Everyday Life in a North Caucasian City during the NEP (New Economic Policy) Period

Tamara Alexandrovna Bulygina*

Abstract The main problem of this article is studied by the author within approaches "new local history". Changes in attitudes, value priorities, ways of survival of the "former" people under the new regime is shown by the example of individual destinies of town inhabitants. The research is based on a wide range of sources and reflects both regional specificity and national trends. T. Bulygina demonstrates how new rules and concepts, new relations of the local community with the authorities invaded to everyday life of the citizens.

Keywords Soviet system, Cossack, revkom

Any settlement is an essential part of overall regional and national space in their sociocultural dimension. On the other hand, every town or village is a locus in which a local community is being formed. It is unique in its actual living of a certain historical period. History of local communities in their variety and unique character within the national context is the subject of "Modern Local History". This field of modern history is the main topic of the inter-university research and education center "New Local History" functioning as inter-university cooperation led by the Stavropol State University.

Population of southern provincial Stavropol represented such a local urban community which was formed in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. By the beginning of the 1920s the city had already been the provincial capital for 70 years that affected its everyday life. At the same time it was a Russian city in the North Caucasus and its life reflected both national and the North Caucasus historic rhythms. And the everyday life of Stavropol community had its unique and original nature of events and processes occurring on a national and regional scale in the 1920s.

It was the time of the Soviet system formation and the country was in the process of complicated transition from military and communist experiments to the new economic policy (NEP) and from NEP to Stalin's modernization. It was the background the everyday life national context of the provincial city of Stavropol

^{*} Stavropol State University Faculty of History / Sztavropoli Állami Egyetem Történelemtudományi Kar e-mail: bul.tamara2011@yandex.ru

which blew up all its foundations. The length and brutality of the Civil War in the North Caucasus region which became a refuge for everyone who rejected the Bolshevist authorities, multiethnicity of the region and Cossack character made the regional context of Stavropol everyday life. Under the influence of these contexts foundations of life of citizens fell, but at the same time everyday life was partly archaized and attempts to adapt the traditions to new life were made.

In such periods of transformations of sociocultural, economic, political city community life the destruction of traditional way and at the same time the birth of new lasting reality is felt more sharply. First of all it concerned political and administrative part of everyday life of each settlement in the North Caucasus. When in spring 1920 "the Red forces" finally had seized their power in the North Caucasus governorates and regions along with extreme management bodies, including Stavropol governorate revkom (revolutionary committee), the Soviet system started forming in these settlements. Thus, on August 10, 1920 Stavropol City Council of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies was elected. The specific feature of this management practice was the social nature of this body as functions of its working apparatus were performed by revkom departments. The governing body was the Presidium of the City Council and its deputies were divided into 5 sections according to main fields of its activity: public education, city economy, public healthcare, social security, public nutrition. If required, other sections could be created.

In practice the real power in city belonged to the Revolutionary Committee. Section representatives observed for the execution of the resolutions of the city council by departments of the governorate executive committee and introduced proposals for consideration of the revkom chairman. As a matter of fact under the leadership of the Revolutionary Committee staff members participated in the survey section of institutions, organizations and businesses. At the city council meetings issues of the city life, such as food supply, accommodation and fuel were discussed, resolutions on them were made. The general management of the city was performed by the revkom. At the IV Congress of the provincial councils of workers', peasants' and Red Army's Deputies, Stavropol Governorate Executive Committee of Councils of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies was established instead of revkom—the extreme local government body; up to 1924 its departments along with other functions had performed management of almost all aspects of life in Stavropol and the city council was a constituent part of the governorate council.

At the initiative of the provincial executive committee of Stavropol City Council legalized in March 1921 the creation of an independent Bureau of the city council, and while it worked on a voluntary basis, it was a symbol of independence and initiative of the City Council. However, for the accelerated modernization of the party and government was in need of strict centralization and unification of management. Therefore, on July 22, 1922 People's Commissariat for the Interior of the RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic) annulled the decree of Stavropol Governorate Executive Committee on organization of the independent presidium under Stavropol City Council. The members of the City Council Presidium of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies were supposed to be included into the Governorate Council Presidium.² In September of that year Stavropol Governorate Executive Committee issued the relevant order, on the basis of which business of the City Council not only were transferred in the relevant departments of the Governorate Executive

¹ Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Stavropolskogo Kraya (GASK) f.p-590. op. 1. Explanatory Note.

