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FROM THE CENTER TO THE «SLEEPING DISTRICTS»: ATTEMPTS TO CONSTRUCT THE EXTERNAL IMAGE OF LVIV AS A SOVIET CITY

The attempts of the Soviet authorities to construct the external image of Lviv as a Soviet city are analyzed. It is argued that an important aspect of the transformation of any city is its visual changes. It is noted that during the period 1939–1941, and later in 1944–1991, the Soviet government sought to give a «Soviet face», first of all, to the center of Lviv. Simultaneously with this, in the so-called «sleeping districts» of the city – a kind of invention of the Soviet era – in Lviv, as in other cities of the USSR, residential quarters typical for the Soviet space were to appear, built with characteristic residential quarters with a uniform layout and standard social infrastructure.

It is concluded that the implementation of the plan to transform, according to the Soviet definition, the «bourgeois» (European) appearance of the city of Lviv into a «Soviet» one turned out to be half-hearted. Thus, the Soviet project to create a «socialist model» center in Lviv was not successful: instead of the large area of the new center planned in the 1940s with Soviet monuments and administrative buildings, only a few buildings were built, and a 700-anniversary of Lviv Street was laid, which instead of the city center, it became an ordinary highway connecting the historic center with the new residential quarters of the northern districts of the city.

It is noted that the process of residential development, which began in the 1950s, was more successful. As a result, being built with typical new buildings, Lviv's suburbs got a Soviet image. At the same time, massive housing construction contributed to a partial solution to the housing issue, although often the condition of new buildings was not the best. It is noted that the cultural phenomenon of the Ukrainian-speaking «yesterday's peasants» – the «new residents of city» – began to form on the outskirts of Lviv. They began to adapt to city life, adopting its culture, in turn influencing the natives of the city. At the same time, in the case of Lviv, it was not precisely about the Russification of the «new settlers», but actually their Ukrainization of the space of the city center and its outskirts.

Keywords: Lviv, image construction, Soviet city, Ukrainian SSR, USSR, architecture, city center, city outskirts.

An important aspect of the transformations of any city (in the sense of both architectural and ideological load) are its visual changes. Such transformations are especially important in the city center, which plays the role of its «face». If the city-wide center acquires a certain image, then over time the city itself acquires such an image (at least, this is assumed by those who plan such changes). This was also understood by the Soviet government, which during the period of 1939–1941, and later – in 1944–1991, sought to give a «Soviet face», first of all, to the center of Lviv. Visually, the Soviet center had to create such an environment that would ideologically influence the city's residents (even at the subconscious level) and create the impression of the «permanent presence» of the Soviet power in the city. Simultaneously with this, in the so-called «sleeping districts» of the city – a peculiar invention of the Soviet era – in Lviv, as in other cities of the USSR, residential quarters typical for the Soviet space were to appear, built up with characteristic residential quarters with a uniform layout and with standard social infrastructure (shops, schools, kindergartens, medical institutions, recreational facilities). The fullest possible implementation of the relevant transformations would give the Soviet authorities reason to state that Lviv was successfully transformed into an average Soviet city of the USSR – at least visually, in the context of architecture.

The problem studied in the article has already been partially considered by researchers. Its various aspects were analyzed by Halyna Bodnar (Галина Боднар) (Боднар, 2010), Yuriy Zaitsev (Юрій Зайцев) (Зайцев, 2007), Tamara Zlobina (Тамара Злобіна) (Злобіна, 2007), Sofiia Diak (Софія Дяк) (Дяк, 2008), Ihor Melnyk (Ігор Мельник) (Мельник, 2009; Мельник, 2010), Oksana Morklianyuk (Оксана Моркляник) (Моркляник, 2006), Mykola Nazaruk (Микола Назарук) (Назарук, 2008), Hrihoriï Ostrovskiy (Григорій Островський) (Островський, 1975), Bohdan Posatskyi (Богдан Посацький) (Посацький, 2011), Tetiana Trehubova (Тетяна Трегубова) and Roman Mukh (Роман Мих) (Трегубова & Мих, 1989), Bohdan Cherkes (Богдан Черкес) (Черкес, 1999; Черкес, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c) and other. However, despite the existence of certain historiographic positions, the problem of comprehensive study of plans for the visual transformation of Lviv into a «Soviet» city and attempts to implement them remains relevant and urgent today.

