
Abstract. The Purpose of the Article – the peculiarities analysis of landscaping, sanitary and hygienic conditions in the cities of Right-Bank Ukraine during the second half of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries through the prism of local governments activities, especially in such spheres as development of street infrastructure, landscaping, water and electricity supply, environmental supervision and control. The Methodology of the Research. To write the article there became fundamental the principles of historicism and objectivity, an institutional and interdisciplinary approach to the phenomena and processes study (the combination of a social history, history of law, economics). The methods of a comparative historical analysis (on the example of different provinces and cities), statistical information processing, problem-chronological and regional studies have been widely used. The scientific novelty consists in a comprehensive and, at the same time, comparative historical analysis of the landscaping and sanitary hygienic conditions of the cities of Right-Bank Ukraine from the point of view of local self-government bodies participation in the correspondent processes. The use of the archival materials and other sources allowed to show an objective picture, focusing on both positive aspects, specific miscalculations and drawbacks. The Conclusions. The analysis of the sources showed that, with some exceptions, the activities were gradually intensified to improve landscaping and sanitation in the cities of Right-Bank Ukraine during the second half of the XIXth – beginning of the XXth century. At that time, especially at the turn of the centuries, local governments received many proposals from individuals and organizations to implement such projects as water supply and electric lighting on various terms. However, bureaucratic obstacles, lobbying practice, or administrative interference hampered a fast transition from a project discussion and analysis to the very implementation. Instead, the implementation of such initiatives as paving the streets, arrangement of squares and sidewalks, landscaping, sanitation control of public places, fire
safety, etc., required significant funds without a direct profit. Thus, before World War I the majority of the county centers of Right-Bank Ukraine, not to mention small towns, had significant problems in the sphere of landscaping. In the general cohort there were distinguished the provincial cities significantly (first of all Kyiv, then Zhytomyr; less – Kamianets-Podilsky) and Berdychiv and Uman – developed in trade and industry, a little less developed – Vinnytsia, Cherkasy, Rivne.

**Key words:** landscaping, sanitary and hygienic conditions, Right-Bank Ukraine, city self-government, welfare, ordering.

**The Problem Statement.** At the end of the XXth – the beginning of the XXIst centuries a radical change in an everyday life and the spread of the latest civilizational benefits did not eliminate, unfortunately, a number of problems related to the well-being of the broad social strata, the landscaping of public places and the elimination of threats to health due to the neglect of basic sanitary norms. These risks become even more relevant in the cities, where the population density is much higher than in rural areas. Taking into account the fact that many modern problems of an infrastructural development, a proper landscaping and sanitation had been the focus of self-government for many decades, including the second half of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth century, the professional and comparative study of this issue is topical in the scientific and social contexts on the example of Right-Bank Ukraine.
The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Some aspects of the above-stated issues have become the object of attention of historians only at the level of certain provinces, primarily, Volyn province (Pryshchepa, 2010; Shkilniuk, 2017) and Podilsk province (Yesiunin, 2015), or such large cities as Kyiv (Hlyz, 2016), Lutsk (Bilyk, 2019), Rivne (Pryshchepa, 2006), etc. The research interest was usually concentrated around the economic processes (Zadorozhniuk & Reient, 2008), the administration systems (Щерба, 2001), general aspects (Humeniuk, 1993) or vice versa only certain aspects (Martyniuk, 2018; Molchanov, 2005) of an urban life. Instead, the activities directly in the sphere of landscaping and improvement of sanitary and hygienic conditions of the Right-Bank cities require an additional study, including the archival materials.

The purpose of the article is the analysis of the peculiarities of landscaping and sanitary and hygienic conditions of the cities of Right-Bank Ukraine during the second half of the XIXth – beginning of the XXth centuries through the prism of the activities of local governments, especially, in such spheres as the development of street infrastructure, landscaping of public places, water supply and electricity, an environmental supervision and control.

