducted.¹⁰³

At the same time, it is also worth considering the fact that a child, a schoolboy, who was immersed in anti-religious education at school, was often torn between believing parents and anti-religious teachers when supporting SVB cells. This state of affairs, as noted by researcher V. A. Shevchenko, led to "...a split consciousness of many schoolchildren (when the student did not know who to believe: the school or believing parents), i.e. a conflict between the Soviet educational system and the religious family. This situation led to a moral drama, which sometimes ended tragically or did not find its resolution throughout the life of an adult..."¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Шевченко, В. А. *Юные безбожники против родителей* [Электронный ресурс]. – Режим доступа: http://ruskline.ru/analitika/2014/01/24/yunye_bezbozhniki_protiv_roditelej.

Сергей А. Варкин

**ПРОПАГАНДА АТЕИЗМА СРЕДИ ШКОЛЬНИКОВ ГОРОДА ГОРЬКИЙ
В НАЧАЛЕ 30-х ГОДОВ XX ВЕКА**

Резюме

В конце 1920-х – начале 1930-х гг. в СССР проводились глобальные преобразования, связанные с коллективизацией, индустриализацией и культурной революцией. СВБ являлся частью этого масштабного процесса. В этот период проходила ломка мировоззрения людей, смена менталитета: с традиционного (аграрного, деревенского) и религиозного на новый советский, атеистический (городской). Важную роль в этом процессе сыграл СВБ, именно он способствовал формированию нового типа человека, свободного от религиозного мировоззрения, тормозившего создание нового советского общества. Структура СВБ первоначально была жестко централизованна, с непосредственным контролем ЦС СВБ за делами региональных отделений (1925 г.), затем общество было превращено в «союз федераций безбожников», где вся ответственность перешла местным советам (1926 г.), затем общество снова подверглось жесткой централизации с возвращением главенствующей роли ЦС СВБ (1929 г.).

В своей работе безбожники столкнулись с многочисленными трудностями, в том числе и с неприятием их со стороны старшего поколения, основывавшегося на религиозных представлениях. Тем не менее, атеистическая агитация находила живой отклик среди молодежи. Важнейшее значение для безбожников имела работа с детьми, как в школе, так и вне ее стен. Стоит отметить, что антирелигиозное воспитание оказывало двойственное влияние на ребенка – с одной стороны благодаря активному участию в культурном и хозяйственном строительстве ребята социализировались в обществе, с другой стороны эта политика негативно сказывалась на их сознании и взаимоотношениях внутри семьи.

Сергей А. Варкин

**АТЕИСТИЧКА ПРОПАГАНДА МЕЃУ ШКОЛСКОМ ДЕЦОМ ГРАДА ГОРКИ
ПОЧЕТКОМ 30-ТИХ ГОДИНА 20. ВЕКА**

Резиме

Крајем 1920-их и почетком 1930-их година у СССР-у су се одвијале глобалне промене повезане са колективизацијом, индустријализацијом и културном револуцијом. Савез милитантних безбожника је био део овог великог процеса. У том периоду мењан је светоназор људи, менталитет: од традиционалног

(аграрног, сеоског) и религиозног ка новом совјетском, атеистичком (градском). Значајну улогу у овом процесу имао је Савез милитантних безбожника. Управо он је допринео формирању новог типа људи без религиозног светоназора, који је спречавао стварање новог совјетског друштва. Савез милитантних безбожника првобитно је био потпуно централизован, с директном контролом Централног совјета над регионалним одељењима (1925. године), потом је друштво трансформисано у „Савез федерација безбожника“, а сва одговорност прешла је на локалне совјете (1926. године), да би затим друштво поново било стриктно централизовано с поновним формирањем Централног совјета Савеза милитантних безбожника (1929. године).

У свом раду безбожници су се сусрели са бројним тешкоћама, укључујући и неприхватање од стране старијих генерација, које су се ослањале на религиозна уверења. Ипак, атеистичка агитација налазила је жив одјек међу младима. За безбожнике је значајнији био рад с децом, како у школи, тако и изван ње. Важно је напоменути да је антирелигиозно васпитање имало двојаки утицај на дете – с једне стране, захваљујући активном учешћу у културној и економској изградњи, деца су се социјализовала у друштву, а с друге стране, ова политика је утицала негативно на њихове односе унутар породице и свест.

Radomir J. Popović*

Institute of History

Belgrade

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-3175-7001

CONSOLIDATION OF STATEHOOD: URBANISATION OF BORDER REGIONS OF THE PRINCIPALITY OF SERBIA IN 1833–1839

Abstract: This paper elaborates on the measures and decisions of the authorities in the Principality of Serbia that aimed to demarcate the borders and urbanise the wider border areas, with the goal of greater separation of the Principality of Serbia from the Ottoman Empire. The chronological framework of the paper spans from 1833 when the provisions of the Hatt-i sharif finally confirmed the border between the Ottoman Empire and the autonomous Principality of Serbia, to 1839, which marked the end of the first rule of Prince Miloš. During this period, the main directions of urbanisation in Serbia were determined. The paper indicates that the urbanisation of Serbia's border regions involved measures directly related to border arrangements (establishment of border patrols, border crossings, customs, and quarantines), as well as measures implemented throughout the territory of the Principality (spatial organisation of towns, small towns, and villages, construction and restoration of churches and monasteries). The impact of migration movements after the establishment of the border on the emergence of new settlements or repopulation of deserted settlements in the border areas of the Principality of Serbia was considered, as well as the spatial planning of border *varošes*/towns and *varošicas*/small towns, and the establishment of new road routes towards the border. Spatial organisation of villages, although incomplete, was successfully implemented in the northwestern and northern border regions of the Principality of Serbia.

Keywords: Principality of Serbia, urbanisation, border, Prince Miloš, quarantines, border posts, roads, churches, Aleksinac, Belgrade.

The 1830s were a turning point in the development of Serbia's statehood and society. The highest legal acts of the Ottoman Empire, the Hatt-i sharifs of 1829, 1830, and 1833, confirmed the autonomous status of the Principality of Serbia. Independent

* radomir.popovic@iib.ac.rs

internal administration with central and local authorities, the right of hereditary rule for its rulers, religious freedoms, the judicial and educational system, as well as capitalist economic relations in place of the anachronistic Ottoman feudal system and freedom of trade constituted the foundations of Serbia's autonomous rights. On the other hand, the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire was reflected in the retention of military garrisons in fortresses in Serbia and Serbia's obligation to pay the annual tribute.¹

Despite the limitations imposed by the vassal state status, during his first rule from 1815 to 1839, Prince Miloš initiated revolutionary changes in all areas of Serbian society with the ultimate goal of replacing the old, anachronistic, foreign, and Islamic elements with new, national, and Christian ones. In a speech to the National Assembly in February 1834, Prince Miloš stated: "Seeing and reading how educated and enlightened European nations progress in every aspect of their governance, I have ardently desired to improve and establish governance in our homeland so that nothing happens unsystematically in it".²

Branko Maksimović, a pioneer in the study of urbanism in Serbia, labels the years from 1831 to 1861 as the period of the "foundation of new cities". According to his views, it was about the "ideology of urbanisation", which was based on the awareness of the then Serbian elite that they needed to overcome the backwardness of urban and general culture compared to European societies due to the centuries of living under Ottoman rule.³

Besides Serbia, similar processes unfolded in other national states restored in the 19th century in the Balkans (Greece, Romania, Bulgaria). In these countries, urbanisms served "as a means of expressing the ideals of social life and shaping of the new national identity".⁴ By founding new settlements and reconstructing the existing ones in the restored Balkan states, it was necessary to reintegrate and incorporate "universal values, political freedoms, progress, and well-being, while at the same time eliminating all memories of the Ottoman rule, which left deep imprints in the urban structure and landscape".⁵

The urbanisation of the border territories of the Principality of Serbia in the function of consolidating its statehood from 1833 when the Hatt-i sharif finally

¹ An overview of the synthesis of Serbia's history in the 19th century: Душан Батаковић, предговор у: *Историја модерне Србије 1800–2018*, Димитрије Ђорђевић, Београд 2017, 26–37. See also: Радош Љушић, *Историја српске државности. Србија и Црна Гора – нововековне српске државе*, Београд – Нови Сад 2001.

² *Народе српски, љубезна браћо моја/Беседе кнеза Милоша изговорене на народним скупштинама и адресе народних скупштина/*, приредио, предговор написао и речник мање познатих речи саставио Радомир Ј. Поповић, Нови Сад – Горњи Милановац 2022, 113.

³ Бранко Максимовић, „Идејни развој српског урбанизма, период реконструкције градова до 1914. године”, *Споменик САНУ* 121 (1978) 3; Бранислав Којић, *Варошице у Србији у XIX веку*, Београд 1970, 3.

⁴ Alexandra Yerolympos, *Urban Transformations in the Balkans (1820–1920). Aspects of Balkan Town Planning and the Remaking of Thessaloniki*, Thessaloniki 1996, 11.

⁵ Ibidem.

determined the border between the Principality and the Ottoman Empire, until the end of the first rule of Prince Miloš in 1839, implied a series of governance measures, with the final objective of emancipating the Principality of Serbia from the Ottoman Empire to the greatest extent possible.⁶ Those were measures that were implemented in the territory of the Principality of Serbia (spatial organisation of towns and settlements, construction and restoration of churches and monasteries) and specific activities relating to border arrangements (constant control of the borderline, establishment and arrangement of border crossings), which is why, in the new circumstances, new settlements on the border were founded, or the importance of the existing ones was growing. Migration movements, concretely the emigration of the Muslim population and the immigration of primarily Serbian inhabitants after the border changes, influenced the organisation of border towns and villages. In those towns where the Muslim population remained (Belgrade, Smederevo, Šabac), the Serbian parts were systematically organised. Given that “urbanisation is a multidimensional process” and is etymologically associated not only with the processes concerning the concepts of the “city” and “urban”, this paper will examine these phenomena in Serbia within the specified chronological framework.⁷

It should be noted that there are few preserved legal regulations on this topic. However, the decisions of the administrative authorities of the Principality, primarily of Prince Miloš, provide insight into the breadth and depth of the plan according to which the border and border area of the Principality of Serbia were organised within a short period of time.⁸

As mentioned above, the borders of the Principality of Serbia were finally determined by the highest Ottoman legal act – the Hatt-i sharif of 1833. The northern border, towards the Austrian Monarchy and Wallachia, extended from the confluence of the Drina and Sava rivers, along the Sava and Danube, to the confluence of the Timok river with the Danube. The eastern border, towards the Ottoman Empire,

⁶ The statehood of Serbia in the new century was based on international agreements between Russia and the Ottoman Empire (Bucharest Peace Treaty of 1812, Akkerman Convention of 1826, and Adrianople Peace Treaty of 1829). Between 1829 and 1833, the Porte issued three Hatt-i sharifs granting autonomy to Serbia and a berat confirming hereditary princely status. For information on the organisation of the Serbian-Ottoman border in the 19th century, refer to the following sources: Михаило Гавриловић, *Милош Обреновић III*, Београд 1912, 303–324, 435–464, 505–510; Владимир Стојанчевић, “Административно и војно-полицијско уређење српско-турске границе за време прве владе кнеза Милоша”, *Историјска гласник* 3–4 (1951) 29–43; Радош Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија 1830–1839*, Београд 1986, 40–45; 265–268.

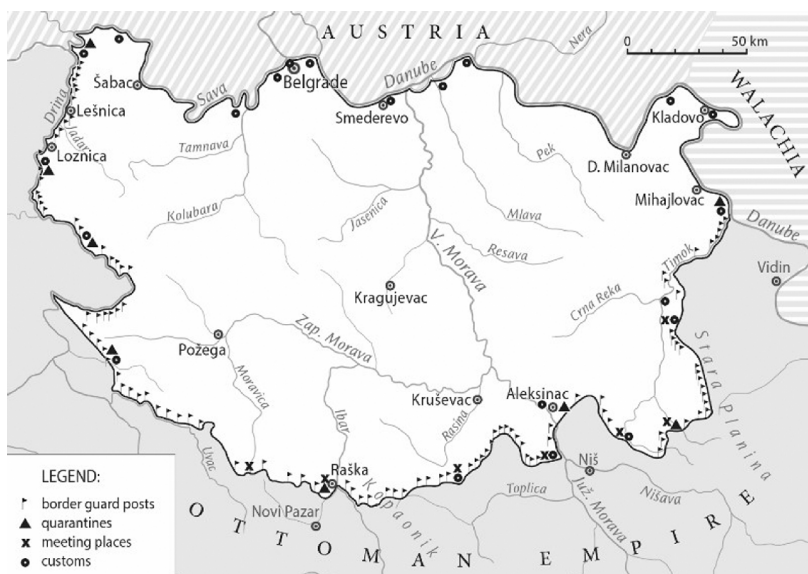
⁷ Војислав Ђурић, “Урбанизација као процес ширења градског начина живота”, *Зборник Матице српске за друштвене науке* 54 (1969) 9.

⁸ The regulation of Prince Miloš on the spatial organisation of villages from 20 March 1837 is the only preserved legal regulation directly related to urbanisation in Serbia during this period (*Зборник закона и уредаба у Књажеству Србији у досадањим зборницима нештампаних, а издатих од 2. фебруара 1835. до 23. октобра 1875. године*, Београд 1877, 175–176).

extended upstream along the Timok river to the confluence of the Bezdanica river, and from there southeast to Svrlijig mountains. The southern border encompassed the mountains of Gramada, Mali and Veliki Jastrebac, Kopaonik, and went along the Ibar river to its confluence with the Raška river, including the mountain of Čemerno. The southwestern border extended along the mountains of Golija, Mučanj, and Ivica, to the upper course of the Drina river. The western border – except for the small area around Mali Zvornik, which remained within the borders of the Ottoman Empire until 1878 – ran along the Drina river to its confluence with the Sava.⁹

The autonomous Principality of Serbia covered an area of 37,740 km². According to the census of 1834, there were 659,624 Serbs, while the number of others (Turks, Vlachs, Roma, Jews and others) was around 39,000. The population density was 18.5 inhabitants per km².¹⁰ There were a total of 2,231 settlements, including 35 *varošes* [towns] and *varošicas* [small towns].¹¹

In 1834, the Principality of Serbia was administratively divided into 15 districts and 63 *captaincies* (later renamed into *srez*).¹² The number of districts and captaincies



Borders of the Principality of Serbia since 1833
(Author of the map: Milovan Milivojević)

⁹ Р. Љушић, *Историја српске државности*, 30; Јован Бугарски, *Карта Княжества Србије*, Београд 1845. Музеј града Београда, I 1, 3834.

¹⁰ Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 72–73.

¹¹ Лепосава Цвијетић, “Попис становништва и имовине у Србији 1834. године”, *Мешовита грађа (Miscellanea)* 13 (1984) 16, 114.

¹² *Ibidem*.

changed in the following years due to the separation of certain districts (such as Banjski and Rudnički, for example) and the merger of smaller captaincies into larger ones. Thus, in 1839, there were 17 districts and 52 captaincies. Prince Miloš, in the spirit of a centralist policy, merged several districts during this period, creating larger administrative regions called “*serdarstvo*” [governorships]” (1834–1835) and “military commands” (1835–1839).¹³

At the time of its establishment in 1834 and 1835, the border of the Principality of Serbia towards the Ottoman Empire had an exclusively military character. The borderline was marked by a system of earth trenches and embankments, cut-through forests, and other markers. A permanent border guard post and patrols were set up at the border. Also, following the example of the Austrian border service in the Military Frontier, the so-called *kordon* was established on the borders of the Principality. Each patrol had a commander (*boluk-bashi*) and a designated number of guards who patrolled a specific border sector. The number of border patrols increased from year to year: 1835–68, 1836–84, 1839–115. The border was crossed only at specifically designated points. Subjects of the Ottoman Empire had to have valid travel documents (*teskera*) to enter the Principality of Serbia, while Serbian citizens crossed the border with passports issued by the Serbian authorities, valid for one year.¹⁴

Also, following the example of the Austrian Monarchy and other European states, quarantines or “kontumac” were established along the Serbian border towards the Ottoman Empire in 1836. The purpose of the quarantine was to prevent the spread of infectious diseases. On 10 December 1836, “*Novine srpske*” (*Serbian Newspaper*) reported that “His Serene Highness, our Gracious Lord Prince [Miloš – note R. P.], constantly caring for the well-being and happiness of his people and homeland, and wishing to prevent the danger of the infectious disease of plague and its transmission in Serbia, has been working for several months to establish and strengthen quarantines in Serbia, at the borders with Turkish territories”.¹⁵ The most important and largest quarantine was constructed in Aleksinac, in the south of the Principality. During 1836 and 1837, quarantines were established in Bregovo, Radujevac, Mokra Gora, Supovac, Ljubovija, Šepačka Ada near Loznica, and Rača.¹⁶ During 1836, special border crossings called “*sastanci*” (in the Austrian Monarchy *rastels*) were established, following the example of the organisation in the Austrian Monarchy “for the improvement and facilitation of trade”. These crossings were located at Pandiralo and Gramada in the eastern part of the Principality, Vrška Čuka, Supovac, Jankova Klisura, Vasilna Česma, and Raška in the south and southwest.¹⁷

¹³ Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 196; *Административно-територијалне промене у НР Србији 1834–1954*, Београд 1955, 5–10.

¹⁴ В. Стојанчевић, “Административно и војно-полицијско уређење”, 38–39.

¹⁵ *Српске новине* [=CH], бр. 48, 28. новембар 1836.

¹⁶ State Archive of Serbia [=SAS], Principality Chancellery [=KK], register – Department V, 1836.

¹⁷ Ibidem; Јован Гавриловић, *Речник географско-статистички Србије*, Београд 1994, 229.

Customs offices (*đumrukane*) were established at the borders with the Ottoman Empire and the Austrian Monarchy. The Hatt-i sharif of 1833 stipulated that the customs revenue should be collected by the Serbian instead of the Ottoman authorities. On 2 January 1834, the Belgrade vizier ceremoniously handed over the customs administration in Belgrade to Prince Miloš. In April 1834, a customs office was established in Aleksinac as a branch of the Belgrade customs office, as the previous customs branch in Niš remained in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁸ Until 1839, Serbian customs offices were established in Topčider (near Belgrade), Višnjica (near Belgrade), Smederevo, Dubravica, Ram, Tekija, Kladovo, Radujevac, Vrška Čuka, Pandiralo, Gramada, Aleksinac, Mokra Gora, Ljubovija, Šepačka Ada, Rača, Mitrovica, and Šabac.¹⁹

The established border crossings of the Principality of Serbia, whether customs offices, quarantines, or meeting places (*sastanci*), impacted the rapid transformation of some border areas. The most significant transformation occurred in the border town of Aleksinac, which until the 1830s was just a small Ottoman *kasaba* on the Constantinople Road.

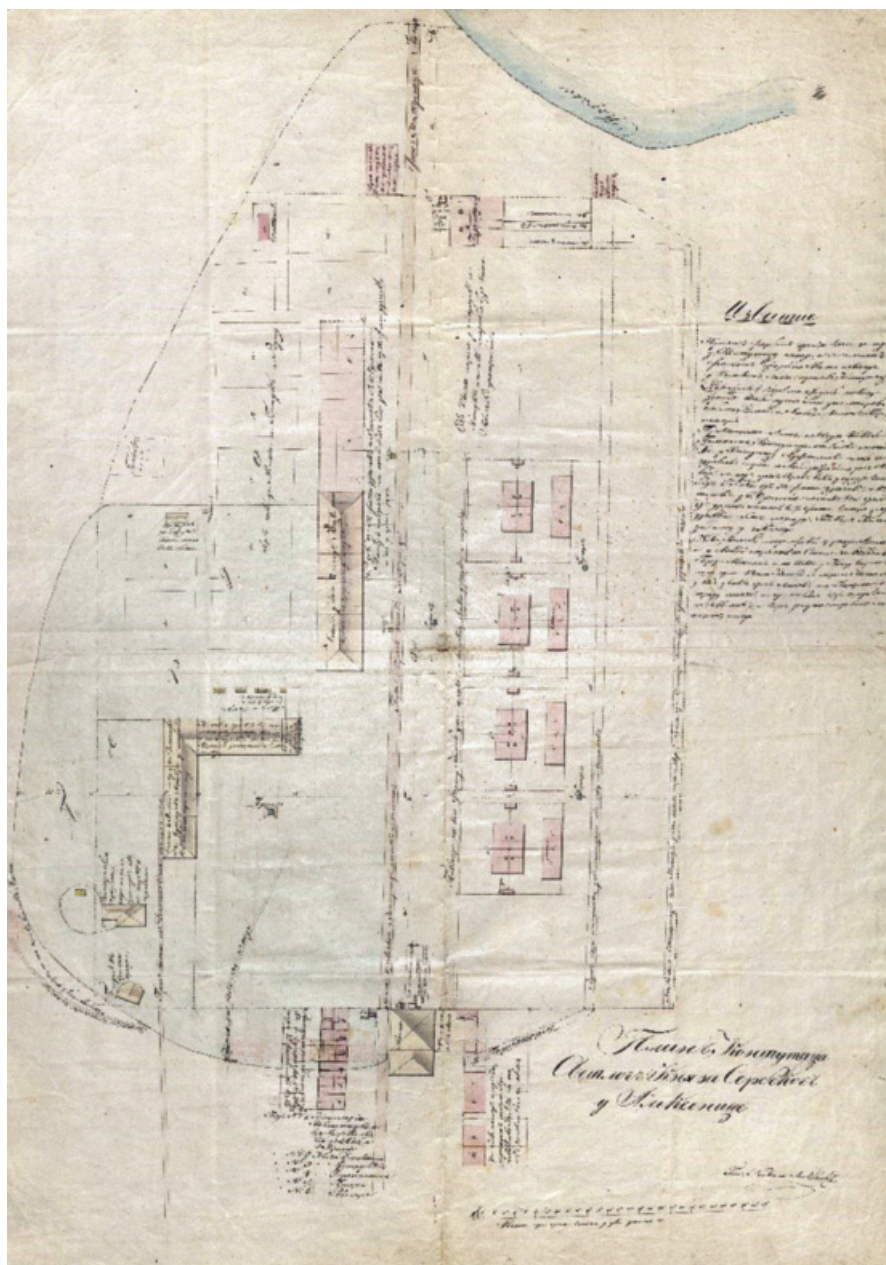
The quarantine in Aleksinac was constructed during 1836 and 1837. It had two sections separated by a high fence. In the official area of the quarantine, there was a building for inspections and listing of goods, a parlatory, a room for meetings and talks between Serbian and foreign subjects, as well as a room for postal disinfection and accommodation for the quarantine porter. Behind these official buildings, there were huts with one or two rooms and a kitchen, enclosed by high wooden fences, warehouses for storing goods, a hospital, a room for disinfection, and a mortuary. In the second section of the quarantine, there were offices and apartment for the quarantine staff. According to a list from 1836, the quarantine staff consisted of the quarantine director, the quarantine doctor, an inspector responsible for registering people and items in the quarantine protocol, a scribe, a warehouse supervisor, *latov* – the person responsible for overseeing and preventing contact between people in the quarantine, and about ten guards.²⁰

¹⁸ Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 276; Драган Крсмановић, *Царина и царинска служба у Србији 1804–1914*, Београд 2006, 30–42. The dispute over the double customs duty between Serbia and the Ottoman Empire in Niš and Belgrade was resolved in the spring of 1835 when a sultan's decree (ferman) prohibited the collection of customs duty in Niš for goods entering Serbia (Ibidem).

¹⁹ Мита Петровић, *Финансије и установе обновљене Србије до 1842*, I, Београд 1901, 371.

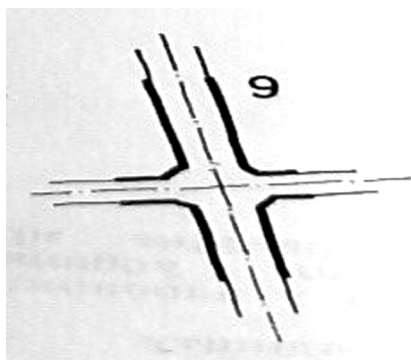
²⁰ Vladimir Macura, *Čaršija i gradski centar*, Niš–Kragujevac 1984, 36. Бранко Перуничкић, *Алексинац и околина*, Београд 1978, 105–106; Војислав Михаиловић, *Из историје санитета у обновљеној Србији од 1804 до 1860*, Београд 1951, 531.

CONSOLIDATION OF STATEHOOD:
URBANISATION OF BORDER REGIONS OF THE PRINCIPALITY OF SERBIA IN 1833–1839



Plan of Aleksinac quarantine (SAS, KK, I, 209)

Alongside the construction of the quarantine, a church was also built in Aleksinac, and its construction was completed in 1837. The church of St. Nicholas became the central point of the new Serbian small town of Aleksinac. According to the plan of the engineer Franz Janke from 1839, two orthogonal axes were set up next to the church, with the one in the north-south direction still being the main transit artery of Aleksinac. Over time, public buildings (the school and the local administration building) were constructed on the town square, with the *čaršija* – the commercial part of the town, located in the extension of the square.²¹



Shape of the square in the urban plan of Aleksinac,
according to the plan by F. Janke from 1839²²

The small towns of Ljubovija and Raška, out of a total of eleven newly founded small towns in Serbia in the 19th century, owe their existence to the border crossings around which they developed, starting from the 1830s.²³ The quarantine and customs in Ljubovija were established in 1837 on the right bank of the Drina river, in an empty field that once belonged to the former Muslim small village of Drabići. Ljubovija quickly developed, and by 1844, it had 101 houses and nearly eight hundred inhabitants.²⁴ In the late 1830s and early 1840s, the first inhabitants of Raška were the guards and officials of the border crossing (*sastanak*). The land on which the new

²¹ Б. Којић, *Варошице у Србији*, 146–148; Ана Костић, *Црквена уметност у Кнежевини Србији (1830–1882)*, Београд 2023, 214–215.

²² Б. Којић, *Варошице у Србији*, 28; Бранко Вујовић, *Уметност обновљене Србије 1791–1848*, Београд 1986, 157–158.

²³ “Plans for quarantine buildings” in Serbia were made in 1837 (SAS, KK, registry-V department, 1837).

²⁴ Ј. Гавриловић, *Речник географско-статистички Србије*, 99; Љуба Павловић, *Соколска нахија*, Насеља и порекло становништва, књ. 26, Београд 1930, 341, 469–471; The small town of Ljubovija was established in the immediate vicinity of the Drina river in the 1830s and 1840s. It was destroyed in a major flood in 1896 and was relocated to its current location, six hundred meters away from the original site, in 1897 (*Ibidem*).

town would be established was purchased by the authorities of the Principality of Serbia from a Muslim owner in 1839. The following year, the sale of plots to settlers began, with the condition that they build houses “in a row” and pave the space in front of them with stones to “give the *čaršija* a neat and attractive appearance”.²⁵ According to the plan by Kosta Alković from 1844, a new quarantine was established in Raška, around which the urban planning of the town began in 1847. The town was characterised by orthogonal intersecting streets and a spacious square.²⁶

During the Ottoman rule in Serbia, there were only a few travel routes. The most important one was the Constantinople Road, which connected Belgrade, Grocka, Jagodina, Čuprija, Paraćin, Niš, Sofia, and Edirne (Adrianople) with Constantinople (Istanbul). Another route led from Belgrade along the Sava river to Šabac, Loznica, Zvornik, and further towards Sarajevo. The third route extended along the right bank of the Danube from Belgrade to Požarevac, Poreč, and Brza Palanka, while the fourth route led from Belgrade to Kragujevac, further to Čačak and Užice. Lastly, the fifth route extended from Belgrade to Valjevo and continued towards Užice and the border crossing at Mokra Gora.²⁷

By establishing the border crossings of the Principality of Serbia, some of the roads that were used during Ottoman rule were intersected, and new road routes were constructed towards the border crossings. In 1836/37, a road was constructed from Svilajnac, or the Constantinople Road, through Neresnica and Majdanpek, continuing to Donji Milanovac. According to the project of engineer Kordon in 1837/38, a road was built over Miroč mountain from Donji Milanovac to Brza Palanka.²⁸ Starting from 1838, a road was constructed along the Drina river, connecting the quarantine in Rača to the quarantine in Ljubovija.²⁹ Special efforts were made to redesign the section of the Constantinople Road from Aleksinac to the border towards Niš. The expansion of the road network continued in the following decades. For example, in the 1880s, a road was built from Kraljevo to Raška through the precipitous Ibar valley.

During the 1830s, urbanisation in Serbia was closely related to dynamic demographic movements. While the Muslim population was emigrating, the Serbian population was immigrating. The population of the Principality of Serbia multiplied rapidly, particularly from 1833 to 1840, with an increase of 150,703 inhabitants in seven years. The population growth rate in Serbia during this period was comparable to the population growth rate in the United States of America.³⁰

²⁵ Б. Максимовић, *Урбанизам у Србији*, 77; Б. Вујовић, *Уметност обновљене Србије*, 158–159.

²⁶ Б. Којић, *Варошице у Србији*, 134–136. Branko Maksimović, *Urbanizam u Srbiji, osnovna ispitivanja i dokumentacija*, Beograd 1938, 77.

²⁷ Вук Стефановић Караџић, “Географско-статистичко описаније Србије”, *Даница* 1826–1829; 1834, *Сабрана дела Вука С. Караџића VIII*, Београд 1969, 139–140; Т. Р. Ђорђевић, *Србија пре сто година*, Београд 1946, 113–115.

²⁸ Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 106.

²⁹ ДАС, КК, регистар, В – одељење, 1838, бр. 3020.

³⁰ Милош Јагодић, *Насељавање Кнежевине Србије*, Београд 2003, 26–28.

The table below presents changes in the number of settlements, houses, and inhabitants in specific border captaincies/districts, based on the censuses from 1834 and 1844.³¹

The name of captaincy, i.e. srez	1834			1844		
	Number of settlements	Number of houses	Number of inhabitants	Number of settlements	Number of houses	Number of inhabitants
Ključ	21	1,288	6,272	18	1,779	7,906
Zaječar	24	2,275	14,086	25	2,041	15,886
Aleksinac-Ražanj ³²	52	1,360	8,893	53	1,975	12,385
Rača	30	1057	7,059	32	1,326	10,454
Rujan	58	2,390	16,442	63	3,485	25,150
Moravica	39	1,351	9,653	39	1,758	13,256
Azbukovica	18	867	6,122	18 ³³	1,077	8,608
Jadar	39	2,099	11,833	35	2,501	15,521
Mačva ³⁴	39	3,502	23,672	38	4,153	27,046

While the number of settlements in the border administrative units changed slightly, the increase in the number of houses and inhabitants clearly indicates demographic changes in Serbia during the fourth and early fifth decades of the 19th century.³⁵

The establishment of the border of the Principality of Serbia and migrations resulted in the emergence of new settlements in its border region. Under the

³¹ The border captaincies/districts whose administrative jurisdiction remained unchanged between the two mentioned censuses are taken into account. The table was compiled according to: Л. Цвијетић, "Попис становништва и имовине у Србији 1834. године", 110–114; Ј. Гавриловић, *Речник географско-статистички Србије*, 3–4, 61, 78, 80, 146, 168.

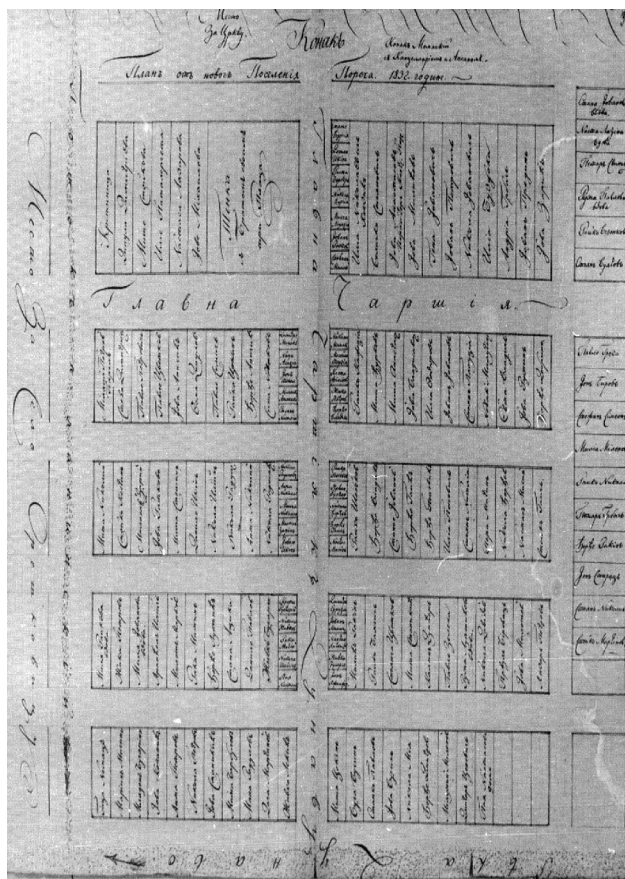
³² In 1834, the Aleksinac and Ražanj districts were separate administrative units, while in 1844, they became one administrative unit. Therefore, the census data for these two captaincies from 1834 were added together.

³³ The census did not include Muslim villages that were under the jurisdiction of the Ottoman authorities in the neighbouring Zvornik Pashalik.

³⁴ In the 1834 census, the town of Šabac belonged to the Mačva captaincy, but ten years later, it was part of the Pocerina district. Therefore, the data for the town of Šabac were excluded from the 1834 census of the Mačva captaincy.

³⁵ Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 72; *Зборник закона и уредаба у Књажевству Србији*, 236.

agreements between the Ottoman and Austrian Empires and the provisions of the Hatt-i Sharif on Serbia's autonomy, the river islands on the Sava and Danube, where some settlements previously existed, belonged to Austria and the Ottoman Empire (Wallachia), depending on which of these countries Serbia shared its border with. The inhabitants of the Danube island of Poreč, which was given to the Ottoman Empire (Wallachia), were resettled with the assistance of the Serbian authorities in 1831 to the right bank, in the newly built settlement of Milanovac (present-day Donji Milanovac). Donji Milanovac was especially significant in Serbian literature as the first planned settlement in the Principality of Serbia, named after Milan, the eldest son of the Serbian ruler. The plan of "the new settlement of Poreč", i.e. Milanovac from



Plan of "New Poreč", present-day Donji Milanovac, 1832 (SAS, KK, XXI, 1304)

³⁶ В. Максимовић, *Urbanizam u Srbiji*, 78; 97; Тихомир Р. Ђорђевић, *Архивска грађа за насеља у Србији у време прве владе кнеза Милоша (1815–1830)*, Београд 1926, 159–161.

1832, which was approved by Prince Miloš after some revision, was drafted by Stefan Stefanović Tenka, a local administrator in eastern Serbia. Although not an engineer by education, Tenka's plan for Milanovac foreshadowed the Serbian authorities' intention to organise settlements in the future using a rectangular system.³⁶

Similarly, the village of Mihajlovac was founded downstream from Milanovac. The inhabitants of Veliko Ostrvo on the Danube, desiring to come under the rule of the Serbian Prince, secretly prepared for this during 1831 and 1832, as they were allowed to settle on the right bank opposite the island. The new settlement of Mihajlovac was established in 1833 and named after the younger son of Prince Miloš.³⁷ By the initiative and with financial assistance of Prince Miloš, a church was built in Mihajlovac in 1834.³⁸

In the 1830s, almost all towns and small towns in Serbia, including those in the border regions (Kladovo, Kruševac, Zaječar, Ivanjica, Požega, Loznica, and Lešnica), were planned and organised "in the European style". This involved the establishment of rectangular streets, the square, the commercial part of the town (*čaršija*, i.e. *bazaar*), markets, as well as the demarcation and measurement of plots for the construction of private and public buildings, which were also planned systematically. At the beginning, prominent officials such as Laza Zuban and Stefan Stefanović Tenka were involved in urban planning. From the mid-1830s, engineers from Austria were engaged in this task, with the most notable ones being Franz Janke and Baron Franz Kordon.³⁹ In November 1833, in Zaječar, upon the order of Prince Miloš, a specially engaged engineer "organised the *čaršija*". This engineer was tasked with arranging and planning the commercial part of the town (*bazaar*) in a systematic manner.⁴⁰ After Prince Miloš's visit and the suggestions he gave them in the autumn of 1834, the inhabitants of the small town of Kladovo organised the *čaršija* two years later. Around the *čaršija* in Kladovo, street lines (*šor*) were laid out, and some houses were relocated away from the Danube riverbank.⁴¹ After the emigration of the Muslim population from the central Podrinje region in the summer of 1834, around three thousand Serbs from Bosanska Krajina relocated to that territory in larger groups. The former Ottoman *kasaba* of Lešnica and *palanka* Loznica were organised based on new principles according to the plan by engineer Janke in 1837.⁴² In Lešnica, a spacious square was formed by intersecting two streets at right angles. On the other hand, in Loznica, the houses were aligned in a straight line.⁴³ After the withdrawal of the Turks, a new urban plan was also developed for Kruševac. According to this plan, the *čaršija* was relocated to a higher ground in 1836 after several delays due to financial

³⁷ Ibidem, 120–121, 135–138.

³⁸ Ibidem, 155. The authorities in Wallachia resettled about ten houses from the Danube island of Šimijan to Wallachia in April 1834, out of fear that they might cross over to Serbia.

³⁹ Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 87

⁴⁰ ДАС, КК, XXXVI, 51 (микрофилм [=мкф.], ролна [=рол.], број [=бр.] 96.

⁴¹ Т. Р. Ђорђевић, *Архивска грађа*, 169–171.

⁴² В. Максимовић, *Urbanizam u Srbiji*, 81.

⁴³ Ibidem; Б. Максимовић, *Идејни развој српског урбанизма*, 2.

difficulties. The previous location of the bazaar was described as “marshy and muddy” land.⁴⁴ Due to favourable political and social circumstances, all towns and small towns in Serbia, except Valjevo, experienced population growth in the 1830s. In Loznica, there were 65 houses and 287 inhabitants in 1834, but five years later, there were 233 houses and 1,028 inhabitants, up by as much as 258%. In Lešnica, the number of houses increased by 76, and the population grew by 362, resulting in a growth rate of 102%. The population growth in Kruševac was 69%.⁴⁵

On the other hand, in the major border towns of Belgrade, Šabac, and Smederevo, the Muslim population, along with the Ottoman garrisons, remained until the 1860s due to the violation of the Hatt-i Sharif provisions regarding their emigration.

Belgrade for the first time became the capital of Serbia briefly in 1839, and permanently in 1841. The fact that it was the largest town in Serbia and the seat of the Ottoman governor and the commander of the fortress, which housed a strong Ottoman garrison, prevented the Serbian Prince from moving the capital there until 1839. However, from the beginning of the 1830s, Prince Miloš began spatially organising the town of Belgrade and making preparations for relocating the capital there, citing the provisions of autonomy and implementing urban measures. This marked the beginning of the “Europeanisation” process of Belgrade, which lasted over the following decades. Until the final Ottoman withdrawal from Belgrade in 1867, the “Ottoman” and “Serbian” Belgrade coexisted in parallel.⁴⁶

In the early 1830s, Belgrade was divided into three zones: the fortress – an exclusively Ottoman area, “varoš u šancu” (*town in the trench*) – the settlement around the fortress, surrounded externally by a deep moat with well-guarded passages (*gates*) that segregated predominantly Muslim inhabitants, with a smaller number of Jews and Christians, and “varoš izvan šanca” (*town outside the trench*) – the sparsely populated area beyond the jurisdiction of the Ottoman authorities.⁴⁷

The transfer of customs collection under the auspices of the Serbian authorities encouraged Prince Miloš to erect, in 1834 and 1835, what is believed to be the first building in Belgrade in the Western architectural style – *Đumrukana* (a Turkish term for a customs house). This two-storey building, with a rectangular base and a series of symmetrical arched openings on the ground floor and rectangular openings on the first floor, featured a central entrance. Situated right on the bank of the Sava river and, therefore, on the border with Austria, it was visible to all those coming from that side, symbolising the beginning of a new era for Serbia.⁴⁸

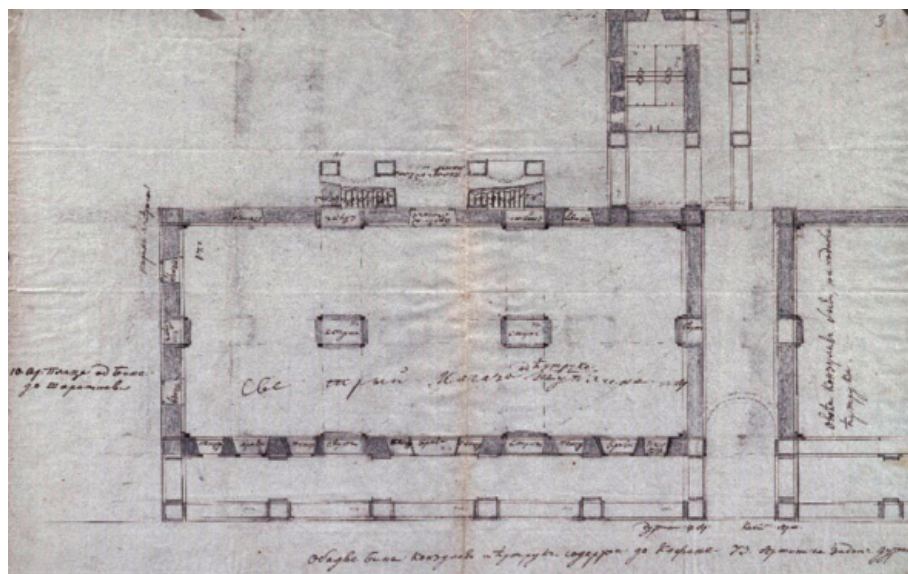
⁴⁴ Т. Р. Ђорђевић, *Архивска грађа*, 186–189.

⁴⁵ Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 85–86.

⁴⁶ Ненад Макуљевић, *Османско-српски Београд: визуелност и креирање градског идентитета (1815–1878)*, Београд 2014.

⁴⁷ Ibidem, 247–251.

⁴⁸ The construction of *Đumrukana* (the customs house) cost the state treasury half a million groschen (М. Петровић, *Финансије и установе* 1, 762); Б. Вујовић, *Уметност обновљене Србије*, 146–147; Дивна Ђурић Замоло, *Градитељи Београда 1815–1914*, Београд 1981.



Building plan of Đumrukana in Belgrade, 1834 (SAS, KK, VI, 417)

The construction of Serbian Belgrade in Savamala was a much more ambitious undertaking than building a single representative building. Savamala was an area outside the Belgrade fortress where an unregulated settlement had existed for decades. Prince Miloš, with the intention of organising this space, forcibly relocated the hitherto inhabitants of Savamala to another part of the town. Then, with his approval, from 1835 to 1837, in line with European architectural concepts, the barracks, the Council building, and the new prince's palace were constructed. The latter two buildings marked a crucial change in the spatial concept, as they abandoned the "Balkan-centric foundation" and adopted a new type of foundation in the shape of the Cyrillic letter P ("П"), characterised by elongated corridors and numerous rooms on both sides of the corridor.⁴⁹ In the early 1850s, an orthogonal street grid was established around those buildings in Belgrade, creating the Serbian Belgrade as an urbanistic counterpart to the "Ottoman" Belgrade in the fortress area.

Similarly to Belgrade, Serbian urban spaces, in contrast to the Ottoman ones, were formed in other mixed-population border towns of Serbia where Ottoman fortresses existed, along with a certain number of Muslim inhabitants in the suburbs. The conflict between Serbs and Turks in the mixed-population Užice in 1832 led to the Serbian population's forced relocation from Užice to Požega, located about twenty kilometres away. In 1832, Laza Zuban, an official of Prince Miloš, marked the location

⁴⁹ V. Macura, *Čaršija i gradski centar*, 84, 35; Б. Вујовић, *Уметност обновљене Србије*, 147.

in Požega where houses and shops would be built, featuring a circular square in the centre of the town.⁵⁰ Thus, Požega, a planned Serbian settlement, became the centre of Serbian authority in that part of Serbia until 1835. In the Serbian *čaršija* (bazaar) in Smederevo, according to the plan approved by Prince Miloš on 11 April 1837, plots were designated for the construction of a two-storey building for the district court and customs, a school, and a church.⁵¹ The Serbian border town in Šabac, with its straight and wide streets, was established and organised in the 1820s and 1830s, contrasting with the Muslim suburb and fortress.⁵²

The transformation of an Ottoman *kasaba* or *palanka* into a Serbian *varoš* and *varošica* was carried out ceremonially and ritually. In 1836, a cross was erected in the centre of the relocated Kruševac *čaršija*, and priests ritually blessed the water. This symbolic act bestowed a Christian character upon the newly established Serbian market town.⁵³

From the beginning of his rule, Prince Miloš systematically restored and built churches and monasteries, especially from 1831 when the Church in the Principality of Serbia became autonomous. In the border areas of the Principality, numerous churches were restored and constructed (Zaječar, Mihajlovac, Kruševac, Loznica, Lešnica etc.).⁵⁴ The chain of Orthodox churches along the borders and in the interior of the Principality of Serbia indicated the Orthodox Christian identity of the renewed Serbian state. In the region of eastern Serbia, specifically in the newly established Timok Diocese, which became a part of the Belgrade Metropolitanate in 1833, there were at least fifty churches according to the census from 1836. Approximately twenty of these churches were constructed during that very decade.⁵⁵

The Church of St. Archangel Michael in the new settlement of Mihajlovac was built shortly after the establishment of the settlement. Prince Miloš personally supervised the construction of the church, which began in April and was completed in the autumn of 1834. The architectural design of the church in Mihajlovac is typical of the 1830s: a single-nave stone building without a dome and bell tower, featuring a decorated western portal, rectangular windows, a nave, and an altar space separated by an iconostasis. Moreover, Prince Miloš sent the text of the inscription, which stated that the church was built in 1834 through the “benevolence of faithful Prince Miloš”,

⁵⁰ Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 331–332; В. Максимовић, *Urbanizam u Srbiji*, 73–74; 78–79.