The purpose of the article is to analyze the Soviet plans for the architectural construction of Lviv as a «Soviet/socialist» city through the visual transformation of its center and surroundings, and the progress of the implementation of these projects. In order to achieve the set goal, in this article, the materials of the State Archive of the Lviv region (Fund P-4 – Lviv City Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (фонд П-4 – Львівський міськомком Компартії України); Fund R-6 – Executive Committee of the Lviv City Council of Workers' Deputies (Р-6 – Виконком Львівської міської ради депутатів трудящих)), periodicals (Architecture of Soviet Ukraine («Архітектура Радянської України»), «Free Ukraine» («Вільна Україна»), «Construction and Architecture» («Строительство и архитектура»)), electronic Internet resources and existing historiographical achievements were processed.

Experiments regarding the city center. When Soviet power was established in Lviv at the end of September 1939, the historical center of Lviv at that time did not fit the role of

the central part of the Soviet city, as it was built up with ancient buildings that constantly «reminded» of the pre-Soviet history of the city. In addition, the city lacked main roads, the streets were narrow, and the blocks were small, which created a problem for the transit of trucks. The latter was especially criticized, because, firstly, Lviv was a border city, and secondly, since the city had a radial network of streets, i. e. there was no bypass road, all transport had to pass through the city center.

Therefore, from the very first days, the Soviet side faced the question: whether to adapt the historical center of Lviv to new conditions by rebuilding it, as a result of which many architectural monuments would be destroyed, or to build a completely new center of the Soviet model (Дяк, 2008, с. 80–81).

The first to find an answer to this question was a group of architects from Soviet Ukraine, led by Oleksandr Kasianov (Олександр Касьянов), who arrived in Lviv already in the fall of 1939 (Черкес, 2007b, с. 191). In 1940, he formulated the goal of creating a new center north of the Opera House, but at the same time, in the general plan of Lviv in 1940, it was planned to demolish a large number of historical and architectural values in the historical center (Касьянов, 1940, с. 8). However, this plan was not implemented. In 1939–1941, only two Soviet monuments were erected, which were installed on Legionów/Legioniv Street (contemporary Svobody Prospect). One of them was a monument in honor of the Stalin Constitution, next to the monument to the Polish king Jan Sobieski (Михалик & Лемко, 2009, с. 13), and the second – a monument symbolizing Friendship, was erected near the monument of the Virgin (Бірюльов, 2008, с. 588). Both monuments were destroyed in the first days of the Nazi occupation of the city. In addition, on September 17, 1940, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the entry of Soviet troops into Western Ukraine, a stone monument to Vladimir Lenin (Владимир Ленин) was laid opposite the Opera House, which was supposed to be completed by 1942, but its construction was also prevented by the beginning of the German-Soviet war (Россолінські-Лібе, 2009).

In the post-war plans, there were clear ideas of creating a central square directly behind the Opera House. Thus, in the general plan of 1946, authored by Andrii Natalchenko (Андрій Натальченко) and Henrikh Shvetskyi-Vinetskyi (Генріх Швецький-Вінецький), it was to be a rather large square where it was planned to build houses for party and state bodies, and the compositional center of the square was to be a monument to Iosif Stalin (Иосиф Сталин) (Бірюльов, 2008, с. 584). The highlight of this plan was to be the construction of a 50 meters high Lenin monument on the mound of the High Castle (Черкес, 2007с, с. 292). The nascency of a monument to the «leader of the world proletariat» on top of the mound, which was filled by the Polish population in honor of the 300th anniversary of the declaration of the Union of Lublin, would visually symbolize the elimination of Polish rule in the city. However, despite the fact that the project was considered several times at the government level, it was actually not possible to implement it. First of all, it was connected with the death of Joseph Stalin in 1953 and the subsequent struggle of Nikita Khrushchev (Никита Хрущев) both with the cult of Stalin's personality and with his pompous architecture.