The Statement of the Basic Material. Before the introduction of the reform of the city government in 1870, the regulation mechanisms of landscaping and sanitary and hygienic conditions of a public space were very primitive and sharply contrasted depending on a certain settlement. On the Right-Bank, the regulation mechanisms development was not facilitated by the existing network of privately owned cities, whose owners were not legally obliged to take care of improving the welfare and living conditions of the population. City owners solved these issues differently, demonstrating a wide range of approaches, from apathy and ignorance to spending large sums of money on these needs. Progressive approaches were used mainly by well-known wealthy noble families. For instance, in Kyiv province, this category included the Branystskys, a wealthy noble family, who were the owners of several cities and towns, took a proper care of landscaping and the social sphere in general. In particular, in Smila, Cherkasy district, already during the 1860-ies, there was a fire brigade, which was maintained by the city owners. In Bila Tserkva, on the other hand, brokerage fees were spent on paving the streets. At the same time, in the county of Lypovka, which belonged to the Strutynskys family, no funds were allocated from the city budget for any public needs, let alone sanitation. Even in the region’s capital, Kyiv, there was less than a half of paved streets at the beginning of the 1850-ies. There were no paved streets at all in Lybidska, Kurenivska and Zvirynetska parts of the city. The presence of 13 paved streets in Pechersk and Podil did not change the situation significantly. After floods and heavy rains, streams of water literally flowed down from the Dnieper hills. In 1845, a large-scale flood of the Dnieper damaged or destroyed 500 houses – almost 10% of the total number of houses at that time. This main river artery, along with the rains, was the only source of drinking water. Centralized water supply appeared much later, in 1872. In most of the 127 wells of that period “the water tasted bad and it was unsuitable for a human consumption” (Funduklej, 1852, pp. 333, 346–348).

In the middle of the XIXth century the complete absence of paved streets was a characteristic feature of the vast majority of county towns in the three Right-Bank provinces. The absence of paved streets was a negative factor not only in terms of communication but also in terms of sanitation. Among the exceptions in Kyiv province there was Berdychiv, a commercially developed town, and to a lesser extent – Uman, the military town, where slow paving began at the beginning of the 1850-ies. In Volyn and Podillia paving the streets was typical of provincial centers only. In several counties (Dubno, Kremenets and Novohrad-Volynskyi) one central street was paved (Zabelin, 1850, p. 72).
In the 1860-ies, during the preparation of the city reform, in the official documents of the Ministry of Internal Affairs it was repeatedly emphasized to maintain the proper condition of the bridges at the squares in front of the government buildings and military departments; annual allocation of funds for paving the main streets first, and then the secondary streets; taking care of small streets, shorelines, embankments and piers. A gradual realization of these intentions in practice became possible only after the approval of “The City Regulations” in 1870. The law stated that the external landscaping improvement and population welfare belonged to the competence of the public administration elected bodies (Polnoe sobranie zakonov, 1874, pp. 18–183).

Due to the fact that the elected authorities formation lasted for more than a decade (in the majority of the Right-Bank county centers the first elections took place only in 1880 – 1882), the results of their activities were not immediately noticeable in the sphere of landscaping and sanitation. “At the end of the 1870-ies Mohyliv, one of the best county centers of Podillia, was considered to be developed in trade and industry; among other towns – Medzhybizh, which until 1837, was under the control of the military department. That is why, it was “tidier and more beautiful than all cities and towns of the province” (Dnestr i Pridnestrov’е, 1878, pp. 4–6, 33–34).