⁵¹ Леонтије Павловић, *Смедерево у 19. веку, занимања, имовина и зарада становника према пописима 1833. и 1862/63. године*, Смедерево 1969, 91; Бранко Перуничкић, *Насеље и град Смедерево*, Смедерево 1977, 459–461.

⁵² Владимир Стојанчевић, “Шабач и Шабачка нахија од избијања Првог српског устанка до краја кнез Милошеве владе”, у: *Шабач у прошлост* 2, Шабач 1980, 143–147; Братислав Стојановић, “Урбанистичко–архитектонски развој Шапца током 19. и почетком 20. века”, у: *Шабач у прошлости* 3, Шабач 1984, 273–294.

⁵³ Т. Р. Ђорђевић, *Архивска грађа*, 188.

⁵⁴ А. Костић, *Црквена уметност у Кнежевини Србији*, 205–206, 207–208, 217.

⁵⁵ Недељко Радосављевић, “Тимочка епископија по попису из 1836”, *Историјски часопис* 52 (2005) 263–264.

during the administration of Metropolitan Petar and as a dedication for all other regions that were within the borders of Serbia since 1833.⁵⁶ On the other side of Serbia, in Belgrade, above the Đumrukana building, the construction of a monumental cathedral dedicated to St. Archangel Michael (the Cathedral Church) began in the summer of 1837. The main construction works were completed in 1839, and the raising of the cross on the church's tower during the following year turned into a significant state and public celebration.⁵⁷ In Belgrade, on the border of the Principality of Serbia, in the immediate vicinity of the Ottoman fortress, the monumental Orthodox church embodied in the best way the renewed sovereignty of Serbia.

Society in 19th-century Serbia was predominantly rural. The proportion of the rural population in 1839 amounted to 92.25%, according to the estimates.⁵⁸ During the fourth decade of the 19th century, Prince Miloš endeavoured to organise rural settlements. The rural population lived in villages where houses and households covered vast areas. Some villages, according to Vuk Karadžić, were even larger in size than Vienna. However, in terms of the number of houses and inhabitants, during the fourth decade of the 19th century, rural settlements in Serbia were relatively small – 99% of all villages had up to two hundred households.⁵⁹

The decree of Prince Miloš from 20 March 1837, named “ušoravanje sela” (grouping village houses into streets), is the first known and preserved legal regulation in the field of urban planning in 19th-century Serbia. The regulation stipulated that distant houses and households in villages should be consolidated and brought closer together for the sake of further general economic prosperity.⁶⁰ In the explanatory statement accompanying this regulation, it was noted that “the time has passed when we had to hide in the woods and streams [during Ottoman rule – note R. P.], that now we do not need to do that, that it is better to live together, in order, and in proximity, brothers with brothers, friends with friends, and neighbours with neighbours, rather than being scattered apart from each other”.⁶¹

In fact, the spatial planning of villages in the border regions of Serbia began before Prince Miloš's decree in 1837. Jevrem Obrenović, the brother of Prince Miloš and the administrator of three border districts in northwestern Serbia, started this process in Mačva in the late 1820s, following the example of Austrian villages in neighbouring Srem. Around thirty Mačva's villages were spatially arranged by the mid-1830s. In addition to the Šabac district, some villages were also consolidated in the Danube

⁵⁶ Ирена Ћировић, “Црква светог арханђела Михаила у Михајловцу”, у: *Сакрална топографија Неготинске крајине*, прир. Ненад Макуљевић, Неготин 2012, 112–125; Т. Р. Ђорђевић, *Архивска грађа*, 147.

⁵⁷ The furnishing and decoration of the Cathedral Church were completed in 1845 (Б. Вујовић, *Уметност обновљене Србије*, 116–125).

⁵⁸ Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 79.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, 80–81.

⁶⁰ *Зборник закона и уредаба у Књажевству Србији*, 175–176.

⁶¹ Т. Р. Ђорђевић, *Архивска грађа*, 578–579.

region, Pomoravlje, Šumadija, and eastern Serbia. However, relocating houses in mountainous and hilly areas proved to be challenging due to the terrain's configuration, predominantly livestock production of the population, the high cost of the undertaking, and the inhabitants' reluctance to change their established way of life.⁶²

In just a few years Prince Miloš managed to organise and define the borders of the Principality of Serbia and set the direction for its further urban development. This was a significant step, as Serbia started transforming its inherited Oriental urban environment into a European urban style. Although this process unfolded throughout the 19th century, its roots dated to the 1830s. It is not strange that in the early fifth decade of the 19th century English traveller Andrew Archibald Paton, after visiting Serbia, published the book *Servia, the Youngest Member of the European Family...*⁶³ From the late 1830s, crossing the border of the Principality of Serbia meant, in fact, entering the European urban space.

⁶² Р. Љушић, *Кнежевина Србија*, 75–79; Б. Вујовић, *Уметност обновљене Србије*, 155–157; Р. Ј. Поповић, “Просторни и архитектонски преображај мачванских села у 19. веку”, у: *Село Балкана. Конинуитети и промене кроз историју/The Balkan Village. Continuities and Changes Through History*, Београд 2017, 77–96.

⁶³ <https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/16999>.

Радомир Й. Попович

**УКРЕПЛЕНИЕ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОСТИ:
УРБАНИЗАЦИЯ ПОГРАНИЧНЫХ ТЕРРИТОРИЙ
КНЯЖЕСТВА СЕРБИЯ В 1833–1839 ГГ.**

Резюме

Автономный государственный статус, признанный высшими правовыми актами Османской империи (1829, 1830 и 1833 года), позволил начать всесторонние реформы в Княжестве Сербии под руководством князя Милоша Обреновича. В истории урбанизации Сербии период с тридцатых до шестидесятых годов XIX века называется “периодом основания новых городов”. Хронологические рамки работы – 1833 год, когда соглашением Хатишерифа была установлена граница между Османской империей и автономным Княжеством Сербии, и 1839 год – завершение первого правления князя Милоша, который определил основное направление урбанизации. Взаимосогласованные управленческие меры направлены на выделение Княжества Сербии из Османской империи. Граница между вассальным княжеством и султанской империей в 1834 и 1835 годах имела исключительно военное обозначение. По образцу австрийской пограничной службы на границах Княжества по отношению к Османской империи было установлено постоянное наблюдение и контроль за граничной линией, так называемый “кордон”. Определены граничные переходы, то есть таможни, карантин и посты. Самым значимым пограничным местом Княжества Сербии по отношению к Османской империи стал Алексинец на Константинопольской дороге. Репрезентативное здание церкви в Алексинце, завершённое в 1837 году, было угловой точкой небольшого городка, организованного по плану 1839 года, в соответствии с которым две улицы пересекались под прямым углом, образуя ортогональную схему улиц. Построенные пограничные переходы на незаселённых местах непосредственно повлияли на появление городков Любовия и Рашка. В результате установления границы Княжества Сербии и переселения населения на его территорию возникли совершенно новые, планомерно организованные поселения, такие как Доњи Милановац и Михајловац на Дунае, а также городки, из которых выселились мусульмане (Кладово, Крушевац, Зајечар, Ивањица, Пожега, Лозница и Лешница), были оформлены “европейским” образом. В городах, где существовали военные поселения и мусульманское население (Белград, Шабац, Смедерево), сербские части этих городов были организованы по ортогональной схеме улиц, с площадью и коммерческими частями – базарами. Важным сегментом урбанизации Княжества Сербии были святыни, которые строились или реконструировались на территории Княжества Сербии. Князь Милош уделял особое внимание строительству и реконструкции церквей в пограничной

области. Репрезентативний Собор Святого Михаїла в Белграді, строительство которого началось в 1837 году, церковь в Алексинце, а также церковь в новом поселении Михайловац и ряд других церквей вблизи границы указывали на православный характер обновленного сербского государства. Указ князя Милоша от 20 марта 1837 года о “ушорении деревень” (шор = улица), о пространственной организации деревень, с ортогональной схеме улиц, считается первым законодательным актом в области урбанизма и пространственного плана в Сербии в XIX веке. Пространственная организация сел, хотя и не полностью, успешно осуществлена в равнинных и пограничных районах северо-западной и северной части Княжества Сербии.

Радомир Ј. Поповић

**УТВРЂИВАЊЕ ДРЖАВНОСТИ:
УРБАНИЗАЦИЈА ПОГРАНИЧНИХ КРАЈЕВА
КНЕЖЕВИНЕ СРБИЈЕ 1833–1839. ГОДИНЕ**

Резиме

Аутономан државни статус Кнежевине Србије признат највишим правним актима Османског царства (1829, 1830. и 1833) омогућио је под руководством кнеза Милоша почетак свеобухватних реформи у Кнежевини Србији. У историји урбанизма Србије, раздобље од тридесетих до шездесетих година 19. века назива се периодом „оснивања нових градова”. Хронолошки оквири рада су 1833. када је одредбама Хатишерифа одређена граница између Османског царства и аутономне Кнежевине Србије и 1839 – завршетак прве владавине кнеза Милоша, који је одредио главни правац урбанизације. Међусобно координисане управљачке мере имале су за циљ издвајање Кнежевине Србије из Османског царства. Граница између вазалне кнежевине и сизеренског царства имала је 1834. и 1835. године искључиво војно обележје. По узору на аустријску граничарску службу, на границама Кнежевине према Османском царству успостављен је стални надзор и контрола граничне линије, такозвани кордон. Одређени су гранични прелази, то јест царине, карантини и састанаци. Најзначајније погранично место Кнежевине Србије према Османском царству постао је Алексинац на Цариградском путу. Репрезентативно здање цркве у Алексинцу која је завршена 1837. представљало је угаону тачку варошице која је уређена према плану из 1839. према којем се две улице секу под правим углом, око којих је настала ортогонална схема улица. Успостављени гранични прелази на ненасељеним местима директно су утицали на настанак варошица Љубовије и Рашке. Услед успостављања границе Кнежевине Србије и досељавања

становништва на њену територију настала су потпуно нова, плански уређена насеља Доњи Милановац и Михајловац на Дунаву, док су вароши и варошице из којих су се иселили муслимани (Кладово, Крушевац, Зајечар, Ивањица, Пожега, Лозница и Лешница) уређени „по европски”. У варошима у којима су постојале војне посаде и муслиманско становништво (Београд, Шабац, Смедерево) уређени су српски делови тих вароши са ортогоналном схемом улица, тргом и пословним деловима вароши – чаршијама. Важан сегмент урбанизације Кнежевине Србије чиниле су сакралне грађевине које су подизане или обнављане на територији Кнежевине Србије. Кнез Милош је посебну пажњу поклањао изградњи и обнови цркава у граничном подручју. Репрезентативна Саборна црква у Београду чија градња је започета 1837, црква у Алексинцу, па црква у новом насељу Михајловцу и низ других цркава око границе, указивале су на православни идентитет обновљене српске државе. Указ кнеза Милоша од 20. марта 1837. године о „ушоравању села”, то јест просторном уређењу села сматра се првим законским прописом у области урбанизма у Србији у 19. веку. Просторно уређење селâ, иако непотпуно, успешно је спроведено у равничарским и пограничним пределима северозападне и северне Кнежевине Србије.

Nino Delić*

Institute of History

Belgrade

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-8601-1143

DEMOGRAPHIC DYNAMICS OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX POPULATION IN SYRMIAN CITIES IN 1802–1910

Abstract: A statistical study about the evolution of the Serbian Orthodox population in urban areas of Syrmia (*Srem* in Serbian), i.e. the former Syrmian County within the Kingdom of Hungary, in the 1802–1910 period, reveals a steady pattern of a relative decline both in the share and absolute numbers. Orthodox believers in the cities of Zemun, Sremski Karlovci and Sremska Mitrovica constituted the absolute majority of the population in the early 19th century. In Vukovar and Ruma, the Orthodox community made up almost a half of the population. In Vinkovci and Petrovaradin, Orthodox believers were a strong and influential minority. Due to losses during the Revolutionary War in 1848/49, the overall population declined in almost all cities. The Orthodox urban population declined in an even more severe way. In all Syrmian cities the Orthodox population lost significantly in its share and that process continued until the beginning of the 20th century. Despite some demographic recovery in the 1860s, the Serbian Orthodox population did not grow as fast as other religious and ethnic groups. The impact of the 1848/49 Revolution on the demographic capacities of the Orthodox communities must have been quite severe. In the 1828/30–1910 period, the total urban population of Syrmia increased by 77% and, meanwhile, the Orthodox urban population declined by 5%. The share of the Orthodox in the urban population declined from 54% in 1828/30 to only 29% in 1910. In 1910 Sremski Karlovci remained the only city with an Orthodox majority.

Keywords: Syrmia, demographics, cities, urbanisation, Orthodox population, Serbs, 19th century, 1802–1910.

The presence of ethnic Serbs in the region of Syrmia (*Srem* in Serbian), in geographic terms, dates back to the early Middle Ages, probably to the time of their

* nino.delic@iib.ac.rs

resettlement to the Balkans.¹ Due to frequent border changes and constant population movements that happened in the following centuries, the size and significance of the Serbian community varied a lot. In the Middle Ages Syrmia was a possession of Hungary and was later held by the Ottomans until the end of the 17th century, when the Habsburgs captured the area and ruled until the end of World War I. Wars, epidemics, political unrests, economic depressions, colonisation and migration policies had a huge impact on the population size and its religious or ethnic composition, but the dominant role of the Serbs remained a constant until the early 20th century.

The accelerating urbanisation in Europe in the 19th century expanded to Syrmia as well. Fast development of cities was driven by enormous general population growth and the spread of industrialisation. Cities became the generators of general progress, spreading influence to the broader area and increasing the political power. The economic and political strength of the rising urban population in the age of “ethnic homogenisation”, i.e. the rise of nationalism in the 19th century, led to cities gradually emerging as the centres of “national movements” and “political battleground”. The ethnic composition of urban settlements was therefore of vital interest for the numerous nations in the Habsburg Monarchy. The capacity to politically organise and participate in political processes, the ability to influence public policies and the work of institutions could only be achieved by gathering a critical number of politically active intelligentsia within an urban environment. The cities in the south of the Habsburg Kingdom of Hungary were consequently of major importance for the Serbian national movement in the Monarchy.

Administration of Syrmia in the 18th and 19th centuries

The name Syrmia stands both for a geographical region and political-administrative unit since the Roman Empire. In the mid-18th century, the Habsburgs reorganised their recently captured territories in the south and re-established the old Syrmian County existent in the Hungarian Middle Ages. The re-establishment occurred in 1745 basically by uniting the territories of two former medieval counties – Syrmia and Vukova (with the capital in Vukovar). Since then the name Syrmia began to be frequently used for the area west of the Danube as well (the territories of the former Vukova County). The new County civil authority was not established in the entire area of the former medieval counties but in their northern and western parts only. The southern and eastern zones were incorporated into the Military Frontier governed directly by Vienna and the Military.²

¹ Душан Ј. Поповић, *Срби у Срему до 1736/37: историја насеља и становништва*, Београд 1950, 10.

² A small part of the former Vukova County was incorporated into the Virovitica County as well. Ivana Horbec, “Slavonske županije između Banske Hrvatske i Mađarske: uspostava civilne uprave i pitanje poreznog sustava u 18. stoljeću”, *Arhivski vjesnik* 53/1 (2010) 182–183;

The division of the geographic region of Syrmia into two separate administrative units and political entities impacted the development of urban settlements. The “civilian” Syrmia, i.e. the Syrmian County belonged administratively to the Kingdom of Hungary and its subordinated Kingdom of Slavonia, but the Banal-government of the Kingdom of Croatia in Zagreb claimed some jurisdiction as well.³ In 1849 the County was abolished and its eastern sections (the districts of Ilok and Ruma) became part of the Serbian Voivodeship and Banat of Temeschwar and the western ones (Vukovar district) were incorporated into the Osijek County. In 1861 the Voivodeship was abolished and the Syrmian County re-established in its former pre-1849 borders.⁴ In the “civilian” sections of Syrmia, the laws and rules of the Kingdom of Hungary and the central government in Vienna were implemented. In 1868 the *Croatian-Hungarian Settlement* regulated the transfer of certain jurisdiction to the Croatian Assembly (*Sabor* in Croatian) in Zagreb as well. The so-called “frontier” Syrmia belonged to the Military Frontier, a separate political entity within the Monarchy directly ruled by Vienna. In the eastern sections, which belonged in the past to the medieval Syrmian County, the Petrovaradin Regiment was established as both a military and administrative unit. In the western sections, which belonged to the medieval Vukova County, several companies (military and administrative units) were formed as part of the Brod Regiment. The Military Frontier was established as a border-defence zone to the Ottoman Empire. The society was highly militarised and the legislative framework adjusted to military planning and needs. Thus, the development of urban settlements was under full control of the Military and a rather specific form of cities emerged – the Free Military Communities. The Military Frontier was gradually abolished between 1871 and 1882 and its Syrmian part was incorporated into the Syrmian County in 1882.⁵

Д. Ј. Поповић, *Срби у Срему до 1736/37*, 2–3; Славко Гавриловић, “Обнова славонских жупанија и њихово разграничавање са Војном границом (1745–1749)”, *Зборник за друштвене науке – Матица српска* 25 (1960) 49–58; Emilij Laszowski, “Arkivi po županiji Srijemskoj”, *Starine JAZU* 29 (1898) 2; “Vukovska županija”, in: *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje*, Zagreb 2021, <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=65663> (accessed on 9. 2. 2023).

³ Until the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement in 1868, the status of the Kingdom of Slavonia within the Hungarian legal system was not clear. The Banal office in Zagreb claimed jurisdiction over the Slavonian Kingdom and, meanwhile, the Hungarian government in Budapest denied such claims as unfounded and treated the Slavonian counties equal to other Hungarian ones. Josip Kolanović, Josip Barbarić, Jozo Ivanović, “Državno-pravni položaj Slavonije i Srijema u dokumentima 1699–1848”, *Fontes: Izvori za hrvatsku povijest* 1/1 (1995) 11–28.

⁴ “Vukovska županija”, <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=65663> (accessed on 9. 2. 2023); Petar Korunić, *Naselja i stanovništvo hrvatskih pokrajina 1750–1857. godine*, sv. 2, Zagreb 2018, 652, 668.

⁵ Ivan Beuc, *Povijest institucija državne vlasti Kraljevine Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije: Pravno-povijesne studije*, Zagreb 1985, 232–246; Branko Dubravica, “Političko-teritorijalna podjela i opseg civilne Hrvatske u godinama sjedinjenja s vojnom Hrvatskom 1871.-1886”, *Politička misao : časopis za politologiju* 38/3 (2001) 159–172; Franz Vaniček, *Specialgeschichte der Militärgrenze*, Band IV, Wien 1875, 326, 372–373, 597–601.

Definitions of a city and its legal status

It is methodologically difficult to make a clear division between urban and rural settlements. No universally accepted definition of urban settlements exists. The size, population, architecture, urban planning, function etc. are often the features used to determine a settlement's urban character but with no universal parameters well-defined to apply. The only possible and logical solution would be to rely on the legal status of the settlement as an identification mark. The urban character of settlements was legally recognised in Habsburg lands since the Middle Ages but not in a uniform way. In the early 19th century, the Kingdom of Hungary's urban status was granted foremost to the settlements called "Royal Free Cities". They were at the same level in the constitutional system as the counties and could communicate with the government directly. The urban status, but of a lower level, was granted to towns called privileged places, marketplaces, bishop towns etc. The system was inherited from the Middle Ages when the ruler alone issued special privileges to the settlements and their population. Therefore, the system was not unified and almost every town was granted a different combination and level of rights, privileges and obligations. In the second half of the 19th century, the legal status of urban settlements was unified and regulated by special laws. The regulations from the 1850–1851 period basically abolished municipal rights of the cities in Slavonia and degraded them to the level of districts. In other words, they became simple administrative units of the central government with limited self-government that was fully controlled. The Habsburg governorship in Zagreb could easily overrule any decision made by the city's institutions. The same laws included a distinction between simple marketplaces and marketplaces "with an established magistrate", which would eventually be treated almost as Royal Free Cities. In 1861, municipal rights were re-established on paper only and the right to own courts and jurisdiction was definitely abolished in 1874, but was very limited since the 1850s anyway. The law of 1881 defined urban settlements again as separate administrative units – "urban communes" or cities – but with very limited self-government rights. The new law of 1895 granted the "urban communes" different levels of rights. Only four cities in Croatia-Slavonia were subordinated to the Banal-government in Zagreb directly (among them Zemun in Syrmia) and, meanwhile, all others were subordinated to the counties or even district administrations. Marketplaces with an established magistrate became subordinated to the counties and could keep their prestige designation, but the local administration had to be adjusted to the model prescribed for ordinary communes.⁶

⁶ Нино Делић, "Урбанизација народа? Демографски развој српске градске популације у другој половини 19. века - статистички преглед", у: Урбанизација у источној и југоисточној Европи = Урбанизация в восточной и юго-восточной Европе, ур. Срђан Рудић, Алексеј Александрович Гордин, Београд 2019, 173–178; I. Beuc, *Povijest institucija*, 265–266, 274, 294–295; "Br. 34 – Zakon od 21. lipnja 1895. ob ustroju gradskih obćinah u kraljevinah

In “frontier” Syrmia, the status of an urban settlement could be achieved by promotion into a “Free Military Community”. The Military established the cities with the aim to supply the mainly rural population with some necessary craft and trade products. The Military Communities were not subordinated to the Regiments and had some sort of a local administration but very limited self-government rights. The central government was always in charge of the most important issues and could overrule all local decisions. In 1862, the status of “urban communes” and in 1871 of “cities” was granted to them. After the Military Frontier was gradually abolished (1871–1882), the cities obtained urban status due to the laws of the Kingdom of Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia.⁷

Syrmian settlements with urban status

Due to the fact that until the 1880s Syrmia was divided into two separate political units with specific legal systems defining urban settlements differently, it is not possible to apply one unified model of legal status for the whole region or the entire period. Furthermore, several settlements experienced changes in the legal status in the 1802–1910 period, sometimes gaining urban status but also losing it.

In “civilian” Syrmia, the County capital Vukovar was divided into two separate political units (communes), both marketplaces – Old and New Vukovar (Stari and Novi Vukovar) – until they were unified in 1873. The city was a Royal Free City in the Middle Ages but the law of 1895 granted the settlement only the status of an ordinary commune (like rural ones).⁸

Ruma was a simple marketplace since 1747 and a privileged one with an established magistrate since 1749.⁹ By the law of 1895, the city was basically promoted into an “urban commune”.¹⁰ Officially there were at least four to eleven other marketplaces in “civilian” Syrmia. Marketplaces (*Oppida* in Latin) were basically all places with a privilege granted to hold regular markets. The famous author of Hungarian statistical surveys, Johann Andreas Demian, claimed that there were six marketplaces in Syrmia in 1802. The non-nobles census of 1828/29 counted fifteen

Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji”, in: *Sbornik zakonah i naredabah valjanih za Kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju*, Godina 1895 (Komad I–XXI. Broj 1–90), Zagreb 1895, 219–254.

⁷ Н. Делић, “Урбанизација народа?”, 176–177.

⁸ Vukovar remained the capital of the County despite losing urban status in 1895.

“Br. 34 – Zakon od 21. lipnja 1895. ob ustroju gradskih obćinah u kraljevinah Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji”, 219–220; “Vukovar”, in: *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje*, Zagreb 2021, <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=65649> (accessed on 14. 1. 2023).

⁹ The inhabitants of Ruma achieved by the 1749 contract the right to handle all disputes with the feudal master in county or royal courts. Славко Гавриловић, *Рума, трговиште у Срему 1718–1848/49*, Нови Сад 1969, 12–66.

¹⁰ “Br. 34 – Zakon od 21. lipnja 1895. ob ustroju gradskih obćinah”, 219–220.

marketplaces.¹¹ It is debatable whether all these places, some of them inhabited by just a few hundred souls, can be considered urban settlements. In the early 19th century, Demian considered the inhabitants of Požega only “citizens” (*bürgers*), i.e. urban population, in the “civilian” part of the Kingdom of Slavonia, since he concluded that “we obviously cannot count the inhabitants of the noble marketplaces as members of the urban class”.¹² The cases of Šid and Irig, two large settlements with urban structure characteristics, are somehow specific. Irig acquired the status of a marketplace basically in 1706, when the citizens obtained the privilege to organise markets. A century later, citizens made a deal with their feudal master and gained internal autonomy.¹³ Šid was promoted into a marketplace in 1773 but remained dependent on its feudal master with whom the citizens had to renew a contract every few years.¹⁴ All other, mainly small marketplaces in size, were subordinated to their owners, i.e. feudal masters or the Realm, with almost no autonomy. In the second half of the 19th century, all marketplaces in Syrmia, except Ruma, became ordinary communes by law, losing any kind of urban status.

In “frontier” Syrmia, the Military Communities of Petrovaradin, Sremski Karlovci and Zemun preserved their urban status after the abolishment of the Military Frontier. By the law of 1895, Zemun retained the highest level of urban status, being subordinated to the Banal government in Zagreb directly and, meanwhile, other towns became subordinated to the County. Vinkovci had the status of a Free Military Community in 1765–1787, but was subsequently downgraded to a marketplace despite being the headquarters of the Brod Regiment. After 1882 the marketplace was further downgraded to a simple ordinary commune. Similarly, Sremska Mitrovica was downgraded from a Free Military Community to a marketplace in 1787, but the headquarters of the Petrovaradin Regiment remained in the city. In 1881 Sremska Mitrovica was granted the status of a Royal Free City and by the law of 1895 the town was subordinated to the County.¹⁵

¹¹ Marketplaces in 1828/30: Čerević, Erdevik, Ilok, Indija, Irig, Kamenica, Kukujevc, Nuštar, Ruma, Šarengard, Šid, Sotin, Tovarnik, Vukovar Novi, Vukovar Stari (Ludovicus Nàgy, *Notitiae politico-geographico statisticae Inclytu Regni Hungariae partiumque eidem adnexorum, tomus secundus*, Buda 1829, 32–34). Johann Andreas Demian, *Darstellung der Oesterreichischen Monarchie* III Band / I Abtheilung, *Statistische darstellung des Königreichs Ungern* I Theil, Wien 1805, 446; L. Nàgy, *Notitiae politico-geographico statisticae*, 32–34; Petar Korunić, *Naselja i stanovništvo hrvatskih pokrajina 1828/1830. godine*, Zagreb 2019, 237.

¹² Demian used the term “Bürgerstand” which we translated as “urban class”. J. A. Demian, *Statistische darstellung des Königreichs Ungern* I Theil, 456.

¹³ Славко Гавриловић, *Ириг, трговиште у Срему 1687–1849*, Нови Сад – Ириг 1994, 8, 63–66.

¹⁴ Славко Гавриловић, “Шид и шидско властелинство (1699–1849)”, *Зборник за друштвене науке – Матица српска* 16 (1957) 48–49; Владан Гавриловић, “Сремска трговишта у XVIII и првој половини XIX века”, *Бањалучки новембарски сусрети : зборник радова* 20, Бања Лука 2019, 69.

¹⁵ Alexander Buczynski, *Gradovi Vojne krajine* 1, Zagreb 1997, 52, 74–75; E. Laszowski, “Arkivi po županiji Sremskoj”, 5; “Br. 34 – Zakon od 21. lipnja 1895. ob ustroju gradskih obćinah”, 219–220.

The status of an urban settlement can undoubtedly be assigned to all former Royal Free Cities, Free Military Communities and urban communes by law. Since many settlements were obtaining and losing such status, the only reasonable way to definitely classify them as urban or not for the purpose of the research, is to take into account all that had such legal status at any point in time. This definition includes: Vukovar, Ruma, Petrovaradin, Sremski Karlovci, Zemun, Vinkovci and Sremska Mitrovica.

Demographics of Syrmian cities in 1802–1910

In the first half of the 19th century, no universal, all-inclusive and periodic censuses were carried out in the Kingdom of Hungary. Statistical records about the population were more frequent and of better quality in cities than in rural areas, but still far from modern standards. The nobles were usually not counted, but their number in the south of Hungary was rather small and does not affect the research results. In the second half of the century, professional population counts were ordered and carried out by institutions of the state. Official publications about the census results and data are available. A major problem for researchers with almost all censuses in the former Habsburg Monarchy is the lack of data about ethnicity. To conduct demographic research about a specific ethnic group, methodological modifications are required. Data about religious affiliation and the mother tongue are available and useful to determine the ethnicity. The Orthodox population in Syrmia was almost entirely Serbian by ethnicity and thus data about the Orthodox can be used instead of lacking census information.

Censuses and data for 1802, 1813, 1828/30, 1831, 1839/40, 1857, 1869, 1890 and 1910 were used for research. It is important to note that not all data are fully comparable since the count methodology was changing from census to census (present population, population with permanent residence, military, non-nobles etc.) but we tried to use the most compatible categories from each to minimise possible errors or distortions and make the results reliable.¹⁶

¹⁶ Censuses and data sources by year: 1802: data relate to the present population (Johann Andreas Demian, *Darstellung der Oesterreichischen Monarchie* IV Band / II Abtheilung, *Statistische Beschreibung der Militär-Gränze* II Band, Wien 1807, 175, 186–187, 189–190, 194); 1813: data relate to the present population (Österreichisches Staatsarchiv – OESTA, Kriegsarchiv – KA, Zentralstellen – ZSt, Wiener Hofkriegsrat – HKR, Hauptreihe – HR, Akten, Karton – Kt. 3428, 1814 B – No 112/4); 1828/30: data relate to the non-noble population (L. Nàgy, *Notitiae politico-geographico statisticae*, 32–34; P. Korunić, *Naselja i stanovništvo hrvatskih pokrajina 1828/1830. godine*, 237); 1831: data relate to the present population without the military (Нино Делић, “Становништво Војне крајине 1831: верска структура, наталитет, морталитет, нупцијалитет”, *Зборник Матице српске за историју* 90 (2014) 58–59); 1839/40: data relate most likely to the present population (Elek Fényes, *Magyar országnak, 's a' hozzá kapcsolt tartományoknak mostani állapotja statistikai és geographiai tekintetben* V Kötet, Pesten 1839, 54–55, 65; Elek Fényes, *Magyar országnak, 's a' hozzá*

In the early 19th century, Syrmian cities, except Vinkovci and Petrovaradin, were dominated by Orthodox citizens, i.e. by Serbs in terms of ethnicity. In “frontier” Syrmia, the cities of Zemun, Sremski Karlovci and Sremska Mitrovica were actual Serbian urban strongholds. In “civilian” Syrmia, Orthodox believers did not have any majority in the cities, but in Vukovar and Ruma they accounted for almost a half of the population. During the first half of the 19th century no major demographic changes or anomalies could be observed. As a consequence of war during the 1848/49 Revolution, the population in most cities declined in the early 1850s. Most noticeable is the disproportionate population decrease by religion. The Orthodox population decreased in a more severe manner than other communities. Since the 1860s the cities began to grow again, but the Orthodox population was not able to maintain the same share in the population as in the first half of the century. The war obviously affected the reproductive capacities of urban Orthodox citizens in Syrmia, and new immigration waves of mostly non-Orthodox Christians since the 1860s caused a significant change in the religious/ethnic composition. Orthodox Serbs had a vast majority in Zemun, Sremski Karlovci and Sremska Mitrovica in the first half of the 19th century, but were able to keep a tiny one in Sremski Karlovci in the early 20th century only. The dynamics of this process differed from place to place.

In Zemun, Orthodox citizens comprised a vast majority until the end of the 1850s, despite significant losses in the 1848/49 Revolutionary War. In the 1857–1890 period, the Orthodox community was demographically stagnating and, meanwhile, other groups increased their share due to immigration. The impact of war on the demographics of the Serbian Orthodox population in Zemun can be clearly statistically observed.

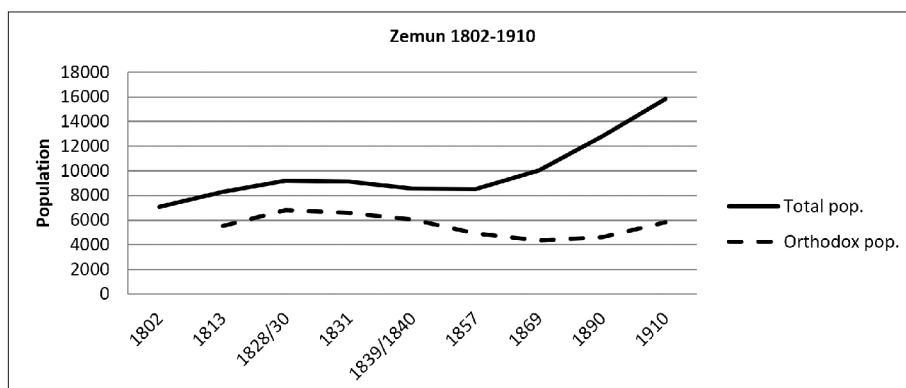
kapcsolt tartományoknak mostani állapotja statistikai és geographiai tekintetben VI Kötet, *Katonai Végvidék*, Pesten 1840, 193–197); 1857: data relate to the domestic population by permanent residence; data for Zemun, Petrovaradin and Sremski Karlovci from the official census publication, for Ruma from the Archives of Vojvodina and for the others from Sabljár's publication (*Statistische Übersichten über die Bevölkerung und den Viehstand vor Österreich nach der Zählung vom 31. october 1857*, Wien 1859, 176; Архив Војводине, Фонд 23 – Земалска СВТБ, Генерални списи, фасцикла 1274, број 4779/1858; Vinko Sabljár, *Miestopisni riečnik kraljevinah Dalmacije, Hervatske i Slavonije*, Zagreb 1866, V–VI, 263, 364, 461, 475); 1869: data relate to the present population probably with the military (*Bevölkerung und Viehstand der im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder, dann der Militärgränze, nach der Zählung vom 31. December 1869*, Heft 1, Wien 1871, 316–317); 1890: data relate to the present population without the military (*Političko i sudbeno razdieljenje Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije i repertorij mjesta po posljedih popisa godine 1890*, Zagreb 1892, 140, 142, 145–146); 1910: data relate to the present domestic population without the military for Zemun, Petrovaradin, Ruma and Sremska Mitrovica and for the others to the present population with the military (*A Magyar korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálás 1. A népesség főbb adatai községek és népesebb puszták, telepek szerint*, Budapest 1912, II-690–699).

DEMOGRAPHIC DYNAMICS OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX POPULATION
IN SYRMIAN CITIES IN 1802–1910

Table 1 Population of Zemun in 1802–1910¹⁷

Year	Total population	Orthodox population	Share of Orthodox in %
1802	7,089	-	-
1813	8,313	5,536	66.59
1828/30	9,197	6,811	74.06
1831	9,136	6,597	72.21
1839/1840	8,543	6,042	70.72
1857	8,528	4,909	57.56
1869	10,046	4,358	43.38
1890	12,823	4,622	36.04
1910	15,835	5,845	36.91

Chart 1 Population development in Zemun in 1802–1910¹⁸



A very similar pattern to Zemun may be observed in the case of Sremski Karlovci. In the early 19th century, Orthodox Serbs comprised almost three quarters in the total population and maintained a similar share until the Revolution of 1848/49. After the war, the share decreased to two thirds, and a long period of a steady population decrease or stagnation of the Orthodox can be detected. Finally, in 1910 the Orthodox had only a tiny majority of 56%. At the time it was the only city in Syrmia left with an Orthodox majority.

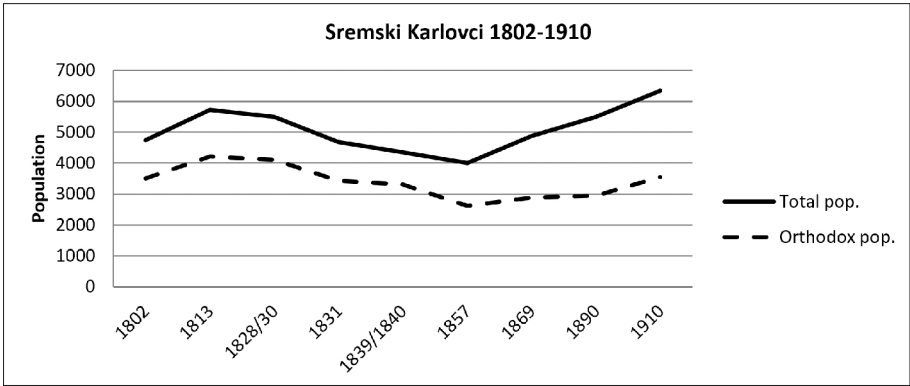
¹⁷ Data sources: See footnote No 16.

¹⁸ Data sources: Table 1.

Table 2 Population of Sremski Karlovci in 1802–1910¹⁹

Year	Total population	Orthodox population	Share of Orthodox in %
1802	4,745	3,514	74.06
1813	5,726	4,223	73.75
1828/30	5,499	4,116	74.85
1831	4,682	3,438	73.43
1839/1840	4,357	3,315	76.08
1857	4,002	2,614	65.32
1869	4,874	2,892	59.34
1890	5,490	2,950	53.73
1910	6,342	3,553	56.02

Chart 2 Population development in Sremski Karlovci in 1802–1910²⁰



In Petrovaradin, the Orthodox never had a majority in the population and most of them lived actually in the nearby village of Bukovac that was attached to the city. This is the main reason for the decline in the late 19th century since the village was administratively separated from Petrovaradin prior to 1880. The city itself had only limited growth capacities since there was almost no space to expand left for new construction works. Petrovaradin was “locked” within the same spatial and demographic framework as in the early 19th century.

¹⁹ Data sources: See footnote No 16.

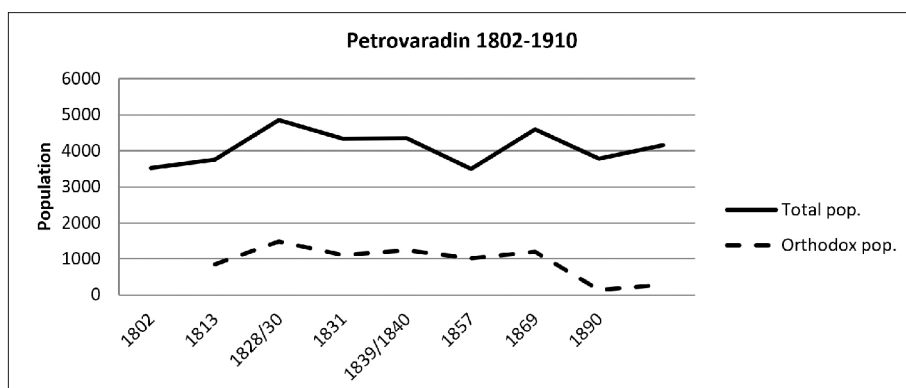
²⁰ Data sources: Table 2.

DEMOGRAPHIC DYNAMICS OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX POPULATION
IN SYRMIAN CITIES IN 1802–1910

Table 3 Population of Petrovaradin in 1802–1910²¹

Year	Total population	Orthodox population	Share of Orthodox in %
1802	3,522	-	-
1813	3,762	845	22.46
1828/30	4,859	1,488	30.62
1831	4,337	1,107	25.52
1839/1840	4,353	1,241	28.51
1857	3,502	1,023	29.21
1869	4,597	1,198	26.06
1890	3,777	144	3.81
1910	4,160	281	6.75

Chart 3 Population development in Petrovaradin in 1802–1910²²



Sremska Mitrovica was a large marketplace and the headquarters of the Petrovaradin Regiment in the early 19th century. Until 1910 the population basically tripled and there is no evidence that the 1848/49 Revolution did any significant harm to the city. Immigration in the second half of the century, on the other hand, had a huge impact on the religious and ethnic composition. Orthodox Serbs lost the majority after the Revolution of 1848/49, probably due to some war losses as well, but showed some demographic vitality until 1910 by significantly increasing the population. Still, other religious groups did even better and the Orthodox comprised just about 40% of the population in the early 20th century.

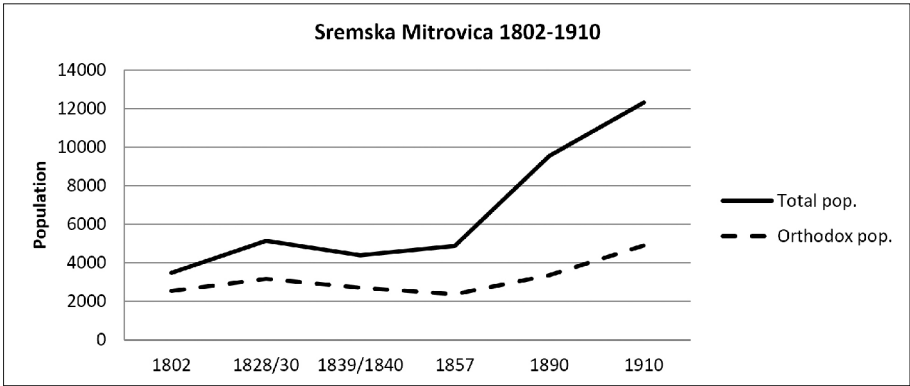
²¹ Data sources: See footnote No 16.

²² Data sources: Table 3.

Table 4 Population of Sremska Mitrovica in 1802–1910²³

Year	Total population	Orthodox population	Share of Orthodox in %
1802	3,489	2,531	72.54
1828/30	5,132	3,159	61.55
1839/1840	4,402	2,720	61.79
1857	4,888	2,373	48.55
1890	9,541	3,366	35.28
1910	12,325	4,892	39.69

Chart 4 Population development in Sremska Mitrovica in 1802–1910²⁴



The marketplace of Ruma was inhabited by almost 50% Orthodox citizens in the early 19th century. After the Revolution of 1848/49, the Orthodox community decreased significantly in the number and share. The city's population almost doubled until 1910, but the Orthodox community was more or less at the same level as in the 1820s, and thus the share of the Orthodox decreased to some 27%.

²³ Data sources: See footnote No 16.

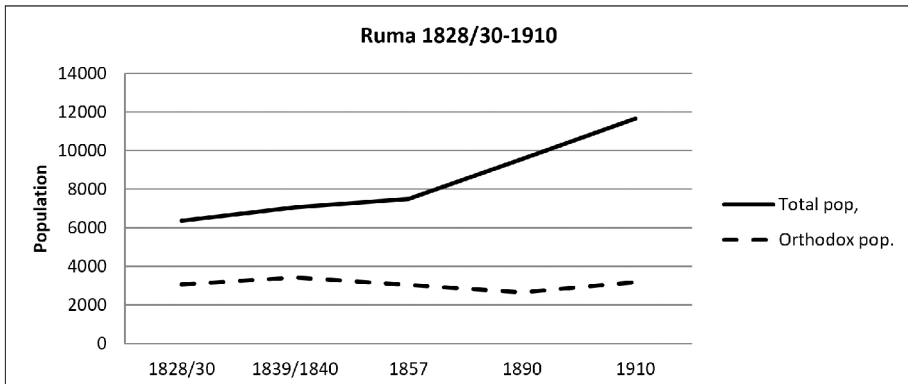
²⁴ Data sources: Table 4.

DEMOGRAPHIC DYNAMICS OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX POPULATION
IN SYRMIAN CITIES IN 1802–1910

Table 5 Population of Ruma in 1828/30–1910²⁵

Year	Total population	Orthodox population	Share of Orthodox in %
1828/30	6,367	3,071	48.23
1839/1840	7,071	3,446	48.73
1857	7,511	3,043	40.51
1890	9,582	2,672	27.89
1910	11,668	3,199	27.42

Chart 5 Population development in Ruma in 1828/30–1910²⁶



Orthodox Serbs were never a majority in Vinkovci, but in the early 19th century they were a significant community comprising around a fifth of the population. After the Revolution of 1848/49, they suffered a huge decrease in numbers, but recovered somewhat in the following decades. The city was growing fast and the Orthodox could not keep up and deteriorated to some 9% in the total population in 1910.

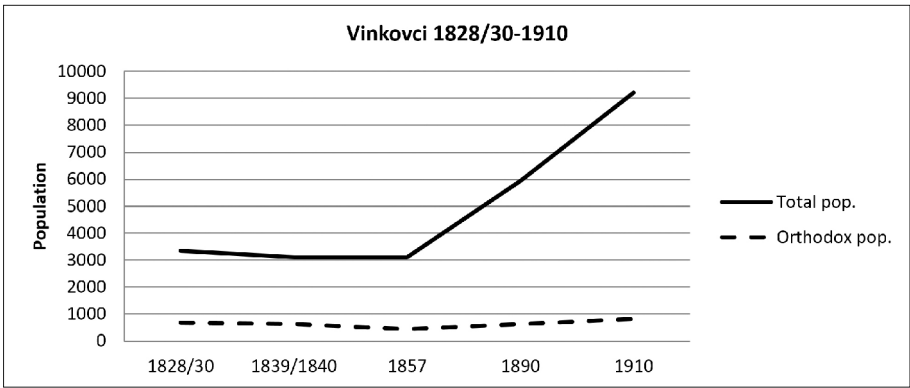
²⁵ Data sources: See footnote No 16.