Among the changes that the city center underwent in the 1940^s and 1950^s, the monument to Lenin erected in 1952 on the square in front of the Opera House (sculptor Sergey Merkurov (Сергей Меркуров) should be noted (Відкриття пам'ятника). This monument as a whole had rather modest dimensions compared to analogues in

other cities, and did not impress with its splendor and aesthetics. Nevertheless, the monument, in addition to the function of glorifying the «Leader of the Proletariat», became an integral element of Soviet political rituals: flowers were laid on the square near the monument on the days of Lenin's memory on January 21 and his birth on April 22, on Victory Day on May 9, on November 6, before the ceremonial meeting on the occasion of the October Revolution, during republican, union and international sports competitions, and finally, mass demonstrations of workers were organized in the square in front of the monument on May 1 and November 7 (Зайцев, 2007, с. 318–319).

Instead, some of the Lviv monuments erected in the city before 1939 were dismantled and destroyed, or taken to Poland. So, for example, in 1944, the monument to the Polish Hetman Stanisław Jabłonowski, which stood on Tribunalska Square (now Yaworsko Square) on the eve of the war, disappeared without a trace (Пам'ятник гетьману). The further fate of the monument to Agenor Gołuchowski, which disappeared after 1950, is also unknown (Пам'ятник Голуховському). In 1946, the monument to Franciszek Smolka was destroyed (Лемко, 2008, с. 52). The monument to Jan Sobieski was dismantled in 1950 and was kept for a long time in the Wilanów Castle Park in Warsaw, until it was moved to Gdańsk in 1965 (Gdańskie pomniki). Some other Austrian and Polish monuments remained in the city, such as the monument to Adam Mickiewicz or Jan Kiliński.

One of the means of «visual sovietization» of the center in the post-war period was also the placement of Soviet posters, advertisements for the products of the city's industrial enterprises, etc. in the historical part of the city (ДАЛО-1, арк. 51).

In the next general plan for the development of the city, which was developed in 1952–1956, the idea of a new Soviet center immediately behind the Opera House was further developed, but this time it was about the more modest dimensions of the square, and about the installation of a monument to V. Lenin on the High Castle it was not possible. Thus, in 1953, instead of the previously planned large central square on the territory of the former so-called «Kraków market», it was planned to create a square and allocate plots for the construction of a hotel, a cinema, an information and computing center and a multi-story residential building. Near the built hotel, it was planned to build a central square, modern at that time houses for the Philharmonic, a universal concert hall (Завтрашній Львів, 1965). However, the set of these buildings did not create the impression of a square, the territory was transformed into a long building. So, until the end of the 1950s, only a 7-storey residential building was built at the beginning of the 700-anniversary of Lviv Street (contemporary Viacheslava Chornovola Prospect) (Бірюльов, 2008, с. 609).

In the new general plan developed in 1962–1966, the concept of the development of the city center along the 700-anniversary of Lviv Street, expanding it to the north, due to the demolition of residential buildings (Шишка, 2005, с. 156). In the 1960s, the latter was intensively developed. Thus, during the period 1960–1965, the 11-storey building of the Regional State Administration, the cinema «Myr» and the hotel «Lviv» were built, which were planned back in the 1950s (З крупнопанельних блоків, 1965).

In the 1970s, the general plan was adjusted by the so-called the polycentric idea of the city-wide center. Its essence was that, adhering to the postulate of the development of the city-wide center along the 700-anniversary of Lviv Street, the

authors of the project planned three new sub-centers: the western one – on the Horodotska Street in the vicinity of the suburban railway station; eastern – at the intersection of Lychakivska and Pasichna Streets; southern – on the Stryiska Street, south of Stryiskyi Park (Третьубова & Мих, 1989, с. 210–214). This was done in order to relieve the city center from an excessive number of pedestrians and traffic. However, this process was implemented very slowly. In particular, the formation of the southern sub-center along Stryiska Street began as early as the second half of the 1980^s and was not fully completed at the time of the collapse of the USSR (Посацький, 2011, с. 154–161). However, the concept of a polycentric system of the city center formed the basis of subsequent ge plans of the city, in particular in 1993, and is beginning to develop today.