In the 1880-ies, in Volyn Starokostiantyniv was negatively described as a “big and very dirty city”. For a long time it did not have its own authorities and was subordinated to Novohrad-Volynskiyi. That is why, the level of improvement was minimal. There were no pavements, instead, there were wooden sidewalks, or large logs across the streets for pedestrians. Lanterns illuminated only two main streets. Mykola Zuts, a researcher of the city’s history at that time, explained the local unsanitary and unhygienic conditions by a number of factors: 1) pollution of rivers into which the population dumped household waste and sewage; 2) the presence of a large dam for water mills, which formed a lake without runoff with moldy shores; 3) a large number of the Jews, who inhabited the area densely, without fences and outbuildings, often keeping cattle in the streets; 4) the location of the slaughterhouse almost in the center of the city, the waste from which was also dumped into the river; 5) the location of the city on the plains, which delayed the flow of precipitation, and the soil dried up only owing to evaporation and warm air; 6) the proximity of several cemeteries – “The Orthodox cemetery is separated from the city only by a ditch, the Catholic cemetery – by a street, and the old Jewish cemetery is located in the city, on the river bank, and it is so closed by surrounding buildings, that it is almost invisible” (Zuc, 1884, pp. 21–23).

At the end of the ХІХth century Kyiv stood out in terms of the level of landscaping, where several commissions had been working in the city council since the 1870-ies, including bridge commission, water supply commission, sanitary commission, market and city parks commission. Among the progressive actions of that time, which contributed to the welfare improvement and sanitary and hygienic situation, the following achievements should be mentioned: construction of a water supply system (1872), centralized sewerage (1894) and sanitary epidemiological station (1905), the creation of a network of urban slaughterhouses and the closure of private ones (1888), the transition to the consumption of exclusively artesian water (1910) (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv – CSHAUK, f. 442, d. 521, c. 215, 76 p.; CSHAUK, f. 442, d. 661, c. 19, 72 p.; State Archives of Kyiv Region – SAKR, f. 145, c. 995, 45 p.; State Archives in the City of Kyiv – SACK, f. 41, c. 5941, 90 p.). However, the most problematic were the working suburbs – Shuliavka, Solomianka, Kurenivka and Demiivka. The local unsanitary conditions, due to the low level of a material well-being and
the special concentration of the local population (at the end of the XIXth century, more than 16,000 people lived there), were unprecedented during that period of time.

In Volyn, there was a proper landscaping in Zhytomyr province only, the rest towns “were extremely dirty”. Novohrad-Volynskyi, Dubno and Kremenets looked relatively neat, other county centers “impressed with their unhygienic appearance”, one or two streets were paved. There were no paved streets in Volodymyr-Volynskyi, Ovruch and Starokostiantyniv (Zabelin, 1887, pp. 351–359). In some towns self-government bodies made house owners responsible for repairing bridges and sidewalks. This situation, in particular, was observed in Lutsk, when in 1890 the city council failed at “demanding from house owners to repair the pavement” in Starokovelska street. Only in 1904 Volyn provincial city affairs government the indicated the illegality of such actions. The same year, a separate resolution of Vinnytsia City Duma was approved “on the maintenance of city streets, sidewalks and squares and a ban to release pets in city streets”. As a sanction for this violation there was used “detention of domestic animals and poultry” with the subsequent fine and payment for feeding during the entire period of their detention, without any responsibility for possible illness or death of domestic animals. If the owner of the cattle was not identified within three days, it was handed over to the local police for further sale (State Archives of Volyn Region – SAVoR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 543, pp. 59–60, 413).

In 1907 the issue of proper condition maintaining of city squares and streets was raised at the level of the Technical and Construction Committee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Empire. The Committee conclusions, which were sent to different provinces, concerned, inter alia, the rules of arrangement of sidewalks and the competence of city administrations to regulate this sphere (SAVoR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 543, pp. 212–214).