²⁶ Data sources: Table 5.

Table 6 Population of Vinkovci in 1828/30–1910²⁷

Year	Total population	Orthodox population	Share of Orthodox in %
1828/30	3,349	679	20.27
1839/1840	3,102	628	20.25
1857	3,113	442	14.20
1890	5,946	632	10.63
1910	9,220	823	8.93

Chart 6 Population development in Vinkovci in 1828/30–1910²⁸



The capital of the Syrmian County Vukovar was administratively divided into Old and New (Stari and Novi) until 1873, so the values for both had to be added and presented for the city as a whole. Orthodox Serbs were a strong community in the first half of the 19th century, making about 40% in the total population. After the 1848/49 Revolutionary War, the Orthodox were demographically stagnating and, meanwhile, other groups, mainly due to immigration, helped the city to overcome the 10.000 population hurdle in 1910. Orthodox Serbs made up just about 15% of the population of Vukovar in the same year and lost undoubtedly a lot of influence on the city's authorities and policies.

²⁷ Data sources: See footnote No 16.

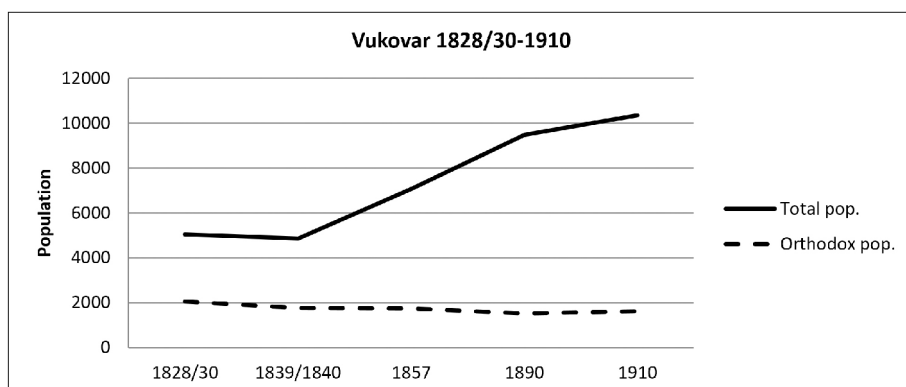
²⁸ Data sources: Table 6.

DEMOGRAPHIC DYNAMICS OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX POPULATION
IN SYRMIAN CITIES IN 1802–1910

Table 7 Population of Vukovar in 1828/30–1910²⁹

Year	Total population	Orthodox population	Share of Orthodox in %
1828/30	5,038	2,050	40.69
1839/1840	4,860	1,769	36.40
1857	7,070	1,753	24.79
1890	9,494	1,519	16.00
1910	10,359	1,628	15.72

Chart 7 Population development in Vukovar in 1828/30–1910³⁰



The Serbian Orthodox population in Syrmian cities during the 19th century was constantly deteriorating. In the 1828/30–1910 period, the total population in Syrmian cities increased by 30,468 inhabitants or 77.25%. The urban Orthodox community decreased by 1,153 inhabitants or -5.39% in the same period. The share of the Orthodox in the urban population decreased from 54.19% to 28.92%.

Table 8 Urban population development in Syrmia (7 cities) in 1828/30–1910³¹

Year	Total population	Orthodox population	Share of Orthodox in %
1828/30	39,441	21,374	54.19
1910	69,909	20,221	28.92

²⁹ Values for Old and New Vukovar (Stari and Novi Vukovar) are added up. Data sources: See footnote No 16.

³⁰ Data sources: Table 7.

³¹ Data sources: Tables 1–7.

The demographic trend observed in Syrmia was not specific. Orthodox Serbs were facing a constant decrease in the numbers and share in urban settlements in a much broader region including the whole Military Frontier, Croatia, Slavonia, and the south of the Kingdom of Hungary proper during the 19th century. Syrmia, together with the neighbouring southern Bačka and Banat regions, could be considered a sort of a Serbian Orthodox urban stronghold in the early 19th century. Most of the cities in that broader area were dominantly inhabited by Orthodox citizens and had a huge impact on economic, military, cultural, educational and political processes. The cities in the south of the Kingdom of Hungary were political centres of the Serbian national movement in the Monarchy and most Serbian “national” institutions (schools, societies, theatres, publishing houses etc.) were placed there. The dominant Serbian character of the cities began to vanish since the 1850s and most became multi-ethnic with a Serbian minority until 1910. This development hindered the Serbian movement to accumulate necessary intellectual, economic and political capacities to influence government policies and successfully participate in everyday political life in the Monarchy.³²

The process of “losing” the cities was particularly problematic for the Orthodox Serbs in Syrmia. The Orthodox population made up some 45% of the total present population of the County in 1910, but only 29% in the cities.³³ Orthodox Serbs were not able to maintain a fair share in the urban population in the County where they always comprised the most important and largest religious and ethnic group. The consequences of war and migrations have been identified as the major causes of the decline of the Orthodox in urban settlements during the 19th century, but additional research is necessary to examine these processes in detail.

³² Н. Делић, “Урбанизација народа?”, 181–186.

³³ We compared values from Table 8 and for the whole Syrmian County in the 1910 census publication (including Zemun, which was administratively not subordinated to the County at that time). *A Magyar korona országainak 1910. évi 1. II- 470–476.*

Нино Делич

**ДИНАМИКА ДЕМОГРАФИЧЕСКОГО РАЗВИТИЯ ПРАВОСЛАВНОГО НАСЕЛЕНИЯ
В СРЕМСКИХ ОБЩИНАХ/ГОРОДАХ В ПЕРИОД С 1802 ПО 1910 ГОД.**

Резюме

Данный текст посвящен статистическому анализу развития населения городов Срема в период с 1802 по 1910 годы. Для населенных пунктов Срема, для которых было возможным закрепить правовой статус города (Земун, Сремски Карловци, Петроварадин, Сремска Митровица, Рума, Винковци и Вуковар), представлены данные о численности общего и православного населения. Анализ показал, что в первой половине XIX века в большинстве городов православные жители составляли либо абсолютное большинство (Земун, Сремски Карловци, Сремска Митровица), либо очень значительное меньшинство из более чем трети населения (Рума и Вуковар). В течение пятидесятих годов в почти всех городах было зафиксировано общее снижение численности населения в результате военных событий во время Революции 1848/49 годов. Демографическое восстановление наступило через следующее десятилетие, но православное сообщество демографически застояло, что привело к постепенному сокращению его доли в населении всех городов Срема до 1910 года. В начале XX века только в Сремских Карловцах православные жители все еще составляли более половины населения. Доля православных в общем городском населении Срема снизилась с 54,19% в 1828/30 годах до 28,92% в 1910 году. Православное население в 1910 году составляло около 45% населения Сремской жупании, но всего лишь немного менее 29% в городах. Постоянное снижение доли в городском населении и потеря ярко выраженного сербского характера большинства городов имело негативное влияние на возможности сербского народа и его политических и других движения для активного участия в политических и общественных процессах в Габсбургской монархии.

Нино Делић

**ДИНАМИКА ДЕМОГРАФСКОГ РАЗВОЈА СРПСКЕ ПРАВОСЛАВНЕ ПОПУЛАЦИЈЕ
У СРЕМСКИМ КОМУНИТЕТИМА/ГРАДОВИМА 1802–1910. ГОДИНЕ**

Резиме

Рад је посвећен статистичкој анализи развоја становништва сремских градова у периоду од 1802. до 1910. године. За сремска насеља, за која је било могуће утврдити урбани статус у правном смислу (Земун, Сремски Карловци, Петроварадин,

Сремска Митровица, Рума, Винковци и Вуковар), представљени су подаци о броју укупног и православног становништва. Анализа је показала да су у првој половини XIX века у већини градова православни житељи чинили или апсолутну већину (Земун, Сремски Карловци, Сремска Митровица) или веома значајну мањину од преко трећине становништва (Рума и Вуковар). Током педесетих година у скоро свим градовима забележен је општи пад броја становника као последица ратних дешавања у Револуцији 1848/49. године. Демографски опоравак је уследио деценију касније али је православна заједница демографски стагнирала што је узроковало постепено смањење њеног удела у популацији свих сремских градова све до 1910. године. Почетком XX века само у Сремским Карловцима су православни становници још увек представљали натполовичну већину у популацији. Удео православних у укупном урбаном становништву Срема опао је са 54,19% у 1828/30. на 28,92% у 1910. години. Православно становништво је 1910. чинило око 45% у популацији Сремске жупаније али само непуних 29% у градовима. Константно смањивање удела у урбаној популацији и губитак изразито српског карактера већине градова имало је негативан утицај на капацитете српског народа и покрета у Хабзбуршкој монархији за активним деловањем и учествовањем у политичким и друштвеним процесима.

Aleksandra Vuletić*

Institute of History

Belgrade

ORCID ID: 0000-0001-5991-8666

URBAN POPULATION IN SERBIA IN 1900: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Abstract: The paper discusses some of the key demographic characteristics of the urban population in Serbia at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century. Emphasizing factors such as sex and age distribution, marital pattern, household composition, dwelling ownership, engagement in agriculture, and literacy, the study relies on the official data from the 1900 census. The analysis presents aggregated data for both urban and rural settlements, providing a nuanced understanding of their differences and similarities. Additionally, the paper extracts and highlights specific data for the three largest urban centres – Belgrade, Niš and Kragujevac, offering deeper insight into their dynamics.

Keywords: population, urban population, urban settlements, demographic characteristics, Serbia, 19th century.

Urban Development in 19th Century Serbia

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, only 14% of Serbia's population lived in urban areas. In contrast to more industrially developed European nations, where the late 1800s and early 1900s witnessed substantial urban migration fuelled by industrialization, Serbia's migration patterns in the early 19th century were significantly shaped by political events. Prior to the early 19th century, urban settlements in Serbia were predominantly inhabited by the Turkish/Muslim population. However, the First Serbian Uprising (1804–1813) marked a transformative

* aleksandra.vuletic@iib.ac.rs

period as the Turkish/Muslim population vacated, making way for a predominantly Serbian population to move in. Following the upheaval of the Uprising, the expelled Turks/Muslim residents, along with individuals from other nationalities such as Greeks, Cincars, Jews, etc., who had previously inhabited major urban centres, began returning to urban settlements. The attainment of political autonomy (1829–1834) and the initiation of the construction of the Serbian national state further catalysed immigration, drawing Serbian and other non-Muslim populations to Serbia, largely from neighbouring regions of the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires. Conversely, the Turkish/Muslim population experienced a gradual decline, until 1867 when it entirely left the country.

After gaining autonomy, the first population census took place in Serbia (1834). The urban population was relatively modest at that time, with the most prominent urban settlements situated in the northern part of the country, near or along the border with the Habsburg Monarchy. The largest among these were Belgrade (7,033 inhabitants), Šabac (2,018), Smederevo (2,450), and Požarevac (2,033).¹ Over the ensuing decades, there was a gradual increase in the Serbian and other non-Muslim populations within urban settlements. Up until the mid-19th century, there was a notable influx of immigrants to urban areas, originating from the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires. In the latter half of the century, however, the demographic landscape shifted, with immigrants from rural areas of Serbia assuming the predominant role in shaping the urban populace.

With the territorial expansion into four southern districts in 1878, Serbia's network of urban settlements underwent significant growth. The newly annexed areas exhibited a higher proportion of urban dwellers compared to the pre-existing regions of Serbia. In 1879, the urban population's share in the new districts reached 14.2%, marking a 7% increase compared to the urban population share within the old borders of Serbia, as recorded in 1874 census. Notably, urban settlements in the southern part of the country boasted a larger average population size than settlements in the old regions. Following its incorporation in Serbia, Niš, the largest urban centre in the newly acquired regions, ascended to become the second-largest settlement in the country in terms of population size.²

¹ Leposava Cvijetić, "Popis stanovništva i imovine u Srbiji 1834. godine", *Mešovita građa (Miscellanea)* XIII (1984) 9–118. The Turkish/Muslim population, residing in six designated imperial cities (until 1867), was excluded from the census as it fell outside the jurisdiction of Serbian authorities. According to unofficial data about the Turkish population in Belgrade in the mid-1830s, there were 1.338 married men, 1.322 unmarried men (including children) and 1.104 members of military units, in: Aleksandra Vuletić, Nino Delić, "Population of Belgrade as a Focus of Political and Administrative Interest in the mid-19th Century", in: *Belgrade 1521–1867*, ed. Dragana Amedoski, Belgrade 2018, 336.

² Aleksandra Vuletić, "Demografske karakteristike stanovništva novih okruga u vreme prisajedinjenja Kneževini Srbiji", in: *Od turske kasabe do modernog grada preko Berlina i Versaja*, ur. Miloš Jagodić, Pirot 2018, 129–140.

The initial official classification of inhabited places occurred in 1866, where all settlements underwent categorisation into *towns*, *small towns* and *villages*. The status of town was granted to Belgrade and district seats, determined by the administrative function of the settlement. Conversely, small town status was primarily contingent on the economic functions of the settlement, with crafts and trade serving as predominant activities for the population. The administrative division of settlements revealed a total of 39 urban settlements – comprising 17 towns and 21 small towns. As time progressed, the number of urban settlements expanded, mainly due to the rise in small towns. These settlements, originally mostly rural, saw the prevalence of urban economic activities such as trade and crafts over rural pursuits like agriculture, earning them the classification of small towns. In the subsequent decades, the town status was exclusively reserved for district seats, and the increase in their number was primarily closely tied to adjustments in territorial administration. In 1889, the two largest urban centres, Belgrade and Niš, were bestowed with the status of special administrations, prompting a more frequent designation of *cities* for these urban areas.³

As the 19th century drew to a close, the count of urban settlements increased to 81, encompassing 24 towns and 57 small towns.⁴ The accompanying chart illustrates the population growth of towns in Serbia from 1834 to 1900, focusing on settlements that held that status in the year 1900. Notably, the last five among them became part of Serbia in 1878.

³ For more details on the systematisation of urban settlements: Bojana Miljković-Katić, *Struktura gradskog stanovništva Srbije sredinom XIX veka*, Beograd 2002, 62–84.

⁴ *Statistički godišnjak [SG] V* (1900), Beograd 1904, 33–36; *Statistika Kraljevine Srbije [SKS] XXIV* (1905), Beograd 1906, p. LXX.

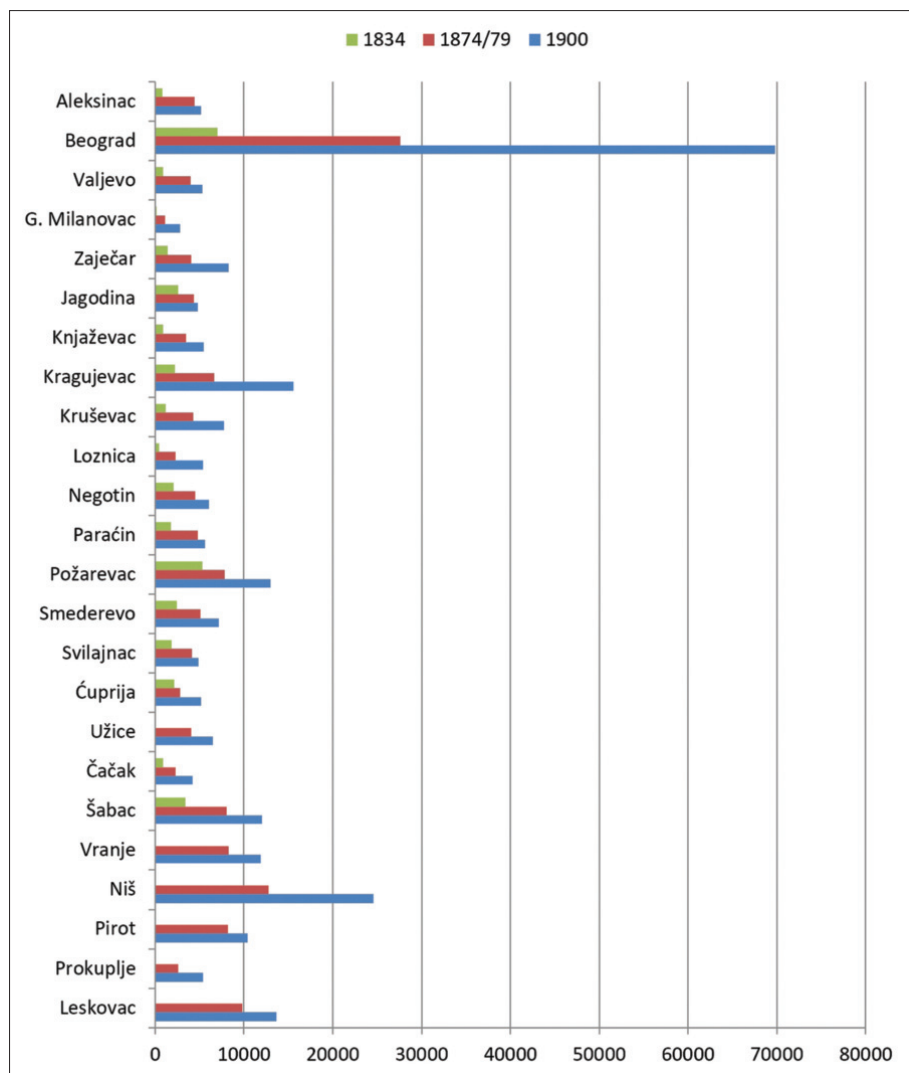


Chart 1: Urban population in 1834, 1874/1879 and 1900
(in absolute numbers)⁵

⁵ Sources of data for 1834 and 1874/1879: Vladimir Jovanović, Aleksandra Vuletić, Momir Samardžić, *Naličja modernizacije. Srpska država i društvo u vreme sticanja nezavisnosti*, Beograd 2017, 233; za 1900: "Popis stanovništva u Kraljevini Srbiji 31. decembra 1900. godine", in: *SKS XXIII* (1903), Beograd 1904, 9–686. Column 1874/1879: data for 1879 relate to the last five settlements in the chart.

At the close of the 19th century, a mere eight urban settlements in Serbia boasted populations exceeding 10,000 inhabitants (Belgrade, Niš, Kragujevac, Leskovac, Požarevac, Šabac, Vranje and Pirot), while the majority had fewer than 5,000 residents. The average population of urban settlements stood at 4,334.⁶ Interestingly, during this period, many villages still surpassed certain urban settlements in population size. For instance, the village of Azanja, with 7,426 inhabitants in 1900, exceeded the population of 12 towns, including Smederevo, the administrative centre of the district where Azanja was situated. In comparison to many European countries, the growth of the urban population in Serbia throughout the latter half of the 19th century was notably slow. The primary hindrance to its expansion was attributed to the absence, or rather the slow development of industry.⁷

Methodological Considerations

Despite the relatively modest proportion of the urban population within the overall demographic landscape of late 19th century Serbia, and the circumstance that many urban settlements had fewer inhabitants than their rural counterparts, the urban population exhibited distinct demographic characteristics setting it apart from the rural populace. This study aims to illuminate several pivotal features: sex distribution, age composition, marriage patterns, household structure, dwelling ownership, engagement in agriculture, and literacy.⁸ These demographic attributes are derived from the findings of the 1900 census and other relevant statistical data of that era. To enhance clarity, the data are presented aggregately for both, urban and rural settlements, facilitating the examination of disparities or resemblances between them. Moreover, data for the three largest urban centres – Belgrade, Niš and Kragujevac – have been isolated from the aggregated urban dataset for a more in-depth analysis. We consider these city centres representative due to their substantial population sizes and unique characteristics, which we will briefly outline.

From the very inception of the modern Serbian state, Belgrade held the status of a primate city. Although formally declared as the capital of Serbia only in 1841, Belgrade had already solidified its position as the paramount city in preceding decades. Its significance was deeply rooted in its geostrategic location, positioned along the border with the Habsburg Monarchy, granting it exceptional political,

⁶ SKS XXIV (1905), p. LXXI. About the development of urban centres in the second half of the 19th century also see: Nino Delić, "Urbanizacija naroda? Demografski razvoj srpske gradske populacije u drugoj polovini 19. veka – statistički pregled", in: *Urbanizacija u istočnoj i jugoistočnoj Evropi*, ed. Srđan Rudić, Aleksej Gordin, Beograd 2019, 167–196.

⁷ The increase in the urban population in the last decades of the 19th century was attributed to administrative changes – the proclamation of certain rural settlements as urban – rather than to the growth of the population in them, SKS XXIV (1905), p. LXX.

⁸ Due to the limited scope of the work, data on the national and religious affiliation of the population have been omitted. They will be the subject of a separate paper.

economic, and cultural importance. Belgrade served as the primary conduit for trade with the neighbouring Monarchy, facilitating the influx of European cultural influences into the city and subsequently permeating throughout the country. By the year 1900, boasting population of almost 70,000 residents, Belgrade stood as a city nearly three times larger than Niš and four and a half times larger than Kragujevac.⁹

Kragujevac, a settlement located in central Serbia, held the distinction of being the inaugural capital of the modern Serbian state. Its selection as the capital in 1818 was driven by political and strategic considerations. However, with the waning relevance of these factors following the attainment of autonomy, the capital was subsequently relocated to Belgrade in 1841. Notably, in the mid-19th century, Kragujevac witnessed the establishment of its first industrial plants, marking the inception of its transformation into the industrial hub of Serbia. During its tenure as the capital, Kragujevac experienced a slower population growth compared to Belgrade and other northern towns. Nevertheless, in the latter half of the 19th century, propelled by industrial development, Kragujevac demonstrated higher rates of population growth. Consequently, by the late 19th century, it emerged as the third-largest urban settlement in Serbia.¹⁰

Niš, the largest urban settlement in southern Serbia, became part of the country in 1878. Given its political significance for the Serbian state, Niš earned the title of the second capital of Serbia in the 1880s and 1890s. Throughout most of the 19th century, Niš underwent development under distinct political and economic conditions in comparison to urban settlements in the older districts of Serbia. These conditions gave rise to specific demographic characteristics, which, along with other urban centres in the south, set it apart at the time of its integration into Serbian state. Noteworthy among the distinctive features of urban centres in the southern region were their larger population size compared to the cities in the older areas, a higher proportion of women in the total population, and a lower number of literate residents.¹¹

When applicable, data are differentiated for the male and female population. The results of the 1900 census provided information on both the factual and legal population, and for the purposes of this paper, data pertaining to the factual population have been utilized.

⁹ A. Vuletić, N. Delić, *Population of Belgrade*, 327–346.

¹⁰ At the time when there were still tensions between representatives of the Serbian and Ottoman administrations, the position of Kragujevac in the interior of the country, outside the main lines of communication and without the presence of the Turkish military and civilian population, played a decisive role in its selection as the capital, see: Aleksandra Vuletić, “Demografski kapaciteti Kragujevca kao prestone varoši”, in: *Kragujevac prva prestonica moderne Srbije 1818–1841*, ed. Predrag Ilić, Kragujevac 2019, 11–29.

¹¹ A. Vuletić, “Od turske kasabe do evropskog grada”, 129–140.

Sex and Age Distribution

Throughout the entire 19th century, the male population in Serbia consistently outnumbered the female population. The gender disparity was most pronounced in the mid-first half of the century, gradually diminishing thereafter, but still evident in the late 1800s. This demographic phenomenon is primarily attributed to immigration, as during this period, more people migrated into Serbia than departed from it. Given that men are more actively involved in migration processes, immigration tended to skew the population towards a higher proportion of males. The distribution of the population by sex in urban and rural areas, along with the largest urban centres in Serbia in 1900, is represented in the accompanying chart.¹²

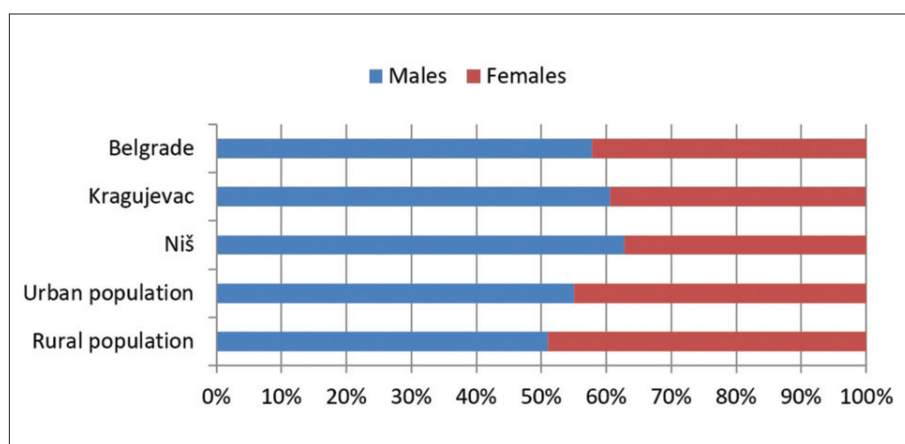


Chart 2: Population by sex in 1900¹³

The prevalence of men in late 19th century Serbia exhibited a more marked disparity in urban areas, constituting 55% of the population, compared to rural areas, where the proportion of men was only marginally higher than that of women (51%). This gender disparity was more pronounced in the largest city centres, primarily attributable to the presence of military personnel, gendarmerie members, and to a lesser extent, convicts. In Belgrade, these three groups collectively constituted 16% of the male population, nearly a fifth in Kragujevac, and as much as a third in Niš. If we exclude the aforementioned groups and focus solely on the civilian population, Niš and Belgrade, with 53% and 53.5% of the male population, respectively, would exhibit a slightly lower proportion of men compared to the urban settlement average; meanwhile, Kragujevac, with 55.4% male residents, would slightly exceed the average for urban areas.

¹² V. Jovanović, A. Vuletić, M. Samardžić, *Naličja modernizacije*, 202–234.

¹³ SKS XXIII (1903), 2–8, 158–163, 314–319, 746–751.

At the time of incorporation into the Serbian state, the gender disparity in Niš and other urban settlements in the southern regions was less pronounced compared to urban areas in older regions of Serbia. However, by the close of the 19th century, these differences in population structure according to gender had nearly vanished. This convergence was influenced by two main factors: a more substantial increase in the female population in urban settlements of the older regions, and the presence of military and gendarmerie units in urban areas in the southern part of the country.¹⁴

The age structure of the urban and rural population, categorized by sex and distributed across five age groups (0–15, 16–45, 45–70, 70+), is depicted in the chart below:

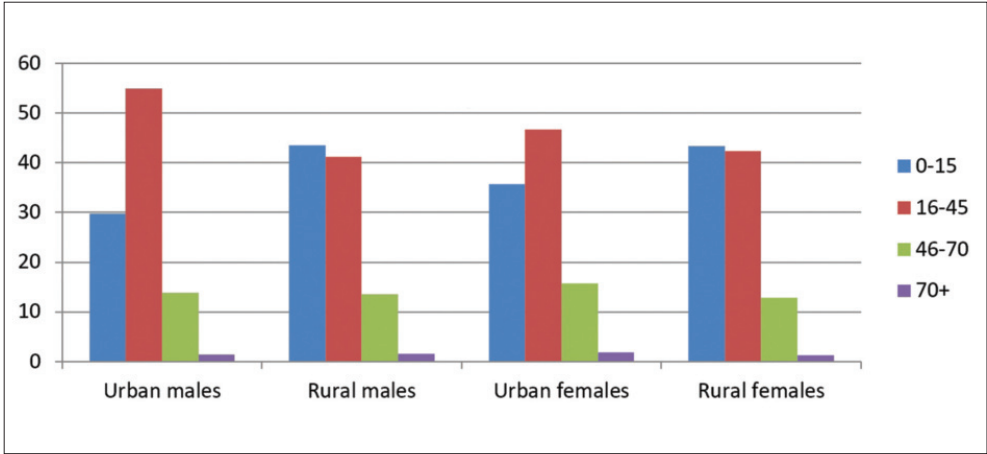


Chart 3: Age structure of urban and rural population in 1900¹⁵

Among the aforementioned population groups, the most notable disparity in age structure existed between the male populations in urban and rural areas. In urban settlements, the age group of 16–45, representing the most work-capable segment of the male population, was the most prevalent, while in rural areas, the largest contingent comprised the young population not yet fit for work. Discrepancies in age structure between urban and rural settings were also evident in the female population, albeit to a lesser extent. In towns, men aged 16–45 constituted 55% of the male population, whereas women in the same age group accounted for 47%. These

¹⁴ The numerical superiority of men is considered a characteristic of all cities in the territory of the former Ottoman Empire, in which only men had an active working role, in contrast to Western European cities, where women were already part of the labour force in the economic system in the 19th century, so they often had a larger share in the city population than men, Vladimir Jakšić, “Číslo i pokret ljudstva glavnog grada Beograda”, *Glasnik Društva srpske slovesnosti* IV (1852) 252.

¹⁵ SKS XXIII (1903), 746–748.

variations can be attributed to a higher influx of men aged 16–45 through urban immigration and a greater male presence in the economic activities of urban settlements. In the category of the population aged 45 and above, the distinctions between men in urban and rural areas were marginal, while there was a higher proportion of elderly women in urban settlements. We posit that these differences may be linked to more favourable living conditions for women in urban areas, coupled with their reduced exposure to physical labour compared to their rural counterparts.¹⁶

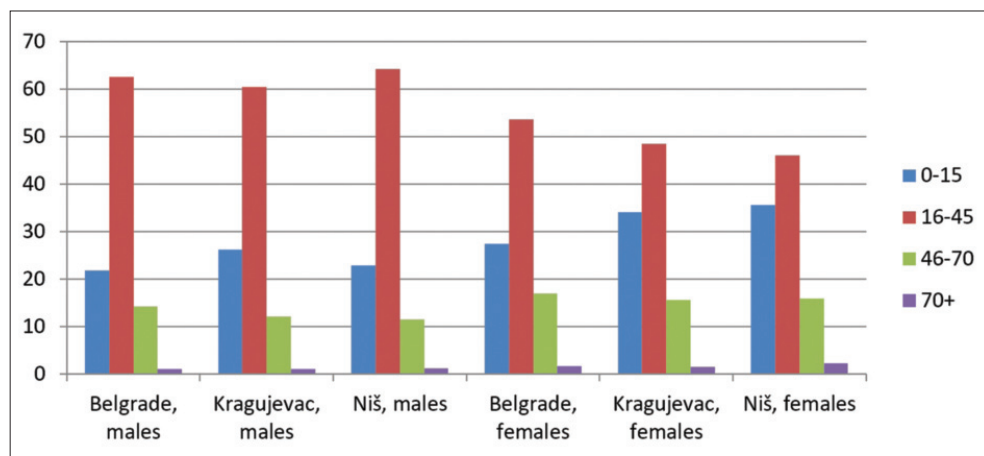


Chart 3a: Age structure of urban population in 1900¹⁷

All three major urban centres exhibited a higher proportion of male population aged 16–45 compared to the average for urban settlements. We assume that the heightened presence of the army and gendarmerie members in these major urban centres contributed to this overrepresentation. Notably, Niš had the highest proportional number of army and gendarmerie members, consequently resulting in the largest share of men within 16–45 age group. In contrast, in the female segment of the population, Belgrade recorded the highest proportion within the 16–45 age group. This could be attributed to a potentially greater influx of female immigrants from the neighbouring Habsburg Monarchy, distinguishing the capital city from other urban centres.

¹⁶ For more information about the mortality rates in Serbia in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century and the average age of the population see: Aleksandra Vuletić, "Mortalitet muškaraca i žena u Srbiji 1862–1910. godine", *Istorijski časopis LXXI* (2022) 411–431.

¹⁷ SKS XXIII (1903), 2–4, 158–160, 314–316.

Marriage Pattern

Early marriage, a low number of unmarried individuals, and a high degree of household complexity are fundamental characteristics often associated with the marriage model in 19th century Serbian society.¹⁸ As the rural population constituted the overwhelming majority of Serbia’s demographic composition, it exerted a profound influence on the average values of demographic features for the entire country. By examining the data on the marital status of the Serbian population in 1900, our aim is to ascertain whether the imperative of marriage, prevalent in rural society, also extended to urban areas.

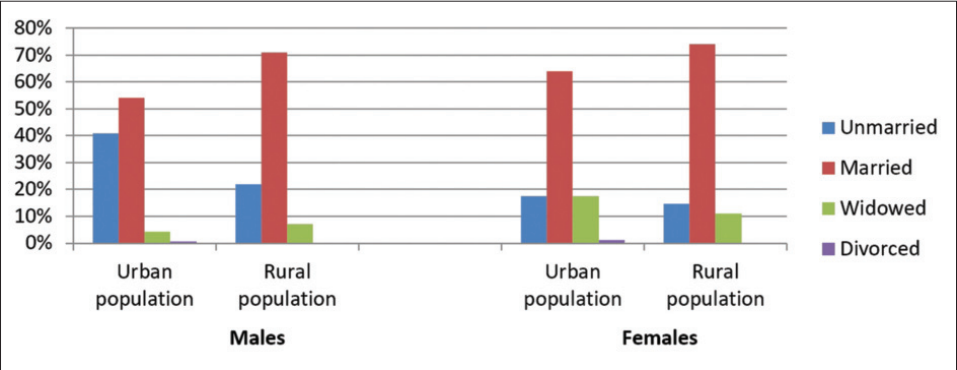


Chart 4: Population aged 15+ by marital status in 1900¹⁹

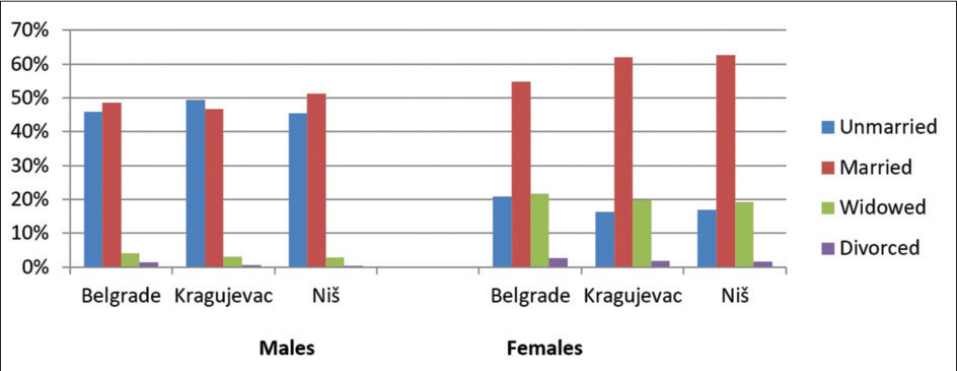


Chart 4a: Population aged 15+ by marital status in 1900²⁰

¹⁸ A classical paper on marriage patterns that sparked a plethora of scholarly writings on this topic: John Hajnal, “European Marriage Patterns in Perspective”, in: *Population in History: Essays in Historical Demography*, ed. D. Glass and D. Eversley, Chicago: Aldine, 1965, 101–143. About the literature concerning the Serbian family in the past see: Aleksandra Vuletić, *Porodica u Srbiji sredinom 19. veka*, Beograd 2002.

¹⁹ SKS XXIII (1903), 746–751.

²⁰ SKS XXIII (1903), 2–8, 158–163, 314–319.

Divergent marriage patterns were observed between urban and rural populations. The prevalence of unmarried individuals was significantly higher in urban areas, particularly among males. The percentage of unmarried men aged 15 and above was nearly double in urban areas compared to rural ones, standing at 41% and 22%, respectively. The highest concentration of unmarried men was found in the largest urban centres; in Kragujevac, nearly half of men aged 15 and above were unmarried. Conversely, the proportion of unmarried individuals was notably lower in the female urban population, at 17%, only 2% higher than their rural counterparts.

Another aspect worth exploring involves comparing the absolute numbers of married men and women in both urban and rural areas. In towns, the number of married men exceeded that of married women (75,927 vs. 61,876), whereas in rural areas, the trend reversed, with the number of married women surpassing that of married men (444,734 vs. 432,696). These disparities can be attributed to migration patterns. A portion of married men relocated from rural to urban settings, either temporarily or permanently, without their spouses, who, in turn, either temporarily or permanently remained in their native areas. In the overall count of married residents in Serbia, the number of married men exceeded that of married women by 2,013. We posit that a significant portion of this “surplus” can be associated with immigrants from abroad – specifically from the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires – who arrived in Serbia without their spouses.

We posit that the disparities in marriage patterns between urban and rural populations can largely be ascribed to the distinct economic systems in these areas and the differing roles of women within them. In rural economies, entering into marriage served as a necessary precondition not only for the biological reproduction of the family but also for the economic reproduction of the domestic household. In contrast, urban economies, where women typically played a less active role, required a material foundation established by men as a prerequisite for marriage, aimed at supporting future families. Consequently, men in urban centres tended to marry at a later stage than their rural counterparts, with some remaining unmarried throughout their lives. Conversely, economically dependent women in urban settings often married at an earlier age. This dynamic contributed to a notable age difference between husbands and wives, particularly pronounced in urban areas. We posit that this discrepancy is a contributing factor to the significantly higher number of widows compared to widowers in urban settings.²¹

²¹ In 1900, the average age at marriage for men in urban areas was 27.7 years, and for women 23.2 (in rural areas, men got married at an average age of 23.2, and women at 21), SG IV (1900), p. 112. One of the reasons for the significantly higher number of widows in urban areas compared to the number of widowers could also be the trend of widowers remarrying more often. Most often, widowed persons entered into marriages with widowed persons, and in marriages between widowed persons and unmarried persons, the number of marriages between widowed men and girls was much higher than between widowed women and young men.

The distinctiveness of Belgrade, when compared to other urban areas, lies in the higher proportion of unmarried women aged 15 and above within the female population. This demographic characteristic can be linked to the unique features of the economic system in the capital city and migration processes. While the overall participation of women in the urban economic system was limited, it was more prominent in Belgrade than in other urban centres. The majority of employed women in the capital held positions as auxiliary workers, such as cooks and laundresses. Engaging in these occupations was deemed unsuitable for female members of the local population, leading them to be predominantly undertaken by women, often unmarried, who migrated to Belgrade from the Habsburg Monarchy.

Household Composition

The distinctive feature of Serbian society in the past that has garnered significant attention in global academic discourse is the complexity of family households. Similar to the examination of marriage patterns, scholarly investigations have predominantly focused on the rural population, with the structure of rural households being assumed as representative of the entire Serbian society.²² The following chart will shed light on whether and to what extent differences existed in household structure between rural and urban settlements in the late 19th century.

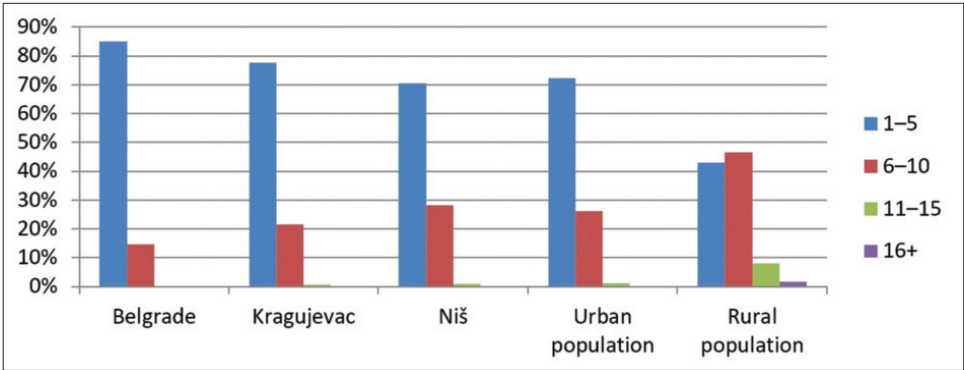


Chart 5: Population by household composition in 1900²³

Households in rural areas tended to have a larger number of members compared to those in urban areas, mainly due to the distinct organisation of life and work. Unlike in villages, where economic activities occurred within the family household, urban

²² For more information see: Aleksandra Vuletić, “Koliko duša živi u jednoj kući? Broj članova seoskog domaćinstva u Srbiji 1834–1910“, *Srpske studije* 3 (2012) 219–244.

²³ SKS XXIII (1903), 2–8, 158–163, 314–319, 746–751.

economies (centred around trade and crafts) operated outside the family structure. Additionally, a significant portion of the population in urban environments consisted of migrants, among whom a notable portion were younger unmarried men in search of employment. Consequently, urban areas exhibited a higher prevalence of single households compared to rural regions. As mentioned earlier, in urban settings, the initiation of marriage required financial resources to sustain the future family, whereas in rural areas, the dynamic was reversed, with marriage being essential for both biological and economic household reproduction. It is noteworthy that Belgrade exhibited the least household complexity, while in Niš, the complexity surpassed the urban average. We propose that this specific characteristic of Niš may be linked to its development within the Ottoman Empire until 1878 and a lower level of immigration compared to Belgrade and Kragujevac.

Households by Dwelling Ownership

Urban and rural settlements also varied in terms of the predominant ownership type of the houses/apartments in which the population resided.

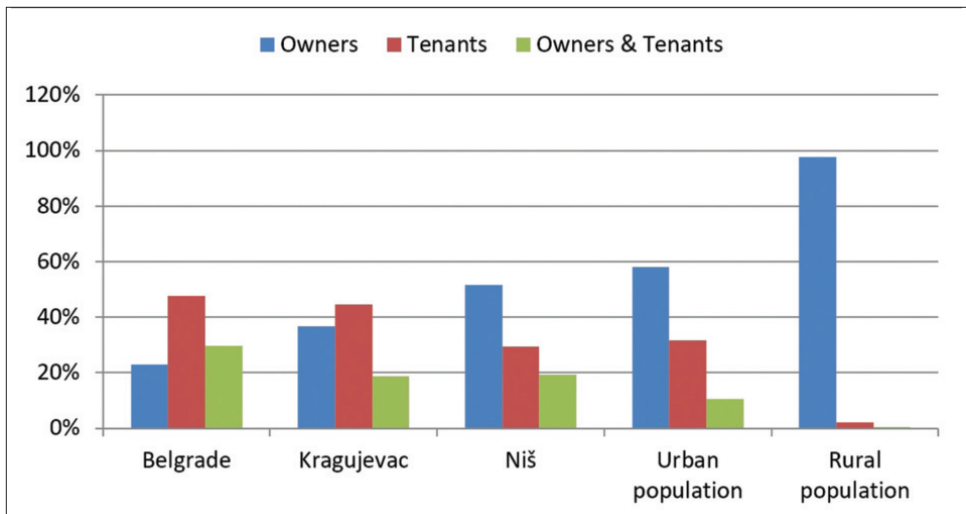


Chart 6: Distribution of households by dwelling ownership in 1900²⁴

In rural settlements, the majority of the population resided in their own homes. In urban areas, population fluctuations were significantly higher than in the countryside, resulting in a considerable number of residents living in rented houses and apartments. Belgrade had the lowest percentage of residents who owned their

²⁴ SKS XXIII (1903), 2–8, 158–163, 314–319, 746–751.

homes; the prevalent housing arrangement in the capital involved a combination of landlords and tenants within the same residential building. This indicates a higher frequency of population turnover and greater availability of rental housing spaces. We hypothesize that the higher number of homeowners in Niš, compared to Belgrade and Kragujevac, can be attributed once again to a lower level of immigration and a longer, uninterrupted tradition of civic life in the city.

Engagement in Agriculture

The primary economic sectors in urban settlements throughout the 19th century were trade and craftsmanship. Industry was in its early stages, and only a few urban areas had industrial plants. Throughout the entire 19th century, a portion of the urban residents remained engaged in agriculture as the main economic activity. The chart below illustrates their percentage in the urban population as of 1900.

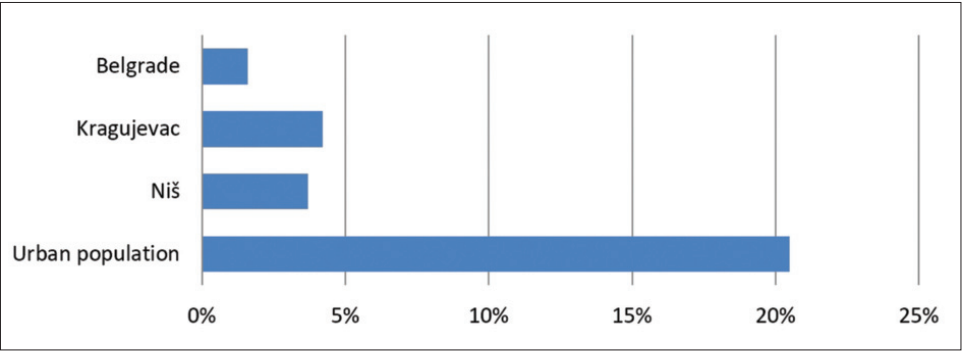


Chart 7: Share of the population engaged in agriculture in 1900²⁵

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, a fifth of the population residing within urban boundaries was still engaged in agriculture.²⁶ As expected, Belgrade had the smallest percentage of individuals involved in agricultural activities – 1.6% of the total population, along with Niš and Kragujevac, both of which also had significantly fewer people engaged in agriculture than the urban average. Most of the inhabitants engaged in agricultural activities were registered in the urban settlements of the Požarevac district, as well as in certain parts of eastern Serbia. Požarevac, the fourth-

²⁵ SKS XXIII (1903), 2–8, 158–163, 314–319, 746–751.