² GASK f.p-163. op.1. d. 347. l.11.

Committee and the governorate municipal department which directly dealt with city affairs was restored. The independent Presidium of Stavropol City Council of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies was reestablished only since January 1926, which elected from the structure of the chairman and presidium by number no more than 11 people. Local party bodies were unified by the model of Soviet institutions. Already in January 1922 according to the provisions of the XI All-Russian Party Conference plenary session of Stavropol Governorate Committee of RCP(b) (Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) abolished City Committee of RCP(b) in Stavropol and the work in the city party cells was imposed on the apparatus of the governorate party committee

At the same time due to specific features of mentality of the Russian provincial leaders some controversies between the regional and city authorities inevitably occurred, especially in Stavropol of the 1920s. According to the local newspaper "Vlast' sovetov", the liquidation of Stavropol City Committee of RCP(b) prevented probable controversy between the apparatus of the governorate and city party committees.³ Under the influence of Soviet provincial management realia the city administrative structure also changed. Complicated division of Stavropol city into 11 districts was replaced by 5 districts of various categories in January 1923. The central and medium districts of the 1st and 2nd categories, as well as the suburbs were established. Payment for the land plots corresponded to this division as the land in the centre was 8 times more expensive than those ones located in the suburbs. For instance, such fee for the land of the 1st category in the centre was equal to 4 kopecks, for the 1st category of medium district—1 ½ kopecks and for the suburbs—½ kopecks for the square sagen (seven feet) per year.⁴

In 1926 the city municipal department with its own record-keeping maintenance was formed for city economy managing. For managing of other spheres of the city life special subdivisions were formed within the departments of the district executive committee: public education, healthcare, local economy, finances, administrative bodies. Such reorganization proved that city economy which required a more complex management system was restored. Until recently city economy has been in such a condition that one of the governorate executive committee orders stated that "extreme pollution in the city" with its slush in autumn could pose "a serious threat to the population health." This order is touched by naive faith in "revolutionary" words and extreme measures. It announced about forming "the fighting the triple" as the main measure for cleaning mud off the city.

Only since 1925 it became really possible to make city accomplishment of Stavropol. In 1924 the obligatory resolution of the governorate executive committee was already definite and set the procedure for keeping the city clean. It mentioned daily cleaning of streets and sidewalks, timely cleaning of roofs from snow and ice in winter and the persons responsible for order in the streets, squares, near the houses. As a result in 1927 the first repaired and restored houses appeared in the city which were 21 in two years and the expenses for city housing construction increased in 10 times in the following 2 years if compared to 1924 (6). Some streets were newly paved, pavements were repaired, new roads were built.

The matter is that by the end of the 1920s the city population was in the process of restoration. By the beginning of 1927 more than 55 thousand of people lived in the

³ Newspaper "Vlast Sovetov" 18 January 1922.

⁴ GASK f.p-163. op.1. d.505. ll.38-38 ob.

⁵ GASK f.p-163. op.1. d.347. l.2.

city, at the beginning of 1929 Stavropol population was more than 60 thousand people, i. e. in 2 years the number of Stavropol inhabitants grew with 5 thousand people. Residential areas had also been growing. In 1925 the city residential area increased to 8,253 square meters and as a whole made 311,254 square meters. 4 water pipelines 29 km long were operating in the city, city electric network had already counted 1,600 customers. The number of amateur radio posts was growing fast: from 13 in 1925 up to 637 in 1927.⁶ Developing of city life complicated combination of fulfilling regional and city management tasks. So, in January 1927 while solving economy issues independence of the City Council was already expanded—it was granted rights to budget forming. The managing power of the City Council was increased by the replacement of authorized persons as an institution by instructors institution and by the introduction of the position of deputy chairman of the City Council.

Regional authorities hardly coped with the reorganization measures initiated by the superior authorities. The position of the city council chairman was traditionally taken by the person holding the post of chairman of the District Executive Committee. In 1928 Stavropol District Executive Committee faced criticism on the part of the North Caucasus Region Executive Committee for such combination of two posts entrusted to one person. Then the inter-institutional meeting under Stavropol City Council made a resolution on the introduction of a separate position of city council chairman. Independent departments of the city council were formed which allowed to solve the issues of city life more rapidly.⁷

Up to the end of the 1920s Stavropol City Executive Committee had finally become the managing body of the city; its competence included nearly all aspects of the city activity. In 1929 nine sections of the city council were active. Among them there were financial and taxation, administrative and law, cooperative and trade sections. In 1930 the executive committee apparatus was finally formed consisting of separate departments, such as city financial department (gorfo), city sobes (social security department), etc.