As for the actual historical center of the city, in the 1960^s and 1980^s, a number of monuments were erected within its borders, which were either Soviet in nature, or «Sovietness» was combined with the local Western Ukrainian. So, in 1964, a monument to Ivan Franko (Іван Франко) appeared (Вид на пам'ятник). In the 1970–1980^s, Vasyl Stefanyk (Василь Стефаник) (Пам'ятник Василю Стефанику), Yaroslav Halan (Ярослав Галан) (Островский, 1975, с. 193), Ivan Fedorovych (Іван Федорович) (Пам'ятник Івану Федорову) and Stepan Tudor (Степан Тудор) (Пам'ятник Степану Тудору) were honored with monuments. In addition, in the course of the implementation of the general plan, which also provided for the regulation of pedestrian traffic with the creation of pedestrian zones in the historical center of Lviv, in the 1970^s, underground passages were built along Lenina Prospect (modern Svobody Prospect) and on Radianska Square (contemporary Mytna Square) (Третій підземний, 1976).

In 1975, the historical center was granted protection status and the Lviv State Historical and Architectural Reserve with 249 architectural monuments was created on its basis (Турботи будівельників Львова, 1976). At the same time, a grandiose project was being prepared for the construction of a seven-kilometer network of underground tunnels under the historical center, which should relieve the central highways from traffic (Турботи будівельників Львова, 1976). But this project has not been implemented yet.

During the 1970^s and 1980^s, the 700-anniversary of Lviv Street extended further north. In 1982–1984, at the intersection of the 700-anniversary of Lviv and Ulianiivska (now Lypynskoho Street) Streets, the district administration building, the 9-storey building of the Lviv Center for Scientific, Technical and Economic Information and the 12-storey management building of the «Druzhba» oil pipeline were built (Посацький, 2011, с. 157–161).

But, despite all the attempts of the authorities and architects to turn the 700th anniversary of Lviv Street into the city center, it failed. As a result, as of 1990, it, which was supposed to become part of the new square of Soviet Lviv, turned into an ordinary transport link between the newly built suburbs and the old center.

New residential districts on the outskirts. One of the characteristics of the Soviet government in the cities was the active mass development of the city outskirts. Lviv was no exception in this case either. Along with the formation of a visual image of «Sovietness» outside the city center, massive construction was also aimed at solving one of the most acute social problems – the housing shortage, which was caused by the influx of immigrants from Soviet Ukraine and the entire USSR, as well as from Western Ukrainian villages, with the aim of studies and work.

In the first general plan of 1940, nothing was mentioned about residential development. At that time, the housing issue was solved by nationalizing buildings and distributing them between residents and newcomers to the city. Nationalization took place at a rapid pace and usually the person whose real estate was confiscated was simply put in front of the fact. Despite the applications with the demands of the former owners of real estate to return the latter to their ownership, which were sent to the district and city councils, such appeals often did not receive positive answers. For example, out of 26 owners' applications considered in April 1940 by the Shevchenko District Council of Lviv, only 3 of them were taken into account, and the nationalized objects were returned. At the same time, it was only about small one-room apartments (ДАЛЮ-2, арк. 1–5).

At the same time, repair work was mainly carried out on buildings damaged during the beginning of the Second World War, and the construction of a small number of new buildings (ДАЛЮ-3, арк. 50). These works were mostly of poor quality, which was explained in the documents by the inadequate state of the technical documentation, the lack of accounting of the materials used in the repair, as well as the insufficient number of competent workers (ДАЛЮ-4, арк. 9).

After the end of the war, the first ideas of housing development appeared among the Soviet administration. Already in 1946, it was planned to start construction of buildings in the vicinity of the Pidzamche railway station, Kotliarevskoho Street, Artema Street (now Volodymyra Velykoho Street), on the small streets of Novyi Lviv and Levandivka (Трегубова & Мих, 1989, с. 190). But this development was mostly individual in nature and was not too intensive. In general, in the first post-war years, the urban development of Lviv was weak, limited mainly to the reconstruction of quarters in the central part of the city and the construction of small residential blocks of individual and multi-apartment housing (Моркляник, 2006, с. 181).

Since the 1950^s, as a result of the mass migration of the rural population to Lviv for work and study, there was a need to organize the process of mass housing construction to provide these «migrants» with a place to live (Боднар, 2010, с. 57). As a result, the tendency to locate residential buildings without detailed planning had to be eliminated from practice, and it was necessary to limit individual construction (Шуляр, 1962, с. 17–19). At the same time, the city territory available at that time was not enough for massive construction, so the new general plan had to solve the issue of expanding the city by joining it with surrounding villages.