²⁶ Some urban municipalities included one or two rural settlements that were clearly separated in the census, but when calculating the average values, their population was also included in the urban population. For this reason, the stated data on the number of farmers in urban settlements are somewhat higher than was the case in reality.

largest urban settlement in Serbia with slightly fewer than 13,000 inhabitants, and without a single rural settlement within administrative boundaries, had as many as a quarter of its residents engaged in agriculture.²⁷ The substantial involvement of the urban population in agriculture during the late 19th century, along with significant variations between individual urban settlements, might be associated with the slow and uneven development of the urban economic system.

Literacy

Literacy among the population stands as a fundamental indicator of the level of social development. The shift from restricted to mass literacy, witnessed in European countries during the early modern period, exerted a profound impact on social development in the 1800s.²⁸ In Serbia, the transition to mass literacy commenced in the middle of the first half of the 19th century but was not fully realized by the late 1800s. As expected, this transformation unfolded more rapidly in urban areas. The proportions of the literate population aged six and above in urban and rural areas by 1900 are illustrated in the following chart. The literacy data for the residents of Kragujevac and Niš are not presented, as there are no separate statistics available for the population of these cities in the considered age category.

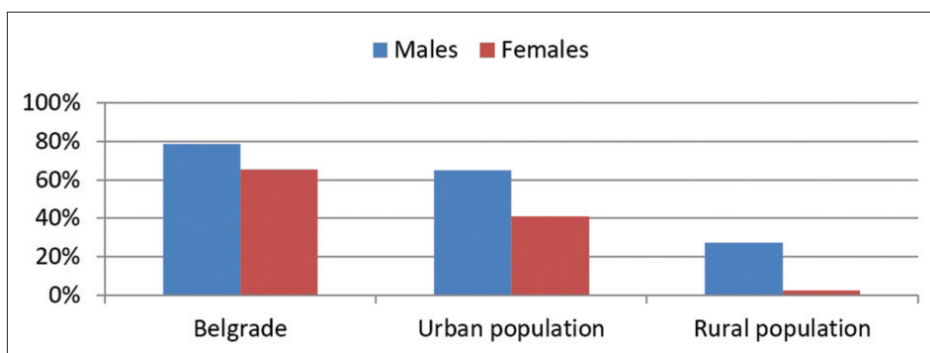


Chart 8: Population aged 6+ by literacy in 1900²⁹

²⁷ In Šabac, the next largest urban settlement, in the northwest of Serbia, 8% of the inhabitants were engaged in agriculture, in Zaječar, in the east of the country – 21%, and in Vranje, in the south – 9%. These figures do not include the population of rural settlements located within the borders of the municipalities of Šabac and Vranje.

²⁸ About the importance of literacy in promoting social and demographic change, see: John C. Caldwell, "Mass Education as a Determinant of the Timing of Fertility Decline", *Population and Development Review* 6 (1980) 225–255.

²⁹ SKS XXIV (1905), p. CXXIX. There is no separate data available for the literacy rates of residents in Kragujevac and Niš for the population aged six and above.

The literacy rate among the male population in urban areas was twice as high as in rural areas, while among the female population, this disparity was much more pronounced – female literacy in towns was even twenty times higher than in rural settlements. The largest proportion of the literate population resided in Belgrade, where almost 80% of males and 66% of females had mastered the skill of reading and writing.

An additional intriguing facet involves comparing the literacy levels of the population in the old and new regions. When the four southern districts were incorporated into Serbia in 1878, a notable discrepancy existed in the literacy levels between the population previously under Ottoman rule and those who had lived in the autonomous Serbian state for almost half a century. By 1884, the literacy rate among the urban population in the old regions was 41%, whereas only 25% of the urban population in the new regions was literate. The literacy rate grew more rapidly in the subsequent two decades in the new regions. However, by the end of the 19th century, it still remained lower than in the old regions of Serbia. According to the 1900 census, 46.6% of the urban population (aged 6 and above) in the new regions were literate, while the literacy rate of the urban population in the old regions was 57.5%.³⁰

Concluding Remarks

In the late 19th and early 20th century, 14% of Serbia's population lived in 81 urban settlements. Belgrade, which had the status of a primate city with c. 70,000 residents, Niš with c. 25,000 and Kragujevac with 15,000 inhabitants were the largest urban settlements, while the majority of urban areas had fewer than 5,000 inhabitants. Since industrial production was still at the outset, trade and craftsmanship dominated the urban economic system. One of the indicators of the underdevelopment of the urban economy was the relatively high percentage of the urban population engaged in agriculture. Given that the vast majority of the population of Serbia consisted of rural inhabitants, they had a dominant influence on the average values of demographic features of the Serbian population as a whole. Although it was small in number and did not have a significant impact on the average values of demographic features, the urban population, when considered separately, exhibited demographic specificities compared to the rural population. These specificities are even more pronounced when features for the largest and most developed urban centres are singled out and examined separately.

The urban population had a specific age-sex structure. While both urban and rural areas showed a higher share of men in their populations, the predominance of men was more pronounced in towns. Unlike rural areas, where the population under the age of 15 was the most prevalent, urban areas were dominated by individuals aged 16–45. This dominance was particularly noticeable among the male population. The demographic peculiarity of a higher proportion of men in young adulthood could be

³⁰ *Državopis Srbije* XVI, Beograd 1889, p. XXXV; *SKS* XXIV (1905), p. CXXIII.

attributed to immigration processes in urban environments, wherein this demographic group was most actively involved. Additionally, this phenomenon served as an indicator of economic trends, as the economic activity of men in urban areas significantly surpassed that of women. This was especially evident among men aged 16–45, who constituted the most productive segment of the population. The predominance of men was intricately linked to the cause-and-effect relationship with the social organisation and public sphere of action in urban areas where men held dominance.

The urban population exhibited distinct characteristics in terms of marriage patterns and household complexity. Urban areas, particularly among the male populace, had a significantly higher percentage of unmarried inhabitants. We posit that this demographic specificity is closely intertwined with the urban economic system. In contrast to the rural economic system, where marriage is deemed essential for both biological and economic reproduction of the family household, the urban economy necessitates an economic foundation for marriage. As men in urban environments were actively engaged in economic pursuits and responsible for establishing the material prerequisites for family formation, there was a propensity to delay marriage. The lower household complexity in urban areas can be attributed, in part, to migration, a primary factor driving urban population growth, with individuals participating more extensively than families. This phenomenon was also associated with the urban economy, which operated distinctively from the family-centred structure found in rural areas. An individual in the urban environment experienced less dependence on the family. Furthermore, the greater literacy levels of the urban population positively contributed to individualisation and implied reduced reliance on family communities.

The demographic characteristics of the urban population underscore that the prevailing socio-economic conditions in urban areas shaped demographic patterns distinct from those dominant in rural regions. Demographic patterns in rural environments, such as marriage models and household complexity, were intricately linked in a cause-and-effect relationship with the rural economy. Due to the longevity of this economic model over centuries, these patterns remained stagnant or “petrified”, for an extended period. Over time, these patterns began to be perceived as culturally conditioned, reflecting the specificities of Serbian society and culture. We observe that these demographic patterns adapted relatively swiftly to the social and economic circumstances in urban areas. The question that persists is whether the close connection between the demographic and economic regime in rural areas, perceived as a distinctive cultural model, acted as a hindrance to the faster and more substantial migration of the rural population to urban environments and its greater individuation. It remains the open question to what extent the dominant rural household family model not only resisted state management policies intended to facilitate rapid urbanisation, industrialisation, and social modernisation but may have also negatively influenced them. This may explain why, even seven decades after gaining political autonomy and initiating the construction of a modern state, the majority of Serbia’s population still lived in rural areas.

Александра Вулетич

**НАСЕЛЕНИЕ ГОРОДОВ В СЕРБИИ В 1900 ГОДУ:
ДЕМОГРАФИЧЕСКИЕ ХАРАКТЕРИСТИКИ**

Резюме

В конце 19 и начале 20 века в городских поселениях – городах и малых городах – жило 14% населения Сербии. Самым крупным городским центром был Белград, в котором проживало около 70 000 жителей, затем Ниш с 25 000 и Крагуевац с 15 000 жителей. Большинство городских поселений имело менее 5 000 жителей. Хотя городское население было малочисленным и не оказывало существенного влияния на средние значения демографических параметров всей страны, оно имело особые демографические характеристики в отношении половой и возрастной структуры, образцов заключения браков, сложности семейного хозяйства, жилищных аранжировок и грамотности. В городских средах доля мужского населения была выше, чем в сельских; в них наиболее широко представлено было молодое взрослое население, наиболее трудоспособное, в возрасте от 16 до 45 лет, в то время как на селе доминировало население моложе 15 лет. Большее количество молодых мужчин было следствием иммиграции, в которой эта категория населения принимала наибольшее участие. Это было также индикатором экономических движений, поскольку экономическая активность мужчин в городских средах значительно превышала экономическую активность женщин, особенно мужчин в возрасте от 16 до 45 лет, которые составляли экономически наиболее продуктивное население. Доля холостых мужчин была намного выше в городских поселениях, а среднее количество членов семейного хозяйства в них было меньше, чем в сельских средах. В городском способе хозяйствования для заключения брака требовалась экономическая основа; поскольку мужчины были ответственны за создание материальных условий для формирования семьи, они проявляли тенденцию к более позднему вступлению в брак. Меньшая сложность семейного хозяйства также связана с иммиграцией, в которой в большей мере участвуют отдельные лица, и с городской экономикой, которая не функционирует в рамках семейного хозяйства, как это происходит на селе. Грамотность также благоприятно влияла на индивидуализацию и меньшую зависимость индивида от семейного коллектива, и она также в большей мере характеризовала городское население.

Решающими факторами в формировании специфических демографических особенностей городского населения были миграционные процессы и особенности городского способа хозяйствования. Формы демографического поведения, которые преобладали на селе, относительно быстро менялись и приспособливались к социально-экономическим условиям в городских средах. Остается открытым вопрос о том, насколько и в какой степени взаимосвязь и

тесная связь демографического режима на селе и сельского способа хозяйствования, воспринимаемая как особая культурная модель, являлись препятствием для более быстрого и значительного оттока сельского населения в городские среды и его большей индивидуализации.

Александра Вулетић

ГРАДСКО СТАНОВНИШТВО У СРБИЈИ 1900. ГОДИНЕ: ДЕМОГРАФСKE КАРАКТЕРИСТИКЕ

Резиме

Крајем 19. и почетком 20. века у градским насељима – варошима и варошицама, живело је 14% становништва Србије. Највеће градско средиште био је Београд, у којем је живело око 70.000 становника, а потом Ниш са 25.000 и Крагујевац са 15.000 житеља. Већина градских насеља имала је мање од 5.000 становника. Иако је било малобројно и није имало значајнији утицај на просечне вредности демографских параметара за целу земљу, градско становништво је имало особене демографске карактеристике у погледу полне и старосне структуре, обрасца склапања брака, сложености породичног домаћинства, стамбених аранжмана и писмености. У градским срединама удео мушког становништва био је већи него у сеоским; у њима је било најзаступљеније млађе одрасло, за рад најспособније становништво, узраста 16–45 година, док је на селу доминантно било становништво млађе од 15 година. Већа заступљеност мушкараца у млађем одраслом добу била је последица имиграције, у којој је ова категорија становништва највише учествовала. Она је била показатељ и економских кретања, с обзиром на то да је економска активност мушкараца у градским срединама била знатно већа од економске активности жена, нарочито мушкараца узраста 16–45 година који су били економски најпродуктивније становништво. Удео нежењених мушкараца био је много већи у градским насељима, а просечан број чланова домаћинства у њима био је мањи него у сеоским срединама. У градском начину привређивања, за ступање у брак била је неопходна економска подлога; с обзиром на то да су мушкарци били одговорни за стварање материјалних предуслова за формирање породице, показивали су тенденцију каснијег ступања у брак. Мања сложеност породичног домаћинства такође је повезана са имиграцијом, у којој у већој мери учествују појединци, и градском привредом, која се не одвија у оквиру породичног домаћинства као што је то случај на селу. На индивидуацију и мању зависност појединца од породичног колектива позитивно је деловала и писменост, која је такође у већој мери одликовала градско становништво.

Пресудни чиниоци у обликовању специфичних демографских одлика градског становништва били су миграциони процеси и особености градског начина привређивања. Облици демографског понашања који су преобладавали на селу релативно су се брзо мењали и прилагођавали друштвено-економским околностима у градским срединама. Остаје отворено питање да ли је, и у којој мери, међусобна испреплетаност и чврста повезаност демографског режима на селу и сеоског начина привређивања, чија се симбиоза перцепира и као особени културни модел, представљала кочницу бржем и већем одливу сеоског становништва у урбане средине и његовој већој индивидуацији.

Galina V. Serebryanskaya

State University of Architecture and Civil Engineering

Nizhny Novgorod

ORCID ID: 0009-0006-7442-1635

Natalia V. Sakovich

State University of Architecture and Civil Engineering

Nizhny Novgorod

ORCID ID: 0009-0007-7146-7897

DEMOGRAPHIC PROCESSES IN THE CITY OF GORKY IN 1941–1949

Abstract: The paper analyses the number, birth rate, mortality, and migration of the population during the observed chronological period. It also examines the evacuation and mobilisation of citizens in enterprises in the city of Gorky during the Great Patriotic War. The features of demographic processes in war and post-war times are outlined.

Keywords: Demography, population, numbers, birth rate, mortality, infectious diseases, city, village, migration, evacuation, mobilisation.

The Gorky region whose centre is the regional city of Gorky played a significant role already in the pre-war years as a stronghold of state defence and was a large industrial region with developed transport routes. It occupied an area of 89.2 thousand km². On 1 January 1941, it included 62 districts, 17 cities, 26 urban-type settlements, and 909 rural councils¹. The Gorky region was one of the most populous regions not only in Russia, but also in the USSR. According to the 1939 census, the population of the region was in the third place in the USSR after the Moscow and Novosibirsk regions². With the beginning of the Great Patriotic War, during the battle

¹ Административно-территориальное деление и органы власти Нижегородского края-Горьковской области (1929–1979), справочник, Горький 1984, 9–10.; Государственный общественно-политический архив Нижегородской области – ГОПАНО. Ф. Р-3. Оп. 1. Д. 2120. Л. 143–143. об. – стат. дан. о числе районов на август 1941г.

² Всесоюзная перепись населения 1939 год.: Основные итоги, Москва 1992, 23–24.

for the capital of our Motherland, the city of Moscow, the region turned into the nearest front-line rear area, supplying the front with equipment, weapons and other necessities. However, as before 1991 documents in the archives were classified as “secret”, the demographic processes taking place in the territory of the Gorky region and in the regional centre were studied by learned historians in fragments, reflecting only some aspects of this problem. Research into the topic is currently ongoing.

The goal of the authors of this paper is to use documentary sources and published works to trace changes in the demography of the population of the Gorky region and the regional centre of Gorky, and identify its features in the war and post-war periods of Soviet history.

On the eve of the Great Patriotic War, there were three million 800 thousand people in the Gorky region, of whom a third lived in cities and industrial settlements, and two thirds in rural areas. The city of Gorky had more than 643,689 inhabitants³.

With the beginning of the Great Patriotic War, complex demographic processes took place – the population decline due to mobilisation, migration of the population from rural areas to cities, labour recruitment in the industry, recruitment of young people into educational institutions of the labour reserves, evacuation, placement and treatment of wounded soldiers in the hospitals of the Gorky hospital base, a decrease in the birth rate and an increase in mortality associated with diseases and the deterioration of people’s lives in general. All this, naturally, influenced the ratio of urban and rural populations. Each of these processes had its own characteristics.

One of the features that also influenced the change in population in the cities and villages of the Gorky region were the administrative-territorial transformations carried out in 1939–1945. This implied the transfer of part of the territory and its population to the newly formed Kostroma and Vladimir regions, including in 1943. Murom went to the Vladimir region. By the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR of 10 June 1943, the city of Gorky was turned from a regional city into a city of republican subordination and retained this status until the summer of 1958⁴. After the city of Gorky was subordinated to the republican level, population statistics were collected separately and were closed. For this reason, it was earlier difficult to accurately calculate the population of the city of Gorky and the urban population of the Gorky region as a whole for the period concerned. After the access to archive funds was enabled in 1991, historians now have such an opportunity.

Let us observe, to the degree possible, the above main demographic processes of the population in chronological order.

According to the calculations of historian N. V. Chernysheva for 1941–1945, compared to the pre-war period, in 1941 the share of townspeople in the Gorky region increased to 1367.1 thousand people (33.8%), in 1943 to 1396.1 thousand people (39.9%), and in 1945 to 1354.9 thousand people (44.0%). It should be noted

³ Алексей Гордин, Галина Серебрянская, Наталья Сакович, “Горьковская область в годы Великой Отечественной войны”, *Вопросы истории* 5 (2015) 61–72.

⁴ Административно-территориальное деление, 10.

that almost a half of the townspeople lived in Gorky (e.g. in 1945: 47.3%). Slightly more than a half of Gorky residents lived in the countryside⁵.

What processes most influenced the population increase in cities and the regional (republican) centre of the Gorky region during the war period? According to researcher N. V. Chernysheva, those were migration processes. This historian provides data indicating that changes in the size and composition of the population of Gorky could not but affect all demographic processes, including the urban population⁶.

Let us trace the main trends in population changes in the Gorky region and the city of Gorky during the war period.

The statistical analysis showed that the peak of the population decline in the Gorky region occurred in 1942. The main reason was the mobilisation of Gorky residents into the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces. During the war years, 884,504 people were mobilised (including conscripts who served by the summer of 1941)⁷. In general, those were people drafted from rural areas, since a part of the urban population worked in defence enterprises, and highly qualified workers were part of the reserve. It is still unknown how many reserve soldiers remained in Gorky factories. But it is known that in 1942, 142.8 thousand people worked in the industry of the Gorky region, and in 1943 – 146.3 thousand⁸.

Another reason for the population decline in the Gorky region in the first years of the war was a reduction in the birth rate by almost two-thirds compared to the pre-war period. The peak of the decline in the birth rate in the region as a whole was observed in 1943⁹. In urban settlements of the Gorky region, the largest drop in the birth rate was recorded in 1944, and in rural areas – in 1943. The birth deficit during the Great Patriotic War amounted to 289.2 thousand people in the Gorky region¹⁰. Moreover, in 1941–1942, the birth rate in the Gorky region was lower than all-Russian indicators, whereby the pre-war trend was maintained, but in 1943–1945 recovery processes in the region occurred faster than in the RSFSR as a whole.

During these years, the mortality rate of the population was also high, associated with massive epidemics and deteriorating living conditions. During the war years, two stages can be distinguished in the dynamics of population mortality. In the first stage (June 1941 – autumn 1942), there was an increase in the mortality rate, especially in

⁵ Наталья Чернышева, "Демографические процессы в Горьковской области накануне и в годы Великой Отечественной войны", *Вестник Нижегородского университета им. Н.И. Лобачевского* 1 (2022) 41, 42, 45.

⁶ Н. Чернышева, *Демографические процессы*, 41, 42.

⁷ Книга памяти нижегородцев, павших в Великой Отечественной войне 1941–1945 годов. Т. 20, Нижний Новгород 2020, 7.

⁸ Галина Серебрянская, *Промышленность и кадры Волго-Вятского региона Российской Федерации в конце 30-х – первой половине 40-х годов XX века*, Нижний Новгород 2003, 464.

⁹ Центральный архив Нижегородской области – ЦАНО. Ф. 4230. Оп. 4. Д. 353. Л. 34.

¹⁰ Наталья Чернышева, Марина Свинцова, Наталья Сакович "Детская и младенческая смертность в областях Волго-Вятского региона накануне и в годы Великой Отечественной войны", *Вопросы истории* 11(2019) 108.

urban areas. In 1941, 34.6% of those who died in the Gorky region were city residents, while in 1942 this percentage was already 43.3%. In Gorky, mortality in absolute figures in 1942 increased to 26,407 people, compared to 15,661 in 1940. Compared to the pre-war period, in 1942 the mortality rate in urban areas increased by 62.1% and in rural areas by 107.6%, whereas in 1943 mortality began to decline and continued down in 1944. However, mortality, although decreasing, was still higher than the birth rate¹¹. In the Gorky region, in August–October 1941, there was a sharp increase in the infant mortality rate. In the first half of the war, the region maintained the pre-war trend of infant mortality in cities compared to infant mortality in rural areas. In the Gorky region, 66,264 babies died during the war, i.e. every fifth child¹². Infectious diseases such as typhoid, tuberculosis, septic angina, scarlet fever, dysentery, malaria and others contributed to the increase in population mortality. Typhus, brought in by the evacuated population, was particularly dreadful. By the winter of 1942, the situation with epidemiological diseases became critical. In January 1942, 438 people were registered as infected with typhus in the Gorky region, and in March their number increased to 3,538 people. Of 947 citizens of the Gorky region who contracted typhus, 618 people were residents of the city of Gorky. In 1942, the mortality rate from tuberculosis almost doubled compared to previous years. In 1940, 770 people died from tuberculosis in Gorky alone, and in 1942 – 1,503 people died¹³. The fight against this disease was multifaceted and quite difficult, especially in military conditions. In the implementation of specific measures, two assumptions were taken as a starting point: the first is that the tuberculosis incidence was closely related to social and living conditions, and the second is that tuberculosis is an infectious disease, although this was not recognised before the war. But in August 1942, the USSR People's Commissariat of Agriculture (NKZ) recommended that health authorities organise the fight against tuberculosis as an infectious disease. The set of anti-epidemic measures included: specific prevention, early detection and hospitalisation of patients, sanitation of the infectious lesion, monitoring of persons who were in contact with the patient, detection of bacilli carriers, and widespread health education. Mandatory registration of open forms of tuberculosis at the sanitary and epidemiological stations was introduced, persons with open forms of tuberculosis were not allowed to work in children's institutions and schools, special tables were allocated in workers' canteens for patients with tuberculosis, etc. Such an extensive programme was the first in the entire history of the fight against tuberculosis. It was not possible to quickly defeat this disease.

¹¹ ГОПАНО. Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 3394. Л. 163; Д. 4249. Л. 10.

¹² Н. Чернышева, *Детская и младенческая смертность*, 107, 108.

¹³ ГОПАНО. Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 4015. Л. 46; Юрий Перчиков "Некоторые проблемы исторической демографии 1942–1943 годов (по материалам г. Горького)" (доклад представлен на Третьей научно-практической конференции "Дискуссионные вопросы российской истории", Арзамас, 28–29. 05. 1998.

As a result, from July 1942, a rapid increase in population mortality was observed in all rear regions. In 1942, especially in the first half, the highest mortality rate for urban residents was recorded for all years. In the cities of the Gorky region, the indicators increased 1.6 times¹⁴. In the brief “On the state of fertility and mortality in the city of Gorky for 1942 and the first half of 1943”, the head of the City Health Department Smirnova noted: “The sharp increase in 1942 depended on material and living conditions, and a significant number of deaths are due to the evacuated population and those released from camps, tens of thousands of whom passed through the city...”¹⁵. Male mortality from respiratory diseases, primarily pneumonia and tuberculosis, predominated. Female mortality was higher than male mortality – from acute infectious diseases, cardiovascular diseases, atherosclerosis, due to weakening of the body and poor nutrition, overexertion and stress. Infant mortality was high due to insufficient obstetric care. In 1942, in the Gorky region, including the city of Gorky, 99,723 children were born, while the mortality rate was 162,341, of whom 37,588 were children aged under one. In Gorky, 41,050 children were born, 76,104 died and 14,355 died in infancy. The reasons were premature birth, the weakness of women in labour from malnutrition, infectious and other diseases¹⁶. Medical workers in the region, together with the public, did everything possible to suppress the spread of infectious diseases: they sent patients to hospitals where they were treated, disinfected houses and workplaces, ensured the uninterrupted operation of bathhouses, and organised bathing days for schoolchildren, students of vocational schools and factory education (FZO) schools. The city sanitary service kept under special control city enterprises, and primarily defence factories, workers’ dormitories, water supply systems, sewers, landfills, railway stations, river piers, etc. Major efforts were put in preventing the infection from being transferred to the front and from the front to the rear. Thanks to the joint efforts of government agencies and healthcare workers, since 1943, a turning point was seen in the rear areas with a subsequent decrease in the incidence of all acute infections. A similar situation was observed in the Gorky region. Compared to 1940, in 1943 the incidence of measles declined 14 times, the incidence of scarlet fever 12 times, the incidence of dysentery three times, typhoid fever two times, and diphtheria one and a half times¹⁷. The fight against infections was hampered by the shortage of sanitary doctors, epidemiologists

¹⁴ ГОПАНО. Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 3126. Л. 111.

¹⁵ Забвению не подлежит: Страницы нижегородской истории (1941–1945 годы). Кн. 3, Нижний Новгород 1995, 416.

¹⁶ Estimated by: Ю. Перчиков, “Некоторые проблемы исторической демографии”, 305; Александр Васягин, “Естественное движение населения Горьковской области накануне и в годы Великой Отечественной войны” (доклад представлен на Межвузовской V научно-практической конференции “Дискуссионные вопросы российской истории в вузовском и школьном курсах”, Арзамас, 30–31. 05. 2002); ГОПАНО, Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 4249. Л. 11, 12.

¹⁷ Наталья Сакович, “Влияние условий жизни и работы на здоровье населения: 1938–1953 гг.”, *КЛИО*, 4 (124) (2017) 145.

and bacteriologists. In connection with the outbreak of typhoid fever in Gorky and the Gorky region, a Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR was adopted on 28 November 1944, as well as the order of the Commissioner of the USSR State Defence Committee of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture dated 2 December 1944 on taking urgent anti-epidemic measures. Among the urgent measures taken by the Gorky Regional Party Committee and the Regional Health Department was the additional staffing of medical institutions. According to the order No 664 of the USSR People's Commissariat of Health dated 15 December 1943, medical personnel from Uzbekistan, Georgia, Tatarstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kuibyshev region were sent to the Gorky region. Of 112 doctors, 82 arrived. The recall of doctors from the Gorky region by the USSR People's Commissariat of Health was stopped¹⁸. According to the RSFSR People's Commissariat of Health, in 1944, there were 820 doctors, in the city of Gorky – 666, i.e. a total of 1,486 doctors, or 80% of the pre-war number. As for the nursing staff, in the 1944–45 academic year, 1,397 people studied in only two medical schools in the Gorky region. A total of 207 paramedics and nurses were sent to the region's districts¹⁹. In 1944 dystrophy with a fatal outcome broke out in the cities and villages of the region. It was much more difficult to treat dystrophy than infectious diseases. The main medicine was a balanced and high-calorie diet, which was impossible to provide at the time. The rationing system did not make it possible to achieve a nutritious diet. However, in the city of Gorky there was a decrease in the dysentery incidence. On 1 January 1944, 44 patients with dysentery were identified, while on 1 January 1945, only six persons²⁰. Despite the reduction in medical institutions and the lack of specialists and their material support, throughout the war there was a constant struggle of medical workers to prevent and suppress epidemic diseases.

The healthcare anti-epidemic organisational forms and methods were improved. The fight against infectious diseases in enterprises took place simultaneously with meeting the everyday needs of workers, improving safety precautions and production discipline in factories, and organising socialist competition among medical institutions in the rear. Emergency anti-epidemic commissions were set up locally, and included chairmen of local councils, representatives of party bodies, health authorities, the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD), military garrisons and military medical services. Members of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Society provided assistance to doctors. Together with the sanitary and epidemiological inspection, they continued to inspect apartments, dormitories, public baths, canteens, wells, and held lectures and conversations with the population. The city sanitary service kept water supply systems, sewerage systems, landfills, railway stations, river piers, etc. under

¹⁸ Наталья Сакович, "Социальные проблемы тружеников тыла: организация здравоохранения в Горьковской области накануне и в годы Великой Отечественной войны", Нижний Новгород 2010, 54.

¹⁹ ГОПАНО. Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 4432. Л. 38; Д. 4840. Л. 45.

²⁰ ГОПАНО. Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 4840. Л. 46.

special control. Komsomol members helped medical workers. They cleared landfills, removed garbage from city streets, and carried out educational work among the population about the need to maintain hygiene and prevent infectious diseases. The role of the state in increasing the birth rate should also be noted, as evidenced by the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet dated 8 July 1944. The document focuses on increasing assistance to pregnant women and mothers of many children. Maternity leave was extended to 77 calendar days, instead of 63 previously. Mothers who had two children at the birth of the third and each subsequent child received a one-time benefit from the government, and those who already had three children at the birth of the fourth and each subsequent child also received a monthly benefit. In addition, this Decree took into account the situation where many women were forced to give birth outside of a legally formalised marriage. Such women were given a monthly allowance and the opportunity to send their children to the children's home. Workers with infants were not required to work at night during the period of breastfeeding. For them, gynaecological offices were set up in closed clinics and outpatient clinics. The Employee Provisioning Departments (ORS) assisted them in providing additional food and necessities for newborns. The heads of the medical and sanitary units of enterprises were ordered to ensure proper control over the implementation of this resolution²¹. Back in November 1944, the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR adopted the resolution "On measures to expand the network of children's institutions and improve medical and consumer services for women and children". By 1 January 1945, all premises of these institutions that were not occupied for their intended purpose were supposed to be vacated and repaired. In the six months after the decree was issued, the number of maternity beds in the Gorky region increased by 150, nurseries by 804, the number of women's and children's clinics increased by 28, 14 "milk kitchens" were opened, as well as four children's homes with 200 beds and 41 social and legal offices²². The efforts of the authorities were aimed at the future.

In addition, a tax was introduced on bachelors and childless citizens and citizens with a small number of children, in order to encourage them to enter into marriages and create large families, on the one hand, and on the other, to raise funds for single mothers and families with three or more children. However, despite the measures taken, during the war period it was not possible to achieve a high birth rate, for known reasons.

²¹ The collection of laws of the USSR and decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, 1938–1967, Moscow, 1956, 335 – DECREE of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of 8 July 1944 on increasing state assistance to pregnant women, mothers with many children and single mothers, strengthening the protection of motherhood and childhood, on the establishment of the Honorary Title of Mother Heroine and the establishment of the Order of Maternal Glory and Motherhood Medals – https://www.lawmix.ru/docs_cccp/3096 (access date 25 August 2023).

²² ЦАНО. Ф. 3118. Оп. 3. Д. 399. Л. 11; Н. Чернышева, *Детская и младенческая смертность*, 109.

The increase in the population of Gorky, as a regional and later republican centre, occurred mainly due to processes called migration in sociology. Following the chronology, migration began with the population evacuated to the Gorky region from the front-line regions. A total of 186.2 thousand evacuated citizens arrived in the Gorky region (data as of 1 January 1943). As of 1 September 1943, 178.9 thousand were stationed there; of whom 64 thousand in cities, and 115 thousand in rural areas²³. However, during the process of re-evacuation, their number decreased: on 1 January 1944 – to 115.3 thousand people, on 1 July 1945 – to 32.6 thousand people.²⁴ In May–August 1945, the re-evacuation to Leningrad of children and adults – orphanage staff and dependents – began. It was only on 11 June 1945 that Gorky residents warmly saw off three trains with 1,018 pupils from Leningrad children's homes. In general, the issue of re-evacuation from the Gorky region has not been studied enough, so there are no accurate data on the total number of citizens who left the city of Gorky and the Gorky region for other regions²⁵.

In addition to the evacuated population of the city, the region was replenished with wounded front-line soldiers. In 171 hospitals of the Gorky hospital base, 422,949 front-line soldiers were treated during the four years of war. After recovery, approximately 138,618 people were sent to the front, and 379,034 people entered the national economy to work. In addition, in 1941–1945 in the Gorky region, 33,780 war invalids and 15,639 labour invalids were employed²⁶. Demographic processes among these categories of the population are poorly understood.

But, as statistics show, evacuated citizens and the wounded, who were in hospitals for treatment, war and labour invalids did not become the main source of replenishment of the urban population. A major role in its renewal and, first of all, in the city of Gorky, was played by the migration processes such as labour mobilisation in the industry and the mobilisation of young people to study in educational institutions of the labour reserves. Thus, under the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR dated 13 February 1942 "On the mobilisation of the able-bodied urban population to work in production and construction during wartime" who were to work in the industry, and primarily in defence enterprises in the city of Gorky, 29.3 thousand people were mobilised during that year. The main source of replenishment of the urban population were able-bodied collective farmers. In 1942, rural residents accounted for 22.9% of those mobilised for permanent work in the city, in 1943 – 59%, in 1944 – 61.7%. Those were mainly women, girls and boys born in 1925–1928, who were fit-for-work. In addition to mobilising internal labour resources to work in military factories in the city of Gorky, those mobilised from other regions and republics of the Soviet Union were attracted. In 1943, five thousand

²³ Г. Серебрянская, *Промышленность и кадры*, 252.

²⁴ Н. Чернышева, *Демографические процессы*, 42.

²⁵ *Побратимы*, Москва 2019, 275.

²⁶ Книга памяти нижегородцев, павших в Великой Отечественной войне 1941–1945 годов. Т.1, Нижний Новгород 2005, 173–178.

migrants from Central Asia, mainly from Turkmenistan, arrived there. Some of them arrived in the Krasnoye Sormovo plant. A distinctive feature of labour mobilisation in the Gorky region compared to all-Union mobilisation is that its greatest scope took place in 1942–1943, while in the Union it was at the end of 1943–1944. Starting from the second half of 1944, the number of those mobilised was reduced due to the resumption of an organised recruitment of labour force from collective farms and those mobilised from the front on a contract basis²⁷. For instance, only in the period from 22 June 1941 to 31 May 1942, 11,478 people were called up to the Gorky Automobile Plant through labour mobilisation, which amounted to 30% of the total workforce; in 1944, 847 people were recruited, while 1,002 people and 2,016 demobilised soldiers were employed through free recruitment²⁸. In just three years and seven months (from February 1942 to July 1945), approximately 67.2 thousand people were mobilised into industrial production in the Gorky region. This contingent significantly increased the number of city residents²⁹.

Another migration wave of the population in Gorky was associated with the enrollment of students in educational institutions of the labour reserves system, created in 1940. In 1941, 26,497 teenagers came to study in RU (vocational schools), ZhDU (railway schools) and FZO (factory education) schools. In addition to the local youth, 1,112 boys and girls, evacuated from colleges and schools from Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Orel, Kalinin, Tula, Minsk, Smolensk, Gomel, Rostov-on-Don, and Veliky Novgorod, were enrolled in labour reserve educational institutions in the same year. In 40 RUs, 37 FZO schools, five railway schools, in which in May 1944 there were 30,500 people, there were many evacuated teenagers. In total, during the war years, 91,504 people were admitted to vocational schools and FZO schools in the Gorky region, and 71 thousand qualified personnel graduated, working mainly in defence enterprises of the cities³⁰. The Gorky region ranked third in Russia and the Union in terms of student graduation after the Sverdlovsk and Kuibyshev regions. Graduates of vocational schools and FZO schools made up for the labour shortage in production, ensured their uninterrupted work, while young qualified personnel – teenagers 13–16 years old, along with adults, fully performed the complex work of men, together ensuring victory in the rear.

The above migration flows that occurred in the Gorky region during the war period, both by the years of the war and by the population of the region as a whole and especially by city, are quite difficult to accurately calculate, since from 1943 the re-evacuation of citizens to their previous places of residence began. Yet to be clarified is how many residents left, how many cured soldiers went to the front each

²⁷ Г. Серебрянская, *Промышленность и кадры*, 257, 259, 260–261.

²⁸ Алексей Гордин, “Горьковский автомобильный завод. История и современность. 1932–2012”, Нижний Новгород 2012, 106.

²⁹ Г. Серебрянская, *Промышленность и кадры*, 261.

³⁰ Владимир Белоус, “Трудовые резервы Горьковской области в годы Великой Отечественной войны, *Записки краеведов. Горький*, 1985.23–28; ГАРФ. Ф. 9507. Оп. 1. Д. 211. Л. 23–26, 53–55.

year after being discharged from Gorky hospitals, how many demobilised soldiers returned, and how many arrived in factories from other rear areas of the country, and how many prisoners were in the correctional-labour camps (ITL) and NKVD systems. Historians have only fragmentary information on these migration processes.

How demographic processes in the Gorky region affected the population of the city of Gorky can be seen in the table below.

Population of the city of Gorky in 1941–1945
(as of 1 January, in thousand people)

Population	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
Gorky	699,8	708,5	671,4	683,0	691,0

Compiled from: Materials of the Central Archive
of the Nizhny Novgorod Region (CANU). F.4230. Op.1. D.2087. L.10.

The table shows that in the initial period of the Great Patriotic War, the population of Gorky was growing.

In the post-war period (second half of 1945–1949), changes in the demography of the Gorky region continued, and the war left a particular imprint on them. The total number of irretrievable losses in the Gorky region during the war years, according to the “Book of Memory of Nizhny Novgorod Residents”, amounted to 340,275 people. Of the Gorky residents who went to the front, every second did not return³¹. The counting continues to this day.

Partly, the compensation for the population was a surge in the birth rate in the first post-war decade, which arose due to the fact that the generation of Soviet people born in 1920–1925 had to postpone marriage and childbirth because of the 1941–1945 war. This phenomenon is called “demographic compensation”. Its essence is that demographic events in the life of a generation, postponed for some reason that violates the natural order of their occurrence, after the disappearance of these reasons, occur with high intensity.

In 1947, 16,183 people were born in Gorky, and 10,349 died, i.e. the natural population growth amounted to 5,934 people. In the first half of 1948, 5,236 people were born in the city of Gorky, compared to 7,347 in the first half of 1947. A total of 18,638 people were born and 5,539 people died, i.e. the population grew by 13,099 people³². By 1949, there was a trend towards an increase in the birth rate and a

³¹ Книга памяти нижегородцев, павших в Великой Отечественной войне 1941–1945 годов. Т. 16, 173–178.

³² Николай Занозин, “Организация системы здравоохранения Горьковской области в 1945–1953 гг.”, *Вопросы национальных и федеративных отношений*. Выпуск 5(62), Том 10, 2020, 1052.

decrease in mortality, and as a result, in general, there was an increase in the number of residents of the Gorky region. The natural population growth of the region amounted to 46,718 people, up by 69.6% compared to the previous 1948 year, and by 75.3% compared to 1940. Compared to 1948, in 1949 the number of births in the region increased by 24.1%. In 1949, 18,638 children were born. In urban areas this figure increased by 38.9%, and in rural areas by 19.5%, but did not reach the pre-war level. The number of births could have been higher without abortions, which significantly influenced this figure³³. Thus, over six months of 1948, 3,631 abortions were recorded in the city of Gorky, compared to 2,974 in the same period of 1947. In 1949 there were 18,638 births and 9,686 abortions, which is 52% of the number of births. The number of abortions was growing. During 1949, the number of abortions increased by 1,058 cases or 12.3%. The vast majority of them took place without the permission of medical commissions³⁴. In 1950, the natural population growth in Gorky amounted to 11,400 thousand people. As a result, the general increase in the birth rate that year led to a natural increase in the population in the Gorky region to 52,977 people, which was higher than pre-war values³⁵. But the mortality rate was still high. In 1949, in the city of Gorky, a significant share (more than 39.6%) were deaths from the following diseases: pneumonia, tuberculosis, heart disease. The mortality rate from cancer was especially high. In the post-war period, there was a decrease in the mortality rate of children aged under one. Thus, in the city of Gorky, per 100 births, children under the age of one died: in 1940 – 27.0; in 1947 – 19.0; in 1948 – 10.6; in 1949 – 7.8. The cause of death was mainly pneumonia (in more than 40% of cases: in 1949 – 40.5%; in 1948 – 41.5%). On the other hand, in 1949, the number of deaths from dysentery of children aged under one increased by 18.1%, from influenza by three times, from 3.8% to 5.4% from typhoid fever and 45.6% – from toxic dyspepsia (acute indigestion). But, despite the mortality rate of the population, the birth rate exceeded it. Due to natural growth, the population gradually began to recover³⁶.

As a result, the population of the Gorky region in 1945 amounted to three million 200.9 thousand people, in 1950 – three million 310.9 thousand people, and in 1959 – three million 618.3 thousand people. According to the 1959 census in the Gorky region, the number of urban population since 1945 was growing, while from 1950 to 1959 the rural population decreased sharply. In the city of Gorky the following trend was observed: on 1 January 1945 the number of residents was 691.0 thousand people; on 1 January 1946 – 608.0 thousand people; on 1 December 1946 – 636.4 thousand; on 1 January 1947 – 647.7 thousand. As we can see, after the end of the war, Gorky saw a population decline, while from late 1946 to early 1947 the growth

³³ Юрий Голуб, "О естественном движении народонаселения Горьковской области в 1945–1955 гг." (доклад на I Международной научной конференции "Исторические исследования", 20–23.06. 2012 Уфа, 2012).

³⁴ Н. Занозин, *Организация системы здравоохранения*, 1052.

³⁵ The demographic situation in the Gorky region during the Great Patriotic War: <https://52.rosstat.gov.ru> (Accessed on: 21 August 2022).

³⁶ Ю. Голуб, *О естественном движении народонаселения*, 35, 36.

began again. As of February 1946, 250,729 women and 155,057 men born in 1928 and before lived there³⁷. There was an increase in the number of marriages. In 1945 in the Gorky region there were 23,898 marriages, while in 1949 their share increased by 14.9%, and in 1950 already 37,913 marriages were concluded. The number of divorces was also growing, especially in cities; in 1949, their share increased by 34.3%. Most of the divorces were in Gorky³⁸. Among the reasons for divorces included the husband's death during the Great Patriotic War. However, social reasons, primarily housing instability, were the most frequent.

The population growth was also facilitated by measures taken by the state. The work to eliminate the consequences of the war and restore peaceful life began with the restructuring of the health care system. The idea was to build the structure of medical institutions and expand their functions locally. The main goal of the reforms was to make the health care apparatus more manageable, flexible, and economical. As part of the implementation of the priority task of the fourth five-year plan to improve the provision of medical care to women and children in the Gorky region, the network of specialised institutions increased, which made it possible to improve a number of quality indicators. As a result, the coverage of hospital care during childbirth reached 100% in the city and more than 60% in rural areas. During the period observed, gynaecological beds were used, which made it possible to bring qualified care closer to the population and avoid hospital-acquired infections. An important aspect of organising patronage work was the introduction of the local principle. The joint activities of health care institutions with local executive committees and public organisations made it possible to prevent the emergence of mass epidemics in the context of the processes of migration and re-evacuation of the population. However, the incidence rate for a number of diseases, such as tuberculosis, trachoma, measles, and malaria, remained high, which was explained by the region's insufficient presence of sanitary and preventive institutions, the narrowness of their material and technical base and understaffing. In addition, the rationing system of food supply to the population, which existed before 1947, could not ensure the necessary products even according to the meagre wartime standards. Famine began in the country, especially during lean years. People weakened by hunger were most often exposed to infectious diseases. In these difficult conditions, the authorities tried to prevent a demographic catastrophe, since the city of Gorky and the Gorky region remained the country's defensive stronghold. During the Cold War, they continued to increase military production.

³⁷ Российский государственный архив экономики – РГАЭ. Ф. 1562. Оп. 20. Д. 626. Л. 2, 90.

³⁸ Demographic situation in the Gorky region during the Great Patriotic War: <https://52.rosstat.gov.ru> (Accessed on: 21 August 2022).

Галина В. Серебрянская, Наталия В. Сакович

ДЕМОГРАФИЧЕСКИЕ ПРОЦЕССЫ В ГОРОДЕ ГОРЬКОМ В 1941-1949 ГГ.

Резюме

Демографические процессы населения Горьковской области в исследуемый период протекали довольно сложно и своеобразно, особенно в период Великой Отечественной войны. В послевоенный период увеличение численности населения в г. Горьком и области до 1950 г. происходили в основном естественным путем, т.е. за счет повышения рождаемости и уменьшения смертности. Благодаря укреплению системы здравоохранения и социальных мер, принимаемых государством, удалось не допустить демографического спада из-за инфекционных заболеваний.

В статье анализируются численность, рождаемость, смертность, миграции населения в исследуемый хронологический период. Эвакуация, мобилизация граждан на предприятия г. Горького в годы Великой Отечественной войны. Указываются особенности демографических процессов в военное и послевоенное время.

Галина В. Серебрянская, Наталија В. Сакович

ДЕМОГРАФСКИ ПРОЦЕСИ У ГРАДУ ГОРКИ 1941-1949.

Резиме

Демографски процеси становништва Горковској области у истраженом периоду били су доста компликовани и специфични, посебно у периоду Великог отаџбинског рата. У послератном периоду, становништво града Горки и његове области повећавало се до 1950. Године, пре свега, природним прираштајем, односно повећањем рађања и смањењем смртности. Захваљујући јачању система здравствене заштите и социјалним мерама које је предузела држава, спречен је демографски пад, који су могле да изазову инфективне болести.

У чланку се анализирају бројност, наталитет, смртност, миграције становништва током истраживаног периода. Евакуација, мобилизација грађана за рад у заводима, фабрикама и предузећима града Горког у време Великог отаџбинског рата. Истичу се посебности демографских процеса током рата и у послератном периоду.