At the beginning of the XXth century provincial centers continued to occupy leading positions concerning the level of landscaping, living comfort and public places arrangement. However, some individual indicators did not have a clear picture. For instance, in Kyiv the centralized water supply system, as already mentioned, had been functioning since 1872, in Berdychev – since 1896, in Zhytomyr – since 1898. Instead, in Podilia, the corresponding process began only during the 1910-ies: in Proskurov – in 1910, in Vinnytsia and Kamianets-Podilskyi – in 1912 (Donik, 2019, p. 339). In Kamianets-Podilskyi the issue was to be resolved at the end of the 1890-ies, but was initially delayed due to resistance from more than 100 house owners, who considered the proposed conditions unfavourable. Then this issue was delayed due to limited financial resources. Instead, there was a problem with buying land from private owners in Vinnytsia. In 1904 one of the options for obtaining water from the Buh River provided for “mandatory costs for the purchase of land from a private owner for 14,000 rubles”. The City Duma recognized such a price as “excessive and inconsistent with the real value” (State Archives of Vinnytsia Region – SAViR, f. 230, d. 1, c. 982, pp. 3v, 8). At the same time, self-government bodies received projects and proposals for the project implementation regularly. Five different companies responded from Odesa. From Novhorod-Siversk it was offered to prepare an estimate, from Vinnytsia – materials delivery, from Zhmerynka – various equipment (generator engines, pumps and pipes), from Warsaw – a comprehensive solution for the construction of water supply and sewerage, etc., not to mention workers. Traditionally, the main problem was the lack of money, as well as bureaucratic obstacles. In addition, obtaining a loan from the treasury was delayed due to the inability to agree on the future price of water for public institutions (SAViR, f. 230, d. 1, c. 982, pp. 11–26, 42–43).
Concerning the issue in other cities, it was common to delay the process deliberately not only to maximize profits for the community. This delay also happened under the influence of various lobbying circles. The epic with the construction of the water supply system in Lutsk lasted for more than a decade. In 1896 the first project was submitted to the Duma by Mykola Falberg, Kyiv merchant, and Roman Kravets, an engineer. For the unknown reasons, this suggestion was not considered by Lutsk authorities. In 1908 the second project was sent from Baku by Alexander Kancel, an engineer, who promised to “build, to maintain and to repair the water supply system at his own expense” for 38 years. A later version of the document suggested banning water supply by water carriers, which may have led to the rejection of such idea. The example of Zhytomyr, where the water supply system was built at its own expense, also hindered the implementation of the concession. However, Lutsk did not have the necessary funds, that is why, the process was delayed. The discussion about the source of water supply was added – from the Styr River or an artesian well. During 1909 – 1914 various proposals were sent to the Duma regularly, from representatives of Kyiv, Zhytomyr, Homel and even from intermediaries of London firm. In 1910 even the governor of Volyn, Oleksandr Kutaisov, and the police department tried to speed up the resolution of the issue, demanding at least the expansion of artesian wells network (SAVoR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 160, pp. 1–4). However, the city remained without water until the mid-1930-ies. Until that time, the majority of the population received water by means of water carriers, and even from those places, where there was a quay for cargo boats. In 1906 – 1907, “traders turned the places for water collection into a pier because these places were paved not only to the river, but even 2 – 3 yards into the river” – it was said in a statement of the city council (SAVoR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 543, pp. 141–143). The preparations for the introduction of electric lighting lasted for almost 20 years. These preparations were similar to the described situation with the construction of water supply system in Lutsk. For the first time the city council announced a corresponding competition in 1890. The electric power station started functioning only in 1909 (SAVoR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 26, pp. 7–9).

It should be understood that even in spite of availability of the described civilization benefits, not everyone could use them. The reasons were both subjective personal factors (lack of money to pay for services among for poor residents) and objective factors. The latter include, for instance, the limited length of the existing water supply system. In this situation, some parts of the city, remoted from the center or the river, did not have access to the centralized water supply. In Zhytomyr the residents of Pavlykivka suburb were in the same situation. In 1898 they even asked the governor of Volyn to extend the water supply system. In the document, which was forwarded to Oleksandr Davydovsky, the mayor, it was stated that the house owners of two Pavlykivka streets (250 houses) were in fact left without water, because there was no water supply system in this area, water carriers refused to deliver water due to the remoteness of the nearest water supply booth. The location of the suburb on the hill made it impossible to have water from wells. However, due to the “disadvantage for the city to carry out such an expensive pipe system and construction of a booth”, the request was rejected (State Archives of Zhytomyr Region – SAZR, f. 62, d. 1, c. 830, pp. 2–3).