Political reality of everyday life in Stavropol in the NEP period, as well as in historical perspective, was related to the complex multiethnic multiconfession structure of its inhabitants. Moreover, the urban everyday life reflected social diversity of its population. Several layers of everyday life may be identified: management and administrative, petty bourgeoisie, provincial intelligentsia, peasant, etc. In spite of certain liberalization of life in the 1920s political everyday life in the province was mostly defined by the Centre. It was not only due to the intention to create a rigid vertical power but also due to historical traditions. Along with that local political everyday life was defined by specific conditions of the city life, its remote location from the central regions of Soviet Russia, Soviet social life and regional management stereotypes had not rooted enough in the minds of the local people.

Thus, predominance of peasants among the suburban population of Stavropol predetermined special attention paid by the city authorities to the peasant issue.

So, it is no coincidence that in the late 1920s Stavropol was marked as the only city in the North Caucasus Krai (region) where the city council solved the problems of peasant population seriously enough, though in all the North Caucasus Krai peasants made 51.3% of urban population. Within the NEP years the city council together with the governorate executive committee dealt with the issues of transition to agricultural tax, increasing the level of culture in agronomy sphere, cooperative construc-

⁶ GASK f.p-299. op.1. d.38. ll.184-184 ob.

⁷ GASK f.p-299. op. 1. d. 57. 1.7, d.1315 .1.1, d. 57. 1.7.

tion. Changes in the party and state policy attitude to peasant population immediately influenced the work of Stavropol city authorities. Collectivization section was formed the members of which specialized in forming kolkhozes (collective farms), revealing kulaks and de-kulakization. In June 1929 in the city 71 of evidently kulak households were identified. In particular, they included households engaged in hiring seasonal labour within a radius of 15 km from the city. In February 1930 the Presidium of the City Council Of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies made a resolution on immediate resettlement of 33 kulak households with families outside the Stavropol district, and in March—on immediate resettlement of 25 kulak households of Stavropol with families within Stavropol district and the seizure of their property. In April 1930 the first city Stalin kolkhoz was formed in the city in the course of collectivization.

Political reality of Stavropol during the whole period of the 1920s was in the revealing of "wreckers" and the applying of punitive measures in various forms. In March 1921 the commission for purging of Soviet apparatus from "bourgeois elements" started its activity in the city. The citizens were offered to submit applications for all the unreliable persons. The applicants were guaranteed non-disclosure of their surnames. As a result 500 Soviet officials were re-registered all over the governorate, including Stavropol inhabitants. 14 of the city inhabitants were dismissed from their posts in Soviet institutions and transferred to production work with the resettlement of their families to suburban districts of the city. At the beginning of the 1920s different dramatized "trials" over the dissidents became popular in the city. For instance, in May 1921 the "trial over the nonparties" was organized in infantry training club in the building of the former men classical gymnasium. In the course of this "trial" all the nonparty citizens were divided into 3 groups. The first one consisting of the workers and peasants though being convicted was worth lenient attitude. They were given a month for studying Marxism fundamentals, after that the nonparties should have joined the party. The second group of "deserters and self-keepers" was sentenced to the suspended deprivation of their "skin". Finally, the third group consisting of former members of other political parties should have left the "Soviet platform." At the same time city authorities under the threat of repressions forced some categories of city inhabitants to express support to Soviet authorities. In 1922 the city meeting of traders and manufacturers was organized in such a way, its participants made a decision on voluntary self-taxation of this city population category for half a year for the benefit of the starving people.¹¹

The city council paid special attention in its work to monitoring the voters' lists for elections to different governing bodies so that unreliable persons could not take power. So, during November, 1925, 2412 city inhabitants were deprived of their voting rights for belonging to "exploiter classes"—traders, property owners, former merchants, landlords in present and in the past—and for participation in antisoviet movement during the Civil War and for consanguinity with the enemies of the Soviet authorities. 12

Everyday life in Stavropol in the NEP period went on like before the revolution within the "city territory" construct which was characterized by "centre—suburbs" opposition. Such division of the city territory is typical for capital, governorate and

⁸ GASK f.p-299. op. 1. d.1092. 1.36. 1.39. 1.62, d.1097. 1.14.