Elena D. Gordina

State Technical University n.a. R. E. Alekseev
Nizhny Novgorod
ORCID ID: 0009-0003-0707-3712

CHILDREN'S HOMES IN THE GORKY REGION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CHILD HOMELESSNESS AND NEGLECT IN THE MIDDLE TO SECOND HALF OF THE 1940s

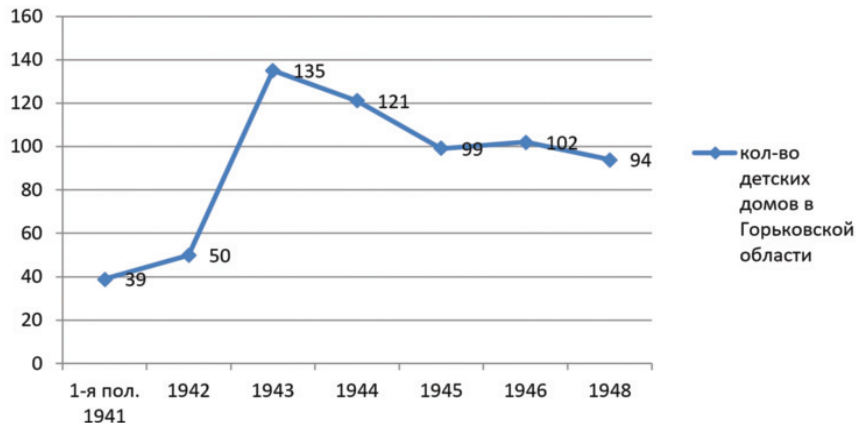
Abstract: Based on the materials of the Nizhny Novgorod archives, this paper sheds light on the organisation of children's homes in the Gorky region after the Great Patriotic War. The acute problem of child homelessness and neglect required an urgent solution in the 1940s. As a result, the number of children's homes in the region, which became one of the country's largest evacuation sites, tripled. In the post-war period, the situation remained critical, and a set of measures were introduced to stabilise it. They also implied ensuring the operation of children's homes.

Keywords: Children, USSR, children's homes, Gorky region, Great Patriotic War.

The topic of the Great Patriotic War has remained enduringly relevant for a number of decades. This is explained by the colossal significance of this event and its historical consequences for our country and the whole world. One of the most important consequences was the unprecedented scale of child homelessness and neglect in the USSR, both during the war and in the post-war years. This paper sheds light on the process of combating this phenomenon through the organisation and maintenance of children's homes in the Gorky region. The sources include the materials of the State Socio-Political Archive of the Nizhny Novgorod Region (GOPANO) – briefs, reports, inspection reports of children's homes, etc. Quantitative statistics were identified and presented, providing insight into the dynamics of the development of the network of children's homes and their number in the region throughout the 1940s.

“In 1941, there were 39 children’s homes of the general type in the region, and there were almost four thousand children in them. On 1 February 1942, the number of children’s homes increased to 50, and there were more than five thousand children. Thereafter, 80 children’s homes from the Moscow and Leningrad regions with more than eight thousand children arrived in the region.”¹ According to the Central Archives of the Nizhny Novgorod region, “by the autumn of 1943, there were 135 children’s homes and boarding schools operating in the region, in which over 12.7 thousand children found shelter, of which more than 70% were evacuees”². After the war, most of the evacuated children left the Gorky region. However, the number of children’s homes was still 2.5 times higher than the pre-war figure and amounted to 102 in 1946. A brief about the work of children’s homes in the Gorky region dated 1 December 1948 provides the following information: there were 94 children’s homes in total (7741 children), of which 80 were schoolchildren (5242). There were 5006 children of fallen soldiers out of a total number of 5539 orphans. There were 2048 half-orphans, of whom 663 were children aged under seven, 5100 children aged under 12, 1180 aged under 14, 556 over 15 years old, 3850 boys, and 3773 girls³. The dynamics of the process of changing the number of children’s homes in the Gorky region in the 1940s is shown in Chart 1.

Chart 1



¹ Дети войны [Электронный ресурс]. – Режим доступа: <https://www.archive-nnov.ru/?id=2241>.

² Дети войны [Электронный ресурс]. – Режим доступа: <https://www.archive-nnov.ru/?id=2241>.

³ ГОПАНО. Ф. 810. Оп. 13. Д. 358. Л. 131.

Children's homes in Gorky during this period can be classified according to three criteria: the source of funding, length of stay and intended purpose. Based on the source of funding, children's homes in the second half of the 1940s can be divided into budget (state), departmental and collective. The latter were organised in rural areas, their maintenance was ensured with funding from both the state and collective farms, which took care of feeding the children, providing them with clothes, shoes, furniture, firewood, etc. During the war period, they accounted for approximately a quarter of the total number of children's home areas: "As of 1 January 1944, there were 121 children's homes, including 27 collective and two day care children's homes"⁴.

Based on the continuity of stay, children's homes were divided into boarding schools and day care homes. A specific feature of the latter was the lack of conditions for children to rest at night, so children came to the children's home in the morning, had breakfast, lunch and dinner, attended training classes, participated in extracurricular activities (clubs, sections, collective trips to the theatre, hiking, excursions, etc.) and went home in the evening. This form was effective and was used for children from large, low-income families where relatives could not provide child care during the day⁵.

According to their intended purpose, children's homes were divided into standard ones, the purpose of which was to ensure the normal life and activities of children, and sanatorium-type children's homes, whose purpose was to create optimal conditions for the recovery and improvement of health of ill children. Usually, children whose health condition deteriorated sharply for some reason, or children who were injured, were sent there. Seriously or terminally ill children could remain in such children's home for an indefinite time. But there was also differentiation among "standard" children's homes. In 1946, one children's home was considered a sanatorium (No 7), one was a boarding school for mentally impaired children, one for the deaf and dumb, and another for especially gifted children. Two children's homes were for preschoolers, and all the others included school-age children⁶. Of 19 non-sanatorium-type children's homes, five were still aimed at a target population according to various criteria (age (preschoolers), physical (deaf-mute children) or intellectual (especially gifted children) development), and the remaining fourteen were not.

Documentary evidence on the number of children's homes in the regional centre, Gorky, is quite fragmentary, but it is possible to examine the quantitative dynamics of changes in the number of children's homes and their population. According to the information on the development of the network of preschool institutions in the city of Gorky in 1940 and 1941, there were 13 children's homes in the region, which covered 919 children. All children's homes were budget-funded. In 1942, there were ten children's homes (five boarding schools and five day care children's homes), while

⁴ *Детство, опаленное войной. Сборник документов / сост. М.А. Марченко. – Нижний Новгород : Центр. архив Нижегород. обл., 2015. – 512 с. С. 4.*

⁵ ГОПАНО. Ф. 30. Оп. 1. Д. 3208. Л. 7.

⁶ ГОПАНО. Ф. 30. Оп. 1. Д. 3184. Л. 56.

the number of children increased to 935. In 1943, there were 13 children's homes (six and seven, respectively) and 1214 pupils. In 1944, there were already 18 children's homes (seven and 11, respectively) and 1929 children. Over the next three years, this figure for children's homes and their types changed somewhat. At this time, a new trend appeared: the emergence and growth in the number of departmental children's homes. In 1945 there were 18 children's homes left and all were budget-funded (1985 children), in 1946 there were 20 children's homes and 1729 children (17 budgetary and three departmental with 200 children – in large industrial enterprises), in 1947 – 19 children's homes and 1901 pupils (of which six were departmental with a coverage of 400 persons). In 1948, a quantitative increase was again observed – 25 children's homes, of which 19 were budgetary and six were departmental (for them the situation did not change), and the total population was 2437 children⁷. Despite the acute shortage of boarding schools, day care children's homes predominated. An exception can be considered the year 1942, when the number of boarding schools and day care children's homes was the same.

During the war years, the average number of children in children's homes increased sharply. This figure rose by more than 1.5 times: in 1941 – 71 children, in 1945 – already 110. In 1948, due to an increase in the number of children's homes, this figure dropped to 97 children.

Thus, it should be noted, on the one hand, that during the 1940s the number of children's homes in Gorky doubled, while on the other hand, the number of children almost tripled and, accordingly, the children's homes were "overcrowded". In the second half of the 1940s, departmental children's homes appeared, and a system of patronage assistance to children's homes from enterprises and collective farms developed. Almost all the archival documents we used (reports and acts on inspections carried out in children's homes) note the insufficiency or unsuitability of the premises allocated to children's homes.

In a number of cases, poor living conditions, cold, and hunger even caused children to run away from children's homes both in Gorky and in the Gorky region as a whole.⁸ To solve problems, citywide meetings of children's home workers and public inspections of children's homes were regularly held. The measures taken undoubtedly contributed to solving the problem of child homelessness, although often the placement of children had to be carried out more than once as children were escaping from children's homes. The Lukoyanovsky and Gorodetsky children's homes were "leading" in the number of escapes among regional children's homes in 1946. They fled, according to them, due to poor material and living conditions; some fugitives were planning to find their relatives⁹. Unfortunately, it is difficult to show data on the number of children's escapes from children's homes in different periods – archival documents available for research do not contain accurate statistics by year.

⁷ ГОПАНО. Ф. 30. Оп. 1. Д. 3550. Л. 9.

⁸ ГОПАНО. Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 5598. Л. 21–22.

⁹ ГОПАНО. Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 5598. Л. 23.

Documents (briefs, reports from employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs) reveal only certain facets of the problem: "The issues of escapes of pupils from children's homes in the Gorky region were studied in detail by the Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Gorky region, and their reasons were revealed. <...> Facts of escapes from children's homes are frequent"¹⁰.

The reasons for this situation are obvious – post-war devastation in the country, the hardships of the recovery period, a catastrophically difficult demographic situation, a huge number of single-parent families, orphanhood of children.

To prevent escapes and improve the living conditions, training and education of children in children's homes, in 1946–48, frequent and fairly thorough inspections were carried out by inspectors of the school department of the regional committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of all children's homes. Based on their results, measures were taken to solve the identified problems. In addition, meetings and discussions were held on issues of organising the work of children's homes with the participation of the heads of children's homes in the region, where the issue of patronage assistance from large enterprises and institutions, and public organisations was repeatedly raised. In the second half of the 1940s, boards of trustees were created in all children's homes. However, at meetings and in reports, the insufficient effectiveness of the work of the majority of boards of trustees was repeatedly noted.

Unfortunately, the sharp increase in the number of children's homes in the region was accompanied by deterioration in their material base, an increase in problems of a very different nature, starting with the lack of premises, firewood, furniture, food shortages, and ending with the lack of qualified employees and high morbidity among weakened and malnourished children.

The secretary of the Komsomol regional committee for work among school youth, O. Martynova, in the report of the Gorky Komsomol regional committee "On work to improve the operation of children's homes" from 1947, notes: "The audit found that the majority of children's homes in the region were not sufficiently prepared for winter conditions. In many children's homes, the premises were not insulated and there was no supply of firewood. There was an acute shortage of furniture, household and kitchen utensils, teaching aids and literature. The patronage over children's homes by industrial enterprises, collective farms and state farms was organised <...> For example, Komsomol members of the railway junction of st. Shakhunya took patronage over the Izvolsky children's home. They helped the children's home to put in order the carpentry workshop there, and organised the collection and production of tools for it. <...> In the city of Gorky, the Krasnoe Sormovo plant took the patronage over children's home No 1, and the Krasny Obuvshchik plant over children's home No 6 <...> Now every children's home in our region has its own bosses. During the period of inspection of the work of children's homes in the regions, Komsomol youth teams were formed to repair children's homes. For example, in Salgany, where the children's home was in an unsanitary condition, the stoves were smoking, Komsomol

¹⁰ ГОПАНО. Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 5598. Л. 21.

members of the Regional Centre organised whitewashing of the premises and repair of the stoves. Such small repairs by Komsomol members and youth were carried out in 30 rural children's homes. The fuel supply was bad. <...> The children's homes experienced especially great difficulties with the delivery of firewood. In January–February <...> firewood was delivered to 45 children's homes (Salgansky, Tonkinsky, Malo-Pitsky, etc.). With the provision of children's homes with clothes and shoes, the situation improved significantly <...> An inspection of the condition of children's homes showed that the ascertained shortcomings in the household organisation can be resolved with the participation of local and regional organisations.

To improve the content of educational work, it is necessary that the Ministry of Education should study and disseminate the forms and methods of work of teachers from the best children's homes, organise the issue of special editions of brochures and reference books to help kindergarten teachers <...>, the district, city and regional departments of public education should inspect children's homes more in terms of the content of educational work, because many children's home teachers make many mistakes in their work, and sometimes they structure their work completely incorrectly, turning into guards and nannies. There is a great need for the opening of special educational institutions <...> at pedagogical schools and teacher training institutes, special faculties should be organised for the training of children's home teachers".¹¹

Reports on examinations ("inspections") of children's homes, contained in archival funds, make it possible to recreate in general terms the everyday life of their pupils. Children's homes were examined, as a rule, before the start of a new school year and on the eve of winter. The goal was to identify problems and provide assistance to children's homes, identify and popularise the experience of the best children's homes, monitor the work of patronage and trustee boards at children's homes¹². The report on the work of the children's home sector of the Gorky department of people's education (OBLONO) for 1946 states that "the majority of children's homes are located in adapted premises. Only one Chkalovsky children's home has a special building. In 1946, out of 102 children's homes, 78 needed to be repaired. <...> We spent the funds in a timely manner and completed the repairs of 44 children's homes; in others, the repairs were delayed".¹³ When analysing reports and materials on inspections of children's homes, it immediately becomes obvious that the premises of most children's homes were completely unsuited for the needs of such children's institutions. In 1946, based on the results of inspection, two children's homes were closed due to the unsuitability of the premises.¹⁴

The documents contain complaints of teachers and pupils about abuse and thefts by representatives of children's home administrations. In particular, pupils of the

¹¹ ГОПАНО. Ф. 810. Оп. 11. Д. 2. Л. 104–106 об.

¹² ГОПАНО. Ф. 30. Оп. 1. Д. 3551. Л. 102.

¹³ ГОПАНО. Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 5598. Л. 58 об.

¹⁴ ГОПАНО. Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 5598. Л. 58.

Zhdanovsky children's home in the Pilnensky district sent a letter "Rodents of the children's home" to the editor of the newspaper "Pionerskaya Pravda", in which they complained: "The director, his relatives and employees are eating our food".¹⁵ An investigation was conducted, as a result of which the director was removed from his position, and the material about the thefts was referred for investigation. Unfortunately, this state of affairs was no exception.

The measures taken based on inspections yielded positive results. A report on the work of the children's home sector of the Gorky OBLONO for 1946 reveals in some detail the material needs of children's homes: "Children's homes were especially in dire need of mattresses, pillows and warm blankets. At the request of OBLONO, an order was submitted through the executive committee in October 1946 for 2000 quilted blankets and 1500 mattresses, but this quantity satisfied only a third of the need. In 1946, the supply of children's homes with manufactured goods improved significantly: coats, garments, leather shoes, galoshes, textiles, but they were poorly supplied with felt boots, warm underwear and warm hats <...> The children's homes were also not sufficiently supplied with kitchen utensils and tableware"¹⁶. The general sanitary condition of children's homes and children was also assessed as satisfactory, although, as can be seen from the reports on the results of inspections of each specific children's home, the situation was very different – children were often extremely neglected, and this depended, first of all, on the position and efforts of the children's home management.

Undoubtedly, despite the general problem of poverty in children's homes, in general the situation in each specific institution depended, first of all, on the selection of teachers, the ability to establish a regime, discipline, interaction with the school where the pupils studied, the effectiveness of the trustees and directors of the children's home, the ability to organise regular medical examinations and timely assistance to ill children, fully distribute household functions, observe food storage conditions, take care of the organisation of the territory surrounding the children's home premises (make a fence, a playground, put all equipment and firewood in the barn, etc.) and many other things, often at first glance minor, but in practice they turned out to be fundamentally important. In fact, the ability to foresee and control all these things was determined by the organisational talent, the experience of the director of the institution, the presence (or absence) of empathy for children left without a home and without a family, and the desire to help them. Therefore, despite the general problem of insufficient material resources, the impression from the examination of each children's home was different from the others. Facing similar problems in some children's homes, the children lived in terrible conditions and tried to escape by any means, in others they were well-fed and well-groomed, and refused to leave the children's home and return home to the poor, ill, or relatives returning

¹⁵ ГОПАНО. Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 5598. Л. 54.

¹⁶ ГОПАНО. Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 5598. Л. 59.

¹⁷ ГОПАНО. Ф. 30. Оп. 1. Д. 4088. Л. 38 об.

from prison. Thus, Valya Akkuratov, six years old, a pupil of children's home No 10 in the Sverdlovsk district of the city of Gorky, "declared a categorical reluctance to return home. Yura and Valya (brother and sister) said the same thing to their father, who came to them after returning from prison. This suggests that children have a good life in the children's home"¹⁷.

In a number of children's homes, inspections noted "the unsanitary condition of both the premises, clothing, and the children themselves (Vyezdnovsky of Arzamas district, Gorbатовsky of Pavlovsky district, Yakovlevsky of Knyagininsky district, Krasnogorsky of Petryaskinsky district, Shutilovsky of Pervomaisky district, Zhdanovsky of Pilnensky district). The work improved in Diveevsky, Ardatovsky, Balakhninsky and Izvolsky children's homes, where unsanitary conditions were previously noted"¹⁸. During the summer, health-improving activities were carried out with children; almost all children's homes provided four meals a day using the health-improving rations. Pupils from the Vyksa, Bogorodskiy, Pochinkovskiy and Dzerzhinskii children's homes were taken to dachas, sanatorium groups were organised at the children's homes for 1050 children, and 350 pupils were sent to pioneer camps. Children with tuberculosis intoxication were sent until recovery to the Alekseevsky sanatorium children's home, newly equipped with furniture, clothes, linen, shoes¹⁹.

Based on the results of the 1945–46 school year, the best in the Gorky region were declared the Vladimir, B. Cherevatorsky, Volynovsky, Rogovsky, Motovilovsky children's homes, and the worst were the Ardatovsky, Lyskovsky, Lukoyanovsky and Zelenogorodsky homes²⁰. It should be noted that organising conditions for the educational process and monitoring it, helping children with homework, visiting school and talking with teachers were the responsibilities of the administration and staff of children's homes. They were the ones who were responsible for the results of the school year, reporting on performance indicators and the reasons for the students' failure. Their tasks also included organising educational and cultural activities as an effective prevention of low academic performance and escapes of children from children's homes. According to this report, in 1946 all children's homes had already obtained small libraries (from 50 to 300 books) and geographic maps. The Alekseevsky children's home (500 books) and others had good libraries. They received fiction through OBLONO. Many pupils took books from the school and district libraries, and books from the regional library. The books were read and discussed collectively.

During the spring and summer holidays, hikes and excursions over long distances (up to 30 km) were often undertaken. There were excursions to the machine-tractor station, collective farm power plant, collective farm horse yard, cardboard factory, railway station, to the Pyana river, Vetluga, to the forest, windmill, printing house,

¹⁸ ГОПАНО. Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 5598. Л. 60.

¹⁹ ГОПАНО. Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 5598. Л. 60.

²⁰ ГОПАНО. Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 5598. Л. 61.

paper mill power station, felt factory, "artel" for painting wooden utensils²¹. Children from children's homes from the region came on an excursion to the city of Gorky. In the spring, the children planted shrubs and saplings, created flower beds around the home, and made birdhouses. In a number of children's homes, children were allocated small areas for individual beds, where they planted vegetables, looked after them and watched their growth. In school children's homes, since winter, children watched the development of plants in green corners. There were clubs under the guidance of teachers and pioneer leaders: drama, choral, physical education, handicrafts, etc. Children's organisations were created: children's councils, pioneer squads and the Komsomol²².

Physical education in children's homes mainly included exercises, in the warm season – in the street. In the territory of some children's homes, there were sports grounds with equipment. In order to develop personal hygiene skills among children, health workers held conversations on the topics "How to properly sunbathe", "Personal hygiene of pupils", "Gastrointestinal diseases", "What harm do flies bring", etc.²³

The supply of children's homes in the post-war years is noteworthy. In day care children's homes (school type), meals were served three times a day; in boarding schools, preschools and sanatoriums – four times a day. "Stock food products were issued to children's homes in full and were of good quality, with the exception of some areas (Varnavinsky, Krasnobakovsky, Buturlinsky, Pavlovsky), where the distribution of food was delayed and substitutes were allowed"²⁴. The subsidiary farms of children's homes played a major role in improving the nutrition of children, but the administration did not allow them to be organised everywhere. Unfortunately, there are no sample menus in the 1946 reports, but most reports characterise the food as inadequate or, at best, "satisfactory, with four meals a day"²⁵. In the early '50s, the situation in children's homes in the city of Gorky changed for the better, although it differed significantly in different institutions. Let us give an example of the menu in children's home No 95 (chefs – Krasnoe Sormovo plant) in Gorky in 1951: "The menu is varied (meat, dairy, vegetable dishes) and deliciously prepared. Accordingly, most of the pupils have haemoglobin above 60%. The cost of food is 8 roubles 67 kopecks per day. The menu is drawn up under the supervision of a doctor or nurse, calorie content is calculated (3000). The doctor is there every day for three hours, the nurse is there constantly, in-depth examinations take place each quarter"²⁶. In the report on the results of the inspection of children's home No 6, the information about the menu is extremely brief: "The menu is monotonous. They don't serve

²¹ ГОПАНО. Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 5598. Л. 61 об-62.

²² ГОПАНО. Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 5598. Л. 62 об.

²³ ГОПАНО. Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 5598. Л. 63.

²⁴ ГОПАНО. Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 5598. Л. 59.

²⁵ ГОПАНО. Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 5598. Л. 40 об.

²⁶ ГОПАНО. Ф. 30. Оп. 1. Д. 4088. Л. 25 об.

enough vegetables”²⁷. Moreover, the document further notes that “there were cases of the pantry being broken in 1950”²⁸, which indicates insufficient nutrition of pupils.

There were examples of selfless assistance to children’s homes from the population. Thus, Stalin Prize laureate Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR N. A. Voznesensky donated 150 thousand roubles to children’s homes in the Gorky region. “With these funds, 320 children, whose parents died for the socialist Motherland, have received gifts – watches, cameras, bicycles, harmonicas, violins, guitars, mandolins and other valuable things”, noted the leaders of the Gorky region, addressing Voznesensky²⁹. In her memoirs, director of the Malopitsky children’s home E. V. Kuzmicheva³⁰ wrote: “The years 1946–1948 were especially difficult for us. <...> My eyes hurt from the lack of sleep and malnutrition <...> For a long time I was on sick leave and at home. I was recalled from leave. It was the department of people’s education (OBLONO). As it turned out, Voznesensky decided to give his prize to children, including our children’s home. They will come to present gifts and make a film for the Povolzhye film journal <...> There was a lot of preparatory work. A special issue of the wall newspaper has been published. The guys tried to tidy up everywhere. And then the day came, 6 August. We waited all day. We dressed up. But not everyone is going. And here is the evening pioneer line-up. At that moment the cars arrived. The guys just squealed softly and went to their bedrooms. They couldn’t sleep for a long time. Still, we saw how a brand new piano was dragged into the pioneer room. The next day, 7 August 1948, guests arrived <...> Among the gifts were sewing machines, bicycles, watches, cameras, accordions, guitars, balalaikas. These were personal gifts for the children, everyone received something. After the presentation, of course, there was an amateur competition. Those who received bicycles as a gift began to learn how to ride them. Those who received the watch kept raising their hand with the watch to their ear. Some of them play the harmonica, and the others try to play the guitar, tuning their balalaikas. There was Kostya, who climbed onto a woodpile with a balalaika and with pleasure played “In the garden, in the vegetable garden”. Sewing machines, of course, were also tested. Many wanted to personally thank Voznesensky, but he was not there, and they began to write letters to him”³¹. Elena Vasilyevna also noted that on all holidays – 7 November, New Year, Soviet Army Day, 1 May, the anniversary of the founding of the children’s home – children received modest gifts, usually a bag of sweets, gingerbread, apples, nuts. “The guys loved to

²⁷ ГОПАНО. Ф. 30. Оп. 1. Д. 4088. Л. 9.

²⁸ ГОПАНО. Ф. 30. Оп. 1. Д. 4088. Л. 14.

²⁹ ГОПАНО. Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 6547. Л. 52.

³⁰ Elena Vasilievna Kuzmicheva headed the Malopitsky children’s home in the Dalnekonstantinovsky district of the Gorky region from 1942 to 1959. In 1942, it became one of four specialised children’s homes formed to receive Leningrad children evacuated to the Gorky region.

³¹ *Мы с тобой, Ленинград! (к 70-летию снятия блокады Ленинграда): сборник документов / сост. М.А. Марченко. – Нижний Новгород: Центр. архив Нижегород. Обл., 2014. – 224 с.: ил. С. 174–175.*

give gifts in the evening. Going to bed, it was so nice to feel the package next to oneself and anticipate tomorrow's pleasure"³².

They tried to solve the problem of overcrowding in children's homes in several ways. The first was the return of children to their parents' homes. However, this was not always possible – parents were often ill and unable to work. For example, Kuzmin Eduard, eight years old, who was in children's home No 7 of the Sverdlovsk district, was left there even after the check, despite the overcrowding of the children's home. The child's parents were for health reasons unable (the mother was mentally ill, the father had tuberculosis) to provide care for the disabled boy (he was hit by a tram and lost his right arm)³³.

Children who reached 14 years of age were "taken out" of children's homes by being employed at enterprises and moving to the dormitories of these enterprises. According to the 1946 plan, it was necessary to employ 800 children from children's homes in the region. As a result, 819 were employed, of which 112 were employed in railway and vocational schools and factory schools, 83 in industrial enterprises, 35 in educational institutions, and 57 children were left in children's homes to continue their education³⁴. In 1947, the Executive Committee of the Gorky City Council signed the document "On improving work on the placement of children and adolescents left without parents", according to which it was planned, among other measures, to open a new children's home designed for 100 children and employ in enterprises 1500 teenagers 15–16 years old from the Gorky reception centres. This number in the document was divided between the twelve leading enterprises of the city of Gorky, of which the largest numbers – 300 persons each – were at the automobile plant named after Molotov, Krasnoe Sormovo, plant named after Stalin. The remaining enterprises had to accept and employ from 20 to 150 teenagers, provide them with dormitories, clothes and shoes, three meals a day, and organise individual and team industrial training for them. The management of enterprises did not always agree to accept the children: "Only 100 persons were accepted, other organisations and factories refused to accept children, citing the lack of living space and a strict limit on food cards"³⁵. This, in turn, led to overcrowding of children in reception centres and the inability to accept the newly arriving children from the street, therefore the prosecutor of the Gorky region demanded that directors of enterprises fulfil in full their obligations regarding the employment of teenagers³⁶.

All teenagers placed in vocational schools, factory schools, and enterprises were provided with everything necessary for the first time; their working and living conditions were regularly checked by inspectors for the protection of children's rights.

³² *Мы с тобой, Ленинград! (к 70-летию снятия блокады Ленинграда): сборник документов / сост. М.А. Марченко. – Нижний Новгород: Центр. архив Нижегород. Обл., 2014. – 224 с.: ил. С. 174.*

³³ ГОПАНО. Ф. 30. Оп. 1. Д. 4088. Л. 51.

³⁴ ГОПАНО. Ф. 3. Оп. 1. Д. 5598. Л. 60 об.

³⁵ ГОПАНО. Ф. 30. Оп. 1. Д. 3328. Л. 43.

³⁶ ГОПАНО. Ф. 30. Оп. 1. Д. 3328. Л. 49.

Let us give some examples. Yuri Kladov, 15 years old in February 1948, went to work as an apprentice at the plant named after Frunze for a salary of 240 roubles. By September, his salary increased to 400–450 roubles; the document notes that “the master is very pleased with him”. On 1 May, the factory manager gave Yu. Kladov a suit³⁷. The plant named after Lenin employed brothers Yuri and Gennady Kuznetsov aged 15, Nikolai Timofeev, Boris Smirnov, Olga Belova aged 16. There were no complaints about the guys, i.e. they were positively assessed. The management of the enterprises helped them: Olga Belova was given a separate renovated room, a suit was sewn, the Kuznetsov brothers were given two cubic meters of firewood in the winter, and clothes were bought, Nikolai Timofeev and Boris Smirnov were given free trips to a holiday home and a pioneer camp. All these children, except O. Belova, lived with guardians (aunts, uncles), who took care of them³⁸. Their living and working conditions are described positively in the reports. The management of children’s homes, as a rule, maintained contacts with employed pupils; the children were invited to holidays at the children’s homes, and on holidays and during vacations – to the children’s dachas. In the information on communication with employed pupils at the children’s home dedicated to the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution, there is brief information about successfully employed pupils: Adam Bagaev graduated from vocational school No 6, successfully worked as an electrical mechanic in the thermal workshop of the Krasnaya Etna plant, exceeding the standards; Egerev Vladimir graduated with honours from the arts and crafts school in Konakovo, and remained to work as an artist at a porcelain and earthenware factory; Rumyantseva Tatyana mastered the profession of a draftsman (worked at the Kirov Zhirkombinat); Vera Kryuchkova and Marta Siyanova graduated from the printing vocational school No 11; Tamara Smolina and Galya Tatarnikova studied at a pedagogical school, while working at the same time, one in a kindergarten at the Krasny Yakor plant, the other in a children’s home; Yuri Akulin studied at the diesel engineering technical school and attended the artists’ circle at the Palace of Culture named after Lenin³⁹.

Of course, the picture of life for employed graduates of children’s homes and the attitude towards them in different enterprises varied and often required intervention from the leadership of the region and party bodies (regional committee, city committee, district committees, Komsomol). Thus, the report on the inspection of the living conditions of four pupils of the Sormovo children’s home employed at the Barminsky varzavod (village of Barmino, Lyskovsky district), dated 12 September 1949, reveals facts of violations by the management of the enterprise of the established rules for the employment of minors: “Our inspection of the labour and living conditions of employed underage girls Berezkina G. A, born in 1932, Orlova S. V, born in 1932, Keller A. P, born in 1932, Grebeshkova T. I, born in 1932, ascertained the following:

³⁷ ГОПАНО. Ф. 30. Оп. 1. Д. 3550. Л. 24.

³⁸ ГОПАНО. Ф. 30. Оп. 1. Д. 3550. Л. 24 об.

³⁹ ГОПАНО. Ф. 30. Оп. 1. Д. 3550. Л. 23, 23 об.

The dormitory where the pupils live is unsuitable for housing and requires renovation. This room was previously used as a stable for the factory; it has three windows, one has no frame, the rest have broken glasses, there is no table, chairs, household utensils, beds, bedding in the room, and the sanitary condition of the dormitory is poor. Due to the lack of bedding and beds, the pupils sleep on a Russian stove. There is no soap or towels. The bathhouse is visited rarely, once a month.

The food for the pupils is very poor; they only eat potatoes; there is rarely bread. The plant management does not pay any attention to this <...>

There is no industrial training for pupils; pupils perform various menial jobs. Thus, during the year the plant did not qualify a single student.

There is no political and educational work with pupils; there is no control over their behaviour both in the street and in the dormitory by the plant management"⁴⁰. Based on the results of the examination, the director of the plant was ordered to "improve the living conditions of the pupils before 1 October 1949, provide them with housing and bedding, to place one person in a separate apartment each, immediately organise industrial training for pupils and establish political and mass educational work with them", show "everyday control and care for their young workers"⁴¹. Information about the violations was also sent to the secretary of the Lyskovsky district committee of the Komsomol, comrade Platonov, who was asked to "personally, together with the plant administration, take the most energetic measures to create normal living conditions for teenage girls at the Barminsky varzavod" and report on the work done by 15 November this year"⁴².

⁴⁰ ГОПАНО. Ф. 810. Оп. 14. Д. 30. Л. 63–63об.

⁴¹ ГОПАНО. Ф. 810. Оп. 14. Д. 30. Л. 63об.

⁴² ГОПАНО. Ф. 810. Оп. 14. Д. 30. Л. 64.

Елена Д. Гордина

ДЕТСКИЕ ДОМА КАК СРЕДСТВО БОРЬБЫ С БЕСПРИЗОРНОСТЬЮ ДЕТЕЙ В ГОРОДЕ ГОРЬКИЙ ПОСЛЕ ВЕЛИКОЙ ОТЕЧЕСТВЕННОЙ ВОЙНЫ (1945 – 1950)

Резюме

Можно отметить, что организация деятельности детских домов в Горьковской области в середине – второй половине 1940-х годов была продиктована сложившейся в стране без преувеличения критической ситуацией с детской беспризорностью и безнадзорностью. Эта работа была сопряжена с большими трудностями, прежде всего, материального и кадрового характера, но стала, при всех несовершенствах детдомовской жизни и быта, единственно возможным способом достаточно быстрого решения проблемы. Стремительное возрастание количества детских домов и контингента детей в них сопровождалось изыскиванием новых источников финансирования учреждений, развитием системы шефства над ними колхозов, предприятий и организаций, что позволило обеспечивать десятки тысяч детей на протяжении тяжелых военных и послевоенных лет пропитанием, минимально необходимыми для жизни предметами обихода и кровом над головой, организовывать процесс ухода за ребятами, их обучения, воспитания, профориентации и трудоустройства, бороться с проявлениями детской преступности и девиантного поведения. К середине 1950-х годов положение постепенно улучшалось: страна восстанавливалась, «дети войны» подрастали и начинали трудовую жизнь, обеспечивая себя самостоятельно.

Елена Д. Гордина

СИРОТИШТА КАО СРЕДСТВО СУЗБИЈАЊА ДЕЧИЈЕГ БЕСКУЋНИШТВА У ГРАДУ ГОРКИ СРЕДИНОМ И У ДРУГОЈ ПОЛОВИНИ 40-ТИХ ГОДИНА 20. ВЕКА

Резиме

Организација рада дечјих домова у Горковској области средином и у другој половини 1940-их година била је условљена стварно критичном ситуацијом у земљи због деце без надзора и родитељске бриге. Дечији домови били су пред великим изазовима, пре свега финансијског и кадровског карактера, али су постали, и поред свих недостатака дечјег дома и живота у њему, једини могући начин брзог решавања проблема. Брз раст броја дечјих домова и деце у њима

CHILDREN'S HOMES IN THE GORKY REGION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST
CHILD HOMELESSNESS AND NEGLECT IN THE MIDDLE TO SECOND HALF OF THE 1940s

пратило је тражење нових извора финансирања тих институција, развој система патроната над њима од стране колхоза, предузећа и организација, што је омогућило да се десетинама хиљада деце током тешких ратних и поратних година обезбеди храна, минимално неопходни предмети за живот и кров над главом, организовање процеса бриге о деци, њиховог образовања, васпитања, професионалне оријентације и припреме за рад и запошљавање, организовање борбе против појава дечјег криминалитета и девијантног понашања. Средином 1950-их година, стање се постепено побољшавало: земља се опорављала, „деца рата“ су одраставала и почела да раде и запошљавају се, обезбеђујући себи сопствена средства за живот.

Zlata Vuksanović-Macura*
Geographical Institute "Jovan Cvijić"
of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts
Belgrade
ORCID ID: 0000-0003-4256-4149

URBAN PLANNING AND THE URBANISATION PROCESS IN SERBIA IN THE EARLY 1950s

Abstract: After suffering extensive damage caused by the Second World War, Serbia went through a reconstruction period. Between 1944 and the mid-1950s, the government prioritised economic growth and worked on rebuilding and modernising the infrastructure, urban structures, and systems. Urban planning was seen as crucial in creating the conditions for state development. Societal and five-year plans, supported by urban plans, enabled accelerated economic progress and growth. The urban planning profession was institutionalised, with planning theory and practice introduced alongside social, economic, and political changes. Through an examination of the activities of the Urban Planning Institute of the People's Republic of Serbia, established in 1946, this paper rethinks the link between urban planning and the social aspect of the planned economy in response to the rapid urbanisation and industrialisation of cities.

Keywords: urban planning, urbanisation, economic plan, socialism, decentralisation, Serbia.

Urban planning has been a practice of fundamental relevance since the emergence of the first cities.¹ However, the urban planning profession was established in the 19th century, and it focused on creating regulatory plans for individual cities.² It was not until the turn of the 20th century that it became regulated at the national level. In this early stage, the development of urban planning was strongly influenced by doctrines

* z.macura@gi.sanu.ac.rs

¹ Spiro Kostoff, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History*, London 1991, 43–51.

² Thomas Hall, *Planning Europe's Capital Cities: Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Urban Development*, London and New York 1997, 155.

introduced by influential urban planners of the time. In 1910, “the science and theory of human settlements”, known as urbanism, was defined.³ Serbia’s process of creating and developing urban planning followed these same patterns.⁴

Radical changes in social relations, the economic and political system in Yugoslavia, and thus in Serbia, in the first years after the Second World War, set new tasks and goals for architecture and urban planning. The state set two major historical tasks before professionals: the reconstruction of cities and the construction of the environment for a new society⁵. The former goal, the reconstruction, was necessary to mitigate the devastating effects of the war. Serbia’s economy was in shambles, and its infrastructure, roads, buildings, and settlement systems were destroyed. To address this, it was necessary to “build a new life in a new community” to move forward, as the urban planners Jozef Kortus and Dragoljub Momčilović put it⁶. The latter task, i.e. the creation of the “material framework of life” for the new society, stemmed from the process of urbanisation and deagrarianisation that began immediately after the war.⁷

In the interwar period, the urban population was moderately growing throughout Serbia, except for Belgrade: in 1921, it accounted for 19% and there was an average annual increase of 2.2%. In 1948, the urban population in Serbia accounted for about 21%.⁸ A more intensive process of urbanisation occurred at the turn of the 1940s and the 1950s, when the annual population growth rate reached 7%⁹, after which “industrialisation caused a significant influx of population into cities”¹⁰. In Serbia, as in many other countries, urbanisation progressed alongside industrialisation, contributing to the growth of the urban population. However, this rapid increase in population highlighted the inadequacy of the physical framework in Serbian cities, resulting in a growing discrepancy between the

³ Françoise Schoe, *Urbanism, Utopia and Reality*, Belgrade 1978, 2.

⁴ Branko Maksimović, *Urbanizam u Srbiji: osnivanje i rekonstrukcija varoši u Srbiji u 19. veku* [*Urbanism in Serbia: establishment and reconstruction of towns in Serbia in the 19th century*], Belgrade 1962; Vladimir Macura, *Urbano planiranje u Srbiji 19. i 20. veka* [*Urban planning in Serbia in the 19th and 20th centuries*], Belgrade 1983.

⁵ Aleksandar Kadijević, “Leskovac u urbanističkom izveštaju arhitekta Ratomira Bogojevića iz 1953. godine” [Leskovac in the urban planning report of the architect Ratomir Bogojević from 1953], *Leskovački zbornik* 39 (1999) 209.

⁶ Jozef Kortus and Dragoljub Momčilović, “Današnji problemi urbanizma u Srbiji” [Today’s problems of urbanism in Serbia], in: *Gradovi i naselja u Srbiji. Razvoj, urbanistički planovi i izgradnja 1946–1953* [*Cities and settlements in Serbia. Development, urban plans and construction 1946–1953*], ed. Mihajlo Mitrović, Belgrade 1953, 11.

⁷ V. Macura, *Urbano planiranje u Srbiji* [*Urban planning in Serbia*], 108.

⁸ Branka Tošić, “Proces urbanizacije u Srbiji u periodu posle Drugog svetskog rata” [Process of urbanisation in Serbia in the period after the Second World War], *Zbornik radova Geografskog instituta “Jovan Cvijić” SANU* 47–48 (1998) 148.

⁹ J. Kortus and D. Momčilović, “Današnji problemi urbanizma u Srbiji” [Today’s problems of urbanism in Serbia], 14.

¹⁰ V. Macura, *Urbano planiranje u Srbiji* [*Urban planning in Serbia*], 108.

needs of the people and the available resources¹¹. Urban planners believed that such problems required a “completely new [...] solution method”.¹²

The link between urban planning and the economic plan

The broader framework of the newly established urban practice arose from the social concept of a planned economy and the connection of economic and urban (regulatory) plans. Proper urban planning could bring numerous benefits to a city's economy, including an improved infrastructure, better job opportunities, overall economic growth and prosperity for the entire community. The urban planner Branko Maksimović, one of the prominent actors at that time, wrote in 1948: “The planned industrialisation and electrification of the country appear as the main lever and the main force for achieving the primary tasks of the five-year plan.”¹³ The third key aspect was the post-war reconstruction, and the national economy was seen as “the basis for urban development.”¹⁴ The architect Nikola Dobrović, one of the most influential professional and political protagonists at the time, emphasised that urbanism, as a unique artistic and technical discipline, was assigned crucial and multiple roles in the major “enterprises aimed at electrifying and industrialising the country.”¹⁵ Along the same lines, Dobrović developed the idea of a specific Yugoslav socialist urbanism and defined the place for its technical and artistic aspects in the process of creating new social, political and cultural patterns.¹⁶ In this light, Dobrović makes a direct connection between urbanism, the development of the national economy and the construction of the socialist society of the new Yugoslavia.

The first Five-Year Plan (1947–1951), which aimed to promote the development of the state and ensure the influx of funds into the state budget to make it possible to fund future projects, provided for the reconstruction, development and planning of the 20 largest cities in the country “in the spirit of modern urbanism and in line with the economic, communal and cultural needs of the socialist society”.¹⁷ The 1949 federal Basic Decree on General Urban Plan was passed,¹⁸ confirming the connection

¹¹ Ibidem.

¹² J. Kortus and D. Momčilović, “Današnji problemi urbanizma u Srbiji” [Today's problems of urbanism in Serbia], 13.

¹³ Branko Maksimović, *Razvoj gradograditeljstva: od starog veka do sadašnjosti* [Development of town planning: from the old century to the present], Belgrade 1948, 239.

¹⁴ V. Macura, *Urbano planiranje u Srbiji* [Urban planning in Serbia], 107.

¹⁵ Nikola Dobrović, *Urbanizam kroz vekove 1, Jugoslavija* [Urbanism through the centuries 1, Yugoslavia], Belgrade 1950, 62.

¹⁶ Ibidem, 61–63.

¹⁷ Ibidem, 61.

¹⁸ *Official Gazette of FPRY*, no. 78/49 of 14.09.1949. Reprint published in: Vesna Cagić-Milošević and Verica Međo, *Zakoni za arhitekturu i urbanizam u Srbiji od 1945 do 2012* [Laws for Architecture and Urbanism in Serbia from 1945 to 2012], Belgrade 2014, 100–101.

between urban planning and economic development. Already in its first article, it is stated that a general urban plan should direct the development of the city “taking into account the provisions set out in the economic plan, as well as the assumed development of productive forces in general”, while directing the process of urbanisation and improving the social life of the city.¹⁹ The Decree was the main legislative framework for urban planning in the following decade.²⁰



Figure 1. Comparative view of the existing and planned appearance of Novi Sad. The author of the plan is the architect Dimitrije Marinković. Source: Mitrović, editor, 1953, 71.

Institutional establishment of urban planning and the Urban Planning Institute of Serbia

The new socialist governance required a new organisation of professional activities. The period following the war witnessed a wider institutionalisation of the urban planning profession, practice and theory in Serbia. According to the urban

¹⁹ V. Cagić-Milošević and V. Međo, *Zakoni [Laws]*, 100.

²⁰ V. Macura, *Urbano planiranje u Srbiji [Urban planning in Serbia]*, 108.

planner Vladimir Macura: "It all started in 1945. That year, a unified front of engineers and technicians was formed,"²¹ including urban planners, who were not numerous at the time. The Anti-Fascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Serbia organised a series of practical and theoretical trainings. One of the major events important for the establishment of the urban planning profession and the education of urban planners was the three-month Course for the restoration and urban development of settlements, which was also organised in 1945 by the Anti-Fascist Assembly. In January 1946, the Urban Planning Institute was established under the Ministry of Construction of the People's Republic of Serbia. By the decree of the Government of the People's Republic of Serbia from the same year, the task and functions of the Urban Planning Institute were defined – in the words of Nikola Dobrović, who was also the first director of the Institute, this implied "fostering the theory and practice of urban planning".²² Already in the following year, 1947, the Institute was transformed and it changed its name to the Urban Office at the Planning Commission of the People's Republic of Serbia.²³

The Tito-Stalin rift of 1948 had a profound impact on the socio-political system of Yugoslavia, leading to the development of a unique form of Yugoslav socialism that differed significantly from the Soviet model, with workers' self-management as a distinguishing feature. At the time of intense social events, even the formation of urban planning institutions could not have had a peaceful course. In the same year, 1948, the Urban Planning Institute of the Executive Committee of the People's Committee (IONO) of Belgrade was separated from the Urban Planning Institute of Serbia, whose main task was the preparation of a new General Plan for the capital city.²⁴ Then in 1950, a separate Urban Planning Institute of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina was formed. Three years later, in 1953, as part of a wide-scale decentralisation and the introduction of self-management, the Urban Planning Institute of Serbia, as a central planning institution, was closed down, and the work of urban planning passed into the hands of newly founded architectural and urban planning studios. However, contrary to expectations, urban planning activities were not transferred to municipalities throughout Serbia, but the primacy of Belgrade was maintained, and the leading architectural and urban planning offices, among which planning tasks were divided, operated from the capital city. The true decentralisation and localisation of urban planning in Serbia began only a decade later, when the Niš Urban Planning Institute was formed (1963), which, as Macura notes, "really transferred planning activities to the jurisdiction of the municipality."²⁵ Already in the following two years, until 1965, the number of urban planning institutes in Serbia rose to twenty-two.