Therefore, the general plan, approved in 1956, provided for the active development of residential quarters on the territories annexed to Lviv during the Polish era in the 1930^s: in the north – Holosko and Zboishcha, in the east – Kryvchytsi, Pasiky Zubrytski, Pasiky Halytski, in the south – Kozelnyky, Sokilnyky, in the west – Syhnyvka, Levandivka (Трегубова & Мих, 1989, с. 191). In addition to the above-mentioned yesterday's villages, throughout the 1950^s, the following were built sporadically: Sknylivok, Sykhiv, Bondarivka, Bohdanivka, Briukhovychi, Kamianka, Vynnyky (Брик, 1986, с. 391). They were built with typical 4–5-storey buildings – the so-called «khrushchevkas» (Бірюльов, 2008, с. 608).

A new idea in the architecture of Lviv at this time, at the turn of the 1950^s and 1960^s, was the idea of microdistrict development, instead of the former practice of building individual houses. Its essence was that in a complex with residential buildings, buildings for everyday cultural and household services of the population (kindergartens, nurseries,

schools, shops), sports grounds and gardens were built, as a result of which the primary building unit – a microdistrict – was formed.

In 1959, architects began planning the residential area in the form of three microdistricts within the radial streets of Kulparkivska and Stryiska (Успенский, 1959, с. 2–4). At the end of the year, the development of the first microdistrict was completed on the territory between Liubinska Street, Pusta Street (later Tereshkovi Street, and now Vyhovskoho Street), Pershoho Travnia Street (currently Horodotska Street) and the railway track. Its area was 38 hectares and it was designed for 11.5 thousand inhabitants (Успенский, 1959, с. 5). Already in the early 1960^s, the microdistrict began to be built up with 5-storey residential buildings, but commercial and household service premises were not built in sufficient quantity (Бірюльов, 2008, с. 617–618).

In parallel, new housing estates were built in Persenivka (Федоренко, 1960) and Suhnivka («Львівські Черемушки», 1960), where, in addition to residential buildings, shops, canteens, a library, a high school and a kindergarten were built. In the period 1956–1960, a new «working town» with a population of more than 1,500 families grew up on Pasichna Street in a wasteland. As of 1960, there was already a library and a school here, but no cinema, club, or sports ground had yet been built (Зубач, 1960). In total, in 1958–1960^s, about 10,000 families received apartments in new buildings (Піклування про благо трудящих, 1960).

But during 1956–1962, it was not possible to fully implement the intensive pace of development. In particular, at this time, out of 3,000 the Kinescope Plant's employees who needed housing, only 603 people received it (ДАЛО-5, арк. 44–45). Such delays were explained by several reasons. Firstly, a large share was still occupied by individual residential construction, as a result of which many developers built houses in violation of approved projects, which often forced them to rebuild the same buildings (ДАЛО-5, арк. 44–45). Secondly, there was a lack of technical documentation, due to which the commissioning of facilities was delayed (Лемків, 1960). But the most important reason for slowing down the pace of construction was the shortage of building materials, since their mass production had not yet been established in the city in the early 1960^s (Тільки 8 з 77, 1960).

Only in 1962, a large-panel house construction plant came into operation in Lviv, which actually started the era of mass and intensive emergence of residential areas. The latter was also facilitated by the popularity of construction cooperatives, which were actively entered by those wishing to get housing in the city (ДАЛО-6, арк. 8). In general, during the period from 1962 to 1965, the housing stock of the city increased by 20 %, which was approximately 9,300 new apartments (Ремонт будинків, 1965).

According to the new general plan of 1966, it was finally decided to move all mass housing construction to the outskirts. It was supposed to divide the city into five large planning districts – central, southern, northern, eastern and western. In these areas, except for the central one, where there were few areas free from development, it was planned to develop microdistricts (Черкес, 2007а, с. 386). In particular, the development of 5 microdistricts was planned in the southern planning district, which was supposed to house 100,000 people (Поронавець, 1973). The first two microdistricts were designed between Stryiska Street and Artema Street with the construction of 5- and 9-storey typical buildings (the so-called «brezhnevkas»), schools and preschools. An administrative building with a

dining room, a large hotel with a restaurant, a department store, a telephone exchange, a large-screen cinema, a summer cafe, a pharmacy, a polyclinic, a household building, an indoor market were to be located here (Поронавець, 1973).