⁹ GASK f.p-299. op. 1. d. 1003. 1.91, d.1598. 1.1, d.1597. 1.1, d.1532. 1.19.

¹⁰ Newspaper "Vlast Sovetov" 5, 24, 29 March 1921

¹¹ Newspaper "Vlast Sovetov" 5, 13 May 1921.

¹² Newspaper "Vlast Sovetov"11 February 1922.

district cities in Russia. As a rule the "centre" was associated with wealth, power, cleanness and the suburb was connected with poverty, lower social classes, poor living conditions and desolation in the city districts. This caused different identity of models formed by the people within one city but in general all inhabitants regarded themselves as city ones. Such models were being kept for a long time and resulted in conflict of interests which may be clearly distinguished in the early 1920s in Stavropol where diverse identity models of its population were transformed into opposition of self-determination patterns of the centre and the suburb inhabitants which can be expressed as urban and rural habitation.

The local industry, trade, cultural and management facilities were located in the centre of Stavropol and the majority of the suburb residents were not only engaged in farming but mostly belonged to the peasant estate rather than to petty bourgeoisie before the revolution. Taking into account the population density in the suburbs and vast farm lands located there it becomes clear why farming was not the additional means of maintaining of the living standard for the city inhabitants but the main occupation for 40% of them. This circumstance often became the ground for latent conflict between the suburbs and the centre inhabitants, between the suburbs population and the local authorities.

For example, in 1923 the local enforcement bodies faced the problem of lawfulness of doubled state taxation applied to the suburbs population of Stavropol. The city prosecutor spoke on contradiction between city identity of suburb inhabitants and their property interests: "If we consider the population of the city suburbs to be city population then, according to note 2, article 1 of the Decree on Single Agricultural Tax, such population though engaged in farming and contributing the agricultural tax shall not be released from the taxes imposed on city population." This caused discontent in Stavropol suburb inhabitants and intensified their opposition against the centre inhabitants. At the same time the reporter's remark on "forced distribution of gold loan bonds" gave evidence of state violence concerning the city citizens irrespective of their location and revealed their disapproval of the state policy in the sphere of economic modernization.

Co-existence of two local communities—the urban and the rural—inside the city community within one urban space was a reason for social conflicts between the city and the village typical for the 1920s and confrontation between the certain social groups characteristic of the rural area. The following case may serve as an example of such a conflict: in 1924 the inhabitants of Priyarmarochny District of Stavropol which definitely was not a suburban one demanded reelection of the authorized person of the city council.

The matter was that he "is rather wealthy, has his own house, horse, cows and a sufficient land plot", "develops his household with a clear conscience". Such social type was more typical for village but it was ordinary for Stavropol. On the one hand, an average grain grower was disliked by the trade people considering themselves as city inhabitants "without a household", on the other hand he who indeed had not left his own field irritated poor peasant population by his welfare. 14

Formal city approach applied to the citizens while granting social benefits also generated grounds for conflicts between the local communities within one and the same city. The suburbs inhabitants considered as "peasant population" could not be satisfied with the Mandatory Decree of 1924 of Stavropol District Executive Commit-

¹⁴ GASK f.p 163. op.1. d. 505. ll. 151-151 ob.

¹³ GASK f.p-299. op. 1. d. 810 l. 1-3.

tee on the fee for education in the city schools. The note on payment release did not include children of the poor peasants though contained a provision stating that "children of parents with limited means" may submit applications to special commissions on cancellation of education fee.¹⁵

Conflict relations between the local community of the centre and those of the suburbs may also be traced in questions of the local people having asked the speaker reporting on the activity of the city council at one of the voting districts (Vorobyovskiy District) on January 13, 1929. It occurred that the poor residents of the suburbs could not obtain dress materials for clothes as they were not members of cooperative society but there was no such a problem for the Soviet officials of Stavropol living in the centre. One of the voters directly questioned why "the best bread is sold in the centre and the worst—in the suburbs", the other as if to prove existence of this problem asked: "Will white flour be sold to peasants on Easter eve, at least a pood per person?" The citizens having spoken at the meeting mentioned poor improvement of the suburbs absence of public nutrition enterprises there. "