²¹ Ibidem, 107.

²² N. Dobrović, *Urbanizam kroz vekove [Urbanism through the centuries]*, n.p.

²³ V. Macura, *Urbano planiranje u Srbiji [Urban planning in Serbia]*, 108.

²⁴ Miloš Somborski, "Problemi urbanističkog planiranja Beograda" [Problems of urban planning of Belgrade], in: *Beograd. Generalni urbanistički plan 1950 [Belgrade. General urban plan 1950]*, Belgrade 1951, 5.

²⁵ V. Macura, *Urbano planiranje u Srbiji [Urban planning in Serbia]*, 108.

The subject of planning and urban plans

Intensive development at the national level, industrialisation and subsequent urbanisation, i.e. the influx of population into cities, resulted in growing demand for apartments and industrial areas. This posed great challenges to urban planning. The work of the Urban Planning Office (Institute) of Serbia provides an opportunity to analyse the role of urban planning in establishing new spatial and social relations in the new socialist state. The work of the Urban Planning Institute included a wide range of activities related to the development of regulatory plans, urban projects and studies. The Institute operated on a commercial basis and it initially received orders for the development of regulatory plans directly from people's committees, which were, in a way, the equivalent of today's local self-government units. Between its establishment in 1946 and 1953, when the decentralisation of architectural and urban planning institutions began, numerous plans for cities and settlements in Serbia were designed in the Urban Planning Institute.

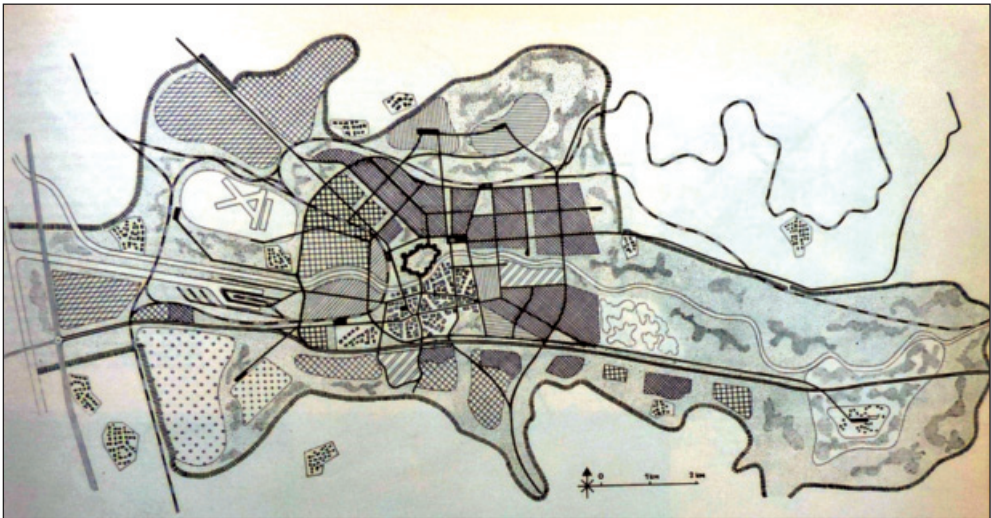


Figure 2. A regulatory sketch of the city of Niš made around 1949 at the Urban Planning Institute. Author: architect Jozef Kortus, collaborators: architects Mihajlo Mitrović and Dobrivoje Barlovac. Source: Mitrović, editor, 1953, 183.

In the early years of the Institute's operation, a significant part of its tasks were associated with Belgrade, including the preparation of studies on traffic and regional problems, or the projects for the reconstruction of several spatial units within the old

urban core. In many cases, the author of these projects was the director of the Institute, Nikola Dobrović. Several preliminary programme solutions and conceptual plans for the construction of New Belgrade – a new city and a symbol of the new country – were developed at the Institute.²⁶ After the mentioned separation of the Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade, the activities of the Institute remained focused on other cities in Serbia.

During the seven years of its existence, the Institute developed general and regulatory plans for 22 cities in Serbia, including Leskovac, Kraljevo, Čačak, Titovo Užice (today Užice), Negotin, Kragujevac, Niš, Novi Sad, Subotica, Svetozarevo (today Jagodina), Šabac, and others. In addition, 25 plans for mining, industrial, spa and other smaller settlements, such as Aleksinac, Bor, Majdanpek, were designed.

The character and content of these plans are vividly evidenced by the book published by the Urban Planning Office (Institute) entitled *Cities and Settlements of Serbia. Development, Urban Plans and Construction 1946–1953*.²⁷ The plans were primarily focused on planning industrial zones, creating new residential areas, improving traffic organisation, and enhancing the quality of urban infrastructure. The restoration of buildings, green spaces, and the preservation of architectural heritage elements also received significant attention.

The reports presented in the publication *Cities and Settlements of Serbia* also offer a good insight into the characteristics of the new approach in urban planning in the unique socio-political circumstances of socialist Serbia. In the first place, the position of urban planning in the context of planned economy was defined and the role of urban planning in planned development was determined. The urban planners wrote: “We are decidedly against reducing the tasks of urban planning to urban space design and the embellishment of streets, squares and piazzas.”²⁸ From a predominantly artistic activity, urban planning should develop into a discipline tasked with the “planned distribution and development of productive forces.”²⁹ All urban plans for cities, settlements or territories developed in the Urban Planning Office (Institute) were an integral part of the economic plan and the “method to implement it”, to cite the words of Kortus and Momčilović.³⁰ The practice of urban planning was employed to achieve the goals of the Five-Year Plan, which envisaged the planned reorganisation of the largest cities in the country in the spirit of modern urbanism, plans that would be, as Dobrović put it, “in the closest harmony with the economic, communal and

²⁶ Zlata Vuksanović-Macura, “New Belgrade: From a Socialist Ideal to a Fragmented Space of a Fashionable Architecture”, in: *Post-Utopian Space: Transforming and Re-Evaluating Urban Icons of Socialist Modernism*, eds. V. Mihaylov and M. Ilchenko, London and New York, 164.

²⁷ Mihajilo Mitrović (ed.), *Gradovi i naselja u Srbiji. Razvoj, urbanistički planovi i izgradnja 1946–1953* [*Cities and settlements in Serbia. Development, urban plans and construction 1946–1953*], Belgrade 1953.

²⁸ J. Kortus and D. Momčilović, “Današnji problemi urbanizma u Srbiji” [Today’s problems of urbanism in Serbia], 12.

²⁹ Ibidem, 19.

³⁰ Ibidem, 12.

cultural needs of society”,³¹ which is at the same time “an epochal phenomenon” because urban planning no longer serves to the “privileged private sector” but to man and the community.

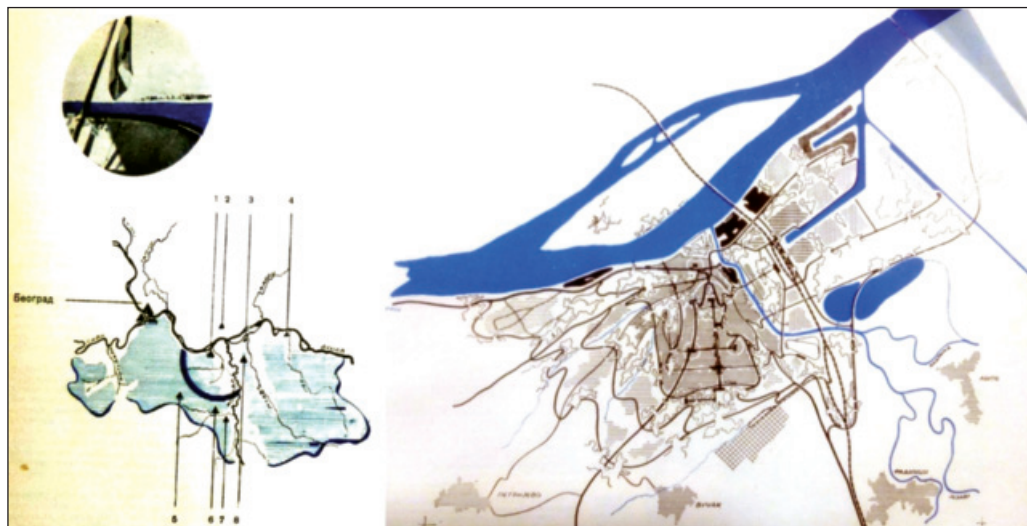


Figure 3. Smederevo, gravity zones (left) and a regulation sketch (right).
Author: architect Milorad Macura. Source: Mitrović, editor, 1953, 1 92, 201.

The need for innovative planning methods led to their introduction. One of the main innovations was connecting urban planning as a practical discipline with urban theory. Experts also believed that the development of plans should start from the existing situation, that it should contain elements of spatial design to create a “unique character of each city”, but also that it must rely on statistical data, as well as on research and a comprehensive analysis of conditions and possibilities for development. In this regard, the need to introduce a regional approach to planning was emphasised, where cities and settlements were not viewed in isolation but as parts of a region and a settlement system. Regional analyses were made where the influence of broader gravity zones on the city and *vice versa* – the impact of the city on its region – were examined. In this way, regional and national (state) spatial plans were gradually introduced into the planning practice. Moreover, those regional and state national plans should have been directly related to the economic agenda.

³¹ N. Dobrović, *Urbanizam kroz vekove [Urbanism through the centuries]*, 62.

Concluding remarks

The early goals of industrialisation, electrification and urbanisation set by the new Yugoslavia after the end of the Second World War transformed the state, economic and social order and contributed to its intensive development, and all that concerned Serbia. Urban planning was developing in close connection with the newly established socialist ideology. From the very beginning, it was seen as crucial in creating the conditions for national development, and societal and five-year plans, supported by urban plans, enabled accelerated economic progress and growth.

Viewed on a broader level, the elements that marked urbanism in Serbia in the years immediately following the Second World War opened the door for the introduction of comprehensive planning into the urban discourse of Serbia. This approach to urban planning was typical of European modernism of the period. Also, the unification of development programme settings (the economic plan and the Five-Year Plan) and urban plans of a city or wider territory were the forerunners of the practice that would become common in Europe and all over the world a few decades later.

Злата Вуксанович-Мацура

**УРБАНИСТИЧНОЕ ПЛАНИРОВАНИЕ И ПРОЦЕСС УРБАНИЗАЦИИ
В СЕРБИИ В НАЧАЛЕ 1950-х ГОДОВ.**

Резюме

Период восстановления городов в Сербии после больших разрушений во Второй мировой войне начинается уже в 1944 году и длится до переломных пятидесятых годов. Это период восстановления экономики, а также физической реконструкции и восстановления строительного фонда, городских структур и систем. В первые послевоенные годы в Сербии произошла институционализация градостроительной практики и теории планирования города, которая развивалась переплетено с турбулентными изменениями социальной, экономической и политической системы. Анализируя деятельность новообразованного Урбанистического института Народной Республики Сербии, основанного в 1946 году, в работе показана связь городской практики с социальным аспектом плановой экономики в ответ на интенсивную урбанизацию и индустриализацию городов.

Городское планирование в Сербии развивалось в тесной связи с вновь установленной социалистической идеологией. Первый Пятилетний план (1947–1951), который имел целью стимулирование государственного развития и обеспечение поступления средств в государственный бюджет для финансирования будущих проектов, предусматривал восстановление, развитие и плановое переустройство двадцати крупнейших городов в стране “в духе современного урбанизма и в соответствии с экономическими, коммунальными и культурными потребностями социалистического общества”. В 1949 году было принято федеральное Основное положение о генеральном урбанистическом плане, которое подтверждало связь урбанизма и экономического развития. Это положение стало основным законодательным каркасом планирования городов в следующем десятилетии.

Деятельность вновь созданного Урбанистического института (завода) Сербии включала широкий спектр работ по разработке регуляционных планов, городских проектов и исследований. С момента основания, в 1946 году, до 1953 года, когда началась децентрализация архитектурно-градостроительных учреждений, в Урбанистическом институте были разработаны многочисленные планы городов и поселений в Сербии. Приоритетные темы, затронутые планами, касались восстановления строительного фонда, размещения промышленных зон, формирования новых жилых поселений, реорганизации транспорта, повышения качества городской инфраструктуры. Городское планирование рассматривалось как ключевой элемент создания условий для государственного развития, а социальные и пятилетние планы, при поддержке урбанистических планов, позволяли ускоренное экономическое развитие и рост.

Элементы, характеризующие урбанизм в Сербии в годы непосредственно после завершения Второй мировой войны, открыли двери для внедрения всеобъемлющего планирования в урбанистический дискурс Сербии, что было подходом к планированию города, свойственным европейскому модернизму того времени. Объединение программных установок развития (экономического плана и Пятилетнего плана) и урбанистических, пространственных планов какого-либо города или более широкой территории были предтечей практики, которая войдет на планерную сцену, европейскую и мировую, несколько десятилетий спустя.

Злата Вуксановић-Мацура

**УРБАНИСТИЧКО ПЛАНИРАЊЕ И ПРОЦЕС УРБАНИЗАЦИЈЕ
У СРБИЈИ РАНИХ 1950-ИХ ГОДИНА**

Резиме

Период обнове градова у Србији након великих разарања у Другом светском рату наступа већ 1944. године и траје до преломних педесетих година. То је период обнове привреде, као и физичке реконструкције и обнове градитељског фонда, урбаних структура и система. У првим послератним годинама у Србији је дошло до институционализације урбанистичке струке и праксе и теорије планирања града, која се одвијала испреплетано са турбулентним променама друштвеног, економског и политичког система. Анализирајући деловање новоформираног Урбанистичког института Народне Републике Србије, основаног 1946. године, у раду је приказана повезаност урбанистичке праксе са друштвеним аспектом планске привреде као одговор на интензивну урбанизацију и индустријализацију градова.

Урбанистичко планирање у Србији развијало се у тесној вези са новоуспостављеном социјалистичком идеологијом. Први Петогодишњи план (1947–1951), који је имао за циљ подстицање државног развоја и обезбеђивање прилива средстава у државни буџет ради финансирања будућих пројеката, предвиђао је обнову, развој и планско преуређење двадесет највећих градова у земљи „у духу савременог урбанизма и у складу са привредним, комуналним и културним потребама социјалистичког друштва“. Године 1949, донета је савезна Основна уредба о генералном урбанистичком плану која потврђује везу урбанизма и привредног развоја. Ова уредба била је у наредној деценији основни легислативни оквир планирања градова.

Делатност новоформираног Урбанистичког института (завода) Србије обухватала је широк спектар послова на изради регулационих планова, урбанистичких пројеката и студија. Од оснивања 1946, до 1953. године, када почиње децентрализација архитектонско-урбанистичких установа, у Урбанистичком институту израђени су бројни планови градова и насеља у Србији. Приоритетне теме којима су се бавили планови тичале су се реконструкције грађевинског фонда, размештаја привредних (индустријских) зона, формирања нових стамбених насеља, реорганизације саобраћаја, повећања квалитета градске инфраструктуре. Урбанистичко планирање је било виђено као кључно у стварању услова за државни развој, а друштвени и петогодишњи планови су, уз подршку урбанистичких планова, омогућавали убрзан привредни напредак и раст.

Елементи који су карактерисали урбанизам у Србији у годинама непосредно по завршетку Другог светског рата, отворили су врата за увођење свеобухватног планирања у урбанистички дискурс Србије, што је био приступ у планирању града својствен европском модернизму тог доба. Обједињавање програмских поставки развоја (што су били привреди план и Петогодишњи план) и урбанистичких, просторних планова неког града или шире територије, били су претеча праксе која ће на планерску сцену, европску и светску, ступити неколико деценија касније.

Tatiana A. Arbakova

State University of Architecture and Civil Engineering

Nizhny Novgorod

ORCID ID: 0009-0005-4746-7569

SOVIET POST-WAR CITY: ISSUES OF IMPROVEMENT

Abstract: The paper examines the peculiarities of the perception of Soviet reality in 1945–1952. The basis of the research are regional archival materials – letters written by residents of the city of Gorky to the local authorities during those years. The paper presents their opinions about issues related to the post-war city – the state of housing and communal services, and the preservation of cultural monuments.

Keywords: Post-war reality, archival documents, letters from citizens, the city of Gorky, the life of the city and its inhabitants.

This paper examines some aspects of the social life of the city of Gorky – a large industrial centre of the Soviet era in 1945–1952: during the transition from the victory in the Great Patriotic War to creative civil life. This issue is elaborated on taking into account two *considerations*.

The first consideration relates to the manner in which ordinary Gorky residents resolved public and private issues in those years. As the main historical materials, we examined the documents of the State Social and Political Archive of the Nizhny Novgorod Region (GKU GOPANO), kept in the fund of the 30th Gorky City Party Committee (Gorcom) – citizens' letters to its departments, which constituted the paperwork of local councils.

It is well known that a written petition was a customary opportunity for a Soviet person to draw the attention of government officials to his problems and receive their aid in resolving them. In the difficult conditions of the war and early post-war years, for many people this practice was the only way to survive. Gorky residents addressed the city party committee on various social issues. The authors of some of the letters were front-line soldiers who faced significant everyday difficulties in peacetime, and

therefore needed comprehensive social support. At the same time, a significant number of them were written by women – wives, mothers, relatives of former soldiers, who had difficulty adapting to the realities of post-war everyday life. They turned to Gorcom for various financial assistance for their families. In their letters, citizens were convincing officials of the need to carefully consider their requests.

The system of state material assistance helped citizens survive in 1941–1945: it provided basic life needs for food, housing, employment and medical care at the minimum required level. They remained a priority in 1945–1948.

The housing issue remained the most pressing. Gorcom had to resolve it not only for those demobilised, but also for citizens returning from evacuation, who lost their homes due to the enemy bombing of the city of Gorky. The issue of medical provision for citizens and especially war veterans was also present in the petitions. Their authors pointed out shortcomings in the organisation of work, material and food support of hospitals and city hospitals¹.

In 1945–1946, Gorky residents also drew the attention of local authorities to the enormous difficulties in food supply. As shown in letters, in stores supplying cards, the quality of bread, salt and other foodstuffs was very low; there were constant interruptions and shortages in their trade. A letter from 1946 reads: “If previously they could get bread at a high price, now they can’t get any”. It was almost impossible to purchase tobacco, clothes, industrial goods, and if they could be purchased, their cost was exorbitant and they were inaccessible to ordinary people². To eliminate these problems, city residents proposed to develop cooperative trade in the city and regularly reduce prices for goods in high demand at the state level³.

Just as many people in 1945–1948, Gorky residents faced a huge number of other social problems⁴. At the same time, in their letters they drew attention of the city leadership to the situation with the city’s housing, utilities and transport services. They highlighted the poor performance of public water pumps, steam baths, frequent power outages in residential areas, insufficient supply of fuel to city areas, regular flooding of streets with wastewater. The townspeople who worked at enterprises in Sormovo, the Gorky Railway, etc. were particularly dissatisfied with the lack of trams and buses on intracity routes. This situation was aggravated by the lack of permanent bridges across the Oka and Volga rivers, which at the time were replaced by a seasonal ferry crossing.

Citizens also emphasised the authorities’ views on the neglect of the city, the lack of sanitary and technical services in urban workers’ settlements, and the state of the housing stock. A letter from 1949 reads: “In the city of Gorky, the squares are covered

¹ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1 Д. 3125. Л. 160.

² ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 3301. Л. 78.

³ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 3890. Л. 93.

⁴ For more information about the social problems of Gorky residents see: Абракова Т. А. Шляхов М. Ю. *Человек в контексте послевоенной повседневности 1945–1948 гг. (по материалам г. Горького)*, Современная научная мысль 2021, № 4, 121–130.

with paper waste, and the movement of people and vehicles is disorderly. The police are inactive, there is no order in the streets, beggars and various fortune tellers are everywhere. The majority of houses require either partial, and many, major repairs. Unpainted, thin, crumbling chimneys, broken corners of buildings, the lack of drainage pipes, crumbling fences and gates – this is an incomplete picture of our housing in many city streets”⁵.

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

An analysis of citizens’ appeals suggests that these problems persisted in the future. A 1950 letter to Pravda, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, reads: “The unsanitary condition of the courtyards: there are collapsed sheds and cellars in them; in the apartments, the plumbing (sewage, 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 utilities, and cultural construction in the city of Gorky that it is impossible to list them all. Where exactly and for what purposes do the millions of funds allocated to the city by the government go so that our city becomes truly exemplary and cultural? Our Gorky, which has a large population and played a special role during the Great Patriotic War, deserves special attention, as seen in the decisions of the party and government concerning the care about the city, but this is not ensured by the leadership of the city and region”⁶.

Such appeals were returned to the city people’s economy department “to take the necessary measures”. After considering and confirming the stated facts, the necessary measures were carried out: stairs and drainpipes were repaired in residential buildings, courtyards were cleaned, the work of city transport was adjusted, etc. Those who applied for work in letters were informed through talks in the city party committee.

Gorky residents also outlined proposals for the upgrade of landmarks in the city, noting the special historical and cultural significance of the Chkalov Stairs, the A. M. Gorky Museum and others. They also pointed out the shortcomings of their preservation by the city authorities. A 1951 letter to the local newspaper Gorkovskaya Pravda reads: “About the unscrupulous attitude of the Gorky City Council towards 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 has begun to collapse. No one is keeping order around the monument. The polished finish is covered with scratches. The ruby star, marking the capital of our Motherland on the map of the pedestal, has disappeared, just as many bronze dotted lines have vanished, marking the points of the Stalinist route of the famous pilot”. The city party committee responded to this letter with a message that the improvement and repair of the monument are planned and that necessary funds were allocated for it⁷.

⁵ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 3675. Л. 24–25.

⁶ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 3864. Л. 190–193.

⁷ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 3861. Л. 29–34.

A highly pressing issue in 1945 and early 1946 was the lack of premises for the restoration of education in secondary and higher educational institutions: in acting schools, technical schools, pedagogical and medical institutes, etc.; and schools in Gorky. The city authorities were in a difficult situation: the buildings of these educational institutions were occupied by military hospitals.

Leisure after hard work, as an outlet from the difficulties of post-war life, were for Gorky residents visits to the cinema, musical dance evenings, and thematic lectures. By analysing these documentary sources, one can get only an indirect and incomplete insight into the cultural interests and impressions of city residents. Thus, they contain references to a group of citizens watching the film "The Fall of Berlin", and to the interest of young people in "award-winning" films.

The public in Gorky was concerned about the level of development of team sports, especially football, in the city. Non-indifferent citizens wrote to the city party committee that, to develop team sports, it was necessary to organise sports schools and allocate premises. When it came to football, it was necessary to organise a coaching council at the city physical education committee and create a new team, selecting players from the best teams in the city⁸.

The analysis of a set of documents from 1945–1948 presented in the study allows us to ascertain that residents of the city of Gorky perceived the Soviet post-war reality in the same way as in central Russia. Their life was connected with the daily overcoming of social and everyday difficulties, which were often associated with the scarcity of material resources available to the city party authorities for material support of citizens and improvement of the housing and communal services of Gorky. City residents harshly criticised the local authorities, which, due to limited capabilities, could not quickly overcome the city post-war devastation. At the same time, by entering into a dialogue with the authorities, Gorky residents contributed to the post-war restoration of the city's social life, which was an indicator of its return to peaceful life.

Despite the efforts of the authorities to overcome the social problems of the residents of the city of Gorky, they remained serious over the following decade.

Thus, the leading topic of appeals to the city party committee of the early '50s was the provision of housing to citizens and the improvement of city districts. The letters mention the issues of repairing the city housing stock, relocating families from barracks and basements, providing apartments to those in need, etc. Quite often, workers, approving the activities of the local party authorities, expressed the following wish to their representatives: "Work for the benefit of the workers and taking care of the urgent needs of the workers, especially housing"⁹.

The second consideration concerns the manner in which many social issues of Gorky residents were resolved through their participation in campaigns for the election of deputies to central and local councils, which were regularly held from the

⁸ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 3862. Л. 34–35.

⁹ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 3842. Л. 54.

first post-war years. Their preparation, progress and results of voting were controlled by district, city and regional party committees. The election campaign was highly centralised; the party leadership provided candidates for councils at all levels with the necessary propaganda support¹⁰.

Agitators had a special role during their implementation. They were assigned to each polling station and carried out constant work among workers, encouraging them to participate in voting. The analysis of campaign documents suggests that they not only explained various aspects of election campaigns to citizens, but quite often, agitators helped residents resolve problems that could not be noticed by district and city party committees.

Thus, in the materials of the campaign for the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (held on 12 March 1950), there are many messages about the agitators' help to voters. Letters of residents of the Avtozavodsky district (the lower city) to the election commission: "The B-va agitator is a welcome guest among the voters of our house. One day Comrade B-va asked me in detail about how I lived. Noticing that the plaster had fallen in some places in my room, she promised to work on repairs. The room is currently being renovated. I am 73 years old. My son lost his life on the front during the Great Patriotic War. I do not feel alone. Such warm relationships are possible only in our country"¹¹. Or: "I am 65 years old, I participated in the civil war, and I express my heartfelt gratitude to the agitators P-ko, O-vu, who, like real Soviet citizens, helped me as an old man to pay the rent as a disabled person"¹². Letters from the Sverdlovsk district, located in the upper part of the city: "The agitator, the head of the workshop, the senior foreman P-n carried out agitation work exceptionally creatively. He got close to voters and studied each family. In order to achieve full turnout of voters at campaign meetings, he visited the apartment of K-ko M. F., who had not shown up. He learned of the material needs of two children, who, due to the lack of clothes and shoes, stopped attending school; there was no suitable furniture in the room. He asked M. F. Ko-ko to bring furniture to be repaired at the workshop, which he did. The furniture was immediately repaired. The question of material assistance was raised: the agitator managed to provide the children with clothes and shoes.

Infinitely pleased with the agitator's compassion, comrade K-ko became one of the most active voters. She provided an apartment for constant discussions and reports. The cordial attitude towards the voter K-ko brought the agitator closer to each family and he became respected and esteemed"¹³.

Agitators solved social problems of residents belonging to polling stations in cooperation with local authorities. They submitted information to the district party

¹⁰ For more information about the features of the organisation of Soviet election campaigns see: Абракова Т. А., Гордин А. А., Шляхов М. Ю. *Выборы в Верховный Совет СССР 1946 года в городе Горьком: организация и отношение общества, Вопросы истории*. 2022, №4 (2), 41–54.

¹¹ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 3842. Л. 3.

¹² ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 3842. Л. 3.

¹³ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 3842. Л. 54, 55.

committees and district councils about the necessary repairs of residential buildings, dormitories, apartments, the relocation of large families from barracks to communal apartments, etc.

During meetings with them, workers again and again raised problems concerning them. The main one was the provision of food. The agitators were forced to give explanations on questions for which there were no answers at that time, such as: "Why are there shortages of bread?", "When will prices be reduced?"

They also contributed to the political education of the working people. The traditional topics of campaign conversations were the international situation, the political and economic development of the USSR at the time, and electoral legislation.

The elections were supposed to be nationwide. In accordance with this, agitators carried out a variety of activities that attracted different categories of citizens. The interest of all voters was aroused by lectures on popular science topics: "On Soviet literature", "On Soviet patriotism", "The image of Comrade Stalin in fiction", "The emergence of the city of Nizhny Novgorod", "Was there a beginning and will there be an end of the world"¹⁴. Quite often, in order to attract a wide range of workers and youth, after propaganda events, professional and amateur concerts were held at propaganda centres, drama and comedy plays were staged in theatres, newsreels were shown, and various exhibitions were held. Agitators organised joint excursions for voters to historical and local history museums and planetariums.

They also introduced workers to the latest innovations in Soviet culture. An example of voters' judgments expressed on election day is the following: "We express deep gratitude to our agitator N. A. G-vu. There are elderly people in our barracks; some of them have not been to the cinema for ten years. Comrade G-v tried and got them tickets to watch the movie "The Fall of Berlin"; "Agitator P-n read the stories "We – Soviet people"¹⁵.

At the same time, the events were aimed at certain groups of voters, including women, mothers and housewives. They listened to various reports of specialists, for instance: "Character education and preventing child nervousness", "Features of home floriculture". Often, agitators invited children to holiday matinees.

A general assessment of the activities of agitators who worked with Gorky residents in this election campaign is contained in the following judgment: "The favourite agitator of voters, Comrade Z-n, carried out his work with great love for voters. He knew their interests, needs, requests, and promptly resolved all questions that arose among voters. He conducted conversations not only as envisaged by the plan of the propaganda centre, but also on topics that arose among voters. Together with voters, he went to the cinema, discussed films, and appeared with voters in an organised manner at public events held at the propaganda centre. He activated many of his voters: at the polling station they engaged in activities".

¹⁴ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 3842. Л. 61–62.

¹⁵ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 3842. Л. 3.

On the eve of the elections, propaganda centres in the city districts were not only centres of political propaganda, cultural and educational leisure, but also places where one could obtain a variety of legal information. The reporting materials for the Avtozavodsky district read: "At the propaganda centre of polling station No. 27, an information desk was organised: voters checked the bond certificates. Lawyers were on duty: they gave free legal advice and answered questions about the calculation of pensions; representatives of the housing maintenance office answered questions they were interested in"¹⁶.

Let us note that in the documents of each district committee of the city it was noted that during the period of preparation for the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (10 January – 12 March 1950) extensive political work was carried out among voters, in a meaningful and interesting way. This is confirmed by information about the enormous amount of pre-election work carried out by only one propaganda centre in the Sverdlovsk (present-day Nizhny Novgorod) region, located in the Gorky Pedagogical Institute: "Every Sunday, lectures were held in the assembly hall of the institute. Eight lectures were held. After the lectures, an artistic event was held, and a film was shown. Students of the Pedagogical Institute and the College of Physical Education performed amateur performances, and the comedy theatre performed twice. Exhibitions were set up for voters: "For the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR", "32 years of the Soviet Army", "8 March".

A total of 170 mass meetings of voters were held, at which 11,500 voters were present. More than 800 lectures, reports and conversations were held, for 10,000 voters. A bulletin-board newspaper was published regularly"¹⁷.

On election day, polling stations became the centres of the celebration. Materials about the Avtozavodsky district read: "Voters came in an organised manner, with tambourines, button accordions, and songs. All polling stations were beautifully decorated, voters did not want to leave"¹⁸. The Kirovsky district: "12 March 1950, the day of the workers' great holiday, began long before the opening of polling stations. Stakhanovites, young and old voters, already from 4.30 a.m., were impatiently waiting in the polling stations for the moment when they could cast their votes. Pensioner Elena Nikolaevna, who was supposed to be brought to the polling station by car, wanting to be among the first to vote, was already at the polling station at 5.30 a.m., holding in her hands a portrait of Comrade Stalin, having decorated it according to her own taste". Active housewives were involved in the design of polling stations in the district. All areas were well decorated with carpets, flowers, paintings, and various kinds of embroidery. With their help, polling stations began to look like premises where one could not only fulfil one's national duty by voting for deputies, but also relax"¹⁹.

¹⁶ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 3893. Л. 45.

¹⁷ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 3842. Л. 63.

¹⁸ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 3842. Л. 20.

¹⁹ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 3842. Л. 45.

The documents also contained a detailed description of the leisure and recreation opportunities that citizens had on election day. The most striking of them was: "The children's rooms and entertainment rooms were a great success. All day on 12 March, music played and young people danced. At each polling station, artists and amateur performers held from three to five concerts. Buffets with sufficient assortment were served at all polling stations. The sale of fiction and political literature was organised"²⁰.

The second campaign of 1950 – elections to local councils (held on 17 December) was modelled on the previous one. There are similar descriptions in the documents. Avtozavodsky district: "Comrade A-va came to the polling station with a bouquet of fresh flowers. She handed them over to the chairman of the election commission and congratulated him on the holiday.

Amateur concerts and symphony orchestra concerts took place at the site. Soviet songs were sung, young people danced... In the entertainment rooms they played chess, checkers, and read magazines. There was great excitement about the buffet: apples, cookies and sweets were in demand among voters. Book stalls aroused interest"²¹.

It can be assumed that the polling stations, where such a variety of leisure activities were organised for workers, were perceived in those years as a prototype of an ideally organised cultural space, which in the future the residents of every residential settlement and city street would have.

The above allows us to conclude that the activities of agitators contributed not only to voter turnout at the elections and the achievement of positive voting results. Indirectly, their work fulfilled the needs of post-war people who needed decent cultural leisure and scientific education. This allowed them not only to take a break from the harsh realities of post-war reality, but also to expand their own education. The city of Gorky in those years did not have sufficient capabilities to fulfil this social need for everyone: there were not enough premises and specialists. The resources used to prepare for the elections helped fill this gap.

The most important topic remained the improvement of the city of Gorky, particularly the settlements that sprang up around large factories and facilities. This issue was constantly raised in the voters' instructions to deputies. The reason for such trust was that in those years voters saw in the deputies a real political force, expressing not only the interests of workers in power, but also the capacity to resolve many social problems. Particular importance was attached to the interaction between voters and deputies. Citizens hoped that their representatives – deputies, whom they elected to power, would contribute to further improvement of their standard of living. Therefore, proposals to improve the development of the city of Gorky occupy a significant place among the documents of the election campaigns.

²⁰ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 3842. Л. 20, 45.

²¹ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 3890. Л. 39.

Thus, the materials on the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR identify the same urban problems that were raised by residents in the above letters to local authorities in the late '40s. For example: "Why is the destruction of the housing stock allowed and no radical measures are taken to preserve it (painting roofs, installing drainpipes, fences)?"²² Gorky residents pointed out to deputies the problems of certain parts of the city. In materials on the Sverdlovsk (currently Nizhny Novgorod) region, they are presented in a generalised form: "Keep the city clean, put the sidewalks in order", "Provide certain areas with transport. Route No. 1 from the city to the station should work smoothly in any weather", "Strictly punish any barbaric attitude towards tree planting in the city. Sometimes we read in reports: so many trees were planted, but how many were destroyed? They are silent on this"²³.

In the documents about the activities of Local Councils of Workers' Deputies of the IV convocation (December 1950 – December 1952) similar information is given more specifically and emotionally: "Petition to us, residents of Izhorskaya Street, for a sidewalk. In spring and autumn we sink in mud", "The area near the Sredny Bazaar from Pushkinskaya Street and from Sverdlova Street drowns in mud during rains. Puddles remain, they rot, spreading infection", "Take strict measures to protect green spaces on Belinsky Street, which are barbarically destroyed during the construction of tram tracks"²⁴. Gorky residents also drew deputies' attention to serious citywide issues that required interaction between local and central authorities when it came to finding solutions: "When will the railway bridge across the Oka river be built to connect the Gorky and Kazan railways? Will a bridge be built across the Volga to connect the city of Gorky and the city of Bor? The cost of this bridge will pay off within five years"²⁵.

As noted earlier, the city authorities and deputies of local councils paid great attention to the improvement of workers' settlements formed around large industrial facilities. Thus, in the materials about the instructions of voters to deputies, in their correspondence, customary questions were raised again and again, and critical remarks were made. This concerned the construction of bus routes, tram lines to the buildings of the Automobile Plant and the Machine Tool Plant, resettlement of residential barracks in Gvozdilny, Severny and other settlements, improving the lighting of their streets, roadways, water supply, heating of residential buildings, etc.

These problems were considered through the interaction of multi-level local councils: the executive committee of the city council and its specially established commissions: housing and utilities, urban transport, landscaping, trade, healthcare, etc.; district councils. The deputies contributed to finding the solutions: they constantly spoke at sessions of the district council and executive committee, and monitored the timely adoption of measures. Thus, the deputy of the Zheleznodorozhny District Council Loginova spoke twelve times at the sessions of 1950–1952, and in

²² ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 3842. Л. 61.

²³ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 3890. Л. 93.

²⁴ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 3842. Л. 66.

²⁵ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 3890. Л. 55, 58, 59.

each report she spoke about the improvement of the Sortirovochny settlement, located near the Gorky railway. She reported: "The road at Sortirovochny is still bad: children cannot go to school, residents cannot go to the store"; "On behalf of everyone working and living there, I simply demand that we get running water as quickly as possible"; "I draw attention to the poor condition of the outpatient clinic and hospital, their irregular supply of medicines: often they are not there"; "Public service enterprises do not operate: sewing studios and shoe workshops"²⁶. The deputy also spoke out about the procrastination of district and city authorities: "We will talk at the session, we will discuss, and we will put the decision to rest. We are tired of saying the same thing. Even hands drop down"²⁷.

Residents of nearby settlements had similar problems. For example, residents of the Berezovsky settlement repeatedly contacted the Zheleznodorozhny District Council on the issue of improving the condition of roads and sidewalks. However, the deputy noted that the problem had not been solved for a long time: "Because of their poor condition, in the autumn of 1952, the population was not supplied with bread for two months, because it couldn't be brought there; workers were forced to walk five kilometres to get bread"; "A proposal has been made to pave and green the streets. This was included in the work plan, but was not completed in time due to the lack of funds. The funds were then given, but the asphalt allocated for this purpose was transferred to other construction sites".²⁸

Local councils also studied the organisation of youth leisure in the dormitories of district facilities. A document for the party committee of the Voroshilovsky district about the meat-processing plant dormitory reads: "...There is a Red Corner. All work on organising cultural recreation for young people there comes down to dancing. The party organisation has still not purchased any musical instruments, checkers, or dominoes, although funds were allocated for this back in 1951. Young people ask to buy a radio or accordion for the Red Corner. Sometimes films are shown here, there are lectures and reports, but there is no plan to work in it or in the dormitory"²⁹.

During the next campaign for elections to local councils in the city of Gorky (held on 22 February 1953), voters drew attention of the candidates for deputies from the Zheleznodorozhny district to the prospects for its further development: to improve the food supply of residents, "to improve the Moscow highway: to build a new school, library, bookstore, canteen, new water station"³⁰.

Similar offers were given to candidates in other industrial areas of the city. Voters of the Sormovsky district recommended that deputies pay attention to its cleanliness and improvement: construction of a kindergarten, nursery, bathhouse, clinic³¹.

²⁶ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Ф. 30. ОП.11. Д. 83. Л. 15.

²⁷ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 23. Л. 112–114.

²⁸ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 23. Л. 114.

²⁹ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 23. Л. 117.

³⁰ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 22. Л. 3–4.

³¹ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 83. Л. 29, 46.

The above commissions under the executive committee of the city council monitored the implementation of decisions made on the basis of systematisation of orders from voters. Thus, the housing and communal services supervised the construction of a new water station in Sormovo, the expansion of the sewer network in the Avtozavodsky district, examined the sanitary condition of the city, and checked the operation of the baths.³²

Deputies of the Gorky City Council contributed to resolving issues related to the improvement of the city: expanding the network of cultural, educational and medical institutions, improving the functioning of transport, consumer services, communications, trade, etc.³³ They received enormous assistance from Gorky residents, who voluntarily united in street committees and public commissions to promote the housing stock. With their direct participation, sanitary cleaning of city areas was carried out, roads and wells were repaired, city houses were brought into proper shape, trees and shrubs were planted in the streets³⁴.

³² ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 239. Л. 18.

³³ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 239. Л. 32.

³⁴ ГКУ ГОПАНО Ф. 30. ОП.1. Д. 239. Л. 34.

Татьяна А. Абракова

СОВЕТСКИЙ ПОСЛЕВОЕННЫЙ ГОРОД: ВОПРОСЫ БЛАГОУСТРОЙСТВА

Резюме

В статье рассмотрены особенности восприятия советской действительности 1945–1952 годов. Основа исследования – региональные архивные материалы – письма тех лет жителей города Горького в органы местной власти. Представлены их мнения по вопросам, связанным с послевоенным городом – состоянием жилищно-коммунального хозяйства, сохранением памятников культуры.

Тесное взаимодействие между партийной властью, исполнительными структурами местных советов, депутатами, горожанами, способствовало тому, что к началу 50-х годов город Горький постепенно стал преодолевать тяжелые социальные последствия Великой Отечественной войны. Начался его путь к тому, чтобы во второй половине XX века стать одним из самых красивых и благоустроенных городов Советского Союза.

Татјана А. Абракова

СОВЈЕТСКИ ПОСЛЕРАТНИ ГРАД: ПИТАЊА УРЕЂЕНОСТИ

Резиме

У чланку су разматране посебности перцепције совјетске реалности из периода 1945-1952. Основа истраживања - регионални архивски материјали – писма становника града Горки локалним властима. Представљена су њихова мишљења о питањима повезаним са послератним градом – стањем стамбено-комуналног уређења, очувањем споменика културе. Тесна сарадња између партијске власти, извршних структура локалних совјета, депутата, грађана, доприносила је томе да је почетком педесетих година град Горки постепено почео превазилазити тешке социјалне последице Великог отаџбинског рата. Тиме је започео његов пут ка томе да у другој половини XX века постане један од најлепших и најуреднијих градова Совјетског Савеза.

Aleksey A. Gordin

State University of Architecture and Civil Engineering
Nizhny Novgorod
ORCID ID: 0009-0008-3336-5301

SOVIET CITY IN THE CONTEXT OF INDUSTRIAL CORPORATISM

Abstract: The paper analyses the features of everyday life of a Soviet city in the context of factory corporatism (departmentalism). Industrial corporatism covered various aspects of the Soviet way of life in cities. The subject of study is the city of Gorky, one of the largest industrial centres of the USSR. Factories played one of the central roles in the urban development of the territory. Social policy was the most important activity of Soviet industrial enterprises. Corporatism was part of the cultural and leisure sphere of the Soviet city.

Keywords: Soviet city, industry, corporatism (departmentalism), Soviet way of life, labour collectives, social policy.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, a new system of organising urban space was created in the Soviet Union. The Soviet city was formed as a special sociocultural (social) system, with its essential features different from other urban systems (Western (bourgeois), Eastern type and etc.). The process of formation of the Soviet city was determined by industrialisation, the spirit and ideas of the first five-year plans. It was in the 1930s that the formation of the Soviet economic and socio-political system, the Soviet way of life and worldview took place – in other words, it was the phenomenon that today researchers denote by the term “Sovietism”¹. The city played a key role in defining the Soviet way of life. It can be confidently stated that from the second half of the 20th century, cities – as centres of industry, science and education – began to determine the essential characteristics of the Soviet period.

¹ Зубкова Е. Ю. *Советская жизнь как предмет исторической реконструкции* // Российская история. 2019. №5. С.3–14; Зезина М. Р. *Некоторые вопросы реконструкции советской жизни* // Российская история. 2019. №5. С.19–24.

Since the 1960s in the USSR, the urban population began to exceed the number of rural residents. A turning point occurred in 1961, when the ratio between the urban and rural population first changed. At the end of the year it was 51% vs. 49%. During 1960–1964, almost seven million villagers moved from the countryside to the city, aged mostly 17 to 29². In the 1970–1980s, urbanisation processes in the USSR continued to intensify.

One of the most important features of the Soviet city was its corporatism (or in Soviet terminology “departmentalism”). It is necessary to define the concept. Corporatism is a system of social relations based on institutional unity (belonging to a certain profession, enterprise, institution, social category, etc.). Corporatism in the urban environment in Russia had a deep historical tradition. It was a typical phenomenon for a medieval Russian city, with its quarters and suburbs having clear economic and social specifics. Corporate spirit was also characteristic of the Russian city of the New Age period – with clearly defined workers’ settlements (outskirts) and aristocratic (elite) areas.

The Great Russian Revolution of 1917 led to the democratisation of urban space, the elimination of social inequalities within the urban environment and a new social distribution of housing.

In the first years of Soviet power, the housing stock was nationalised. In 1918, housing was removed from private ownership and transferred to local Soviet authorities. As a result, there was a consolidation (seizure) of surplus living space from the former owners and the moving of workers and employees into the houses and apartments of the bourgeoisie, etc.³

Some workers moved from the working-class outskirts to the neighbourhoods of the former urban elite. Social boundaries within urban space became more blurred.

The further development of the national economy influenced the appearance of Soviet urban areas. The formation of a new system of corporatism in the Soviet city occurred during the period of the first five-year plans (late 1920–1930s). Industrial enterprises became one of the leading centres of corporatism in the urban environment.

A striking example of the phenomenon of Soviet factory corporatism is the city of Nizhny Novgorod (Gorky). In 1928–1929, in the territory of Greater Nizhny Novgorod (including Sormovo and Kanavino), there were 62 enterprises employing 31,432 workers (of whom 18,338 were in the machine-building industry).⁴

In 1930, grandiose industrial construction began in the city of Nizhny Novgorod and its surroundings, primarily in the area beyond the river. At the Second Regional

² Зеленин И. Е., *Аграрная политика Н. С. Хрущева и сельское хозяйство* // Труды Института российской истории РАН. 1997–1998 гг. Вып. 2 / Российская академия наук, Институт российской истории; отв. ред. А. Н. Сахаров, Москва 2000, 404–405.

³ Меерович М. Г. *Наказание жильем: жилищная политика в СССР как средство управления людьми. 1917–1937*, Москва 2008, 12–16.

⁴ *История индустриализации Нижегородского-Горьковского края (1926–1941 гг.)*, Горький 1968, 8.

Party Conference, V. V. Kuibyshev emphasised: “That corner of the region that I saw in N. Novgorod gives the impression of continuous construction. I’m unlikely to be mistaken if I say that not a single city in our League can now compare with N. Novgorod in terms of the number of facilities under construction and the scope of construction”.⁵

As a result of the implementation of the five-year plan, the city of Gorky turned into one of the largest industrial centres of the USSR. The number of workers in the city increased from 24,300 (1926) to 127,000 (in 1933). Sixteen new plants came into operation in Gorky⁶, including the Gorky Automobile Plant (GAZ), Gorky Milling Machine Plant, Gorky Aviation Plant No 21, Gorky Artillery Plant No 92. All these enterprises were launched in 1932.