But although the development of the micro-district along Artema Street and two micro-districts on Naukova Street were successful (Бірюльов, 2008, с. 617–618), traffic here was not yet developed, the roads were bad, there were no pharmacies, and you had to go all the way to the city center to get medicine (Потреби мікрорайону, 1967). And although at the beginning of the 1970^s, residential neighborhoods were already at the final stage of development (Поронавець, 1973), however, the transport system was being developed here until the 1980^s.

Intensive residential construction was carried out at the turn of the 1960^s and 1970^s in the northern planning district between Varshavska Street, Kalinina Street (now Zamarstynivska Street), Bohdana Khmelnytskoho Street and Briukhovychi (Новобудови, новосілля, 1975). Until the mid-1960^s, the pace of construction in this area slowed down due to the unfavorable natural conditions of the floodplain of the Poltva River. However, after the river was diverted to an underground collector, massive construction of residential areas began here, which were also built by microdistricts (Бірюльов, 2008, с. 619). Therefore, along the Bohdana Khmelnytskoho Street, a number of microdistricts were formed, which, in addition to typical five- and nine-storey buildings, were built with new 12-storey residential edifices (Львову зростати і розвиватись, 1975). From the beginning of the 1970^s, typical houses began to be built up in the neighborhoods between Dymytrova Street (now Lincoln Street), Topolna Street (modern Mazepy Street) and Promyslova Street (Трегубова & Мих, 1989, с. 225–227). In general, in contrast to the southern planning district, where low-rise buildings built before the 1950^s coexisted harmoniously with new buildings of the 1960^s and 1970^s, during the development of the northern district a lot of single-storey housing was demolished (Моркляник, 2006, с. 185).

Significant volumes of residential construction were carried out in the village of Zhovtneve (contemporary Levandivka), as well as in the area of Batalna Street (modern George Washington Street) and Leninskoho Komsomolu Prospect (modern Pasichna Street). In these residential areas, multi-story buildings were used, and commercial and household service premises were built (Львів: день завтрашній, 1967). In addition, many low-rise buildings were preserved here. In general, by the mid-1970^s, residential construction had become so massive that in the press at that time one could read in the headlines of articles ironic questions like: «Building or construction fever?» («Забудова чи будівельна лихоманка?») (Кошла, 1973).

From the mid-1970^s, under the influence of the development of the idea of a polycentric system of the city center, community centers began to be built in residential planning areas. In particular, in 1975, the previously planned central department store «Lviv», the Palace of Water Sports, and a cinema began to be built in the southern residential area. But the construction of the first two objects was delayed until the 1980s, and the construction of the cinema was never completed (Мельник, 2009, с. 234).

In parallel with these processes, active construction of housing continued, and by the end of the 1970^s, it was already being completed in the southern and south-western districts of the city, and was gaining momentum in the northern, western, and eastern suburbs. In general, during the period from 1960 to 1980, the total area of the city's housing stock

increased from 4,418 thousand square meters to 8,953 thousand square meters (Назарук, 2008, с. 231).

A special place in the development of Lviv belongs to the residential area of Sykhiv, which grew up on the site of the village of the same name, which entered the borders of Lviv in 1952. First of all, the development of this territory was intended to provide housing for workers in the south-eastern industrial zone. The first planning project of Sykhiv was developed back in 1965–1966. At that time, it was even planned to start the production of documentation for the construction of a trolleybus line to this new microdistrict (Львів: день завтрашній, 1967). But this project was revised several times, and the final version was released as early as 1979 (Трегубова & Мих, 1989, с. 230).

The microdistrict was planned for 200,000 residents and was to be divided into 11 smaller microdistricts. For the first time, a completely new tactic was planned for the construction of housing estates: first it was planned to start the construction of engineering communications, lay asphalted roads, and only then start building housing, so that the first new settlers would be able to use all communal benefits (Тренчук, 1980).