After the famine was over in Stavropol Governorate and the NEP principles were gradually starting to be implemented the way of life in the city, leisure activities of the citizens were also changing, as well as their perception of the world. Transition to new economic policy restored some institutions which could not exist in the first years of the Soviet system. Thus, for instance, in October 1924 fee for education was reestablished in the city schools.¹⁷ In January 1926 the District Executive Committee permitted Varvarinskaya parish of Stavropol to organize a sacred procession.¹⁸

The city of Stavropol as a context of living for its inhabitants within that transition period represented an interconnection of architectural, ecological, social, economic, political and cultural layers. These layers are structured into one system which is a complex city organism, each of this organism structures appeared as a relatively independent subsystem consisting of interrelated elements which influenced the life of city inhabitants through multiple links. For example, intellectual space may be identified within general cultural context of the city as a specific aspect of urban habitation.

Such an institution as museum was a basic element of intellectual space in Stavropol for a long period of time. It was the centre of intellectual efforts of public figures, scientists and cultural workers of the city. At the same time museum had an intellectual impact on all inhabitants of Stavropol. Up to 1925 there were 2 museums in Stavropol. They were the Museum of the North Caucasus Local History and the Museum of Education Materials. The local museums incorporated into the unified city environment were closely connected with everyday life of Stavropol. As museum work was gaining a more mass character the museums were getting more and more fitted into everyday city life. This process started at the beginning of the 1920s when culture, including museum work, was declared the instrument of educating mass population and at the same time the national wealth.

Crisis, local budget deficiency, poverty of the local people after the end of the Civil War influenced the life of museum workers as well. G. N. Prozritelev, the head of the North Caucasus Museum, had no money for a 120 verst trip for inspection of architectural monuments. Poor harvest, absence of normal living conditions stimulated search for buried treasures and robbery of mounds. For example, not far from Blagodarnoe village peasants with individual farms adapted barrows under dugouts,

¹⁵ GASK f.p-299. op.1. d.13. ll.3-3 ob.

¹⁶ GASK f.p-299. op.1. d.38. ll.184-184 ob.

¹⁷ GASK f.p-299. op.1. d.258. l.2.

¹⁸ GASK f.p-299. op.1 d.13. ll.3-3 ob.

used archaeological display items in household.¹⁹ Various aspects of museum life were reflected in the letters of heads of museums to authorities. G. K. Prave, the head of the Museum of Education Materials, in 1925 complained that the local government did not provide him with 15 rubles and 52 kopecks "neither for electricity nor for glass for bookcases or pipe cleaning in the lavatory." Close neighborhood of the local market posed a threat of fire for the museum due to piles of rubbish which were stored at the flea market.²⁰ The evidence of the mass introduction of the population into culture is presented in some letters as its real everyday manifestation. Thus, G. K. Prave asked to set a militia post at the museum because visitors were noisy, smoked in exhibition halls, "nibbled sunflower seeds". Pickpocketing frequently occurred there, so the visitors' behaviour in the museum did not differ greatly from that one at the nearby market. So culture should not only have been popularized but also should have been protected from the masses.

New notions and standards invaded everyday life of the city, new relations of the local community with the authorities were introduced. This fully concerned the museums. We may trace the intention of the authorities to the total state control of all social spheres. In particular, in October 1923 all the regions were sent a circular letter aimed at setting the museum valuables in order and reanimation of the work of governorate departments for museum affairs. The Main Museum Administration should have been provided with the data on museums financed by the local budget, the list of museum buildings, staff of employees, the number of architectural and historical monuments, art objects, etc. The main task was formulated as "concentration of museum property in the Republic." This state initiative led to formal integration of the local museums which caused impoverishment of intellectual space in the provincial city.

History of everyday and cultural life of those years is presented in formal monthly summary reports. They note how needs for exhibits of the education materials department changed, they also represent social portraits of museum product consumers. If at first the museum was actively visited by local intelligentsia representatives, up to the 1920s writers and artists, doctors and engineers could be more and more rarely noticed among constant visitors. At the same time the amount of officials from Soviet institutions of various types, from the governorate education department (gubprosvet) to OGPU (Joint State Political Administration) was growing. The nature of the arranged events tells us of new forms of public life and conscience. For example, in December 1922 the city library ordered materials for the exhibition on the world revolution and in January 1924 gubprosvet ordered materials for the exhibitions against alcohol addiction. In 1924 the book exhibition was held at the room of the Museum of Education Materials in connection with the Week of the Book and in 1925 the 20th anniversary of the museum was "celebrated" as Darwin's Day.