Workers’ settlements (districts) were formed around each enterprise. Depending on the scale of the enterprise (the number of employees, volume of products, its nature), these were various infrastructure projects. At the Gorky Automobile Plant, the largest enterprise in the region, which had particular significance in the national economy of the Soviet Union, a socialist city was created. In 1931, the territory of Sotsgorod, “the social city”, with adjacent villages and workers’ settlements was included in Nizhny Novgorod, as a result of which the Avtozavodsky district was formed. In 1932, around 42 thousand people lived there.⁷

Soviet urban space began to be divided not only into official territorial-administrative units – districts (although they could coincide with the factory territory), but also internally into industrial corporate (departmental) segments, represented by an industrial enterprise with the corresponding factory social infrastructure (residential villages, educational, cultural and medical institutions, etc.). Social institutions in industrial urban areas were directly or indirectly run by factories (outpatient clinics, hospitals, palaces of culture (houses of culture), sports facilities, etc.). Even schools that were officially subordinate to local education authorities had a corporate connection with specific factories through a system of patronage. Corporatism connected the work collectives of factories into a special microcosm. So, at the Gorky Automobile Plant, it was Sotsgorod (Avtozavodsky district), where, first of all, car constructors lived. At the Krasnoye Sormovo plant, there was the Sormovo district with a predominant population of shipbuilders. At the aviation plant No 21 – the village named after Ordzhonikidze, aircraft manufacturers lived. At the Krasny Anchor plant there was Aktyubinskaya Street and a part of the Moscow road, on which there were factory houses for blacksmiths, mechanics, chain and anchor production specialists. Factories determined the rhythm of life, and the social and cultural atmosphere in these local corporate societies.

Soviet factories were not just industrial enterprises, but performed broad social functions. As Soviet workers figuratively said, “the factory gate was everything to

⁵ *История города Горького. Краткий очерк*, Горький 1971, 364.

⁶ *История города Горького. Краткий очерк*, Горький 1971, 376–377.

⁷ Гордин А. А. *Горьковский автомобильный завод. История и современность. 1932–2012*, Н. Новгород 2012, 95.

them". This concerned various aspects of everyday life: from organising nutrition (especially in emergency conditions) and providing housing, to taking care of the rest and leisure of workers and their families. Major social issues were resolved within the factories. The larger the enterprise, the more opportunities its workforce had.

One of the most important issues of urban Soviet everyday life was related to the provision of housing. The leading enterprises in the field of housing construction were two industrial giants – the Gorky automobile plant and the Krasnoye Sormovo plant. Throughout the Soviet period, enterprises invested significant resources in housing construction. The leader in the field of civil engineering in the city of Gorky was the automobile plant. In May 1930, two weeks after the start of construction of the automobile giant's workshops, the construction of residential areas of Sotsgorod began. The project to create a city of automakers was the largest in scale in the region and one of the largest in the Soviet Union. By spring 1932, the permanent housing stock of the automobile plant was 113,000 m² and the barracks stock was 85,000 m².⁸ As of 1 January 1934, the housing stock of the Avtozavodsky district occupied 297.5 thousand m².⁹ In 1936, the figures increased to 363.8 m².¹⁰ As of 1 January 1939, the volume of residential space in the Avtozavodsky district increased to 509.8 thousand m².¹¹ Active housing construction at the Gorky Automobile Plant continued in the post-war period, until the 1990s. For the sake of comparison, we present data for 1975. In the Avtozavodsky district, 853.9 thousand m² were built; in Sormovsky – 562.5; Soviet – 475.1; Kanavinsky – 322.5; Leninsky – 310.4.¹² From the 1930s until the end of the Soviet period, providing housing for workers and engineers was one of the priority social tasks of enterprise management.

An interesting example of corporatism in the field of housing construction was the "people's construction" method that arose at the Gorky automobile plant. In 1955, on the initiative of the workers of the press-forging building, a cinder block house was built by themselves.¹³ This is how a new method arose in housing construction in the second half of the 1950s – "people's construction", which soon spread far beyond the automobile plant.

The discussion of a new method of building houses took place in 1956.¹⁴ The main criteria of the method were short construction times, low cost and comfort of small

⁸ *Общество и власть. Российская провинция. 1930 г. – июнь 1941 г.* Т.2. / Сост. А. А. Кулаков, В. В. Смирнов, М 2005, 500.

⁹ Государственное казенное учреждение Центральный архив Нижегородской области (далее – ГКУ ЦАНО) Ф.Р 2561. Оп. 2. Д. 3. Л. 11об.

¹⁰ ГКУ ЦАНО Ф.Р 2561. Оп. 2. Д. 9. Л. 6.

¹¹ ГКУ ЦАНО Ф.Р 2561. Оп. 2. Д. 3. Л. 11об.

¹² ГКУ ЦАНО Ф.Р 2717. Оп. 1. Д. 1401а. Л. 3.

¹³ Чернеев П. М. *Рабочие завода дополнительно строят жилые дома*, Музей истории ОАО "ГАЗ".

¹⁴ Государственное казенное учреждение Государственный общественно-политический архив Нижегородской области Ф. 39. Оп. 6. Д. 348. Л. 21.

two-three storey houses. The project assumed for each family the presence of utility rooms (sheds) and small plots of land for vegetable gardens¹⁵. All this was put into practice.

Giproavtoprom developed a project for the construction of two-storey cinder block houses near the village of Paryshev in the Avtozavodsky district. In September 1956, the executive committee of the city council allocated a plot of land for new buildings. At the same time, house designs were being finalised. The Housing Construction Assistance Council was led by the head of the press-forging workshop P. M. Cherneev. For the construction of houses, each workshop appointed a manager and workers. Future residents helped them. At first, the issues of supplying the workshop with building materials were resolved independently; later this work was transferred to section No 2 of the capital construction department of the enterprise. The production of cinder blocks, beams, lintels, windows and doors was organised in the construction and woodworking workshops at the Novaya Sosna plant. In 1956, 17 cinder block houses were commissioned. In 1957, the first stage settlement "40 Let Oktyabrya", consisting of 65 houses, sprang up in the area. By the early 1960s, houses of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th stages were erected next to it in the area of Yanka Kupala Street. The initiative of the automakers was highly appreciated at the VI session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of the fourth convocation and in the resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of 31 July 1957 "On the development of housing construction in the USSR".¹⁶

Thousands of families of car factory workers moved from barracks and shelters to new apartments. It was a kind of breakthrough in the field of housing construction. The infrastructure in the "people's construction" villages developed rapidly – kindergartens and nurseries, schools, shops, a bathhouse, and an outpatient clinic were built. The "people's construction" method is a striking example of the implementation of the principle of factory corporatism in the development of urban space.

Within the urban space, Soviet factory corporatism was very clearly visible in the area of supplying the population. During the first five-year plan, under the conditions of the rationing system and the supply crisis of 1932–1933, factories created their own food supply. The department of enterprises included factory fields, livestock farms, etc. Products received from departmental agricultural enterprises (cooperative farms, ZRK) were sent to factory canteens and children's institutions¹⁷. Vacant lands in factory areas and settlements were given over to individual vegetable gardens. Trade union organisations of factories helped their workers and engineers with seeds, tools, and harvesting. In the second half of the 1930s, as the supply situation improved, these social functions of enterprises declined. However, with the beginning

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Горьковский автомобильный / Редкол.: И. И. Киселев, В. Я. Доброхотов, А. В. Новиков и др., М 1981, 273.

¹⁷ Два года борьбы за овладение передовой техникой. Материалы к отчету парткома автозавода им. Молотова на третьей заводской партконференции. Декабрь 1933 г. Л.44–45 // Музей истории ОАО "ГАЗ".

of the Great Patriotic War, factory managers were again tasked with supplying workers and engineers. In 1942, labour supply departments were re-established at enterprises, responsible for the material support of labour collectives. The factories used the experience of the 1930s in supplying labour collectives in conditions of extremely limited resources. Factory canteens played a major role in the food supply of workers and engineers. The labour supply department of the automobile plant was one of the largest in the region. In 1943 it had: three state farms with the sown area of 1700 ha, 986 heads of cattle, 960 pigs, 151 horses. This structure served more than 100,000 people in the settlement. In 1943, the plant received from the suburban farms of the Doskino state farm: a poultry farm and a pig farm, including meat – 68 tons, eggs – 34 thousand pieces, poultry – 1600 pieces, milk and dairy products – 577 tons, potatoes – 380 tonnes, vegetables – 2900 tonnes. These products covered the need to supply plant workers with vegetables and potatoes – 60%, meat and dairy products – 10%¹⁸. One hundred percent of the plant workers were served with public catering and a significant part (60–70%) were served with food twice a day¹⁹. All young workers who graduated from factory training schools (FZO) and vocational schools (RU), and some of the fighters in the work columns were provided with three meals a day. In addition, the Employee Provisioning Department (ORS) organised meals in children's canteens and created a special dietary canteen²⁰. The organisation of individual gardening through factory committees played an important role during the war years.

Another example that illustrates the principles of factory corporatism in supplying citizens was the social policy of enterprise management during the years of perestroika (1986–1991). During this period, there was a reduction in the standard of living of the population, and the goods deficit increased. Effective measures for social support of the workforce were carried out at the Gorky Automobile Plant (GAZ). Thanks to the vigorous activity of GAZ General Director B. P. Vidyayev, mutually beneficial cooperation with China was established – the automobile plant began supplying cars to the East, and food, clothing and other consumer goods were sent from China. At the automobile plant, nine “Chinese stores” (as they were popularly called) were opened, where plant workers were offered consumer goods (clothing, dishes, food (Chinese stew, tea, etc.)) using coupons. Every Friday, car manufacturers were given food packages (1.5 kilograms of meat, one kilogram of sausages, one or two cans of stew, one or two cans of minced sausage, two or three cans of ham). In conditions of the food crisis, this was a great help to the families of workers and engineers from the management of the enterprise. In the city of Gorky, a man in a Chinese down jacket in the late 1980s was a sign of corporatism and belonging to the car factory. Once again, on the outskirts of the Automobile Plant, the population began to plant potatoes and other vegetables. Workers acquired their own gardens and vegetable gardens (garden plots were allocated through the enterprise). On

¹⁸ ГУ ЦАНО. Ф.2435. Оп. 7. Д. 29. Л. 78.

¹⁹ ГУ ЦАНО. Ф.2435. Оп. 7. Д. 29. Л. 80.

²⁰ ГУ ЦАНО. Ф.2435. Оп. 7. Д. 29. Л. 82.

weekends and vacations, thousands of car factory workers went to factory gardening partnerships.²¹ Thus, in the area of the village of Oranki of the Bogorodsky district, the Gorky Automobile Plant created a huge gardening partnership. Plots were allocated to workers and engineers in workshops and departments in the relevant sectors. This social policy, pursued by the management of the enterprise, was a kind of factory paternalism.

Of great importance in the USSR were public consumption funds, used to meet the needs of the population in addition to the wage fund (free of charge or on preferential terms). From these funds, the population received free education, medical care, benefits, free or discounted vouchers for holiday homes or sanatoriums, part of the costs of housing and utility services were covered, etc. As a result of the growth of public consumption funds in the family budgets of workers and employees of the USSR, payments and benefits from this source by the early 1980s amounted to more than 1/5 of all income.²² A part of the payments and benefits from these funds were provided within the framework of the plant's social policy.

The plant, in the perception of most of its workers and engineers, was a big family. This also pertained to certain corporatism. According to the recollections of the workers of the Krasny Yakor plant, their entire lives in the 1960–1980s were connected with the “factory gate”. Their parents worked there, they themselves lived in houses in the factory streets adjacent to the enterprise, they got married within the factory collective, their children studied at the “factory” sponsored school No 109 and after graduating, having received vocational education, they went to work for “Krasny Yakor”, and spent their holidays at the tourist base of the Oka enterprise. Family ties literally intertwined the workforce of this plant. Everyone knew each other. It really was one big family of “Krasny Yakors”. The plant also had its own non-production achievements – a kind of symbols of the enterprise that the workers and engineers were proud of. At “Krasny Yakor” there was a factory garden and flower greenhouse, and an even better New Year tree – a playground for children, located on the Moscow road, connecting the city of Gorky and the capital.²³ This perception of the work collective as a big family was also shared by automakers, Sormovichi residents, and others.

An important part of city corporatism was the organisation of joint leisure. This was an important part of corporatism in the cultural space of the city. Let us give a few examples. In the period of the 1950–1960s in the Avtozavodsky district, the largest centres of cultural life were the Cinema and Concert Hall and the Central Club of Sotsgorod (CKS), engaging the choreographic circle, Russian folk song choir, classical

²¹ *Общество и власть. Российская провинция. 1986–1991. Т. 6.* / Сост. А. А. Кулаков, В. В. Смирнов, Л. П. Колодникова, Москва 2010, 465–466; Эпштейн К. Н. *Три народных ордена Славы Бориса Видяева*, Нижний Новгород 2019, 10.

²² *СССР. Энциклопедический справочник* / Гл. ред. А. М. Прохоров, Москва 1982, 278–279.

²³ *Завод Красный Якорь: 120 лет истории* / А. А. Гордин, И. Л. Дорожнова, Ю. В. Сухонина, Нижний Новгород 2018, 178–181, 234–238.

music choir, brass and string orchestras. The CKS theatre group (led by V. I. Vedernikov) enjoyed well-deserved fame. The workers and engineers who played in this theatre group staged plays by Ostrovsky "It shines, but does not warm", Simonov "Under the chestnut trees of Prague", Gusev "Glory" and others. In 1951, in Moscow, at the final round of the All-Union Show of Amateur Arts, automakers, who presented a performance based on the play by S. I. Aleshin "Director", amazed the jury with their stage skills, proving that the drama circle of the Gorky Automobile Plant could pose and solve complex stage problems. The Central Club of Sotsgorod was one of the best in the Soviet Union.²⁴ In 1961 after opening of the Palace of Culture of the automobile plant, CKS was handed over to schoolchildren of the district, becoming the House of Culture for Schoolchildren.

On 15 January 1949, the House of Technology opened its doors to car manufacturers, where production evenings and seminars for the exchange of labour experience were held. At the House of Technology there was a library, a drama club and an amateur arts club. A significant event in the life of the Gorky Automobile Plant and industrial region was the opening in 1961 of the Palace of Culture, which became the largest cultural and educational centre in the Gorky region. The huge building of the Palace of Culture housed a theatre hall with 1,200 seats, a cinema hall, library, and dance hall; dozens of circles, sections, and interest clubs were active there. Artists from Gorky and theatres from the capital performed on the stage, and meetings were held with famous figures of art and culture. A folk theatre operated in the Palace of Culture (directed by N. V. Nikolsky), the team was a laureate of all-Russian and all-union amateur art shows. The folk song and dance ensemble of the automobile plant (director A. P. Levanov) received great recognition; this group fostered a close friendship with the choir named after Pyatnitsky. The People's University of Culture operated within the walls of the Palace; in 1964, a faculty was created specifically for youth and teenagers, "Gorky Automobile Plant – a giant of the domestic automotive industry".²⁵ Over five thousand people visited the GAZ Palace of Culture every day.

Cultural work was also carried out in another Gorky enterprise – "Krasny Yakor". Going to the theatre was very popular among Krasny Yakor residents. In 1974, collective visits to the Gorky Drama Theatre (the play "Steelworkers"), the Tashkent Drama Theatre and the Moscow Theatre K. Stanislavsky were organised. In 1977, the trade union committee of the plant organised a visit to the concert of Moscow artists, the Leningrad ice ballet. Artists from the Perm Theatre, the Small Theatre, and the Petrozavodsk operetta performed for the workers and engineers of the enterprise. The factory workers loved to attend premieres together at the Moscow cinema. In 1974, plant workers participated in film festivals in the Moscow and Mayak cinemas. They were also frequent guests at the Gorky Circus – in 1973, 920 factory workers watched the programmes "Kio" and "Bengal Tigers". In winter, mass trips of plant

²⁴ К XX-летию завода // Музей истории ОАО "ГАЗ".

²⁵ *Общество и власть. Российская провинция. 1965 г. –1985 г.* Т. 5. / Сост. А. А. Кулаков, В. В. Смирнов, Л. П. Колодникова, Москва 2008, 525.

workers and specialists were organised on health trains to the Zholnino and Kozino areas. The trade union committee organised excursions to the historical cities of the Gorky region (Chkalovsk, Semenov), to Gaidar's places (Arzamas), Bolshoye Boldino, Vladimir, Suzdal, etc. In 1977, 480 people took part in these excursions.²⁶

Belonging to corporations was also reflected in Soviet festive culture. The main Soviet holidays – May 1 and November 7 (the day of the Great October Socialist Revolution) were celebrated with solemn demonstrations of workers. Workers and engineers walked in festive columns of the enterprises and factories where they worked. Each plant sought to show its achievements and new products. There was even a certain competitive element between factories – who would better implement measures of the enterprise, demonstrate technical innovations, etc.

In specific areas of the city, professional holidays were celebrated (e.g. Mechanical Engineer's Day) or labour achievements at a specific enterprise (the release of anniversary products – 1,000,000 cars – at the Gorky Automobile Plant, or the launching of a ship – at Krasnoye Sormovo). Those were holidays for specific areas and factories.

Another element of corporatism was associated with physical education and sports. It was an important element of Soviet urban everyday life. Soviet factories had an extensive network of physical education sections and sports grounds, and large factories had their own stadiums and professional sports teams. This element of corporatism was very clearly manifested in sports. Thus, the Gorky Automobile Plant had its own professional hockey team "Torpedo" – one of the strongest in the Soviet Union. Many automobile factory hockey players were members of the USSR national team. The Torpedo team enjoyed special love and care from the car manufacturers; they all supported their factory team. Victory in the match became a real holiday for the residents of the working-class area. The Sormovo football team "Volga" played in the major league of the Soviet Union championship. This team was the pride of the shipbuilders.²⁷

²⁶ ГКУ ЦАНО Ф.Р 3278. Оп. 2. Д. 376. Л. 23–24; ГКУ ЦАНО Ф.Р 3278. Оп. 2. Д. 606. Л. 9; ГКУ ЦАНО Ф.Р 3278. Оп. 2. Д. 697. Л. 17–18; ГКУ ЦАНО Ф.Р 3278. Оп. 2. Д. 844. Л. 17.

²⁷ Гордин А. А. *Горьковский автомобильный завод. История и современность. 1932–2012*, Н. Новгород 2012, 238–240; *Корабелы вольной реки: к 170-летию Завода „Красное Сормово“* / Авт.-сост. Р. В. Голубин, А. А. Гордин, А. Н. Маслов и др., Н. Новгород 2019, 152.

Алексей А. Гордин

СОВЕТСКИЙ ГОРОД В КОНТЕКСТЕ ИНДУСТРИАЛЬНОГО КОРПОРАТИВИЗМА

Резюме

Подведем краткие итоги. Одной из важных черт советских урбанизированных территорий была индустриальная корпоративность (ведомственность), определявшаяся, как правило, конкретными городскими промышленными территориями. Корпоративность приводила к формированию уникального микромира со своими традициями, культурой, образом жизни. Центром этого микромира был советский завод, выполнявший не только хозяйственные (экономические) функции, но и социальные, культурные, общественно-политические. Советские предприятия играли системообразующую роль. Важнейшей частью советской промышленной системы была социальная сфера. Заводской патернализм играл особую роль в чрезвычайных условиях военного времени, кризисные периоды истории, помогая рабочим и инженерам решать бытовые вопросы. Трудовые коллективы советских заводов, жители рабочих районов (поселков) идентифицировали себя как единую общность, как большую семью. Корпоративность была не только идентификационным маркером горожан, но и в определенной степени системой их ценностей и взглядов, важным аспектом их публичного и частного образа жизни.

Алексеј А. Гордин

СОВЈЕТСКИ ГРАД У КОНТЕКСТУ ИНДУСТРИЈСКОГ КОРПОРАТИЗМА

Резиме

Једна од важних карактеристика совјетских урбанизованих територија била је индустријска корпоративност (ведомственост), која се обично одређивала конкретним градским индустријским територијама. Корпоративност је довела до формирања посебног микросвета са сопственим традицијама, културом, начином живота. Срце овог микросвета био је совјетски завод који је обављао не само економске функције, већ и социјалне, културне, друштвено-политичке. Совјетска предузећа обликовала су систем. Најважнију улогу имао је совјетски индустријски систем у социјалној сфери. Заводски патернализам је играо посебну улогу у ванредним условима ратног времена, кризним периодима историје, помажући радницима и инжењерима да реше свакодневне проблеме.

Радни колективи совјетских завода, становници радничких квартова (насеља) идентификовали су се као посебна заједница, као велика породица. Корпоративност није била само идентификациона ознака грађана, већ и, у одређеној мери, систем њихових вредности и погледа, важан аспект њиховог јавног и приватног начина живота.

Nataša Danilović Hristić*

Institute of Architecture and Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia – IAUS
Belgrade

ORCID ID: 0000-0002-4678-8521

Nebojša Stefanović

Institute of Architecture and Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia – IAUS
Belgrade

ORCID ID: 0000-0003-1884-9128

STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NETWORK OF SETTLEMENTS, AND URBANISATION IN THE SPATIAL PLANS OF SERBIA FROM 1996 TO THE PRESENT

Abstract: The Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia (SPRS) is a comprehensive planning document that establishes the general trend and concept for the further spatial development of Serbia. Its purpose is to provide a state platform for the spatial organisation of various structures and activities that determine how the territory of the Republic of Serbia is used, in order to ensure socially acceptable, rational/optimal and sustainable land use. From 1996 until today, three spatial plans have been prepared, the central theme of which is urbanisation and the development of a network of settlements, based on the inherited historical context but oriented towards modern planning principles. The paper presents an extract from the draft of the latest SPRS, which is in the adoption phase.

Keywords: spatial plan, urbanisation, settlement network, obstacles, priorities.

Introduction

Urbanisation is a process that in the first decade of the 21st century crossed the threshold of 50% of the world's population living in cities with a trend of further growth, which makes the problem of planning and organising urban space an important topic for development agendas at the global and European levels. Urban settlements in the Republic of Serbia are affected by depopulation and demographic aging, regional disparities, and problems related to urban culture and environmental

* natasadh@iaus.ac.rs

protection, including climate change. Problems recognised at the national level are illegal construction, neglect of technical and social infrastructure, insufficient incentives for the development of brownfield sites, and the need for digitalisation in the management and development of the territory.

The complexity of the urban space requires a special approach to directing development trends and activities in urban areas. The Sustainable Urban Development Strategy (until 2030),¹ adopted in 2020 for the first time in the Republic of Serbia, in accordance with urban spatial planning needs, approaches problems related to urbanisation and uses the potential that urban settlements carry as generators of development activities.

Urban development policy is public policy that is a key instrument for achieving sustainable urban development using an integral approach. Given that urban development in each individual country is the result of activities and decisions in different sectors, the main task of urban development policy is to establish coordination over different sectors and define priorities through harmonising the needs and interests of different actors. According to contemporary definitions, a national urban development policy is a coherent set of decisions guided by the national government through the cooperation of various actors, in order to formulate a common vision and goals, which direct long-term transformative, productive, inclusive and resilient urban development.

Planning is a human activity directed towards shaping the future, but as a process it is certainly influenced by the geographical and historical conditions. Planning forms a strategic framework for harmonising the influence of market factors, individual sector policies and the actions of many social actors, in order to achieve the intended goals in a programmed and directed manner. Bearing in mind that the Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia (SPRS) is a development planning document according to the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia and the Law on the Planning System of the Republic of Serbia,² it enables the implementation of its “strategic-developmental and general regulatory function”, which is defined by the relevant Law on Planning and Construction.³ Planning includes identifying the problems, challenges and goals of spatial development in order to reduce regional inequalities by better using territorial capital.

The SPRS is a platform for the organisation, use, protection, arrangement and management of space, based on national goals, conceptions and measures of spatial

¹ Sustainable Urban Development Strategy of the Republic of Serbia until 2030 (“Official Gazette of the RS”, no. 47/2019).

² Law on the Planning System of the Republic of Serbia (“Official Gazette of the RS”, no. 30/2018).

³ Law on Planning and Construction (“Official Gazette of the RS”, no. 72/2009, 81/2009 – amended, 64/2010 – CC (Constitutional Court) decision, 24/2011, 121/2012, 42/2013 – CC decision, 50/2013 – CC decision, 98/2013 – CC decision, 132/2014, 145/2014, 83/2018, 31/2019, 37/2019 – other laws, 9/2020 and 52/2021).

development, aligned with the socio-economic, cultural and other development of Serbia, including the means of its implementation. It contains state goals of spatial development, integral planning solutions and an implementation framework, which respect the complexity of the global and internal socio-economic and institutional context and various challenges. General challenges include: depopulation, demographic exodus and increased migration; spontaneous (unplanned and uncontrolled) urbanisation, pronounced territorial concentration, polarisation and spatial fragmentation; regional inequalities in terms of urban and rural development, quality of the environment, level of development of traffic and technical infrastructure; and insufficient or unproductive use of available territorial capital. Also, the SPRS provides a spatial framework on which to base various sectoral policies, plans and programmes, as well as the preparation of regional spatial plans, spatial plans for special purpose areas and spatial plans for local self-government units. At the same time, the SPRS represents a framework for sectoral programming and financing (“project budgeting”), as well as for the introduction of integrated territorial investment tools at all levels.

**Context of continuity:
spatial plans of the Republic of Serbia from 1996 to the present**

The adoption of the first SPRS⁴ in 1996 was preceded by unusually long and discontinuous activities related to its preparation, which lasted almost 30 years, with interruptions. Preparations began in 1967 and lasted until 1976, during which time three phase documents were prepared (elements I-III on the valorisation and assessment of the condition of the space, the economic components of organisation, and the conception of the spatial organisation and arrangement of the territory of the Republic until 2000). The preparation of the first SPRS continued in 1987. The draft SPRS was submitted to the Government of the Republic of Serbia for the first time in 1990, and then again in 1994. The first SPRS was adopted in 1996 for the period until 2010.

At the time this SPRS was adopted, it was the only general strategic planning document related to the integral development of the territory of the Republic of Serbia. In that period, the preparation of sectoral planning documents for the territory had not yet begun, with the exception of the Water Management Basis of the Republic of Serbia, which was developed parallel to the preparation of the SPRS and after its adoption. The main reason for adopting the SPRS by means of a special law was for it to be an umbrella strategic planning document for all general and sectoral plans and strategies.

The first SPRS established an integral approach to the organisation and arrangement of the territory of the Republic, which included all aspects of long-term

⁴ D. Perišić, M. Vujošević, K. Petovar, *Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia*, Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, Belgrade, June 1996 ISBN 978-86-7549-056-2.

territorial development (spatial, economic, and social, as well as the protection of natural resources and the environment). It also introduced the aspect of regional development by applying a territorial and functional approach and functional urban areas. For the first time, a section on the implementation of the planning document was introduced into the spatial planning system. The need to adopt medium-term programmes for its implementation was emphasised, which would take effect 15 years later, after the adoption of the second SPRS.

The first SPRS prioritised achieving greater functional integration of the space in the Republic (more even and coordinated development) and traffic and economic integration of the Republic with neighbouring and other European countries. It can be said that the first SPRS was an innovative planning document, ahead of its time and above the aggravating circumstances in which the Republic of Serbia found itself at the beginning of the 1990s. This plan set a strategic, conceptual and methodological framework and provided a way to present planning solutions and propositions, becoming a model for other spatial and sectoral plans and strategies.

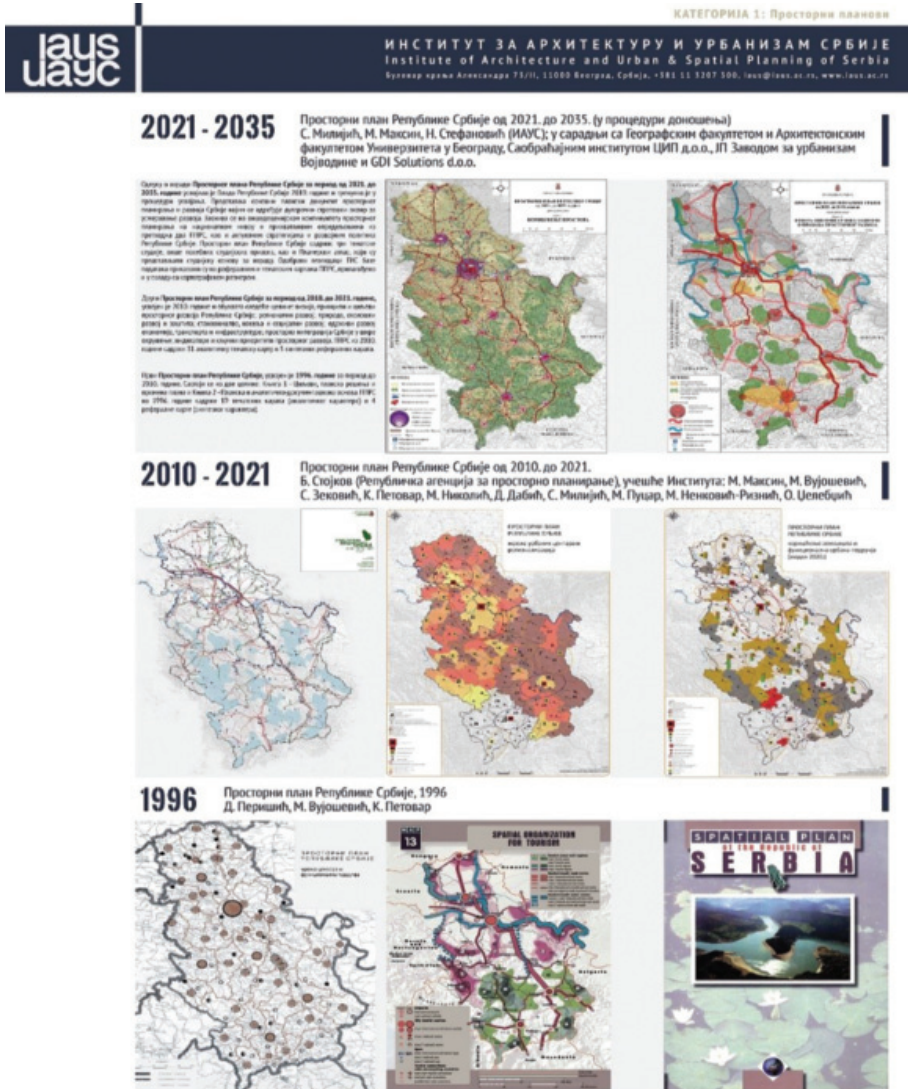
The second SPRS⁵ was adopted in 2010 for the period until 2020. It was still the basic general strategic planning document related to the integral development of the territory of the Republic of Serbia. Unlike the previous SPRS, in this period, based on foreign experience, a large number of sectoral strategies were prepared or adopted. These rarely included the spatial development dimension of the respective sector in relation to parts of the territory and the network of centres and settlements in the Republic of Serbia. That is why only certain strategies had a greater influence on planning solutions and propositions from the second SPRS. It was also a time of intense preparation for accession to the European Union (hereinafter: EU), strengthening of cross-border and transnational cooperation, and the policy of strengthening the planning and management of regional development in the Republic, all of which had a positive impact on the content and propositions of the second SPRS. Basically, the second SPRS rested on the framework set by the first one, with certain adaptations in terms of the content and manner of presentation of planning solutions and propositions, influenced by current foreign experiences and particular national strategies and policies.

The preparation of the third SPRS began in 2019,⁶ and its adoption is expected in 2023. It will cover a period of 15 years (from 2021 to 2035). Unlike the previous two SPRSs, this is a period of change in the spatial planning system that adapts to the strengthening of the role of the market in managing development. After a period of numerous sectoral strategies, the process of consolidation of the public policy system has begun. It is still not clear to what extent the consolidation process will have an impact on the spatial and sectoral coordination of public policies. The first efforts

⁵ Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia 88/2010, basic text in force from 1/12/2010, applied from 1/12/2010.

⁶ Decision on the Development of the Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia from 2021 to 2035 ("Official Gazette of the RS", no. 48/2019).

STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NETWORK OF SETTLEMENTS, AND URBANISATION IN THE SPATIAL PLANS OF SERBIA FROM 1996 TO THE PRESENT



Continuity of spatial plans of the Republic of Serbia 1996–2021

point towards harmonising the content of public policies, but also to the manifest lack of the concept of long-term development, which can adversely affect the long-term protection and reservation of space, especially for the purposes of national interest/significance. Intensive preparation for EU accession and the use of available European and international funds, as well as stronger cross-border and transnational cooperation, continue. Basically, the third SPRS is based on the best, verified determinants of the strategic, conceptual and methodological framework and on the method of presenting planning solutions set in the previous SPRS.

All three SPRSs were prepared in periods of great changes at the macro-regional and global level, and the elements of flexibility, uncertainty and risk have become an integral part of the planning process.

Implementation of the new SPRS will achieve continuity in relation to the previous ones in terms of directing the competitive, integrated and coherent spatial development of the Republic, providing the basis for supporting the multifunctional development of urban and rural areas, strengthening the functions and economic development of urban systems, and reducing inter-territorial inequality through the maximum use of territorial and urban capital. However, it can be said that until now the implementation of the first two SPRS has been neglected. The answers offered to this problem are five-year SPRS implementation programmes beginning from 2010 and a solution in the form of the Law on the Planning System, the effects of which are still not possible to see.

Contemporary conditions of urbanisation in Serbia

Urban centres, and urban and rural areas that make up urban systems in Serbia are a heterogeneous set of settlements of different demographic size, economic development and functional capacity, which is a consequence of different developmental predispositions in the geographical and socio-historical context. Serbia, as well as a large part of Southeast Europe, is not as urbanised as the most developed part of the continent. Serbia was affected by intensive urbanisation only in the second half of the 20th century. Until the 1960s, Serbia's economic structure had a predominantly agricultural character, and its population structure was predominantly rural. Although the degree of urbanisation had increased by 2011 to around 60%, the urban population did not increase uniformly in the intercensal periods.

At the beginning of the 21st century, there was a significant continuous expansion of areas with an eroded population potential from the east and southeast of central Serbia, as well as from the north and east of Vojvodina, towards the immediate zones of influence of the largest regional centres in the country. Decades-long trends in the polarisation of natural regeneration, as well as the extent and direction of population migrations, were manifested through changes in the spatial distribution of the population at lower territorial and functional levels. This caused a strong regional

differentiation of population potential between macro-regional units, as well as within them, which resulted in changes in the zonal distribution of the population. The zone of extremely low population concentration is continuously expanding, covering 1/3 of the municipalities on almost 50% of the territory of the Republic, where a little over a million inhabitants live. The zones of extremely high population concentration cover the Danube – Sava belt and the Morava zone, i.e. 10% of the total territory, with 3.1 million inhabitants, i.e. 43% of the population of the Republic of Serbia.

Population migration is an important determinant of the spatial (re)distribution of the population in the Republic of Serbia. Due to the transition of migration phenomena, from intensive migrations from rural to urban settlements in the 1960s, through migrations from smaller to larger urban centres beginning in the 1980s, today only large regional centres and their gravitational zones are centres of immigration and population concentration. This means that the immigration areas in central Serbia and Vojvodina are characterised by a decades-long decrease in spatial coverage, with a more pronounced concentration of the migrant population. Out of 174 local self-government units in Serbia (2018), only one quarter registered a positive migration balance. Of that, only 15 local self-government units, which cover 4% of the territory of Serbia, registered 30% of the total immigrant population in the country. The spatial coverage of this zone is related mainly to the municipalities of the city of Belgrade, Novi Sad and Niš, as well as the municipalities of Stara Pazova and Sremski Karlovci. Most of Serbia is characterised by a negative migration balance – as many as 128 local self-government units recorded negative values in 2018. The greatest volume and intensity of emigration was registered in eastern and southeastern Serbia, the traditional emigration zones. In contrast to the predominantly rural undeveloped, peripheral, border, and hilly/mountainous areas of Serbia, which were the earliest affected by the process of intensive emigration, in recent times emigration processes have also been found in areas in the immediate zone of influence of regional centres, main development corridors, and areas suitable for population development.

Small urban centres dominate the spatial, structural and functional organisation of the network of settlements in Serbia. At first glance, it can be said that a characteristic of Serbia's urban network is the favourable distribution of these centres; however, a more detailed analysis of population concentration and function in the centres indicates numerous problems. About 27.3% of the urban population of Serbia (not including the autonomous province of Kosovo and Metohija) lives in Belgrade. Its dominance is indicated by the urban primacy index, the value of which is 5 (the ratio of the number of inhabitants of Belgrade to those in Novi Sad). Due to large differences in demographic size and demographic potential, the territorial reach and diversification of functions, and the size of the field of influence, urban centres have very different roles and importance in the territorial integration of Serbia.

The disparity between the population of the leading and other urban centres indicates that Serbia does not have a properly and evenly developed urban system, i.e. that the trends of urbanisation have not been directed towards a more timely and even spatial distribution. The polarising effects of urbanisation, spatially

manifested by demographic, economic and functional concentration, are also expressed at the levels of most districts/areas. The disproportion in the demographic size when comparing Belgrade and other larger urban centres is a consequence of the incoherence and asymmetry of the urban system of Serbia. Changes in urban systems take place very slowly, and in the near future we cannot expect a spontaneous mitigation of these territorial disparities. There is a pronounced lack of evenly distributed urban centres with 100,000 to 200,000 inhabitants, and an absence of centres with 300,000 to 500,000 inhabitants with developed macro-regional functions, which would be the bearers of the internal balanced development of Serbia. The relevant facts and experience of countries that have a similar urban system indicate that no major changes will occur in that field in the coming period.

The spatial disproportion of functions is manifested in an increase in their number in only a few of the most important urban areas of Serbia, and a significant decrease in the functional capacities of most other urban areas and urban centres, as well as in their territorial influence, leading to the population being unable to meet its own needs, and so people move away to other places, i.e. abroad.

However, the causes of the polarisation of the territory of Serbia are not only internal, but are increasingly under the influence of wider regional and international economic flows. The majority of foreign investments are attracted by those centres that are more competitive – with developed functions, excellent infrastructural connections, and with a younger and more educated workforce, etc.

The spatial arrangement of urban centres is largely determined by physical and geographical characteristics. There is a clear connection between the spatial distribution of the population, the average altitude above sea level and the intensity of construction (percentage of land occupied by anthropogenic surfaces). In terms of distribution according to altitude, certain regularities can be observed, whereby urban centres at a lower average altitude usually have more intensive construction. Therefore, the highest intensity of construction is in the settlements in the area of Belgrade, Vojvodina, and Niš, as well as the cities along the West Morava. The exception is Priština, which has a higher intensity of construction, although its position is about 600 meters above sea level. Urban centres located in southeastern Serbia, which is predominantly a mountainous area, have the lowest built-up intensity. There is a pronounced correlation between the spatial distribution of the population and the intensity of built-up areas. Densely populated parts of urban areas have a higher intensity of construction, which supports the assessment that urban settlements, i.e. their central zones and planned units are still relatively compact. Classes of discontinuously built-up land of very low density (19%) have the largest share in the structure of anthropogenic surfaces (19%), as well as incomplete urban areas of medium and low construction density, with an equal share of about 15% (based on the geospatial database *Urbani atlas/Urban Atlas – UA*). This is also confirmed by changes in the land cover (according to CORINA), based on which it is concluded that the total increase in the area of settlements, from 2012 to 2018, amounted to only about 2%, mostly in the vicinity of Belgrade and Novi Sad, and partly in Priština.

In terms of traffic accessibility, which indicates the shortest time distance between settlements and the nearest urban centres, it is confirmed that settlements near centres located on the main development belts have the best accessibility, which primarily refers to the Danube – Sava development belt. At the level of statistical regions, there are significant differences between Belgrade and Vojvodina compared to other regions of Serbia. Thanks to a more developed local road network and a more favourable geographical and traffic location, most settlements in Vojvodina area are within a 45-minute isochrone of a more developed urban centre. Settlements in the area of Šumadija and parts of western and southern Serbia within the scope of the Morava and West Morava development belt also have favourable accessibility. In contrast, Banat, and the hilly and mountainous areas of eastern, southern and southwestern Serbia, have poor traffic accessibility. Due to the insufficient development of traffic infrastructure and physical-geographic characteristics, these areas are located far outside the 45-minute isochrone of the leading centres of work and services.

The functional capacities of urban centres have been significantly reduced, which is reflected in the reduction of space under their direct influence. There are more than 2,700 settlements that are not part of any urban area (no data available for Kosovo and Metohija). It is noticeable that most of the centres of urban areas integrate the settlements that belong to them administratively, while only the areas of Belgrade, Novi Sad, Niš and Kragujevac integrate a territory wider than the administrative one. In contrast, some significant urban centres such as Novi Pazar, Kraljevo, Bor and Pirot fail to integrate even settlements belonging to their administrative territory. This fact is further supported by an analysis of the structure of the daily migrations of the economically active population who work in settlements within urban areas. Only Belgrade, Novi Sad and Niš are the destinations of a significant number of daily migrants from the territories of other local government units (LGUs), and Kragujevac, Vranje, Požarevac and Valjevo also have a certain subregional influence. Certain urban areas overlap, so that some of them have the characteristics of polycentric and hierarchically structured systems, such as: Belgrade with Novi Sad, Pančevo, Smederevo and Zrenjanin; Novi Sad with Zrenjanin and Sremska Mitrovica; Ruma with Sremska Mitrovica; Pančevo with Vršac; Kragujevac with Jagodina; Niš with Leskovac; and Leskovac with Vranje.

Changes occurring in the planning period

At the level of urban areas, the greatest functional transformations have taken place in the central and peri-urban zones of urban centres. Urban centres specialise in the tertiary sector, while the secondary sector moves to the suburbs in the isochronous daily migrations. The organisation of local traffic, utility infrastructure and housing functions are not adapting quickly enough to these changes. Thus, settlements in peri-urban zones have almost no public facilities.

The primary zones of agglomeration and intensive spatial and functional connections are the valleys or corridors of the most important rivers in Serbia – the central part of the Danube, and the valleys of the Great, West and South Morava rivers. Based on this predisposition and spatial differentiation, a hierarchy of urban centres with zones of influence was established. It is important to mention that the established hierarchical relationships are also the consequence of the importance of the centres in the territorial-administrative system of Serbia. In general, the geospace of Serbia recognises the following structures formed by the interaction of urban areas and the traffic and spatial-functional connections established between them:

1. The urban area of Belgrade is a polycentric urban agglomeration, developed around the hub of the most important corridors of South European, Balkan and regional importance: Pannonian – Danube, then Morava – Vardar, southern – Sava and Šumadija – Ibar. In the spatial and functional sense, this urban area was developed by the agglomeration of settlements on the line Novi Sad – Indija – Stara Pazova – Belgrade – Pančevo – Smederevo, and the secondary urban centres of the city of Belgrade – Obrenovac, Lazarevac and Mladenovac – belong to it. Belgrade's influence is evident throughout the whole area of Serbia, and it also has a certain international influence, especially in the areas of the former Yugoslav republics.

2. The urban area of Novi Sad is also a polycentric urban agglomeration with a zone of influence that covers the territories of the municipalities of Temerin, Žabalj, Sremski Karlovci, Titel, Indija, Vrbas, Bačka Palanka, Bač, Bački Petrovac, Irig and Srbobran. In addition to this, Novi Sad, in proportion to its importance as the capital of AP Vojvodina, has an influence that is felt on its entire territory. In a broader sense, it is part of the polycentric agglomeration of the Danube – Sava development belt, and therefore shares functional competences with Belgrade, gradually forming the Belgrade – Novi Sad metropolitan area.

3. The urban area of Niš is the centre of a large zone of influence, of exceptional traffic importance, which extends to the south and east of Serbia. Nevertheless, the urban area of Niš is surrounded by predominantly rural areas, and it has pronounced dysfunctionality, considering that all local self-government units in the immediate vicinity, as well as most of the settlements in the neighbouring areas, are subject to depopulation.