If the water supply system eventually appeared in several Right-Bank cities, the issue of sewerage, which existed only in Kyiv before World War I, was much more difficult to resolve. Although it was a social useful issue but it was much less profitable. In 1890 in Kyiv during the preparation for the beginning of work, “commercial people… realized well that the functioning of the city sewer could not be the subject of a profitable commercial enterprise” –
said Arthur Abramson, an engineer (Trudy, 1902, p. 33). The whole process lasted from 1879 to 1894, beginning with the creation of a special commission by the City Duma to study the relevant issue and ending with the project approval and the funds allocation (SACK, f. 163, d. 7, c. 1362, pp. 59–65).

However, this did not save the city from the seasonal outbreaks of the cholera epidemic, particularly during 1907 – 1910. The poor Kyivans were at the greatest risk (“the disease constructs its hut, especially where there is a crowd of poor people, who starve and drink raw water”). Ipolit Diakov, the mayor, appealed to the population to donate money and food (Po Ukraini, 1908, p. 3). In 1908 the local self-government bodies spent 51 000 rubles to fight cholera, and at the end of the year the decision was made to allocate another 14 000 rubles. To overcome the epidemic, the city authorities decided to use artesian water instead the water from the Dnieper. After that, the cholera cases began to decrease. Bila Tserkva was the centre of cholera epidemic in Kyiv province. However, in 1909 the following autumn, a new outbreak began in Kyiv. Then at police units there were allocated special sanitary carriages for patients transportation to hospitals. During two months (from the end of August till the end of October) 55 people died of cholera (Po Ukraini, 1909, p. 3). In 1910 it was planned to allocate 10 000 rubles to fight the epidemic diseases. The spread of cholera since the end of May ruined these plans, because only for the maintenance of medical staff 4,5 thousand rubles had to be spent per month, and at the beginning of August – an additional loan of 15 thousand rubles was taken. It is worth mentioning that such situation was typical not only of Kyiv, but in fact, of every city and even some villages. For instance, in Uman during the week of the end of July – the beginning of August of 1910, 45 people died of cholera, in Cherkasy during a slightly longer period – 63 people. However, as compared to the outbreaks of the previous decades, there was marked the reduction in scale. Thus, in 1872 in Kyiv almost 3 thousand people fell ill with cholera and 1376 died, and in 1892 – almost 2 thousand fell ill and 659 people died (Kyivske ukrainske naukove tovarystvo, 1907, p. 5; Po Ukraini, 1910, p. 3).

Functioning of sewage had not only positive consequences. We mean the deterioration of the ecological situation of the river reservoirs and atmosphere. This situation was recorded in the areas to the South of Kyiv in 1911. Residents of country settlements, as well as the villages of Mysholovka and Korchuvate, Konyk hamlet complained that urban sewage descended to the Dnieper Bay, polluting the air and the water. In the summer of 1911, the peasants of these settlements even sent a complaint to the governor, but as a result they were obliged to dig wells to have water for consuming (Po Ukraini, 1911, pp. 2–3).