Changes in attitudes, value priorities, and ways of survival of the "former" people under the new regime may be found out in "ego documents", including biographies and other data on the museum heads and employees. In biographies of G. K. Prave and G. N. Prozritelev written in 1923 for receiving personal pension our attention has been captured by intended emphasis on the fact of political disloyalty of both of them concerning the pre—revolutionary regime. The following is mentioned about G. K. Prave: "before the revolution he was considered politically suspect". G. N. Prozritelev is characterized as follows: "In the time of the tsar regime he was prosecuted

¹⁹ GASK f.p-299. op. 1. d.139. l. 3.

²⁰ GASK f.p-300. op. 1. d. 400. ll. 17, 19.

²¹ GASK f.p-299. op. 1. d. 4. 1. 405.

²² GASK f.p-300. op. 1. d. 386. ll. 1 ob, 3, 35; d. 400. l. 25.

for participation in revolution movement."²³ In reality the founders of the Stavropol Museum had different political views. Prozritelev in his youth had given up his devotion to narodnik movement and in 1918–1919 did not favour the Bolsheviks. G. K. Prave was quite a trustworthy notary with broad progressive views.

At the same time the signs of new life appeared. Issuance of passports to the city population was accompanied by standing in tedious queues, rudeness of passport offices employees. Officials, including employees of administrative section of the city council, typical for Russian and Soviet officials, accused the citizens themselves of causing sabotage in the passport office. The local authorities declared religious marriages registered after March 15, 1920 unlawful demanding to register marriage in ZAGS (Civil Registry) Office, 24 which could not but affect the family relations of the citizens. Up to the end of the 1920s sport had become an important part of the citizens leisure time. Thus, in March 1928 the Physical Education Council of Stavropol under the District Executive Committee organized the city chess tournament. In their free time the illiterate and mainly suburb population were made to study. Along with the campaign against illiteracy in Stavropol a three-year school of advanced training for grown-ups was opened to people who were not younger than 16 years old and who could write and read fluently and knew 4 arithmetic operations. The reception rules in this school according to this period were penetrated by a class principle. 26

Radio broadcasting became a new phenomenon in the life of Stavropol inhabitants. Broadcasting was performed 6 days a week. The contents of the programme gives us a notion of the impact produced on the citizens' minds. They were mostly programs of political and educational character, atheistic discussions, information on the materials of next party congress. The citizens were also introduced to the reasons of spreading of such social diseases as syphilis and prostitution. Talks on agrotechnics were carried out on the radio which was a very characteristic of the NEP. The radio newspaper "Stavropol'ye" always included musical performances. Judging by the context there were mostly folk and revolutionary songs.²⁷

During the second half of the 1920s violation of electoral rights of some citizens became an alarming sign in the context of the city every day life. The applications of these citizens show the social aspect of the state class policy, personal destinies of Stavropol inhabitants. Thus, deprived of their electoral rights a mother and her son stated their proletarian origin, on their loyalty to Soviet authorities. These formal lines concealed another meaning. The 24-year-old young man was afraid of being socially isolated as deprivation of electoral rights left him no life prospects. We understand the mother worrying about her son's future: "I, his mother, ... being almost an old woman, live by gaining a temporary occasional income, by one-day-work, and I am also deprived of the rights and ask to restore them. I petition and ask not to reject this petition, on rehabilitating me and my son as citizens of the Soviet Republic..." 28

Reconstruction of everyday activities of the North Caucasus city within the NEP period is based on different sources and reflects both national and regional trends and uniqueness of the city past. It demonstrates that the meanings of this past are inexhaustible and the components of urban everyday life of a certain locality are diverse.

²³ GASK f.p-300. op. 1. d. 386. ll. 26, 26ob.

²⁴ GASK f.p-299. op.1. d.925. l.3.

²⁵ GASK f.p-299. op.1. d.416. l.339.

²⁶ GASK f.p-299. op.1. d. 821 l. 161.

²⁷ GASK f.p-299. op.1. d.37. ll.141-141 ob.

²⁸ GASK f.p-299. op.1. d.1469. ll.195-195 ob.