4. Urban areas of centres along development belts or their hubs, which form primary and secondary development belts (Danube – Sava, Morava – Great Morava, South Morava, West Morava, etc.). The Danube or Danube – Sava development belt was formed by the interactions between two basic macro regions of Serbia: the Pannonian – Danube and the Central Balkans. It connects Sombor, Apatin, Bačka Palanka, Novi Sad, Ruma, Sremska Mitrovica, Šabac, the core of the agglomeration of Belgrade, Pančevo, Smederevo, Požarevac, Veliko Gradište, Golubac, Kladovo and Negotin. Within this belt, of special importance are the centres where traffic roads and traffic corridors cross, integrating other territories with this axis: from Novi Sad traffic corridors diverge radially towards Subotica and towards Zrenjanin, in the far eastern part of Serbia, the belt is joined by the secondary – Timok belt of development

that connects Kladovo, Negotin, Zaječar and Knjaževac with Niš. The Belgrade agglomeration, which is also the most important traffic hub in this part of Europe, has a dominant position in the Danube – Sava development belt. The Morava development belt is made up of the urban areas of Smederevo, Požarevac, Jagodina, Paraćin, Čuprija, Niš, Leskovac and Vranje. In the Great Morava section of the belt, the influence of Kragujevac, as the most developed urban centre of Šumadija, is also felt. This part of the axis is connected to Piroć through the secondary Nišava development belt via Niš. The development influences of the South Morava part of the belt hardly reach the local urban centres of Gornja Toplica, a large part of Jablanica, Vlasina, Krajište and Pčinja. The West Morava development belt is formed by the urban areas of Užice, Čačak, Kraljevo and Kruševac, joining them into a polycentric agglomeration. The primary, West Morava, and secondary, Ibarian, development belts of Serbia meet together in Kraljevo. The infrastructural equipment of the West Morava development belt does not match its spatial and functional importance, because it does not have the necessary traffic propulsivity. This deficiency will be alleviated by the construction of the Preljina – Pojate highway. West Morava urban areas are connected with Belgrade, i.e. with the Danube – Sava development belt, by the Požega – Belgrade and Kraljevo – Kragujevac – Belgrade railways, or the Pojate – Belgrade and Preljina – Belgrade highways. The urban areas integrated spatially and functionally by this development belt play a key role in connecting the southwestern parts of Serbia, which are underdeveloped and, in most cases, demographically depleted. In the network of primary and secondary level development belts, and around them, there remain geospatial units where the development-incentive effect does not reach to a sufficient extent, so they are demographically and economically underdeveloped. They are most pronounced in the eastern and southeastern border area, as well as the southwestern and mountainous parts of the Republic. And they have insufficiently developed centres of local urban concentration.

5. The most important urban areas outside the primary development zones are Kragujevac, Valjevo, Bor, Novi Pazar and others. However, there are certain differences between these urban centres. Kragujevac stands out for its demographic size, functional capacity and large sphere of influence. The other centres are divided into two groups, namely, those that are developing into territorial units which have the possibility of spatial and functional networking with the largest agglomerations (Valjevo), and those that have developed in border areas with poorer traffic connections (Bor, Novi Pazar). Other urban areas that are insufficiently integrated by belts are medium-sized urban centres with an increasingly weak functional capacity, which are located in border areas of Serbia, such as Kikinda, Vršac, Loznica, Priboj, Prijepolje, Nova Varoš and others.

6. In Kosovo and Metohija, the demographic and functional dominance of Priština is noticeable, with the functional development of Kosovska Mitrovica, Prizren, Peć and other urban centres lagging behind.

7. Local urban centres in rural areas are predominantly monofunctional and do not have enough capacity to actively stimulate their surroundings. They have developed

in the border and mountainous parts of Serbia, but also in smaller interior basins in the central part of Serbia. They are insufficiently accessible by traffic, and examples of settlements of this type are Babušnica, Lebane, Bosilegrad, Krupanj, Ljubovija, Tutin, and Brus.

The existing urban landscape and physical structure of most Serbian cities/towns were formed on the largest scale after the Second World War. Most often, they are clearly differentiated from the more or less preserved earlier parts of the urban fabric. The result of the ruling modernist urban planning doctrine from the second half of the 20th century, which in Serbia was built on the urban tradition of caring for the public good and public urban spaces, as founded by Emilijan Josimović, is on the one hand, a relatively high quality of public spaces and facilities, the availability of public services, infrastructural equipment and a large housing fund, so-called collective multi-family housing. On the other hand, the result are poorly preserved old cores of towns and cities, degraded traditional urban matrices and a relatively poor fund of architectural heritage.

In terms of the spatial development and arrangement of individual urban settlements in Serbia, there are a relatively large number of negative phenomena, in particular: illegal construction, irrational expansion of construction areas, poor condition of the infrastructure and traffic sectors, environmental pollution, reduction of the quality of life in attractive locations and in central zones due to the interests of capital, social segregation and poverty, etc.

Development challenges and problems

The most significant problems and development challenges regarding the development and planning of urban settlements are:

1. The decades-long practice of massive illegal ("informal", "lawless", "wild") construction, which is the consequence of certain economic and social problems, and at the same time the cause of a number of others, including environmental ones.
2. The trend of expanding construction areas, in contrast to the desired compactness of urban centres/settlements, is associated with the irrational and inefficient use of construction land and insufficient possibilities for financing its arrangement (preparation and equipment).
3. The densification of already built parts of urban settlements – filling space instead of interpolation. The increase in the construction density is not a reflection of an increase in the number and needs of residents and space users.
4. The state of the existing communal infrastructure – insufficiently developed networks, dilapidation, undercapacity. There are particularly significant problems in the area of water supply, waste water removal and waste management, as well as in larger urban centres in the area of internal city traffic.
5. The tendency to reduce open spaces and green areas – by usurping existing areas for construction purposes and not planning new ones sufficiently, as well as

the low quality of planning and maintenance with regard to existing, undeveloped (green and open) public space.

6. Insufficiently effective urban planning, which often loses sight of the overall quality of the urban space as the main goal and ignores standards, so that instead of having quality planning solutions, the goal of planning becomes the possibility of procedurally implementing planning documents and issuing appropriate permits. Such an approach, along with the overall urban design, low architectural culture and the insufficiently developed, but essential, participation of citizens, reduces the quality of life and the built environment, and causes the loss of identity of urban settlements, as well as the degradation of the urban cultural landscape as a whole.

The potential development of urban areas and centres involves having a high level functional and territorial hierarchy of urban system in Serbia. A hierarchy has been established made up of those urban centres around which the spheres of their influence (urban areas) are formed. The benefit of reducing development disparities between individual parts of the urban system of Serbia can be found in a functionally and hierarchically organised network of settlements, with centres that are carriers and initiators of development at different spatial levels (from national to local). The Belgrade agglomeration is the backbone of the Danube – Sava development belt of Serbia – part of a pan-European development corridor of exceptional traffic importance and development opportunities. The position of the four largest agglomerations in Serbia (Belgrade – Novi Sad, West Morava, Niš and Priština), their demographic capacity, and their connection with traffic corridors provide the fundamental basis for the formation of a solid network of urban areas. A network formed of urban areas and larger centres, with a better economic and demographic capacity, in cooperation with the urban centres of rural and border areas, can improve the functional integration of Serbia's territorial units (especially Banat and secondary development axes in the belt of Timok, Drina, Ibar, etc.). The potential is to have the quality of the infrastructural connectedness and equipment increase when the construction of traffic corridors and accompanying facilities is completed, as well as the already-started process of reindustrialisation. There is significant potential for the spatial development of urban settlements in valuable cultural heritage and cultural diversity, including the heritage of modern architecture and urbanism from the 20th century. Planned parts of urban settlements have a high level of transport and utility infrastructure and good coverage of public service facilities.

Two limitations to the development of urban centres in Serbia are the most significant: depopulation and reduction of the functional capacities of urban centres. Depopulation is not only a problem from the aspect of having a smaller number of inhabitants, it also results in the collapse of the socio-economic structure, reduction of the quality of the workforce, aging of the population, etc. A new component strengthening depopulation in Serbia is the increasingly pronounced emigration of the best quality workforce, which will continue in the future, and this is recognised as one of the biggest national challenges. In a cause-and-effect relationship with depopulation is the reduction in the number and spatial range of the functions of

urban centres, that is, a reduction in the impact of urban centres on their surroundings. Limits to the development of urban areas and centres are the polarising effects of urbanisation, spatially manifested by the demographic and economic/functional concentrations in urban areas and centres. The disproportion in the demographic size and functional capacity of Belgrade and other larger urban centres is a consequence of the incoherence and asymmetry of the urban system. There is a weakened functional capacity in the majority of urban centres. The capacities of urban areas are insufficient to spatially, economically and functionally integrate their surroundings to the required extent, so they become polarised into having a more developed central part, along with other less developed, border areas, which are difficult to access by traffic, as well as hilly/mountainous areas. Human resources and financial capacities are insufficient, especially in smaller urban centres in rural areas. Problems manifested in the spatial development of urban settlements are the usurpation of public spaces, substandard quality of housing and communal equipment, deterioration of the environmental quality, and social segregation. Large areas of peripheral urban and suburban areas are burdened with unplanned or poor-quality physical structure, the consequence of which is the spread of urban settlements.

Starting points for the development of urban systems in Serbia

The development of an urban system in Serbia is based on the following spatial and functional categories:

- an urban centre is a polyfunctional settlement that is the centre of a local self-government unit;
- an urban settlement is also polyfunctional, but has no administrative function, and the population is mostly engaged in non-agricultural activities;
- a rural settlement is mostly monofunctional, and the population is mainly engaged in agricultural activities, but also other activities based on the local resources in the rural area;
- an urban area is a territory of variable coverage and different morphological and physiognomic characteristics, which, like an urban centre, consists of surrounding settlements and rural areas, which are connected to the centre by the daily migration of the workforce and other population movements resulting from functional dependence on the centre. Urban areas are hierarchically organised depending on their demographic size, traffic accessibility and functional capacity. Depending on the number of functionally connected urban centres, urban areas can also be polycentric, and morphologically recognised as metropolitan areas (a complex and dynamic system of urban settlements with a multi-layered hierarchy and a high degree of functional and spatial connectivity), urban agglomerations (morphologically and functionally connected urban centres of significant functional capacity), urban areas with different zones of influence, or as the urban centres of rural areas;

- rural areas are located outside of urban areas, and as a rule they have a low population density made up of independent rural settlements, or they are networked with the local urban centre;

- an urban system consists of urban centres, and urban and rural settlements as integral parts of urban and rural areas;

- functional capacity is a measure of all the functions of an urban centre, the number of users of those functions (permanent population, daily and seasonal migrants, etc.), and the traffic connection between the urban centre and its surroundings.

Urban centres with functionally dependent surroundings are the basic structural unit of the spatial organisation of an urban system. The long-term spatial development of urban centres and settlements will be based on the use of urban capital, as well as the integral development and arrangement of urban and peri-urban areas, rational use of land, improvement of the quality of life of the inhabitants, the environment, the physical structure and architecture, the identity and image of the urban settlement and the urban landscape, and on the preservation of cultural heritage and diversity.

The spatial and functional development of a Serbian urban system should be based on the model of urban areas with different functional and territorial scopes, with the role of being an instrument of more even and rational spatial, demographic, economic and general social development. This would contribute to the formation of a stable economy and improve the quality of life of the inhabitants.

It is necessary to transform urban systems from being a hierarchical model of urban centres to being a model of urban areas with a “general urban context”. According to this model, the urban areas and the centres that build it are qualitatively equal in providing the necessary conditions for a good standard of living for the population, and are complementary in terms of job offers and services, both for the residential population and for daily and other migrants. This means that elements that make up the quality of urban life (basic set of services and quality infrastructure) and safety are felt in almost every settlement of the urban system, regardless of its distance from the centre or its demographic size. The prerequisites are the development of efficient interurban traffic and the decentralisation of functions, public social infrastructure and institutions, which would encourage the daily and general mobility of the population. This especially applies to the urban areas of Belgrade, Novi Sad, Niš, Kragujevac, Priština, and the West Morava agglomeration.

The development of an urban system for Serbia is based on the transformation of essentially different spaces:

- larger and more advanced urban centres, metropolitan areas and agglomerations and their immediate surroundings;

- medium and smaller urban centres in underdeveloped rural areas, hilly/mountainous or border areas with unactivated potential.

The focus of developing an urban system for Serbia is also on reducing and balancing the differences (especially in the domain of public and social infrastructure), so as to continue the development of urban areas with distinct advantages regarding

the “engine” of the total national urban system, with a widening impact on other hierarchically lower urban and rural areas in the surrounding area and the activation of smaller urban centres, whose development will be based on specific and underutilised resources.

The spatial integration and functional connection of urban centres and regional units, necessary for the territorial cohesion, economic stimulation and competitiveness of all parts of the Republic of Serbia, should be intensified and achieved through development belts and traffic corridors, which have already been formed or are expected in the future.

The backbone of the urban system of Serbia consists of larger urban centres and urban areas with a clearly established hierarchy of centres, which are connected by development belts, namely from Belgrade to Novi Sad, via Zrenjanin, Požarevac, Jagodina, Niš, Kruševac, Kraljevo, Čačak, Užice, Valjevo, Šabac, Sremska Mitrovica and others. The main cohesive factors are: the highly urbanised part of the Danube – Sava development belt dominated by the influential spheres of Belgrade and Novi Sad, as well as the urban areas of Niš, Kragujevac and Priština with their spheres of influence. In the southwest, the urban areas of Užice, Čačak, Kraljevo and Kruševac play a dominant role in the West Morava development belt. The dominant role in the north is played by the urban area of Subotica with the surrounding smaller centres in the overlapping zone of the spheres of influence of Novi Sad and Subotica, and in the southeast, it is the urban area of Leskovac, both of which are in the development zone along Corridor 10. In the south, in addition to Priština, other urban centres such as Kosovska Mitrovica, Prizren and Peć stand out. Within the urban system of Serbia, the most intensive connections will be made between urban centres and areas in development zones, especially where this is made possible by spatial and traffic proximity, crossing corridors, natural geographic features, traffic infrastructure and similar. In the immediate surroundings of these urban areas, there are smaller centres of underdeveloped rural areas, the potential of which is oriented towards: highly productive intensive agriculture, development of the processing industry, increased employment through the development of non-agricultural activities in the countryside (tourism, small businesses in the field of processing, services, etc.) and the diversification of agricultural production.

An important part of the urban system will be medium-sized and smaller centres in underdeveloped rural areas and parts of border, hilly-mountainous and poorly accessible areas, which have development potential, sufficient population size, relatively developed human capital and public social infrastructure, as well as urban development continuity, cultural identity and the like. These would be based on secondary development belts and traffic corridors through which they are spatially and functionally integrated, creating connections with other territories and agglomerations in the regional environment. These are primarily Sombor, Kikinda and Vršac, Vranje, Pirot, Zaječar and Bor, Loznica, Prijepolje, Priboj, Novi Pazar and Prokuplje. By networking with small urban centres in rural areas (parts of the Danube

and hilly and mountainous areas of southern, eastern, southeastern and southwestern Serbia), all these centres should encourage the development of the economy, the complementarity of agriculture and tourism, provide access to basic services for the elderly population, attract investments, the seasonal use of facilities for the needs of tourism, etc. At the same time, these centres have significant potential for cross-border connections and joint action/interest integration with areas inside and outside Serbia. European programmes and development funds enable and motivate such forms of cooperation. The following areas, which are insufficiently integrated, are especially promising: Sombor – Apatin – Osijek (Republic of Croatia); Kikinda – Szeged (Hungary) – Timișoara (Republic of Romania); Vranje – Kumanovo – Skopje (Republic of North Macedonia); Ljubovija – Loznica – Zvornik – Bijeljina (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and others. Other urban centres in the primary and secondary development belts would be important, namely: from Šabac to Loznica, Ljubovija and Zvornik (in the Drina development zone); from Niš to Knjaževac, Zaječar, Negotin and Kladovo (in the Timok development belt); from Niš to Pirot (in the Niš development zone); urban centres in the South Morava, Ibar, Pešter and other development belts.

In parts of the network of primary and secondary level development belts, with geospatial units around them, and with border areas and areas with fewer traffic connections, insufficiently activated centres will develop with local urban concentrations.

The urban system of the Republic of Serbia consists of:

1. The metropolitan area formed by the urban areas of Belgrade and Novi Sad, with numerous sub-centres of different ranks. This polycentric area is the most promising developmentally, based on the highest functional capacity and demographic potential, excellent traffic connections and solid infrastructure. Conditionally, it includes centres from Bačka Palanka to Smederevo, and from Pančevo to Lazarevac. The concentration of functions, population, space users and the economy would continue in this area. This metropolitan area would also become the dominant tourist destination in Serbia. The effects of suburbanisation will also be present as a consequence of the deterioration of the quality of life (quality of the environment) in the central, most densely populated parts of the metropolitan area. It is a development opportunity for smaller local centres, especially in the Srem and Banat parts of the metropolitan area.

2. Urban centres in the West Morava valley (Užice, Čačak, Kraljevo and Kruševac) and Kragujevac are in the form of agglomerations – morphologically and spatially/functionally connected urban centres with significant functional capacity, and good traffic connections, but with endangered demographic capacity due to the influence of the metropolitan area. Directly influential areas of agglomerations have more than 500,000 inhabitants. They need better infrastructural equipment, as well as the expansion of the range of services, and the emphasis must be on the economy, which needs a highly educated and high-quality workforce, along with the development of scientific research and technical-technological capacities.

3. Urban areas that have a zone of influence that has more than 100,000 inhabitants are formed around Subotica, Zrenjanin and Leskovac. They must continue

economic growth and development, especially in the domain of high-tech industries, and then with the development of services and institutions of a regional character, in order to stop emigration to the metropolitan area and abroad.

4. Urban areas with a zone of influence that has more than 40,000 inhabitants are: Sombor, Vršac, Kikinda, Valjevo, Šabac, Loznica, Novi Pazar, Jagodina, Bor, Zaječar, Vranje, Pirot, Prizren, Uroševac, Peć, Đakovica, Gnjilane and Kosovska Mitrovica. As a priority, they must improve their functional capacity, especially in the domain of the economy, public services and institutions. They also have a good chance as networking centres for the small centres in the rural areas that surround them. Some of the centres have significant prospects in cross-border cooperation (Sombor, Vršac, Kikinda, Loznica, Pirot, etc.).

5. Urban centres in rural areas – most of which are small urban centres in rural areas. They must adapt to seasonal fluctuations in the number of users of the space, and orientate themselves towards the products and services offered by the resource-rich rural environment, tourist potential and predominantly high-quality living environment. The available EU funds mean that these areas should be considered as leading priorities for the country's spatial development.

It is realistic to expect that by 2035 there will be strengthening of functions, economic development and new integrative roles of certain smaller urban centres, especially those in a metropolitan area or in agglomerations.

The following development zones will be developed on the territory of the Republic of Serbia:

1. Primary development belts – are provided through areas with the greatest population concentration economic activities, as well as along international and national infrastructure corridors. The network of these belts represents an important factor in the territorial cohesion of Serbia. The primary belts of development are:

1.1. The Danube – Sava belt (along parts of corridors 10 and 7) has key development importance for Serbia and for integration with EU countries. It includes urban and industrial centres within the following development zones, connecting cities and municipalities in the surrounding area:

- along the Danube (from Apatin, Sombor, Bačka Palanka and Novi Sad, towards Belgrade and further towards Veliko Gradište, etc.);

- along the Sava (from Šid, Sremska Mitrovica to Belgrade), that is, connecting international ports on the Sava and Danube (Belgrade, Novi Sad, Sremska Mitrovica, Smederevo, Pančevo and others);

1.2. Along parts of Corridor 10:

- Northern belt – from Novi Sad to Subotica and Hungary (Budapest);

- Great Morava belt – from Belgrade to Niš, which from north to south passes from the plains to the more scattered hilly and mountainous areas, easing the pressure on the Belgrade metropolitan area;

- South Morava belt – from Niš to Leskovac, Vranje, North Macedonia and Greece (towards Skopje and Thessaloniki);

– Nišava belt – along a branch of Corridor 10, in the direction from Niš to Pirot, Dimitrovgrad and Bulgaria (Sofia);

1.3. West Morava belt – in the direction along the West Morava, from Užice to Čačak, Kraljevo, Kruševac and Corridor 10, which provides the possibility of spatial integration in the direction of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the west and continuing across the Timok belt in the direction of Bulgaria and Corridor 4 in the east;

1.4. Kolubara belt – in the direction from Belgrade to Obrenovac, Valjevo, Gornji Milanovac and Čačak, which provides the possibility of spatial integration in the direction of the West Morava belt and further across the Golija – Pešter belt to Montenegro in the south;

1.5. Toplica – Kosovo – Metohija belt – in the direction from Niš towards Prokuplje, Kuršumlja, Priština, Prizren and Albania (Durrës);

1.6. Kragujevac belt – in the direction from Batočina/Lapovo to Kragujevac and Čačak/Kraljevo, as an epsilon branch of Corridor 10, from the Great Morava belt to the West Morava belt, which provides a better positioning of Kragujevac, as well as the possibility of spatial integration of primary and secondary development belts (Zlatibor, Ibar and Golija – Pešter to the south, and Šumadija and Kolubara to the north);

2. Secondary development belts – extend through underdeveloped areas with significant natural and created potential. Planning the direction of development will improve their traffic position and accessibility, infra- and suprastructural equipment, demographic and economic development. Secondary zones of development are:

2.1. Bačka belt – in the direction from Corridor 10 to Vrbas and Sombor, with two branches towards Hungary (via Apatin and Bački Breg) in the north and towards Croatia in the west;

2.2. Tisa belt – in the direction from Corridor 10 to Bečej, Mol, Ada, Senta and Kanjiža and continuing to Hungary in the north;

2.3. Banat belt – with three directions, from Pančevo to Zrenjanin and Novi Sad, from Zrenjanin to Kikinda and Romania, and from Pančevo to Vršac and Romania;

2.4. Fruška Gora – Mačva belt – in the direction from Novi Sad to Corridor 10, Ruma and Šabac and continuing towards the Drina area and Bosnia and Herzegovina (Republic of Srpska) in the south;

2.5. Drina – Šumadija – Homolj belt – in the direction from Loznica to Valjevo, from Valjevo to Topola and Markovac (Corridor 10), and from Markovac to Bor;

2.6. Šumadija belt – in the direction from Kragujevac to Topola, Arandjelovac, i.e. Corridor 10;

2.7. Drina belt – in the direction from Šabac to Loznica, Ljubovija, Bajina Bašta, i.e. to Bosnia and Herzegovina (Republic of Srpska – Višegrad and Trebinje) and Montenegro;

2.8. Braničevo – Danube belt – in the direction from Corridor 10 to Požarevac, Veliko Gradište, Golubac, Donji Milanovac and Kladovo (Romania);

2.9. Zlatibor belt – with two directions, direction A from Užice towards Bosnia and Herzegovina (Republic of Srpska – Višegrad) and direction B from Užice to Čajetina, Nova Varoš and Prijepolje, i.e., towards Montenegro;

2.10. Golija – Pešter belt – in the direction from Požega to Arilje, Ivanjica and Sjenica, i.e. to Montenegro (Bar) and continuing to Italy (Bar);

2.11. Timok belt – with two directions, direction A from Corridor 10, Paraćin to Zaječar and Bulgaria, and direction B from Corridor 10, Niš to Knjaževac, Zaječar, Negotin (Bulgaria), Prahovo and Kladovo (connection with the Braničevo – Danube belt);

2.12. the Ibar belt – in the direction from Kraljevo to Raška, Novi Pazar and Priština;

2.13. Pešter – Lim belt – on the route from Novi Pazar to Sjenica, Nova Varoš and Priboj (Bosnia and Herzegovina), with a branch from Sjenica to Prijepolje (connection with the B direction of the Zlatibor belt and Montenegro);

2.14. The Kosovo – South Morava belt – in the direction from Priština and Uroševac towards Gnjilane and Bujanovac to Corridor 10;

2.15. Metohija belt – in the direction from Priština towards Klina, Peć and Montenegro, with a branch from Klina to Đakovica and Albania;

3. Tertiary development belts that are more closely determined by regional spatial plans.

Concluding guidelines for planning urban settlements

The planning of urban settlements should enable:

- efficient use, financing and management of construction land as the largest urban resource;

- improvement in the quality of organisation and identity of central urban zones, public spaces, buildings and units of cultural, architectural and urban heritage;

- improvement in the quality, accessibility, capacity and level of services of the transport infrastructure, taking into account rationalisation, but also aspects of the environmental impact, giving preference to alternative, ecological and more efficient modes of transport;

- improvement in the quality of the environment, the health and safety of residents in urban settlements, and achieving a high degree of adaptability of urban areas to climate change through the protection of existing and planning of new green and water areas close to nature.

The strategic decision for the development and arrangement of urban settlements is that the remediation of the unplanned parts of urban and peri-urban areas and the renovation and improvement of the arrangement of planned parts of urban settlements are of equal importance. Rehabilitation is carried out through the development of urban plans with the aim of establishing urban order, adding the missing technical and social infrastructure, etc.

The SPLGU (Spatial Plan for Local Government Units) should clearly state the scope and limit the expansion of the construction areas of urban settlements, rural settlements and complexes, primarily along the most frequent traffic routes. It will also determine the planning basis for strengthening and improving rural-urban links, increasing the accessibility of rural areas by working out the environmental services of rural areas for the development of urban settlements and LGUs, and by providing

traffic services, communal and public social infrastructure and other services and services in rural areas.

In general, in case of urban plans and general regulation plans for urban settlements for which a general urban plan is not prepared, special attention should be paid to reviewing and reducing the scope of the construction area, in order to stop any further irrational expansion and spreading of urban centres and urban settlements.

According to the Sustainable Urban Development Strategy of the Republic of Serbia until 2030, the priority areas of intervention in urban settlements could be: industrial/economic and commercial zones and brownfield locations, illegally built and unorganised marginal urban zones (urban sprawl) and degraded rural areas; endangered urban structures, urban matrices and central urban zones; parts of urban settlements with a concentration of social problems related to inclusion and poverty; settlements or parts of settlements with problems related to environmental protection and climate change; and spatial entities with cultural and architectural heritage and important features of cultural and historical development. In accordance with this strategy, LGUs will adopt local strategies of integral urban development for urban centres and urban settlements and urban development projects. For priority areas of intervention defined by local strategies of integral urban development, LGUs will adopt or coordinate valid urban plans.

In the development of urban plans for urban settlements and urban areas, the following topics should be prioritised:

- urban renewal, recycling brownfield sites and construction within the already existing urban matrix, transformation of sites into other city functions, preferably for cultural, educational purposes, as start-up incubators or for commercial purposes, and where possible as residential zones (including loft living), but by preserving elements of the industrial heritage and history of the place; it is also possible to transform such spaces into public green park areas, especially in parts of the urban settlement where they are lacking, while preserving high-quality existing greenery;
- protecting and preserving existing and planning new public spaces and connections in a unique and continuous network, with gradation from the micro to macro level (from urban pockets to main city squares), designing and emphasising the identity of public spaces, with the use and arrangement of neglected spaces, and the promotion of safe and accessible locations;
- protecting and preserving existing and planning new green areas, connecting fragmented areas into a single and continuous space, with the use and arrangement of abandoned spaces (coastal zones, abandoned railway lines, etc.), the promotion of the urban garden movement, and the preservation of unique locations such as city forests;
- adhering to urban-morphological and landscape principles and preserving characteristic urban silhouettes and views, with priority for zones and entities with cultural and architectural heritage and important features of cultural and historical development;

- harmonising the capacities of the traffic and utility infrastructure with the planned densities, intensity of activities and scope of construction;
- upgrading and consistently applying urban planning standards;
- promotion and operationalisation of the institute of urban land consolidation.

Наташа Данилович Христич, Небойша Стефанович

**СТРАТЕГИЧЕСКАЯ РАМКА РАЗВИТИЯ СЕТИ НАСЕЛЁННЫХ ПУНКТОВ
И УРБАНИЗАЦИИ В ПРОСТРАНСТВЕННЫХ ПЛАНАХ СЕРБИИ С 1996 ГОДА
ПО НАСТОЯЩЕЕ ВРЕМЯ**

Резюме

Урбанизация – это процесс, в котором постоянно увеличивается доля населения, проживающего в городах, а города расширяются и растут, что делает проблемы организации и устройства городского пространства важной темой актуальной повестки дня развития. Городские поселения в Республике Сербии страдают от депопуляции и демографического старения, региональных диспаритетов, проблем городской культуры и защиты окружающей среды, включая климатические изменения. На национальном уровне признаны проблемы незаконного строительства, запустения технической и социальной инфраструктуры, недостаточного стимулирования развития браунфилд-территорий, а также необходимость оцифровки в управлении территориальным развитием. Сложность городского пространства требует особого подхода к направлению развивающихся тенденций и деятельности в городских областях. Пространственный план Республики Сербии (ППРС) – это платформа для организации, использования, защиты, устройства и управления пространством, основанная на национальных целях, концепциях и мерах пространственного развития, согласованных с социо-экономическим, культурным и другим развитием Сербии, а также средствами реализации. Он включает государственные цели пространственного развития, комплексные плановые решения и имплементационный каркас, учитывающие сложность глобального и внутреннего социо-экономического и институционального контекста и различные вызовы. Общие вызовы включают: депопуляцию, демографический экзодус и усиление миграции; стихийную (неплановую и неконтролируемую) урбанизацию, выраженную территориальную концентрацию, поляризацию и пространственную фрагментацию; региональные неравенства в развитии городского и сельского хозяйства, качестве окружающей среды, уровне развития транспортной и технической инфраструктуры; недостаточное или неэффективное использование доступного территориального капитала. Кроме того, ППРС предоставляет пространственную основу для различных секторных политик, планов и программ, а также разработки других планов более низкого уровня в иерархии, но более детальных. Стратегия устойчивого городского развития (до 2030 года), принятая впервые в Республике Сербии в 2020 году, в соответствии с потребностями устройства городского пространства, подходит к решению проблем урбанизации и использованию потенциала, который городские поселения представляют как генераторы развития.

Перед принятием первого ППРС в 1996 году произошли необычно длительные и дисконтинуальные активности по его подготовке, которые с перерывами длились почти 30 лет. Подготовка к разработке плана началась в 1967 году и продолжалась до 1976 года. После перерыва, работа по подготовке возобновилась в 1987 году, а проект ППРС был передан Правительству Республики Сербии впервые в 1990 году, а затем в 1994 году. Первый ППРС был принят в 1996 году на период до 2010 года как единственный общий стратегический плановый документ, касающийся интегрального развития территории Республики Сербии.

Первый ППРС придавал большое значение достижению большей функциональной интеграции пространства Республики (более равномерного и согласованного развития частей ее территории) и транспортной и экономической интеграции Республики с соседними и другими европейскими странами. Можно оценить, что первый ППРС был инновационным плановым документом, опережающим свое время и превосходящим тяжелые обстоятельства, в которых находилась Республика Сербия с начала 1990-х годов. Этот план установил стратегический, концептуальный и методологический каркас и способ выражения плановых решений и предложений, ставший образцом для других пространственных и секторальных планов и стратегий.

Второй ППРС был принят в 2010 году на период до 2020 года. Он также оставался основным общим стратегическим плановым документом, касающимся интегрального развития территории Республики Сербии. В отличие от предыдущего ППРС, в этот период, подражая зарубежному опыту, был подготовлен или принят большой объем секторальных стратегий, в которых редко содержался пространственный аспект развития соответствующего сектора по отношению к частям территории и сети центров и населенных пунктов в Республике Сербии. Поэтому только некоторые стратегии оказались более влиятельными на плановые решения и предложения второго ППРС. Это было также время интенсивной подготовки к вступлению в Европейский союз, укрепления пограничного и транснационального сотрудничества и политики укрепления планирования и управления региональным развитием в Республике, что всё оказало позитивное воздействие на содержание и предложения второго ППРС. Основой второго ППРС стали рамки, установленные первым ППРС, с некоторыми адаптациями в содержании и способе выражения плановых решений и предложений, под влиянием актуального зарубежного опыта и отдельных национальных стратегий и политик.

Подготовка третьего ППРС началась в 2019 году, а его принятие ожидается в 2023 году. Он разрабатывается на период 15 лет (с 2021 по 2035 год). В отличие от предыдущих двух ППРС, это время характеризуется изменениями в системе пространственного планирования, которые адаптируются к усилению роли рынка в управлении развитием, при этом отмечается отсутствие государственной концепции долгосрочного развития, что может негативно сказаться на охране и резервировании территории, особенно для целей

национального интереса/значения. В основе третьего ППРС лежат лучшие проверенные элементы стратегического, концептуального и методологического фреймворков, а также формулировки плановых решений, поставленных в предыдущих ППРС. Все три ППРС разрабатывались в период крупных изменений на макрорегиональном и глобальном уровнях, поэтому элементы гибкости, неопределенности и риска стали неотъемлемой частью процесса планирования.

Городские центры, городские и сельские районы, составляющие городские системы в Сербии, представляют собой гетерогенный набор населенных пунктов различного демографического размера, экономического развития и функциональных возможностей, что является следствием различных развивающихся предпосылок в географическом и социально-историческом контексте. Территория Сербии, как и большая часть юго-восточной Европы, не урбанизирована как наиболее развитая часть континента. Сербия подверглась интенсивной урбанизации только во второй половине XX века. До 60-х годов XX века экономическая структура Сербии преимущественно имела сельскохозяйственный характер, а по структуре населения она была преимущественно сельской средой. Хотя уровень урбанизации увеличился к 2011 году до около 60%, городское население в межпереписных периодах не равномерно росло, и важным детерминантом пространственного (пред)распределения населения являются миграции населения. Негативный миграционный сальдо характеризует большую часть Сербии, причем наибольший объем и интенсивность оттока зарегистрирован в восточной и юго-восточной частях Сербии. Исторические и физико-географические условия создали сильную региональную дифференциацию населенных потенциалов, так что зона высокой концентрации населения охватывает Дунавско-Савский и Моравский регионы, составляя 10% от общей территории с 3,1 миллионом жителей, что составляет 43% населения Республики Сербии. Очевидна связь между пространственным распределением населения, средней высотой над уровнем моря и интенсивностью застройки (процент земли, занятой антропогенными площадями).

В пространственно-структурной и функциональной организации сети поселений в Сербии доминируют малые городские центры. На первый взгляд можно сказать, что городскую сеть Сербии характеризует их удобное распределение, однако более подробный анализ концентрации населения и функций поселений указывает на многочисленные проблемы. В Белграде проживает около 27,3% городского населения Сербии (без АП Косово). На его доминирование указывает индекс городской первичности, чье значение равно 5 (отношение числа населения Белграда и Нового Сада). Из-за больших различий в демографическом размере и демографическом потенциале, территориальном охвате и диверсификации функций, а также размерах поля влияния, городские центры имеют очень разные роли и значение в территориальной интеграции Сербии. Изменения в городских системах происходят очень медленно, поэтому в ближайшем будущем не стоит ожидать спонтанного смягчения территориальных диспаритетов.

Несогласованность между населением ведущего и остальных городских центров свидетельствует о том, что Сербия не имеет правильно и равномерно развитой городской системы, т. е. что потоки урбанизации не были своевременно направлены на более равномерное пространственное распределение. Поляризационные эффекты урбанизации, пространственно проявленные демографической и экономико-функциональной концентрацией, выражены также на уровнях большинства районов – областей. Диспропорция в демографическом размере Белграда и других крупных городских центров является следствием несогласованности и асимметричности городской системы Сербии. Пространственная диспропорция функций проявляется увеличением их числа во всего нескольких наиболее значимых городских областях Сербии и значительным уменьшением функциональных возможностей большинства других городских областей и городских центров, а также их территориального влияния, что приводит к тому, что население не в состоянии удовлетворить свои потребности, и оно переезжает в другие места, т. е. за границу. Тем не менее, причины поляризации территории Сербии не только внутренние, но все больше подвержены воздействию широких региональных и международных экономических потоков. Большинство иностранных инвестиций привлекаются именно те центры, которые являются более конкурентоспособными – с развитыми функциями, отлично связанными с инфраструктурой, с молодым и образованным трудовым населением и т.д.

Наташа Даниловић Христић, Небојша Стефановић

СТРАТЕШКИ ОКВИР РАЗВОЈА МРЕЖЕ НАСЕЉА И УРБАНИЗАЦИЈЕ У ПРОСТОРНИМ ПЛАНОВИМА СРБИЈЕ ОД 1996. ДО ДАНАС

Резиме

Урбанизација је процес у коме се непрестано повећава удео становништва које живи у градовима а градови се шире и расту, што чини да проблеми уређења и организације градског простора представљају важну тему развојних агенди. Урбана насеља у Републици Србији погађају депопулација и демографско старење, регионални диспаритети, проблеми урбане културе и заштите животне средине, укључујући и климатске промене. На националном нивоу препозната је проблематика бесправне изградње, запуштеност техничке и социјалне инфраструктуре, недовољан подстицај развоју браунфилд локација, као и потреба за дигитализацијом у управљању развојем територије. Комплексност градског простора захтева посебан приступ усмеравању развојних трендова и активности у градским подручјима.

Просторни план Републике Србије (ППРС) је платформа за организацију, коришћење, заштиту, уређење и управљање простором, заснована на националним циљевима, концепцијама и мерама просторног развоја усклађеним са социо-економским, културним и другим развојем Србије, као и имплементационим средствима. Садржи државне циљеве просторног развоја, интегрална планска решења и имплементациони оквир, који уважавају комплексност глобалног и унутрашњег социо-економског и институционалног контекста и различите изазове. Општи изазови укључују: депопулацију, демографски егзодус и јачање миграција; стихијску (непланску и неконтролисану) урбанизацију, изражену територијалну концентрацију, поларизацију и просторну фрагментисаност; регионалне неједнакости у погледу урбаног и руралног развоја, квалитета животне средине, нивоа развијености саобраћајне и техничке инфраструктуре; недовољно или непродуктивно коришћење расположивог територијалног капитала. Такође, ППРС обезбеђује просторни оквир на којем ће се заснивати различите секторске политике, планови и програми, као и припрема других планова нижег ранга у хијерархији али детаљније разраде. Стратегија одрживог урбаног развоја (до 2030. године), усвојена 2020. године први пут у Републици Србији, у складу са потребама уређења градског простора приступа решавању проблема урбанизације и коришћењу потенцијала које урбана насеља носе као генератори развојних активности.

Доношењу првог ППРС 1996. године претходиле су неуобичајено дуге и дисконтинуалне активности на његовој припреми које су са прекидима трајале скоро 30 година. Припрема за израду плана започела је 1967. године и трајала до 1976. године. После паузе наставља се рад на припреми 1987. године, да би Нацрт ППРС био достављен Влади Републике Србије први пут 1990. године, а након тога 1994. године. Први ППРС донет је 1996. године за период до 2010. године, као једини општи стратешки плански документ који се односио на интегрални развој територије Републике Србије.

Првим ППРС у први план се ставља постизање веће функционалне интегритетности простора Републике (равномернијег и усклађенијег развоја делова њене територије) и саобраћајне и економске интеграције Републике са суседним и осталим европским земљама. Може се оценити да је први ППРС био иновативан плански документ испред свог времена и изнад отежавајућих околности у којима се Република Србија налазила од почетка 1990-тих. Овај план је поставио стратешки, концептуални и методолошки оквир и начин исказа планских решења и пропозиција, те је постао узор за друге просторне и секторске планове и стратегије.

Други ППРС донет је 2010. године за период до 2020. године. И даље је био основни општи стратешки плански документ који се односи на интегрални развој територије Републике Србије. За разлику од претходног ППРС, у овом периоду се, по узору на инострана искуства, припрема или је донет велики број секторских стратегија у којима је ретко садржана просторна димензија развоја

одговарајућег сектора у односу на делове територије и мрежу центара и насеља у Републици Србији. Зато су само поједине стратегије имале већег утицаја на планска решења и пропозиције другог ППРС. То је и време интензивне припреме за приступање Европској унији (у даљем тексту: ЕУ), јачања прекограничне и транснационалне сарадње, и политике јачања планирања и управљања регионалним развојем у Републици, што је све имало позитивног одраза на садржај и пропозиције другог ППРС. У основи, други ППРС се наслања на оквире постављене првим ППРС, са извесним адаптацијама у погледу садржаја и начина исказа планских решења и пропозиција које су биле под утицајем актуелних иностраних искустава и појединих националних стратегија и политика.

Припрема трећег ППРС започела је 2019. године, а усвајање се очекује 2023. године. Доноси се за период од 15 година (од 2021. до 2035. године). За разлику од претходна два ППРС, ово је период промена у систему просторног планирања који се прилагођава јачању улоге тржишта у управљању развојем, при чему је испољен недостатак државне концепције дугорочног развоја што се може неповољно одразити на заштиту и резервисање простора, посебно за намене од националног интереса/значаја. У основи, трећи ППРС се наслања на најбоље, проверене одреднице стратешког, концептуалног и методолошког оквира и на начин исказа планских решења која су постављена у претходним ППРС. Сва три ППРС су припремана у периоду великих промена на макро-регионалном и глобалном нивоу, те су елементи флексибилности, неизвесности и ризика постали саставни део процеса планирања.

Урбани центри, урбана и рурална подручја која чине урбане системе у Србији су хетероген скуп насеља различите демографске величине, привредне развијености и функцијског капацитета, што је последица различитих развојних предиспозиција у географском и друштвено-историјском контексту. Простор Србије, као и великог дела југоисточне Европе, није урбанизован као најразвијенији део континента. Србија је захваћена интензивном урбанизацијом тек у другој половини двадесетог века. Све до шездесетих година Србија је по привредној структури имала доминантно пољопривредни карактер, а по структури насељености била је преовлађујуће рурална средина. Иако се степен урбанизације повећао до 2011. године на око 60%, градско становништво у међупописним периодима није се равномерно увећавало, а важну детерминанту просторног (пре)размештаја становништва представљају миграције становништва. Негативан миграциони салдо карактерише највећи део Србије, док је највећи обим и интензитет исељавања регистрован је у источној и југоисточној Србији. Историјски и физичко-географски услови створили су снажну регионалну диференцијацију популационих потенцијала, тако да зона изразито високе концентрације становништва захвата дунавско-савски и моравски појас, односно 10% укупне територије, са 3,1 милион становника, односно 43% становништва Републике Србије. Јасна је повезаност између просторног распореда становништва, просечне надморске висине и интензитета изграђености (проценат заузетости земљишта антропогеним површинама).

У просторно-структурној и функцијској организацији мреже насеља у Србији доминирају мали урбани центри. На први поглед се може рећи да урбану мрежу Србије карактерише њихов повољан размештај, међутим, подробнија анализа о концентрацији становништва и функција у њима указује на бројне проблеме. У Београду живи око 27,3% урбаног становништва Србије (без АП КиМ). На његову доминантност указује индекс урбане примарности чија је вредност 5 (однос броја становника Београда и Новог Сада). Услед великих разлика у демографској величини и демографском потенцијалу, територијалном дometу и диверсификованости функција, као и величини поља утицаја, урбани центри имају веома различите улоге и значај у територијалној интеграцији Србије. Промене у урбаним системима се одвијају веома споро, те се у скорој будућности не може очекивати спонтано ублажавање територијалних диспаритета.

Несклад између становништва водећег и осталих урбаних центара говори да Србија нема правилно и равномерно развијен урбани систем, тј. да токови урбанизације нису правовремено усмеравањем ка равномернијој просторној дистрибуцији. Поларизацијски ефекти урбанизације, просторно манифестовани демографском и економско-функцијском концентрацијом изражени су и на нивоима већине округа – области. Диспропорција у демографској величини Београда и осталих већих урбаних центара је последица некохерентности и асиметричности урбаног система Србије. Просторна диспропорција функција испољава се повећањем њиховог броја у свега неколико најзначајнијих урбаних подручја Србије и значајним смањењем функцијских капацитета већине других урбаних подручја и урбаних центара, као и њиховог територијалног утицаја што доводи до тога да становништво није у могућности да задовољи своје потребе, па се одсељава у друга места, односно у иностранство. Ипак, узроци поларизације територије Србије нису само интерни, већ су све више под утицајем ширих регионалних и међународних економских токова. Већину страних инвестиција привлаче управо они центри коју су и конкурентнији – са развијеним функцијама, инфраструктурно одлично повезани, са млађом и образованом радном снагом и др.

URBANIZATION IN EASTERN AND SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Publisher

The Institute of History Belgrade

Nizhny Novgorod State University of Architecture and Civil Engineering

Editors in Chief

Prof. Aleksandar Rastović, PhD, Director of The Institute of History Belgrade

Prof. Aleksey A. Gordin, PhD, Head of the Department of History, Nizhny Novgorod State University of Architecture and Civil Engineering

Proceedings editor

Vladeta Petrović, PhD

Translations and proofreading (English)

Tatjana Ćosović

Translations and proofreading (Russian)

Bojana Miljković Katić

Secretary of the Editorial Board

Snežana Ristić

Prepress

Slobodan Simić

Circulation

400

Print

Planeta Print doo, Belgrade

ISBN 978-86-7743-154-9

CIP - Каталогизација у публикацији
Народна библиотека Србије, Београд

711.4(4-11)(082)

711.4(4-12)(082)

911.375(4-11)(082)

911.375(4-12)(082)

URBANIZATION in Eastern and South-eastern Europe / editors in chief Aleksandar Rastović, Aleksey A. Gordin ; [translations and proofreading (English) Tatjana Ćosović, translations and proofreading (Russian) Bojana Miljković Katić]. - Belgrade : The Institute of History ; Nizhny Novgorod : Nizhny Novgorod State University of Architecture and Civil Engineering, 2024 (Beograd : Planeta print). - 247 str. : ilustr. ; 21 cm. - (Collection of Works / The Institute of History Belgrade ; vol. 45)

Tiraž 400. - Napomene i bibliografske reference uz tekst. - Rezime na srp. i rus. jeziku uz svaki rad.

ISBN 978-86-7743-154-9

1. Rastović, Aleksandar, 1969- [одговорни уредник] 2. Gordin, Alekseï Aleksandrovič, 1976- [одговорни уредник]

а) Урбанизација -- Источна Европа -- Зборници б) Урбанизација -- Југоисточна Европа -- Зборници в) Градови -- Развој -- Источна Европа -- Зборници г) Градови -- Развој -- Југоисточна Европа -- Зборници

COBISS.SR-ID 147001865