On the eve of World War I, the Right-Bank cities took a significant step towards tidying up the streets and public places. In Kyiv the work on the arrangement of suburbs and parts of the city was done at that time actively. The work was done by some specialized companies, for instance, the landscaping of of “Zabaikivya” or “Karavayevi dachi”. In several developed county centers (Berdychiv, Vinnytsia, Mohyliv, Rivne and Uman) such civilization achievements as electric lighting and telephone were already available, fire brigades worked as well. Centralized water supply, except for the provincial centers, functioned only in Berdychiv and Uman. In Berdychiv there was even a city sanitary doctor, who carried out an appropriate supervision and control. Cherkasy city was a little behind, where there was a telephone line, the electric power station was built in 1913. The construction of water supply system was only planned. Instead, the majority of the cities and towns did not have all of the above-mentioned civilization achievements. There usually were the telegraphs, sometimes the telephone lines (in Haisyn, Kaniv), the fire brigades / squads (in Nova Ushytsia,
Skvyra, Chyhyryn), fire convoys (in Kovel) or societies (in Kremenets, Ostroh), the electric power stations (in Balta, Zhmerynka, Lutsk, Proskuriv) (Ves’ Yugo-Zapadnyj kraj, 1913, pp. 470–1078). Bila Tserkva and Uman differed significantly in the sphere of landscaping but in these towns everything was done on a private initiative. In Kremenets the local Epiphany fraternity set up the “city garden” with benches and fence and planned to transfer it to city property. However, the members of the city council did not find time to adopt the appropriate act, possibly, guided by considerations about the lack of money to maintain the green zone (CSHAUK, f. 442, d. 643, c. 1, pp. 22–24).

Instead, Chyhyryn “represented a sad picture… it looked neglected, disorganized… the streets were not paved, there was no lighting, no water supply, no sewerage; there was only a telephone line that connected some points of the county, but not available to ordinary mortals”; “Volodymyr-Volynskyi is currently lagging behind not only economically but also culturally” – it was stated in the directory of 1913 (Ves’ Yugo-Zapadnyj kraj, 1913, pp. 651, 716). At the same time in Vasylykiv, the press was indignant that the central market square, where zemstvo, city and burgher councils were located, “the same as previously, it is swept only a few times a year, especially on the eve of major holidays or before the arrival of some great authorities”. In this regard, at the square there was accumulated “such a force of all smell that even a person accustomed to it cannot always pass through it without covering his nose” (Od vlasnykh korespondentiv, 1913, p. 3).

Gradually, the fight against an illegal production, which polluted the air and water bodies, such as soap and salt mills, warehouses where animal by-products were stored, became separate spheres of cities administrations’ activity, as well as the introduction of strict rules for the proper sanitation of meat shops, stores and friedge warehouses. The flooding of the streets during the seasonal rains, primarily unpaved, was overcome by approving resolutions on the obligation of house owners to install gutters with drainage under sidewalks (SA VoR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 543, pp. 343, 384–385, 449). Taking into consideration the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, even the supervision of prostitution had a sanitary component and was carried out under the control of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the provincial government with the participation of the police and a doctor-inspector (SA VoR, f. 3, d. 1, c. 598, pp. 2–10).

It is worth mentioning that at the beginning of the XXth century city councils began to share experience on various issues of management and landscaping actively, for instance, the ways of construction of water supply system or electric lighting, street infrastructure improvement, the activities regulations of commercial and industrial facilities, etc.

**The Conclusions.** The analysis of the sources illustrates the following: during the second half of the XIXth – beginning of the XXth centuries in the cities of Right-Bank Ukraine, with some exceptions, the activities to improve landscaping and sanitation were gradually intensified. At that time, especially at the turn of the centuries, local governments received many suggestions from individuals and organizations to implement, on various terms, such projects as water supply and electric lighting. However, bureaucratic obstacles, lobbying practices, or administrative interventions prevented the rapid transition from projects discussion and analysis to their implementation. Instead, the implementation of such initiatives as paving the streets, squares and sidewalks, landscaping, control of the sanitary condition of public places, fire safety, etc., required significant funds without a direct profit. Thus, on the eve of World War I the majority of the county centers of Right-Bank Ukraine, let alone small towns, had significant problems in the sphere of landscaping. In the general cohort there differentiated the county cities significantly (first of all Kyiv, then Zhytomyr, less
developed – Kamianets-Podilsky) and developed in trade and industry Berdychiv and Uman, a little less developed – Vinnytsia, Cherkasy, Rivne.

The results obtained and the available facts suggest the need for a more detailed study of such aspects of the problem as the lobbying impact of trade and industry on the activities of local governments in the implementation of large-scale infrastructure projects, a daily life of working-class suburbs, and etc.

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