The development of the district was planned to be carried out comprehensively, i.e. simultaneously with the construction of housing, facilities for social and cultural life were to be erected. In particular, along the Kryvorizka Street (now Chervonoi Kalyny Prospect), together with nine-storey residential buildings, it was planned to build a cultural and household complex with an area of 300 hectares. Specialized houses of trade and public catering, houses of culture, cinemas were also to be located here (Тренчук, 1981).

The start of work in Sykhiv was planned for the spring of 1979, but due to problems in drawing up the relevant technical documentation, the development of microdistrict began only in September 1979 with the construction of Izoliatorna Street (later Voroshylova Street, modern Sykhivska Street) (Лубкович, 1980). By October 1980, the construction of engineering communications had to be completed, and by the same time it was planned to put 7 residential buildings into operation (Тренчук, 1980). However, as of 1980, Sykhiv was described in the press as follows: «Clear field, wagons. Swamp all around. Several pits. In the center there is an orphaned lone hut, which for some reason has not yet been demolished» («Чисте поле, вагончики. Навкруги болото. Кілька котлованів. У центрі сиротіє одинока хатина, чомусь ще досі не знесена») (Тренчук, 1981).

Only in January 1981, 180 families received apartments in the first two buildings on the Izoliatorna Street No. 2 and No. 4. By 1983, the number of Sykhiv's residents had grown to 20,000. By this time, several streets in the neighborhood had already been asphalted, in particular the Zubrivska Street, along which nine-storey buildings were built.

In the center of the Sykhiv massif, near the intersection of Kryvorizka and Voroshylova Streets, the Sykhiv Community Center began to take shape. A whole complex has grown up here, designed to meet the needs of the population: a department store with a department of food and industrial goods, a household service plant, a post office, a vegetable shop, a canteen (Ходикер, 1983).

In the second half of the 1980s, the development of Sykhiv became even more active. In addition to nine-storey residential buildings, houses with 14–15 floors began to be erected. It was planned to run a tram track along Kryvorizka Street, and to extend the street itself up to the ring road. In addition, the process of forming the center of the Sykhiv

massif continued. In particular, in 1986, a Oleksandr Dovzhenko cinema was built here, which was to become the dominant feature of this center. Along with this, it was planned to build the administrative building of the Sykhiv district committee of the Communist Party and the district executive committee. However, in the early 1990^s, the active construction of Sykhiv slowed down. As a result, the implementation of the Kryvorizka Street «stopped» near the «Zubra» shopping complex, the tram line to Sykhiv was not built, and the need to erect Soviet-style administrative buildings in connection with the collapse of the USSR disappeared by itself (Легендарний Сихів, 2021). The population of Sykhiv at that time was approximately 100–120 thousand people, instead of the previously planned 200 thousand people.

Special attention was paid to the new residential quarters in Soviet guidebooks and sketches of the history of Lviv. At the same time, a large number of photos of new buildings were submitted, they were talked about in newspaper articles and in radio and television broadcasts, as a result of which the image of «Soviet Lviv» was created, which with the help of such means was broadcast to the level of everyday life (Злобіна, 2007).

Despite clear successes in providing housing for the population coming to Lviv, the construction of the city's outskirts had many shortcomings. The newly created districts were «detached» from the center for a long time, they did not have a regular transport connection with the historical part of the city until the 1980^s, and residents of, for example, Znesinnia complained that «they only see a bus when the TV studio arrives or delegation» (ДАЛО-5, арк. 42). In the 1950^s, residents of the end of Zelena Street had to walk 5–7 kilometers to the center, as well as their children to school, because there were no secondary schools nearby for a long time, and there was no transport service there. In addition, new houses often lacked water pipes, and it was necessary to go to water fountains for water (ДАЛО-7, арк. 88–91). There were also cases when, due to defects in water pipes, water was supplied to one part of the house, but not to another. Gas pipes were also made with defects, which sometimes led to explosions or lack of heating of premises. The buildings themselves were often built with defects: the walls were cracked, the floor was damaged (ДАЛО-7, арк. 5–24).

Nevertheless, as a result, in the period from the 1950^s to the 1980^s, the total area of the city's housing stock increased by 2.5 times, and a typical Soviet-style neighborhood was formed around the historic center, built with standard, identical high-rise buildings. In addition to the creation of «Sovietness» in the suburbs, massive housing development contributed to a partial solution to the housing issue for the youth and workers of the city's industrial enterprises. But many of them, waiting for years for their turn, never got their own housing, were forced to live in dormitories or rent apartments at best (Назарук, 2008, с. 353).

At the same time, since the new residential areas were largely settled by Ukrainian-speaking immigrants from the villages to the city who came to work and got their own apartments or dormitory rooms, the cultural phenomenon of the Ukrainian-speaking «yesterday's peasants» – the «new residents of city» – «began to form on the outskirts of Lviv. They began to adapt to city life, adopting its culture, in turn influencing the natives of the city. Herewith, in the case of Lviv, it was not precisely about the Russification of the «new settlers», but actually their Ukrainization of the space of the city center and its outskirts.

In general, the implementation of the plan to transform, according to the Soviet definition, the «bourgeois» (European) appearance of the city of Lviv into a «Soviet» one was half-hearted. Thus, the Soviet project to create a «socialist model» center in Lviv was not successful: instead of the large square of the new center behind the premises of the opera and ballet theater planned in the 1940^s, only a few buildings were built and a 700-anniversary of Lviv Street was laid, which instead of the city's center became a regular highway connecting the historic center with the new residential quarters of the northern neighborhoods of the city. Instead, more successful was the process of residential development, which began in the 1950^s. As a result, being built up with typical new buildings, the neighborhood acquired a Soviet image. However, since the new residential areas were largely inhabited by Ukrainian-speaking immigrants to the city, an interesting cultural phenomenon began to take shape on the outskirts of Lviv – it was not about the Russification of the «new settlers», but actually their Ukrainization of the space of the city center and its outskirts.

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ДАЛО-2: Держархів Львівської обл., ф. Р-6 (Виконком Львівської міської ради депутатів трудящих), оп. 1, спр. 198, 7 арк.

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ВІД ЦЕНТРУ ДО «СПАЛЬНИХ РАЙОНІВ»: СПРОБИ КОНСТРУЮВАННЯ ЗОВНІШНЬОГО ОБРАЗУ ЛЬВОВА ЯК РАДЯНСЬКОГО МІСТА

Проаналізовано спроби радянської влади щодо конструювання зовнішнього образу Львова як радянського міста. Стверджено, що важливим аспектом трансформацій будь-якого міста є його візуальні зміни. Відзначено, що радянська влада протягом 1939–1941 рр., а згодом 1944–1991 рр. прагнула надати «радянського обличчя» передовсім саме центру, а синхронно до цього у «спальних районах» – своєрідному винаході радянської доби – у Львові, як і в інших містах СРСР, мали постати типові для радянського простору житлові квартали з одноманітним плануванням та стандартною соціальною інфраструктурою.

Виснувано, що реалізація плану з перетворення, за радянським визначенням, «буржуазного» (європейського) зовнішнього вигляду міста на «радянське» виявилася половинчатою, а радянський проєкт створення центру «соціалістичного зразка» у Львові не був вдалим: замість планованої у 1940-х роках великої площі нового центру з радянськими пам'ятниками й адміністративними спорудами було збудовано лише декілька будівель, прокладено вул. 700-річчя, яка замість міського центру стала звичайною магістраллю, що сполучала історичний центр із новими житловими кварталами північних мікрорайонів міста.

Відзначено, що успішнішим був процес житлової забудови, розпочатий у 1950-х роках, адже, будучи забудованими типовими новобудовами, околиці набули радянського образу. Відзначено, що масова житлова розбудова посприяла частковому вирішенню житлового питання, хоча часто стан нових будівель був не найкращим. Зауважено, що на львівських околицях почав формуватися культурний феномен українськомовних «вчорашніх селян» – «нових мешканців міста», який розпочав

адаптацію до міського життя, приймаючи його культуру, а також впливаючи й на уродженців міста. Стверджено, що водночас у випадку Львова йшлося якраз не про русифікацію «новоселів», а власне про українізацію ними простору і центру міста, і його околиць.

Ключові слова: Львів, конструювання образу, радянське місто, УРСР, СРСР, архітектура, міський центр, міські околиці.